THE PRINTING PRESSES OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY AMONG THE CHINESE

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ABSTRACT

China became subject to various Western influences in the nineteenth century. Conspicuous in the realm of technology was the transformation of printing from xylography to Western typography. The new method was introduced by Protestant missionaries and mainly by those of the London Missionary Society (LMS). The motive behind this transformation was their hope to print the Bible and by an adequate method, but later the impact of this technological change extended widely beyond religion, resulting in the burgeoning and rapid development of modern Chinese publishing enterprises, including newspapers, periodicals and books.

Based mainly upon the LMS archives and the Chinese works printed by LMS missionaries, this study is a history of the LMS's printing presses, beginning with their establishment in the very early nineteenth century until their closure in 1873. The two principal themes in this study are: first, the missionaries' application of Western technology to Chinese printing; and secondly, the role and response of the Chinese to this transformation. Whilst trying to demonstrate the interaction between missionaries and natives in the process of change, an attempt is also made, in the context of contemporary China, to interpret how Western printing technology gradually gained influence in native minds . The printing press did not achieve as much as expected in helping to spread Christianity in China. However, the LMS missionaries were able to produce the first fount of Chinese type and raised Chinese awareness of its greater efficiency, compared with their thousand-year-old blocks, as an agent for the introduction of modern knowledge and as a means to transform their old society.

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CHRONOLOGY

Year	The London Missionary Society	Contemporary Events
1786		Britain occupies Penang (the Prince of Wales Island).
1789		Breitkopf attempts to cut Chinese punches at Leipzig.
1793		Unsuccessful mission of Lord Macartney to China
1795	The founding of the London Missionary Society (LMS)	Malacca taken by the British from the Dutch
1805		Penang is upgraded to a Presidency of British India.
1807	Robert Morrison arrives in China.	
1809		Joshua Marshman begins Chinese printing with wooden type at Serampore, India.
1810	Morrison begins printing.	The British capture Dutch Java
1811	Morrison's first work comes out of the press.	Cutting Chinese punches begins at Serampore.
1813	William Milne arrives in China.	
1815	Milne founds the Malacca mission, starts printing *The Chinese Magazine*. Thomsen opens the Malay department at the Malacca mission.	
1816		Lord Amherst's unsuccessful mission to China Java restored to the Dutch.
1817	Medhurst arrives at Malacca.	
1818	In November, the foundation stone of the Anglo-Chinese College is laid.	Malacca restored to the Dutch.
1819	Three missions are established in Penang, Singapore and Batavia.	The British occupy Singapore.
1822	The Singapore station begins printing. In June, Milne dies in Malacca. Medhurst moves to Batavia.	The printing of Marshman's version of a Chinese Bible with metal type at Serampore is completed.
1823	The Batavia station begins printing. Morrison goes to Malacca. The printing of the Chinese Bible with blocks is completed in Malacca.	
1824	Morrison returns to England.	Anglo-Dutch treaty defines spheres of influence. Malacca reverts to Britain.
1825	Dyer is appointed to the Chinese mission.	
1826	Dyer makes appeals to the public for funds for cutting Chinese punches. Morrison leaves England for China.	Vincent Figgins cuts some Chinese punches in London. Singapore, Malacca and Penang form the Straits Settlements.

1827	Dyer arrives at Penang.	
1828	Dyer's experiment of making type by means of stereotyping begins.	
1830		The Americans set up their first mission press in Canton.
1831		Gutzlaff sails along the Chinese coast.
1832	The Penang station begins printing. Dyer proposes to cut divisible type.	Gutzlaff's second sailing along the Chinese coast
1833	Dyer commences punch cutting.	The East India Company loses its monopoly of China trade. Gutzlaff's third sailing along the Chinese coast
1834	Thomsen returns to England. Morrison dies in Canton.	Marcellin Legrand starts cutting divisible Chinese punches in Paris.
1835	Medhurst sails along the Chinese coast. Dyer moved to Malacca.	
1836	Medhurst returns to England. The final decision to develop Chinese typography by means of cutting punches.	
1838	The Board requests Dyer to cut a fount of small type. Medhurst leaves England for Batavia.	
1839	Dyer returns to Britain.	The first Anglo-Chinese War breaks out.
1841	Dyer leaves England for Singapore.	British troops occupy Hong Kong.
1842	Cutting punches for small type commenced at Singapore.	The Treaty of Nanking signed and Hong Kong ceded to Britain.
1843	The LMS's missionaries hold meetings at Hong Kong. Dyer dies at Macao. The Malacca, Penang and Batavia stations move to China. The Singapore mission remains and type making continues. The Shanghai, Hong Kong and Amoy missions begins.	Hong Kong formally becomes a British colony. Shanghai opens to foreigners. The British and American missionaries hold meetings at Hong Kong to revising the Chinese Bible.
1844	The Shanghai mission begins printing.	Robert Watts begins cutting Chinese punches in London The American Presbyterian press is founded at Macao.
1846	The Chinese branch of the Singapore mission is closed and type making moves to Hong Kong.	The American Presbyterian press moves to Ningpo.
1847	Wylie and a cylinder press arrive at Shanghai. The Hong Kong mission press employs Cole as the superintendent.	The delegates begin the revision of the N.T. and the term controversy occures.
1849	The fount of large type is declared completed.	

1850	The fount of small type is declared completed. The Shanghai mission press begins the printing of the delegates' version of the N.T..	The delegates finish the revision of the N. T. and begin that of the Old. A Chinese, Tong, produces three founts of the first indigenous cast type.
1851	The LMS's missionaries withdraw from the committee of the delegates.	The T'ai-p'ing rebellion breaks out.
1852	The publication of the delegates' version of the New Testament printed with small type. Cole leaves the Hong Kong mission press and Chinese take over his work.	
1853	Huang Sheng becomes the superintendent of the Hong Kong mission press.	The T'ai-p'ings take over Nanking as their capital. A secret society occupies Shanghai. The Bible Society anounces a plan to send one million N.T. to China.
1854	The Shanghai mission press begins printing the 'million edition' of the N.T..	
1855	The publication of the LMS's version of the O.T. in small type.	The Chinese government regains its control over Shanghai.
1857	Medhurst dies in London.	
1858		The British and French allied force enter Peking. China signs the Tientsin treaties with four Western countries.
1859		A. Beyerhause completes a fount of Chinese type in Berlin. W.Gamble of the American Presbyterian press makes matrices for Chinese by electrotype process in this or the following year.
1860	Wylie leaves the Shanghai mission press.	The American Presbyterian press moves from Ningpo to Shanghai.
1862	The Hankou, Tientsin and Peking missions are founded.	
1864		The T'ai-p'ing rebellion is suppressed.
1865	The Shanghai mission sells all printing apparatus and closes its press.	
1873	The Hong Kong mission sells its printing office and type foundry to a Chinese company.	

THE PRINTING PRESSES OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY AMONG THE CHINESE

Introduction

The nineteenth century witnessed many great changes in China resulting from the influence of the West. The transformation of printing from xylography to Western typography was a conspicuous development in the realm of technology. The new method was introduced by Protestant missionaries, mainly by those of the London Missionary Society (LMS). The motivation behind this transformation lay in their hope to print the Bible by an adequate method, but later this technological change extended widely beyond religion resulting in the burgeoning and rapid development of modern Chinese publishing enterprises, including newspapers, periodicals and books. These media accelerated the importation and transmission of modern knowledge, institutional reform and the ensuing revolution, together with social, cultural and many other transformations in old China.

This study is a history of the LMS's printing presses, which were a part of the Society's mission enterprises among the Chinese, beginning with their establishment in the very early nineteenth century until their closure in 1873. The whole span of the LMS's Chinese mission can be divided into two periods, separated by the Opium War of 1839-1842. Since the missionaries were shut out of China before the war, as a substitute, they were sent amongst overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and there they practiced printing with blocks and used lithographic methods and commenced the work of casting type. The second period began after the war when the LMS was eventually able to send its missions to the empire. When the production of a workable fount of Chinese types was completed in the early 1850s, typography formally replaced xylography in the mission presses until the LMS sold its last

Chinese printing press to the natives in 1873, this marked the end of an era and the beginning of another. Indeed, the history of the LMS's Chinese printing enterprises records the course of competition between typography and xylography in the context of the encounter of Western and Chinese cultures in nineteenth-century China. During the period of expansionism of the Age of Discovery in the previous three centuries, the European printing press travelled widely throughout the world. However, China was distinct from other places in that, up until the nineteenth century, block printing had been practiced in the country for a thousand years or so. It is true that indigenous cut type was sporadically used, but as long as blocks catered for Chinese very well, there were no discernible factors within society urging the necessity of technical change in the reproduction of writing. This partly explained why European typography had to compete with xylography for about one hundred years before it could completely replace the latter in the early twentieth century. Further, as a medium of selling the 'barbarian' religion, typography hardly had an opportunity to obtain recognition from the natives. It was even not uncommon to find arguments among the missionaries themselves about the suitability and practicability of Chinese typography, as well as about the appropriateness of their role in technological development. As time progressed, however, the introduction of Chinese typography following European methods proved positive in contrast to the mostly unpleasant relations between China and the West in the period. Thus the two principal themes in this study are: first, the work of the missionaries in applying Western technology to Chinese printing; and secondly, the role and reaction of the Chinese to this transformation. Whilst trying to demonstrate the interaction between the missionaries and the natives in the process of change, an attempt is also made to interpret how Western printing technology gradually gained its influence in native minds in the context of contemporary China.

Before examining the LMS missionaries, one may first look at their Jesuit predecessors, who were the first to introduce Western science and technology to

China, and wonder why Western printing had not been on their agenda in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. It is true that the Jesuits were familiar with the art of typography. The time that they entered China coincided with the beginning of the most prosperous period of indigenous typography in Chinese history. Moreover, they were eager to introduce Western printing into neighbouring Japan. Indeed, had there been the wish, European-style Chinese typography might have developed two hundred years earlier than it did. Welcomed by the contemporary Chinese to some extent, however, the Jesuits were deeply impressed by the advantages of block printing that had established itself as the predominant printing method in China for a thousand years; advantages such as its technical simplicity, the fact that numerous reprints could be made without re-cutting and the saleable size of each edition. Whilst looking for any opportunity to accommodate themselves to Chinese cultural life, the Jesuits could find no better means than block printing in order to reach native intellectuals. Like the Jesuits, the LMS missionaries first greatly admired block printing for the same reasons. Unfortunately, although block printing remained as it was in the Jesuit's time, the newcomers found themselves working in a very different China. In contrast to their predecessors being able to attend the imperial court or to stay with their converts in the country, the LMS missionaries could at best operate around China's periphery or wait in distant Western colonies. Mission work was conducted either surreptitiously or outside the country. Such a reception compelled the LMS brethren to rely heavily on the printing press as a powerful engine with its products acting as silent preachers with the purpose of penetrating the closed country. They thus went further to search for a printing method independent of political hindrance and of native technique. In short, it was the changed Chinese context that differentiated the Jesuits' printing activities from those of the LMS missionaries and gave the latter the challenge and the opportunity of introducing typography into China.

The mission field was in China, yet the roots were back at home. In tracing the change that the missionaries brought about, it is necessary to look first at the part

played by the home society in the whole process. The factors that directly contributed to LMS Chinese printing were policy, funds, machinery and materials and missionaries. Fortunately, in the early and mid-nineteenth century, the society utilised its accumulated material wealth, technical progress and religious spirit to show its capability and willingness to supply all of these.

First, with regard to policy, the fact that no out-station press had existed in the LMS's first twenty years accounted for the Directors' cautious attitude toward printing. Setting up a press and carrying on its operation was an expensive investment which would diverge from and dilute the society's resources from the more preferred work of preaching, with even the likely possibility of it becoming a financial burden. However, the year 1815 saw a change of LMS policy. The resumption of world-wide peace after the Napoleonic War reduced the risk of losing property in transit or at out-stations. Britain's continued economic expansion led to a rapid increase in the public's donations for overseas mission work. The appearance of machine-made paper at this time considerably brought down the price of paper, which formed about half of the cost of book production in the eighteenth century.(1) The remarkable success of the mission press of the rival Baptist Missionary Society at Serampore, Bengal, set an example for the LMS. Altogether, these factors resulted in the founding of the LMS's printing offices at various sites throughout the world from 1815 on. Nevertheless, setting up the mission presses was one thing and taking up the work of type-making was another. The cost of a small type foundry was about three times that of an average printing office.(2) The cost for a type foundry for the ideographic Chinese language would be unthinkable for the Directors. The explanation behind this lay in the fact that no founts of Chinese type existed in Europe at the time. Not to mention the questions of whether the work of type-making should fall in with the mission task and whether it was right for a missionary to seek a place in history as the first type-founder of Chinese. It was not until 1835, therefore, that Chinese type making was formally taken up by the LMS. Indeed, this decision

was the most important and 'expensive' measure that the Directors had taken concerning China since they had determined to found the Chinese mission in 1804. Later developments showed that, as we shall see, it took much longer and cost more money to produce Chinese typography and the LMS encountered more difficulties than it expected. To the surprise of the Directors, however, the LMS's type would later on produce far-reaching effects beyond the spread of Christianity in China.

Secondly, in respect of funds, in addition to the LMS itself, the two principal sources were the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society. These three closely related inter-denominational societies used the same system to raise funds, i.e. local auxiliary groups all over the country. The results were far more positive than anyone could have expected. By 1810, the LMS's annual income fluctuated between £2,000 and £6,000. It rose to over £63,000 in 1843, when the LMS was able to transfer its Chinese mission from Southeast Asia to China, and exceeded £95,000 in 1873, when the LMS closed its printing presses in China.(3) The Tract Society had a humble income of £754 in 1809, but it increased to £15,000 in 1844 and to more than £20,000 by 1874.(4) As to the Bible Society, its income exceeded £27,000 in 1810, it rose to over £100,000 by 1850 and doubled in the early 1860s.(5) To be sure, these three societies were but some of Britain's many contemporary evangelical organizations. There is little doubt, therefore, that the wealth and the philanthropy of Christians allowed Britain to carry out overseas mission work on the largest scale. In general, the LMS paid the expenses of buildings, equipment, salaries and type-making, but applied to the Bible or the Tract Societies for the costs of book production. In addition to funds, the Tract Society often supplied printing paper to mission stations abroad. Sometimes the Bible Society also gave help other than funds. For example, they agreed to buy an expensive cylinder press for the LMS's Shanghai station in 1847 and to provide a missionary's salary for the revision of the Chinese Bible in 1850.(6) Although it appears impossible to determine the exact contribution of the Bible and the Tract Societies' funds to the

LMS's entire Chinese printing operation, the situation was that the presses came into operation only after the funds of these two societies became available.

Thirdly, machinery and materials made up the technical aspect of the home factors of the LMS's Chinese printing enterprise. After the invention of Western printing, its technology remained little changed for hundreds of years. However, roughly coinciding with the beginning of the LMS's overseas mission work, printing technology underwent great changes, principally with the use of powerful machinery to achieve massive levels of productivity from the early nineteenth century onwards. What impact did this change in Britain have on the LMS's Chinese printing enterprise? It is interesting to find that, as early as 1817, there was a discussion among the first three LMS missionaries to China, Robert Morrison, William Milne and W. H. Medhurst, about applying the technique of stereotype to Chinese printing and about trying to obtain information on it from home.(7) Ten years later, a younger missionary, Samuel Dyer, proceeded to use the same technique to make Chinese type and relied on London printers for his experiment. After stereotype the brethren were attracted by lithography. Learning this technique during his return to Britain in 1824, Robert Morrison brought a lithographic press back out to China. Shortly after, W. H. Medhurst practiced lithography on a surprisingly large scale at Batavia. In parallel with development in the home society, the brethren found that stereotype and lithography could not replace type. By the middle of the 1830s, typography became the missionaries' preferred method for Chinese printing. When the work of type-making began, all the equipment and materials for a type foundry had to be sent out from Britain. The high point of technical support from the home country was the cylinder press sent out by the Bible Society to the Shanghai mission press in 1847. Being the first machine-press in China, it was driven by bullocks in the adjoining wheel works and its operation was described as 'the most perfect success.'(8) This was a remarkable compromise between modern machinery and an old culture in a period of transition. From the technological viewpoint, 'British' Chinese typography

lasted until the Chinese took over the LMS's Hong Kong mission press and type foundry in 1873, symbolizing the beginning of its indigenization.

Lastly, among the domestic factors of the LMS's Chinese printing enterprises was human resources. There were four printers in total working at the LMS's Chinese printing presses, three Britons sent out from England and one American employed on the spot. Of these, two were stationed at Malacca in the 1810s and 1820s and each worked for three years. The other two worked at Hong Kong and Shanghai after the Opium War and remained in service for five and thirteen years respectively. The presses were non-commercial in character and the printers were employed to deal with the technical aspects of production. Being contracted as superintendents of the mission presses, the printers were thus in fact the missionaries' technical assistants in the various printing offices. The presses were under the direct supervision of the missionaries, who made all decisions and gave orders to the printers, telling them what to print and how many copies. Therefore, it was the missionaries and not the printers who played the principal part in the development of the LMS's Chinese printing. How much experience of printing did these missionaries have before leaving home? From 1807 to 1873, there were fifty-three brethren to the Chinese posted to stations with presses.(9) Three of them had experience of printing and only two involved themselves directly in printing, i.e. W. H. Medhurst, a former printer at the Malacca station, and Samuel Dyer, who gained some knowledge of stereotyping and type-making shortly before sailing out from London.(10) Of the other fifty brethren who formerly had no experience of printing, no fewer than twenty-one were later to supervise presses or were at least to take part in the printing business in the field. These situations reveal that the missionaries themselves were the weakest of the domestic resources of the LMS's Chinese printing enterprise. Yet they were pivotal in the task of printing the Word of God for the Chinese and the men who were to bring a revolutionary change to Chinese printing.

The history of the LMS's Chinese printing can be seen as a competition between typography and xylography. LMS policy, funds, technology and missionaries were aimed at the promotion of type. So, what was the situation of block printing and how did the Chinese respond to the challenge presented by type? It seems that the Chinese did not prepare for competition at all. It was not until after the Opium War that they began to realize that a formidable rival in printing was already intruding upon their society. It is generally held that the Opium War represents a crucial turning-point in China's foreign relations and the year 1840 marks the start of China's modern history. Regarding the LMS's Chinese printing, its history was divided into two roughly equal periods by this war, both of about thirty years each. The preparation of type to compete with blocks had already begun in the pre-war period, but rivalry and its impact upon Chinese society was delayed until after the war.

A prerequisite for the printing and mass distribution of Christian books, which had long been a characteristic of Protestantism, was a reading market. This raises the question of literacy in early nineteenth-century China. Jesuit predecessors had already described the Chinese of their time as a literate people. But this was very likely misleading, because the Jesuits generally focused their work on the intellectuals. Therefore, the Protestant newcomers had to form their own judgments about the population's ability to read. Fortunately, it was found that, in spite of numerous dialects, written Chinese remained the same and a large proportion of people had reading and writing skills to some extent. Although the people the missionaries came into contact with belonged to the lower classes, they observed that books were widely read and that 'every peasant and peddler has the common depositories of knowledge within his reach.'(11) Further, it was estimated that about one in four immigrants to Southeast Asia was capable of reading and writing.(12) Though there were different opinions on this score by later American missionaries, the LMS observers' views have been echoed by modern studies on literacy and popular culture in early nineteenth-century China.(13) Evelyn S. Rawski points out that the extent of functional literacy

of contemporary Chinese was greater than had previously been supposed. Perhaps 30 to 45 per cent of males and 2 to 10 per cent of females had some ability to read and write. In urban areas like Canton, which was the only place foreigners were allowed to live in the country, the rate was even higher.(14)

Following estimates of the potential market, work to supply Christian books began, but with a series of great difficulties. The Chinese language was the first obstacle to overcome. The real problem appeared in writing, i.e. how to introduce a new religion to the Chinese in an idiomatic style and with clear meaning in their own language. The second obstacle was printing. Even though the missionaries could obtain the services of native printers at high prices, the surreptitious transactions often caused the Chinese authorities' apprehension and ended with troubles for the missionaries as well as for the printers. Granted the work had been printed, there was still a third barrier standing in the way, i.e. the problem of circulation. Christianity was prohibited, printed books could neither be handed out in the street, nor be distributed through normal bookshop outlets, despite the fact that the missionaries were very willing to pay freight charges or to present printed copies together with blocks freely to the booksellers. In effect, trying to break the deadlock of circulation was the principal reason for moving the Chinese mission to Southeast Asia. It is true that no restrictions were imposed on tract distribution in the British or Dutch colonies, but it was also very doubtful whether Christian books could have much effect upon overseas Chinese communities where average literacy was lower than in their native land. During the pre-war period, the roles of the Chinese in the LMS's printing enterprises were mainly those of block-cutters and printers, language teachers and emigrant readers. From the Chinese point of view, all of them broke the law by working for the 'barbarians' and in emigrating from their country. As a consequence of these situations, the pre-war period was a difficult time for the LMS's printing enterprises as well as for its entire mission work. Yet adverse circumstances drove

the missionaries to try various printing methods and eventually they began making Chinese type.

When the LMS's Chinese mission moved into the empire and to Hong Kong after the war, however, the climate changed. Chinese society was now accessible and mission work was conducted under the protection of a treaty. As working for foreigners was no longer illegal, though still shameful for many people, the missionaries were able to employ native scholars as language teachers to improve their linguistic knowledge. With regard to printing, the completion of Chinese type and mechanical improvements in their printing offices greatly multiplied the output of mission presses. Also, the work of distribution was no longer a problem. Accordingly, the challenge for the LMS's printing enterprises in the post-war period was not how to print but which works to print in order to attract mid nineteenth-century Chinese readers. Now the country was open to a wider world. The desire among liberal-oriented intellectuals to learn the secrets of foreigners' success attracted them to the publications of the mission presses. As readers they were very different from overseas Chinese in terms of social strata and in their level of literacy. Corresponding with this changing climate, the quick witted missionaries adopted a new strategy in attempting to sell Christianity accompanied by modern knowledge. From the 1850s, secular works began to appear in quick succession and became a welcome line more saleable than religious works. About the same time, the completion of the LMS's Chinese type formally initiated the competition between typography and xylography. When the LMS sold its last Chinese printing press in 1873, this rivalry was still in its early phase. Although the missionaries were confident of the final victory of type by this time, it took several decades for type to spread throughout the country to replace blocks.

This study is based mainly upon the LMS archives and the Chinese works printed by LMS missionaries. The difficulties have been: first, the incomplete information about printing in the archives and, secondly, the problem of identifying

the LMS publications. The first problem results from the differing character of individual missionaries. The first missionaries usually provided detailed information about their printing practices. However, most of the younger brethren, especially those who entered the field after the Opium War, appear to have been little interested in mentioning printing and its products in their reports or to have had no concern about this branch of the mission work at all. In the archives of the LMS's Chinese mission, the Batavia station was the only one to have kept consistently detailed printing records. This was because the indefatigable W. H. Medhurst, who was the only printer turned missionary of the Chinese mission, founded that station's press and carried it on until its closure. He then kept up the same practice after moving to Shanghai. After his death in 1856, however, the Shanghai mission press suffered a decline and the subject of printing practically disappeared from the station reports in its last years.

Compared with the inconsistent printing information in the archives, the task of identifying the LMS's Chinese publications is even more difficult. According to an investigation made in the course of this study, the results of which are shown in the appendix, the LMS missionaries printed at least 751 works and editions, from single sheet tracts to the 2,457-leaf Bible, during a span of sixty-three years (1810-1873). Unfortunately, many of these were lost and many of the extant editions simply bear a title and texts, without information about their authorship and publication. Rarely giving the Chinese titles of their works, the missionaries usually referred to them by simplified English translations and randomly mentioned them in their letters to London. Also, the publication year was often confused by the timing of the LMS's periodic reports. When a missionary wrote in April and October, which were the regular times for the half-yearly reports, that a number of works had been printed in the previous six months or in the preceding year, it is unclear exactly in which year they were printed. Also the missionaries often reported the completion of printing ahead of actual dates. The identification of various editions of a work, especially

reprints from the same blocks, was especially difficult. So far the most authoritative tools in the identification of these works have been Alexander Wylie's *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (1867) and *Catalogue of Publications by Protestant Missionaries in China* (1876). Being the printer at the LMS's Shanghai mission press from 1847 and the agent of the Bible Society in China from 1862, Wylie built up a very sizeable private collection of missionary publications. This formed the basis of his two bibliographies.(15) Still, there are many differences between his descriptions and the missionaries' reports in the LMS's archives, as well as quite a few works or editions that do not appear in his lists.

Besides the seven stations in this study, the LMS's Chinese mission maintained five further stations at Amoy and Canton from the 1840s and Hankou, Tientsin and Peking from the 1860s. Printing activities were confined to blocks at each place. However, these stations had nothing to do with the significance of the LMS's Chinese printing through the introduction of typography into China. In fact, they were principally dependent upon the supply of publications from the presses at Shanghai and Hong Kong. Therefore, this study does not include these stations, but shows their publications in the appendix.

Chapter One
The Road to China

Christian Missions in China before the Nineteenth Century

As a principal Western influence on China, Christianity had come to the country in different forms long before the arrival of the Protestant church in the nineteenth century. As early as 630 A.D., a Nestorian monk, 阿羅本 A-luo-pen, passed through the overland trade route and reached China's capital, Ch'ang-an. He was warmly received by the Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang dynasty (618-906), one of the most brilliant eras of the country opening to cultural influence from abroad. Churches were established and permission to translate and circulate Christian sacred books was granted. Nestorianism began to spread in the country until it was proscribed, together with other religions except Taoism, by the government in 845. The introduction of Nestorianism roughly coincided with the commencement of block printing by the Chinese sometime in the early T'aing dynasty. Probably due to the still uncommon nature of the new invention, however, there is no evidence to show T'ang Nestorians had ever employed this art as a means to disseminate their doctrines.(1) T'ang Nestorian documents in existence are either in the form of stone inscriptions, such as the famous Sianfu monument, or in manuscripts, like the rolls found in Tun-huang caves.

In the following three centuries of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), the supressed Nestorians almost disappeared in China, except those amongst North-western borderland tribes. During the same period, the art of block printing was, mainly because of the great support it received from government, sufficiently developed and realised the golden age of Chinese printing. As such the books produced in Sung times have the same importance in the history of Chinese printing as incunabula in Europe. Meanwhile, a very significant event was the invention of

Chinese moveable type by an artisan, 畢升 Pi Sheng, in the 1040s, i.e. four centuries before Gutenberg's times.(2)

After the establishment of the Yüan Dynasty (1271-1367) under the Mongols' rule, foreigners again found their place in China so as to see a revival of Nestorianism. But it could not survive after the Mongols were expelled because of its focus on the ruling class only, ignoring the masses of native Chinese.(3) The period of Yüan China also saw the coming of another form of Christianity, the Roman Catholic church represented by the Franciscan missionaries. In 1294, John of Montecorvino, the first Catholic missionary, arrived in the capital Peking. As he was welcomed by the Yüan emperors, the Catholic church could spread the Gospel without trouble. At this time, the Yüan Chinese continued the work of block printing and introduced some new techniques, and especially remarkable was the application of two-colour printing. However, in spite of the fact that printing had flourished everywhere in China in the Yüan dynasty, it seems that neither Nestorian nor Catholic missionaries ever employed this art. In a letter dated 8 January 1305, John of Montecorvino reported to Rome that he had already baptised some six thousand people, translated the New Testament and written out, either by himself or using Chinese followers, psalters, hymnaries and breviaries for service use.(4) In addition, he requested a supply of books from which copies would be transcribed. Nor did his later fellow-missionaries mention any printing work in their homeward letters. It appears that the Franciscan missionaries were used to manuscripts and preferred transcribing rather than block printing for reproducing the message of God.(5) The collapse of the Mongol empire in the late fourteenth century led to the interruption of the overland route between Europe and China by the Muslims and ended the medieval Franciscan's China mission. Neither Nestorian nor Franciscan missions appear to have left any permanent traces in Chinese society.

Out of geographic discoveries, economic and political expansion, intellectual awakening and the religious revival in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,

Roman Catholics began a missionary movement again. A new era of communication between China and the West began in 1514 when the Portuguese traders first reached Canton. A century and a half before this the Chinese people had resumed control of the country and established the Ming dynasty (1368-1643). Compared with previous dynasties, Ming China demonstrated a closed-door policy toward foreign intercourse. Nevertheless, after the pioneer Francis Xavier's unsuccesful attempt at entering China in 1552, the missionaries of the Society of Jesus were eventually able, in 1583, to get their foothold in the country from the recently gained Portuguese settlement of Macao. From their inception, the learned Jesuits appeared in their attitude to greatly respect Chinese civilization and tried at every opportunity to accommodate Christianity with Confucianism. Such a principle of cultural accommodation enabled them to attract a multitude of ordinary people as well as many scholar-officials.

A notable characteristic of the Ming dynasty was the extreme popularity of printing. Not only was it the most productive era of books, but many technical innovations, e.g. multi-colour printing, appeared in this period. Meanwhile, printing with moveable type was for the first time commercialized to some extent. As the Jesuits were endeavouring to adapt themselves to Chinese society, it would be surprising if they did not employ block printing on a large scale. Matteo Ricci, the co-founder of the China mission and the best-known Jesuit in the country, was acquainted with the art of Western printing before he left Europe.(6) After arriving in China, he soon noticed the prevalence of printing and became aware of educated Chinese being book-reading people. While sharing a love of books with native scholars, he deeply admired the simplicity of block printing and the cheapness of its products. In his journal there is a detailed account of block printing, including its history, materials, method and a comparison between Chinese and Western methods. He admitted, 'In truth, the whole method is so simple that one is tempted to try it for himself after once having watched the process.'(7) This may explain that while the Jesuits were eagerly introducing Western printing techniques to Japan, by supplying a

press and moveable types cast in Europe, they had no desire to do the same in China. In 1584, only a year after they were permitted to reside in China, the Jesuits printed their first book in Chinese, 天主實錄 *T'ien-chu shih-lu*, a catechism, at Macao. Thereafter they employed block printing in Peking and in at least five other cities long after the Manchus conquered Peking and established the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1644. A study shows that up to 437 works, including translations, were printed by the Jesuits in almost two centuries. Of these, 251 titles, or 57 %, are religious works and 186 titles, or 43 %, deal with the humanities and sciences.(8)

In respect of religious works, Ricci's 天主實義 *Tien-chu shih-i*, The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven, appeared in four editions at three cities during his life time. According to Ricci himself, some Chinese friends even sent printers to his residence to make copies of his works for distribution.(9) Probably the most popular of the Jesuits' publications was a scientific work called 幾何原本 *Chi-ho yüan-pen*, Euclid's Elements of Geometry translated by Ricci in collaboration with a well-known scholar-official, 徐光啓 Hsü Kuang-ch'i. Through this book, which was published in Peking in 1607, geometry was for the first time introduced to China and a keen interest in the subject was aroused and continued in the following centuries. While they enjoyed the undertaking of block printing, the Jesuits were confidently aware of the influence of their works on Chinese society. As Ricci wrote, 'But for them there was the greatest novelty in our tidings, telling so much of our own, and of all other nations, what with new laws (of religion), new science and new philosophy, so that much about us came to be printed in their books. ... And stories true and false concerning us flew about to such an extent that there will be great memory of us in this kingdom for centuries to come - and what is better, good memory.'(10)

The works and translations by the Jesuits represented, for the second time in Chinese history, a large-scale importation of foreign culture, the previous one being Buddhism from India. Meanwhile, the Jesuits' works in Western languages stimulated a great interest in China in Europe. Thus the period of the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries was a time at which China and the West would have developed a closer relationship mainly through the Jesuits' exploiting both Western and Chinese printing, had the serious disputes between them and other orders' missionaries not happened. The so-called 'rites controversy,' whereby the Jesuits allowed Chinese Christians to continue worshipping their ancestors with Confucian rites, caused heavy attacks from other orders. The intervention of the Pope and the Chinese emperor in this protracted dispute made things worse and finally led to the prohibition of Christianity in the country, though the ban was not rigorously enforced. The following persecutions weakened the Jesuits' place in the society and interrupted their endeavour of introducing Western knowledge. China just missed an opportunity to emulate the modern world. After the death-blow of the Pope's decree in 1773 to dissolve the Society of Jesus, its China mission was transferred to the Lazarists. Yet the successors were unable to carry on the whole enterprise, of which active printing was a major feature, as effectively as the Jesuits. Soon the Catholic church almost entirely gave up its printing activities in China. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the Catholic church began to re-employ printing to a large extent.

The LMS and the Coming of Robert Morrison

By the end of the eighteenth century, Protestant missionary work outside Europe was less active than that of the Catholic church and almost entirely sponsored by individual nation states or chartered trading companies acting as a kind of colonial service. The closing decade of the eighteenth century, however, marked a turning point in the history of Protestant foreign missions. What may be called modern missionary enterprises among non-Christians, which were mostly undertaken by English-speaking peoples, began in Britain in the 1790s.(11) There were advantageous conditions in contemporary British society giving rise to the foreign

mission movement. The increasing wealth as a benefit from the Industrial Revolution, the vast colonies and peoples recently gained throughout the world, the fascinating voyages of Captain Cook and other adventurers and, more directly, the religious revival led by the Wesleys and Whitefield - all were, psychologically or materially, significant factors contributing to the emergence of large-scale missionary enterprises. Arising from this background, the overseas missionary efforts were characterized by their direct appeal to the ranks of the Christian public for moral as well as material support, by their all inclusive aiming at all human races in the world and, lastly, by their extensive undertaking through large missionary societies. In 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society, the first organization of this type, appeared as the direct result of the enthusiastic appeal by William Carey, who subsquently became the first missionary of the society to India in the following year. His activities stirred up many Christian minds to take it as their responsibility to go abroad and spread the Gospel to the heathen. Thus the closing years of the eighteenth century saw similar institutions come into being: the LMS (1795), the Scottish Missionary Society (1796), the Glasgow Missionary Society (1796) and the Church Missionary Society (1799). These organizations, together with the Tract Society (1799) and the Bible Society (1804), were the pioneers of the world-wide Protestant missionary efforts throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In 1794, Melville Horne, a former chaplain in the African colony of Sierra Leone, published *Letters on Missions*, a pamphlet, advocating the concept of foreign missions working as the united or co-operative effort of various denominations. Inspired by Horne's appeal, some nonconformist ministers talked about doing something in overseas missionary work and drawing more public attention to such endeavours.(12) Shortly after this, Carey's first letter from India, giving an account of his initial work there, reached England. After reading this letter, David Bogue, an Independent minister, published a paper called 'To the Evangelical Dissenters who Practise Infant Baptism' in *The Evangelical Magazine* of September 1794. Bogue's

paper, dealing with why it is a Christian's responsibility for foreign evangelization and how to undertake it, initiated a series of essays. Through these discussions a consensus for the need of a large and inter-denominational society was formed and consequently led to the establishment of the LMS in the inaugural meetings held in London from 22 to 25 September 1795.

According to the 'Plan of the Society,' which was the constitution adopted on the first-day's meeting, the sole object of the LMS was 'to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations.'(13) As far as missionary work was concerned, this was, in its intention, the same as for other missionary societies. Unlike the preceding Baptist Missionary Society and most later societies, however, the LMS was special with its formation being the efforts of ministers and laymen from different denominations, including the Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Independents as well as the clergymen of the Church of England. The inter-denominational character was strengthened in the following year by what was known as 'the fundamental principle,' according to which the LMS chose and sent out its missionaries by reference to their personal qualifications and not their denominations.(14) It was because of its all-inclusive nature that the LMS received much attention and support from British society. Even later on when other denominations formed their own missionary societies so as to make the LMS mainly dependent upon the Congregationalist's support, this character was never abandoned.(15)

A prominent subject in the formation meetings was the selection of the place for the first mission. Many places were discussed, but because of the strong influence of Captain Cook's voyage and William Carey's proposal in his early book, as well as George Keate's recent popular work on the Pelew Islands, the South Seas were decided upon to be the first attempt.(16) On 10 August 1796, within a year of the establishment of the LMS, thirty missionaries sailed in the society's ship, the *Duff*, for Tahiti. In 1798, a second company of thirty missionaries were again sent out by the

same ship. However, the early history of the South Seas mission was not as successful as expected and distressed members of the LMS at home. By 1800, twenty of the first thirty missionaries proved either incapable of or unfaithful to the work, while three others were killed. More discouragingly, the voyage of the second thirty missionaries became a disaster after they were captured by a French privateer and recaptured by a Portuguese fleet in the south Atlantic. Returning to London after such difficulties, twenty-three of the company discontinued their connections with the society.(17) The Directors of the Board were for several years caught in dealing with the aftermath of the disasters before they could cast their eyes to other parts of the world.

After a seminary was formed at Gosport, Hampshire to enhance the quality of missionaries and the painful experience of the capture of the *Duff* gradually receded at the turn of the eighteenth century, the Directors confidently thought they should take bolder steps somewhere else, including the British settlements in Asia. By 1804, therefore, the LMS had further missions in South Africa, Canada and India. Eventually in 1804, almost a decade after the founding of the organization, the Directors resolved to launch a Chinese mission.

A circular, published in March 1798, on the translation of the Bible into Chinese caused repeated deliberation and consultation within and beyond the society. The author of this circular, William Moseley, who was an Independent minister in Northamptonshire, argued the necessity of producing Chinese Bibles by means of a society for this purpose. Meeting with extensive responses, of which some were very unfavourable, Moseley gathered as much information as he could and published *A Memoir on the Importance and Practicability of Translating and Printing the Holy Scriptures in the Chinese Languages* in 1800.(18) In large part the pamphlet was a historical account of the spread of Christianity in China, including the Jesuits' experience in translation and printing. What soon became the focus of attention in the memoir was the news that there was a manuscript of a Chinese translation of the

New Testament in the British Museum.(19) In addition to this discovery, Moseley gave a discussion on the possible ways to print it. He concluded that either copper-plate engraving or the use of wooden or metal type were perhaps the best ways to print the work. From the point of view of 'accuracy and elegance' and the ease of producing further editions in the future, he argued that copper-plate engraving would be preferable. The considerable expense of this method, however, would be a hindrance. Taking cost into consideration, wooden or metal type would be a good alternative. Meanwhile, Moseley did not estimate expenses for these two methods.(20)

At least four Christian groups were much attracted by Moseley's discovery and proceeded to consider printing the previously unnoticed manuscript, though it is believed that at that time no one in these bodies had the knowledge of the Chinese language. At first Moseley was encouraged by the likelihood of printing being taken on by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. While awaiting the final decision of the influential SPCK, he requested that the Society for Missions to Africa and the East give up its intentions in this matter. However, the SPCK eventually abandoned the proposal due to the considerable expense of printing as well as the expected opposition from the Catholic church to the circulation of the New Testament in China. The third group was the newly founded Bible Society, which held intensive discussions about the manuscript even in the course of its foundation in 1804, but finally declined the plan because it was estimated that the unit cost for 1,000 copies would be as high as two guineas.(21)

From the viewpoint of printing the Chinese language, the rejection of Moseley's suggestion was rather a practical decision. Compared with continental Europeans, Englishmen used to pay much less attention to China and few first-hand accounts of the subject were available in English literature. Although the last years of the eighteenth century in Britain witnessed a considerable accumulation of interest in Chinese affairs, which was mainly a result of increasing trade, contemporary

Englishmen's knowledge of China was generally muddled in some fields and scant in others.(22) The over-simplification of Moseley's account of Chinese characters, which he wrote out after spending much time in some of the best libraries and consulting several scholars in England, proved a good example. His over-optimism about producing Chinese type was also premature. The specimens of Chinese characters cut in 1789 by German type-founder, Johann G. I. Breitkopf of Leipzig, Germany, whom Moseley regarded as a celebrated example, were not only crude and foreign, but even hopeless.(23) On the other hand, by the end of the eighteenth century, Britain's type-founders had no experience in cutting Chinese type at all. The specimens of sample radicals of Chinese characters that appeared in Edmund Fry's *Pantographia* (1799) were engraved on copper plate and copied from the *Encyclopedie Françoise*.(24) Though Moseley regarded these as the proof of British type-founders' ability in printing the Chinese language, it is inaccurate to equate the radicals of ideographic Chinese with the characters, which are not mechanically composed of the former without variations in shapes as well as sizes. In respect of their foreign appearance, Fry's specimens were much the same as Breitkopf's.

In the course of the above events, the Directors of the LMS remained attentive to developments. They were acquainted with Moseley and hoped his proposal could be brought to effect. Yet they had something more in their mind. As far as missionary work was their major concern, it was the Directors' great expectation to send out a Chinese mission, for which the translation of the Bible or other Christian works could be a part of its labours. In a letter dated 2 December 1800 and written after reading the memoir, David Bogue, one of the Directors, asked Moseley to find one or two persons for their society with a view to realising this purpose.(25) Then, in 1802, Bogue and some other Directors tried, but in vain, to urge John Campbell, an Independent minister in London and a Director of the LMS, to become their first missionary to China.(26) Shortly after Moseley was disappointed by the Bible Society, he turned to the LMS and wisely combined his

plan with the Directors' expectation. Subsquently, the following resolution appeared in the minutes of the meeting of the Board, held on 30 July 1804:

> 'Resolved that it appears to the Directors, that the translation of the Scriptures into the Chinese language is an object of the highest importance to the interest of Christianity and that the most suitable and effectual means of attaining that object will be by the residence of two missionaries in China, in the Prince of Wales' Island, or in Macao.'(27)

At the same time, the Directors requested Bogue, who was in charge of the society's missionary seminary, to direct his latest student Robert Morrison and any other students toward the same object. Moreover, an *ad hoc* committee of seven Directors was formed to deal with the business. Thus, after a six year campaign, Moseley's appeal was at last taken up by the LMS as part of a much greater but formidable task, as later became clear.

Now the Chinese mission was on the agenda. As the Directors' thoughts and actions were the society's policy and the missionaries' guidelines in the field, one may ask what were the Directors' perspectives for the intended Chinese mission and what strategies they would employ to carry out their objectives. These may be understood by examining three interrelated questions and the events that took place during the preparatory period of two and half years between the resolution being passed and the departure of the first missionary to China in early 1807. To be sure, though the Directors were doubtless the principal factor in shaping this new venture, they were, willingly or unwillingly, influenced by other institutions and individuals.

The first question relates to the function of the Chinese mission. For any mission, teaching and preaching the Gospel was paramount prior to any other activities. To the newly projected mission, however, it was not the case. In their resolution the Directors had proposed a mission with the immediate object of Bible translation. It meant that the study of the Chinese language by missionaries was to be the sole, or at least the most important, work that they should be concerned with. With the prospect of introducing the Christian message to a highly civilized and, at

the same time, the most populated country, the Directors preferred such an unusual approach. Before Robert Morrison, the first missionary to China, left for his destination, the treasurer and the secretary of the LMS, on behalf of the Directors, gave him a letter of general instruction. In it Morrison was requested to acquire knowledge of the language, to form a Chinese dictionary and to translate the Scriptures. Meanwhile, the Directors hoped Morrison might have the opportunity to play a role as mathematician or English teacher among the Chinese. Nothing about preaching or related activities was mentioned.(28)

So long as no Protestant predecessors had taken the same course, this seemed a straight-forward road. Long before Morrison set forth on his voyage, however, the Directors had found an unexpected rival ahead in India. In a homeward letter dated April 1804, the Baptist mission at Serampore, led by William Carey, reported the state of their translations of the Bible into various languages, including Chinese.(29) The Chinese part was undertaken by Johannes Lassar, an Armenian Christian born at Macao who had knowledge of the Chinese language, with the assistance of a Chinese teacher. The news compelled the Directors of the LMS, who had made their decision about the Chinese mission before Carey and his fellow-missionaries' statement reached London, to reconsider the whole situation. They determined to carry on the plan and justified their decision by criticising Lassar's qualification for translating the Bible, for the latter was neither a clergyman nor acquainted with Hebrew, Greek or Latin. It was also publicly questioned as to whether the Baptist missionaries were competent to superintend the work because of their knowing no Chinese. A competition, to produce a Chinese Bible, between these two societies was consequently opened up. For nearly two decades, until two versions of a Chinese Bible were respectively printed in Serampore (1822) and Malacca (1823), tensions continued to exist between the missionaries of both sides.(30)

The second question was where to set the new mission and how to get there. As it was called the Chinese mission, it seemed beyond question that it should be

planted in that country. Partly because of the situation in China and partly due to Anglo-Chinese relations, however, the Directors had to think about other choices. The fact was that the missionaries were unwelcome to both the Chinese and British authorities, though for different reasons. On the Chinese side, after the controversy of rites, mentioned before, K'ang-hsi the Chinese emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty changed his formerly favourable attitude toward Christianity, which led to a series of persecutions in the later part of his reign (1661-1722). After that the Catholic missionaries suffered even greater difficulties during the period of the two succeeding emperors, Yüng-cheng (1723-1736) and Ch'ien-lung (1736-1796). An edict in 1784 resulted in the arrest of sixteen missionaries, of these six died in custody and others were deported.(31) This was followed by many persecutions that happened in various parts of the country. At the turn of the eighteenth century the Christian missionary enterprise in China was virtually on the way to extinction. If the Catholic missions, which had a long history in the country and even had some prosperous times, could not help suffering these diffculties, there was no reason for the incoming Prostestant mission to expect a better reception.

In addition to religious problems, the relationship between China and Britain made the legal residence of missionaries there unlikely. In her thousand years of history, China had developed a sinocentric system of the universal concepts. Chinese foreign relations were a result of these concepts and based on the tributary system in practice, i.e. other countries presented their tributes and China returned them interests, mostly trade profits. Thus foreign trade was the substantial and major part of Chinese foreign relations. Moreover, it was regarded as a privilege rather than a right of foreigners and they were to be subject to strict regulations. From 1759 trade with those from the sea route was, for the sake of control, limited to the southern port Canton. All transactions, as well as in businesses other than commerce, were through licensed Chinese monopolists, known collectively as the 'Cohong.' The Chinese authorities always refused requests of direct contact from foreigners, while the people

were prohibited communication with foreigners. Canton trade showed increasing difficulties and conflicts when China encountered modern European countries, especially Britain, the principal country in Chinese foreign relations in the eighteenth century. However, despite the continuning clashes between China and other countries, mostly Britain, this system survived into the nineteenth century.(32)

On the British side, the East India Company possessed a monopoly in trading with China from the seventeenth century and hence was the agent of Britain in China. While trying to improve the situation from time to time, for example, with the efforts of the well-known embassy of Lord Macartney in 1793, the Company complied as much as possible with the conditions imposed upon it for the sake of profits. In short, the Company would not do anything that might have caused the Chinese authorities' apprehensions so as to harm its commercial interests. To the Company, the nonconformist missionaries were dangerous potential trouble-makers. The Company had previously shown its unfavourable attitude toward missionaries when it refused to give Carey and his later co-workers a passage to India or admit their legal residence there. Because of this, the Baptist missionaries sailed in foreign ships and set their mission at Serampore, a tiny Danish settlement in the vicinity of Calcutta.(33) When Morrison set out for China in 1807, the Directors did consider obtaining permission for him from the Company but eventually he had to go by way of America in foreign ships. It was not until 1813 that the Company's charter was revised to give nonconformist missionaries rights to reside in India.

Since China seemed inaccessible, Penang, or the Prince of Wales Island, was thought by the Directors to be the substitute seat for the Chinese mission. The island lies off the north-west coast of the Malay peninsula and is more than 1,500 miles from China. Even so, Penang had its advantages in the Directors' minds. The island had been a British colony since 1786 and was regarded, before the rise of Singapore in the 1820s, as being the centre of Britain's expansion in eastern Asia. Among its more than 10,000 population, nearly one fourth were Chinese immigrants, so providing a

desirable environment for the study of the Chinese language, as well as preaching or other mission work. Moreover, the Directors anticipated an additional gain, 'by means of a small printing press,' spreading the Gospel to local Malay residents, who were the majority of the population.(34)

Penang was held to be a desirable place for the Chinese mission during most of the preparatory period. Nonetheless, should the Directors think it right to criticize the Baptist mission's undertaking the Bible translation far outside China, how could they defend their similar practices at Penang? In September 1806, only four months before Morrison's departure, the Directors changed their minds after consulting Captain Henry Wilson. The captain had gone to China many times during the years he worked for the East India Company. The historical voyage of the first mission to Tahiti by the *Duff* under his command in 1796 was his first connection with the LMS. His involvement in the affairs of the Chinese mission began by bringing a Chinese from Canton to London to benefit Morrison's language study, though unintentionally, which will be discussed later. Now the captain again suggested that Canton should be the appropriate place and recommended some possible practical measures to realize this end. These included the missionary being in orders, that he should act as the chaplain to the Factory of the East India Company in Canton and that he might stay at Malacca for a time for language study before proceeding to his destination. Although the Directors did not accept all his proposals, Canton was finally determined to be the right place.(35)

The third question concerned the missionaries themselves. In the resolution of 1804, the Directors thought of sending two missionaries to form the Chinese mission. When they formally announced the project in the annual report for 1805, the Directors increased the numbers to at least three or four missionaries, not only because of the importance of the mission, but also considering the long time required to study and perfect knowledge of the Chinese language as well as the uncertainty of human life. In the meantime, the Directors set two requirements for the candidates:

first, holding the views of the Christian doctrines which were generally accepted as derived from the Word of God; and secondly, possessing adequate Chinese language prior to their setting off. The Directors even asserted that, 'without the combination of these qualifications no translation of the Scriptures can prove satisfactory to the religious public.'(36)

Just two months before the Directors came to the decision to establish the Chinese mission in 1804, they had accepted Morrison as a candidate for missionary work and sent him to their seminary at Gosport, Hampshire, for further training. It seemed natural that Morrison was designated to take up the new task. Then in late 1805, the Directors requested a new Scottish student William Brown to be in Morrison's company. Meanwhile, as these two young men were in their early twenties, the Directors wrote to Dr. Vander Kemp, a venerable medical missionary who had been in South Africa since 1799, inquiring whether he would like to change his field to superintend the Chinese mission. Unfortunately, Brown found after several months that he could not agree with Morrison in many respects and withdrew from the mission in preparation.(37) Vander Kemp, too, declined the Directors' suggestion and preferred to continue his work in Africa.(38) Thus Morrison remained the sole person for the greatly anticipated Chinese mission.

Morrison was born in a peasant family at Morpeth, Northumberland, in 1782.(plate 1-1) Several years later, his family moved to Newcastle and his father became a maker of boot-trees. While he was apprenticed to his father, young Morrison attended the Presbyterian Church and developed a desire to be a minister. At the age of twenty, in 1802, he was accepted by the Hoxton Academy, an educational institute for Congregational ministers in a suburb of London. After more than a year studying at Hoxton, he offered himself to the LMS with a first thought to join existing missions in Africa. The juncture of his entering into the evangelical field, however, was destined to give Morrison an opportunity to open up a new chapter in the history of Protestant missionary enterprises. He then spent two and half



ROBERT MORRISON, D.D.

PRESIDENT OF

THE ANGLOCHINESE COLLEGE &c.&c.

plate 1-1. Robert Morrison. 1782-1834. (*The Evangelical Magazine*, January 1827, frontispiece.)

years preparing himself in many subjects for future challenges. The first phase of missionary training at Gosport consisted mainly of religious courses and philosophy for about a year. Then he came to London attending instruction in mathematics, physics, medicine and astronomy. Moreover, in order to meet the language provision in the qualifications drawn up by the Directors, Morrison began his language course under the tutelage of a native Chinese in the middle of 1805.

The Chinese, Yong Sam-tak, was brought to England from Canton to study English by Captain Wilson at the turn of 1804 and lodged in a school for African youth at Clapham, at the expense of the Sierra Leone Company. The arrival of Sam-tak provided a chance for Morrison's learning Chinese before his depature. Through a special arrangement between the LMS and the Sierra Leone Company, both Morrison and Sam-tak moved to London and stayed together for more than a year, in which period he made considerable progress in Chinese. In addition to the study of spoken and written Chinese, Morrison transcribed the New Testament from the Chinese manuscript in the British Museum and a manuscript Latin and Chinese dictionary borrowed from the Royal Society. These works were brought to China and were of great help for his translations. The remarkable effect of Morrison's language study in London enabled him to begin compiling a grammar and a dictionary shortly after his arrival in China.(39)

As the Chinese mission was to translate the Bible into Chinese and to circulate it among the Chinese, had the Directors thought about the question of printing it or had Morrison learnt anything about this art during the preparatory period? During the period in which Penang was the first choice for the Chinese mission, John Campbell, the Director who had declined to be the first missionary to the Chinese, wrote two letters to William Scott. The latter was a British merchant established at Penang and Campbell's purpose was to make inquiries about China in general and the local Chinese community in particular. Among his questions was one about Chinese printing. Scott explained that block printing was the only method used

in China and that might be undertaken at Penang. He added that 'printing in that way must of course be an immense expense' and that, by a proper study of Chinese characters, 'a set of types may be contrived sufficient for any purpose.'(40) Scott's letter was discussed at a Board meeting, but it was too early for the Directors to take any steps in this direction. Within the Board there was a printing committee consisting of two or three Directors, it dealt with a very limited range of matters, such as the printing of annual reports or French Bibles for circulation among refugees and prisoners captured during the Napoleonic War. The printing affairs of various outstations were normally put forward to the Board meeting for discussion. An interesting entry relating to this subject appeared in the Board Minutes of 11 November 1805. It says that, upon Bogue's recommendation, a small printing press with necessary apparatus was to be procured for the missionary seminary at Gosport, for the students to learn the art of printing.(41) However, by this time Morrison had left Gosport for London for his second phase of training. Most likely when Morrison set foot on Chinese soil, he had no or, at best, little knowledge about Western or Chinese printing.

Chapter Two
Morrison at Canton and Macao, 1807-1834

On 4 September 1807, Morrison arrived at Macao in the American ship the *Trident*. Three days later, he arrived at his destination Canton. From then on until his death in 1834, Canton and Macao were the only two places in which Morrison ever resided in China, except while attending the embassy of Lord Amherst to Peking in the latter part of 1816. It was at these two cities that, after assiduously studying the Chinese language, he accomplished the translation of the Bible, the compilation of *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, as well as many other works, besides working for the East India Company as a translator and interpreter. Here he suffered, mainly due to his extreme caution, excessive anxiety about unfriendly Portuguese opposition and fear of persecution from the Chinese throughout his twenty-seven year residence, but especially felt estranged from his parent English society in his later years. It was under these circumstances that he printed with wooden blocks, moveable type and lithographic methods, and tried, toward the end of his life, to produce cast Chinese type. His work fully illustrates the very early experience of Western printing in China.

First Days in China

Canton, the capital of the province of Kuangtung and the largest city in southern China, lies on the north bank of the Pearl River and is about one hundred miles from the South China Sea. From the fourth century on, the city continued to be an important port of foreign trade. It gained a unique position in China's communication with other countries after an edict of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1757 designated Canton the only port open to foreign ships. In order to prevent any future conflicts or collusion between local people and foreigners, the provincial authorities subsequently pronounced and enforced in 1759 strict regulations of management,

which then underwent many additions and revisions in the following eighty years until the old order was broken up by the Opium War in the early 1840s.

Within a few years of the new measure, Britain rose to be the leading nation in China's foreign trade as most ships coming to Canton flew her flag. Upon their arrival, foreign traders as well as the crews of their ships were detained by the Cohong merchants, Chinese monopolists who conducted transactions and all related affairs, and were restricted to an area approximately about 1,000 feet by 800 feet on the banks of the river outside the city wall exclusively for the purpose. On the banks stood thirteen 'factories', each consisting of buildings comprising office, residence and warehouse, owned by the Cohong merchants and leased to foreign companies. Foreigners were not allowed to communicate with Chinese officials except through the channel of these monopolists. Among other restrictions, foreigners could not employ maids and not more than eight Chinese male servants in each factory; neither foreign women nor firearms could be brought into the factories; foreigners might visit, under surveillance, a designated garden and a temple, in groups of ten or less, three times a month and they were prohibited from buying Chinese books or learning the Chinese language. Moreover, foreigners could not remain in Canton after each trading season, which was from about September to February. They were obliged to return home or at least go to Macao.(1)

Macao is a small peninsula of little more than two square miles and situated at the mouth of the Pearl River southeast of Canton. After it became a Portuguese settlement in the middle of the sixteenth century, Macao became commercially an entrepôt of Portuguese trade in East Asia and, in religious terms, the stepping stone into China for the Catholic missionaries. The settlement was under the control of a Governor appointed by the Portuguese Governor-General at Goa, India, and a senate elected by local Portuguese residents. Another influential figure in local affairs was the bishop, of whom it is said that he had opposed and successfully stopped an attempt to make Macao the only port for China's foreign trade in 1733.(2) From the

outset the Chinese government had not abandoned its sovereignty over Macao but in fact exerted from time to time its supreme power, especially in the respect of justice. For affairs that involved foreigners only, however, the local Portuguese government was never interfered with. Among these was the decision to permit other foreigners to stay at Macao, a matter unlikely before 1760 due to the jealousy of commercial rivalry as well as religious prejudice. Afterwards various national chartered companies successively obtained permission of residence for their staff, but persons who had no connections with any of these companies continued to be unwelcome at Macao. Additionally, in order to protect its exclusive advantages in trading with China, the British East India Company requested the Portuguese not to issue permission for residence to any individual Englishman.(3)

For foreigners, these were the circumstances in Canton and Macao in the early nineteenth century. Morrison learnt about the situation upon his arrival at Macao when he called on Sir George Staunton, a supercargo of the East India Company who was the only contemporary Englishman known to be familiar with the Chinese language, and Joseph Chalmers, probably a British private merchant in China.(4) Morrison was told about the difficulty of learning the language as the penalty of teaching it to foreigners was death. He was further reminded that the question of his intended residence was wholly in the hands of the Chinese authorities, the Company and the Portuguese, and since he was not a businessman related to any company, it was almost certainly out of the question. With great anxiety concerning this information, Morrison went on to Canton to look for accommodation. Because of a letter of introduction from the Secretary of State of the American government, he obtained great help from its consul and American merchants at Canton, he lived with them at their factory and for months he was known as the 'American' missionary.(5)

The strangeness of the new environment, the restrictions on daily life imposed by the Chinese authorities, the uncertainty of future residence, as well as the impossibility of open religious activities, all created immense stress for young

Morrison. Anxieties interwoven with hopes and distress filled his letters and journals of the early period in China. Despite things appearing difficult, they were not as hopeless as he often thought. Under two regular native tutors and by studying 'from morning to night,' he made great progress so that within nine months he could write that 'In the common affairs of life I can make myself understood both in the provincial dialect & the Mandarin tongue.'(6) Meanwhile, he had prepared a grammar to be ready for the press in a year and had started to compile a dictionary. Probably because of his extreme care he made all this progress without creating any disturbance with the Chinese officials, who used to go into the factories freely but appeared unaware of, or at least ignored, his existence and what he was doing. It is true that, shortly before his arrival, there were persecutions of Catholic missionaries under the edict of the Emperor Chia-ch'ing prohibiting the spread of Christianity, so local officials would have found Morrison if they had fulfilled their duties.(7) Yet it might also be true that they could hardly imagine a quiet Protestant missionary, whose religion represented something so far unknown to them, to be among greedy traders and boorish sailors. Besides, Yong Sam-tak, who returned to Canton from London shortly after Morrison's arrival, gave him great and timely help to find tutors and domestics, to acquire books and, more extraordinarily, to plead with a Cohong merchant to secure him a longer stay, which enabled Morrison to call off a planned move to Penang.(8)

From Morrison's viewpoint, he was rather more concerned about the attitude of the Company's representative, as everyone knew that his continuing to remain would be against the Company's orders. John Roberts, the President of the Select Committee of the Company at Canton, decided to deal with this unprecedented case with an unusually flexible measure. Officially he could not permit Morrison to remain, but was happy that he could do nothing because Morrison was technically there as an American. Privately he and other members of the Company showed their solicitude for the young missionary, especially after Morrison proved his diligence

and demonstrated progress in studying Chinese. For his health, Morrison was invited to go to Macao to spend his first summer in China, at the Company's expense and hence under its protection. For Morrison this was not only irresistible hospitality, but a good opportunity to test the Portuguese temper. Due to the Company's influential position at Macao, resulting from the considerable sum of yearly house rent and other consumptions contributing to the local economy, Morrison had a peaceful summer.(9)

A difficult problem that often distressed the Company was translation and interpretation in written communication with Chinese officials, who only accepted Chinese copy translated from the English original by native Chinese linguists. Either style or meaning was changed to cater for the Chinese authorities, especially in the absence of George Staunton, who took two years leave and returned to England in 1808.(10) Desiring to prevent this from happening, Roberts offered the job of Chinese translator to Morrison on 20 February 1809, the same day on which he got married. While knowing well that the job would blur his ecclesiastical status as well as affect, more or less, his studies and future missionary work, Morrison considered that the offer would definitely make certain his future residence and relieve him of the anxiety of costly living expenses. As the latter two matters appeared more imperative to him, Morrison determined to accept the work and wrote to the Directors for their approbation.(11)

Thus, within a year and a half of his coming, Morrison formally joined the life of the English Factory at Canton, although he had thought, on his first day in the city, 'it would be impossible for me to dwell amidst the princely grandeur of the English who reside here.'(12) His work, to which was added daily teaching of Chinese to other staff from the summer of 1810, did so satisfy the members of the Select Committee that they wrote from time to time in the factory's diaries or in their reports to the Court about his 'essential services.'(13) In contrast, for Morrison himself, the job though necessary, was by no means pleasant. Now he had to spend more than one third of his working day in translating mercantile or political papers,

which were 'not congenial to my feelings or my character,' or in interpreting between his superior and the Chinese officials or merchants on occasions which were usually full of distasteful arguments.(14) He was even apprehensive about the danger that the job might bring about, so five years later, in 1814, he felt it was necessary to write to the Select Committee expressing the view that the duties of Chinese translator 'are attended with considerable personal hazard.'(15)

The First Chinese Dictionary in English

According to the LMS Directors' 'Letter of General Instructions' to Morrison, he was expected to undertake two tasks after acquiring the language: the compiling of a comprehensive dictionary and the translation of the Bible. About six months after his arrival, he felt that it was time to set about this work. It was determined that the dictionary should take priority over the Bible, because he hoped 'to smooth the rugged road for others' in the language, besides fulfilling his own assignment.(16) The question was how could the dictionary be useful if it remained in manuscript. He had had the experience of tediously transcribing the Chinese text of the New Testament in the British Museum. Now a Latin-Chinese dictionary, consisting of 1,100 pages, lent to him by a member of staff of the Company, took more than two months to have its transcription completed by his native assistant at an expense of $200.(17) It appears natural for Morrison to have thought about printing his dictionary, although the project was still in the air. Then the question of expense, which was a haunting problem always hovering over Morrison till his entering the employ of the Company, came up against this notion. While his living expenses were two and a half times greater than the estimate, it seemed impractical to discuss the inevitably considerable cost of printing with the Directors. He decided to try his luck at the grand Company, even at the time that his own residence was still uncertain.

In March 1808, before the staff of the Company left Canton for Macao at the end of the trading season, the first that Morrison had experienced, he made a roundabout oral proposal to the Company's surgeon and his friend, Alexander Pearson, to furnish in two or three years a dictionary of the Chinese language in two parts: the first English into Chinese; the second Chinese into English. Two months later, while Morrison remained alone in the factory at Canton carrying on his daily study and starting the compilation of his dictionary with two native tutors, a very encouraging letter from Pearson arrived telling him that Roberts had expressed 'his readiness to assist or bear the expense of the proposed work, on the part of the Honourable Company,' even though there was an insuperable difficulty in acknowledging him officially.(18)

Morrison carried on compiling his work even when multiple tasks added to his agenda one after another in the ensuing years: he got married, he worked for the Company, he taught his colleagues the Chinese language, he set out to translate the Bible, he wrote a grammar and a dialogue, and all this besides his daily language study. Meanwhile, the dictionary itself evolved to include a third part. It was obvious that the work could not be completed in the time already fixed. At the same time, after Roberts left his position at the end of 1810 and a series of personnel changes of the Select Committee in the following year, a formal application for printing the work became necessary. In November 1812, therefore, Morrison wrote a letter to John F. Elphinstone, the new President. Morrison described the work. It would consist of three parts, i.e., first, Chinese into English, arranged alphabetically; second, Chinese into English, arranged according to radicals and containing about 40,000 words; third, English into Chinese.(19) He also requested a compositor, a pressman, a press, type and paper to be sent from England for printing the work. The letter was forwarded to the Court at London with Elphinstone's strong and favourable opinions:

> 'The importance of publishing a Chinese dictionary in some European language has been so long confessed and its appearance so generally looked for with impatience, not only by those immediately connected

> with the trade to China, but by the most eminent authorities in foreign nations, that we consider it will reflect no inconsiderable lustre on the exertions of the East India Company to promote the cultivation of knowledge wherever their influence extends. ...
> 'It is likely in an eminent degree to advance the English cause in China by facilitating or rather removing the difficulties that have hitherto opposed the acquisition of the Chinese language, a general knowledge of the Chinese amongst the Company's representatives will probably lead to a more intimate acquaintance with the officers of government, and with natives of respectability; and which frequent intercourse will gradually remove the ridiculous prejudices at present entertained against foreigners, it may be fairly expected that our reception in China will be thought deserving of more respect and attention, as our character becomes better known.'(20)

Reasoning and tactful expression by Elphinstone, who was the near-relative of William F. Elphinstone, a Director at the Court, took effect.(21) In 1814, the Court resolved to take up the proposal by sending out a printer, Peter Perring Thoms, a press, a set of type, but all without paper because it was believed China produced better paper. In the meantime, as the Court was always alert to any potential risks harmful to the Company's commercial advantages, two conditions were imposed to prevent offence to the Chinese government, that the press should be operated at Macao only and that it must not be employed in printing religious works.(22)

Thoms arrived at Macao with the printing press in September 1814. At that time a triangular international dispute, in which a British naval vessel, the *Doris*, seized an American ship, the *Hunter*, in China's waters, an episode of the Anglo-American war, led to the stoppage of the usual trading season. As Morrison reported on 7 December of the same year, the Company's staff were occupied by the incident and negotiations with the Chinese authorities and therefore the printer had not yet begun work on his dictionary.(23) It appears that Morrison had to wait until the following year to see the full operation of the printing press.

Printing Christian Works

In spite of the fact that Morrison depended upon the Company for his residence and subsistence in China and carried on the work on his dictionary under its

auspices, he never forgot his ecclesiastical work, i.e. the translation of the Bible, but preferred to wait until he had advanced his knowledge of Chinese. Even so, too impatient to wait as he usually was, great attention was given to printing at a time when his remaining in China was still unclear as well as there being nothing yet ready for the press. From 25 April 1808 onward, he made inquiries about printing with wooden blocks, the major method of printing in China, and wrote successively on the topic in his homeward letters to assure the Directors of the practicability of printing a part of the New Testament in Chinese at no great expense. At the same time, he expressed a wish to have special authority from the Directors for this experiment particularly as, 'The danger of incurring still greater expense prevents any steps being taken at present towards printing. Indeed, nothing can be done till I be instructed to what expense I may go.'(24) Again, the question of expense played a key role in the printing of religious books, something for which he could not expect any support outside the Christian communities.

In 1809, some parts of the New Testament that he brought from England were transcribed by a native assistant, Low-hëen, into the form of Chinese books. While anxiously waiting the Directors' answer from London, which usually took more than a year in the early nineteenth century, Morrison even proceeded to learn the art of Chinese block printing by procuring a set of graving tools and commencing to cut. The undertaking was soon abandoned when it was found that 'the book of the Acts alone would have required a good workman about two hundred days to complete it, without attending to any thing else; and no foreigner, who had the art to learn, could have accomplished it in less than two years, admitting that his every waking hour had been devoted to the work.'(25) Then Morrison inquired of four Chinese printers about the costs and was informed that the price of cutting blocks differed from 11 to 46.75 dollars per 10,000 characters, according to the quality of workmanship.(26) As the reply to his request for authorization was taking so long to come, he expressed explicitly for the first time to 'act in a small degree from the discretionary power,' that

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the Directors had stated in their 'Letter of General Instructions,' to have a trial. Consequently, in September 1810, a printer nearby in Macao with the best quality of work, and thereby the most expensive price, was engaged to produce 1,000 copies of 耶穌救世使徒行傳眞本 *Yeh-su chiu-shih shih-t'u hsing-chuan chen pen*, The Acts of the Apostles, at an expense of $446, including the cutting of about 30,000 characters, the wood for cutting, paper, press work and binding. The blocks belonged to Morrison.(27)

On 5 January 1811, which was Morrison's twenty-ninth birthday, ten copies of his first fruit in printing the Scriptures in Chinese came out of the printer's and was brought to him.(28) This was undoubtedly a gratifying achievement for him as well as for the Directors, to whom three of the first ten copies were immediately sent. Nevertheless, such a work was in fact against Chinese law. In 1805, 204 block-books written by the Catholic missionaries had been confiscated and burnt in Peking, Chia-ch'ing the Emperor read seven of them in order to expose their heretical nature in an edict, in which the prohibition of the preaching of Christianity was reiterated.(29) The printer must have known the law, so he pasted on the cover a camouflage label without Morrison's knowledge. Perhaps Morrison knew it even better, so that he tolerated the much higher charge of his 'being a foreigner and the hazard of the undertaking.'(30) He determined to go on and pledged to the Directors that they would see more on the subject in his following letters. This was a very unusual decision for Morrison, as he was always cautious about his religious activities in order not to annoy the Chinese authorities. In printing Christian works, however, there seemed to be a different Morrison. His resolution to act on his own before any instructions from London, boldness in the aspect of expenses despite the difficulties and the open violation of Chinese law were obvious signs of his dauntless determination. The strong drive appears to come from a reaction to the forced helplessness of his religious role, which although not urgent was definitely the fundamental one in his mind. Once the printing of the Bible proved to be practical

and books were thought to be silent but powerful preachers, encouragement not only relieved him from long-term anxieties to a certain degree but in the meantime brought extraordinary satisfaction to him, as can be seen from the subject of printing subsequently permeating his letters to the Directors.

The second work printed was 聖路加氏傳福音書 *Sheng-lu-chia-shih ch'uan fu-yin shu*, St. Luke's Gospel, in early February 1812, which was in an edition of 100 copies only. In the case of the Acts, the Chinese text was not Morrison's translation but rather a reproduction from the manuscript in the British Museum, for he wrote the preface only and corrected it against the Greek version before putting it to the press. The St. Luke's Gospel, however, was declared his translation. Almost concurrently printed was 1,000 copies of 神道論贖救世總說眞本 *Shen-tao lun-shu chiu-shih tsung-shuo chen-pen*, A Tract on the Redemption of the World, 6 leaves each. It was followed by an edition of 100 copies of 問答淺註耶穌教法 *Wen-ta ch'ien-chu yeh-su-chiao fa*, A Catechism, 30 leaves each, printed by the end of 1812.(plate 2-1) The latter two works were not translations but written according to the Directors' request. Aiming at a complete version of the Chinese Scriptures, he soon returned to the Bible and printed a very small edition of 50 copies of 厄拉氐亞與者米士及彼多羅之書 *O-la-ti-ya yü che-mi-shih chi pi-tuo-luo chih shu*, Galatians, St. James' Epistle and St. Peter's Epistles, in May 1813.

So far there had been five works printed within two and a half years. However, the quantities of these editions were small, except the first and rather experimental Acts. The reasons were due to, first, the problem of expenses and, secondly, the difficulty of distribution. The expense of the Acts was as much as over half of his missionary's annual salary and between one fourth and one fifth of his translator's income at the Company.(31) Besides, as the Directors' authorization was carefully prefixed with a condition that 'presuming that a publication of this nature and extent would not be very extensive,' it was not a blank cheque at all.(32) As for circulation, which was a problem that occurred to Morrison as soon as the first work

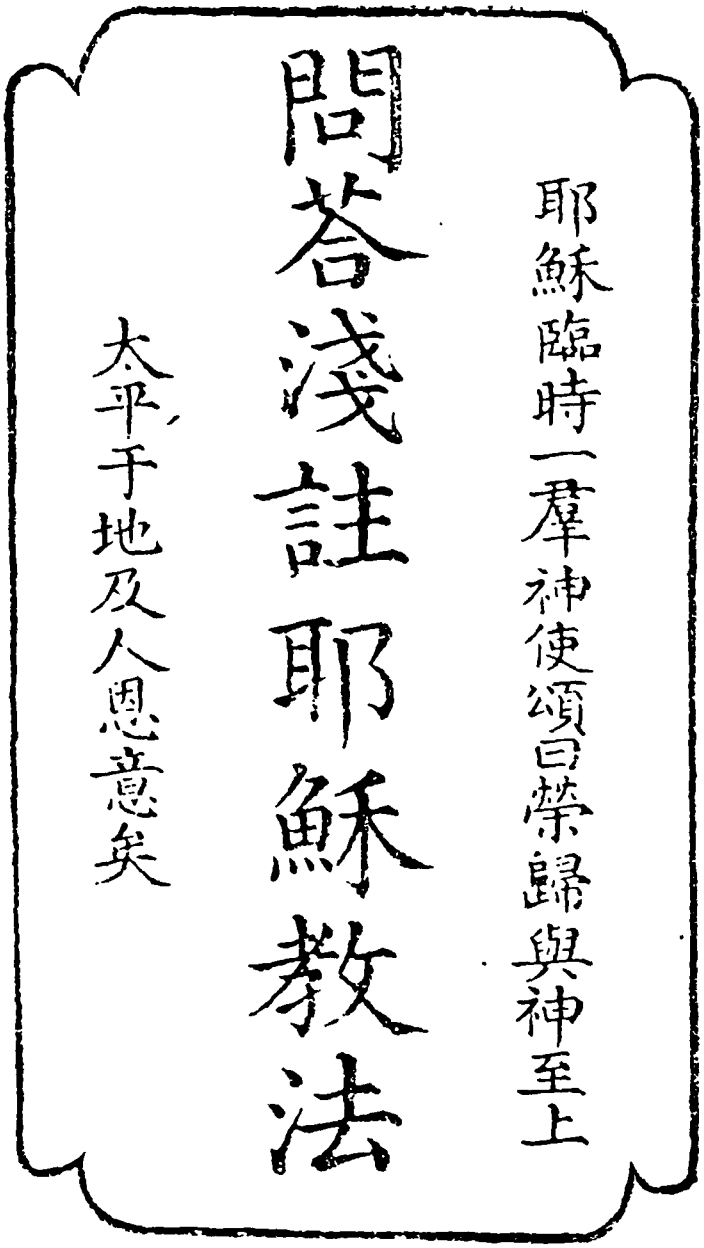


plate 2-1. The title page of 問答淺註耶穌教法 *Wen-ta ch'ien-chu yeh-su-chiao fa*, A Catechism. (British Library Collection)

was struck off, he could not but admit that it was a much less encouraging topic than production, since for the latter he needed only to deal with one person. Being unable to distribute in public books printed against Chinese law, he realized that, 'The only method that now presents itself is putting them into the hands of individuals privately.'(33) The situation was that, besides his assistants and their families and several printer's apprentices, the largest readership of the first Protestant Christian books in Chinese was unexpectedly the Catholic converts at Canton and Macao, who numbered about three thousand people at that time. This was very likely due to one of his language tutors being a Catholic Christian. Morrison could not be satisfied with the result of piecemeal dispersion and he tried through local booksellers, under the conditions that he gave them free and paid the freight from Canton to other places. Even so, there was no way to trace the fate of those books.(34)

Fortunately, events around 1813 alleviated these two problems in some ways. First, there were the grants from the Bible Society. After receiving one of the three copies of the Acts sent by Morrison to the LMS and presented by the latter, the Committee of the Bible Society resolved to provide £500 to him as the beginning of its assistance toward the printing of the Scriptures in Chinese. The news reached Canton by the end of 1812. Again, upon receiving St. Luke's Gospel in the following year, the Bible Society provided a second grant of the same amount. Meanwhile, Morrison received a donation of $1,000 (*c.* £250) bequeathed by Roberts, the former President of the Company at Canton who died at Macao in September 1813. It was in the same month that Morrison finished the translation of the New Testament, the very work to utilize the fund received.(35) Nonetheless, a problem remained if no channel of distribution could be found. The coming of William Milne, the second member of the Chinese mission, in July 1813, who was unable to get permission to remain at Macao and Canton, helped to open up a second market for their printing products - Chinese settlements in Southeast Asia.

William Milne was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, in 1785. After several years apprenticed to a carpenter, he was received into the LMS in 1809 and sent to the missionary seminary at Gosport. When in 1811 the Directors resolved to strengthen the Chinese mission, Milne was chosen to become Morrison's colleague and set off on his voyage in August 1812. With respect to printing, Milne must have worked at the small press at the seminary because he did request, but in vain, that the Directors supply him with an English press before coming out.(36) As soon as Milne and his wife came ashore at Macao and met Morrison on 4 July 1813, the Catholic priests were alarmed by the newcomer. Only five days after his arrival, Milne was ordered by the Portuguese Governor to leave and went to Canton incognito. The President of the Company's Select Committee also declined to lend a hand to help him to remain at Canton or Macao. Under these circumstances Malacca or Java, both of which being British colonies, became Milne's alternative in Morrison's mind, although Milne himself was reluctant to leave China. By the end of 1813, the brethren reached a compromise and determined that Milne should make a missionary tour to Southeast Asia with two principal objects: first, to distribute the New Testament among the Chinese there; and, second, to obtain a residence for the Chinese mission.(37)

Everything seemed now ready, as the translation was completed, the fund in hand, the targeted readers fixed and the labour available. The only thing to do was to print the books. The brethren gave the greatest order so far at an expense of £800, including 2,000 copies of 耶穌基利士督我主救者新遺詔書*Yeh-su chi-li-shih-tu wuo-chu chiu-che hsin-yi-chao-shu*, the New Testament, 10,000 copies of A Tract on the Redemption of the World, and 5,000 copies of A Catechism.(plate 2-2) The whole work was finished in early February 1814, and most of the books were carried by Milne when he set off on the 14th of the same month.(38) During the journey of more than six months, Milne visited the island of Banca, Batavia on Java, cities on the island of Borneo, Malacca on the Malayan Peninsula and some smaller places. The books were distributed on board ships, in towns, as well as on every possible



plate 2-2. The title page of 耶穌基利士督我主救者新遺詔書 *Yeh-su chi-li-shih-tu wuo-chu chiu-che hsin-yi-chao-shu*, the New Testament. (British Library Collection)

occasion. Some were left to be circulated under the charge of the British officers who received him cordially. On 5 September 1814, Milne returned to Canton. By the end of 1814, three more works by Morrison were printed, 古時如氐亞國歷代略傳 *Ku-shih ju-ti-ya-kuo li-tai lüeh-chuan*, Outline of the Old Testament History, 養心神詩 *Yang-hsin shen-shih*, Hymn-book, and 創世歷代傳 *Ch'uang-shih li-tai chuan*, The Books of Genesis, 100 copies of each.

Three fresh ideas for their book production, namely, use of itinerant printers, compact book format and periodicals, came to the brethren's minds in the period of discussion of Milne's journey and were put into effect one after another during his tour or shortly after. The former two had been long-standing practices in the production of books in China; but the third one was certainly new and introduced to the country by Morrison.

Itinerant printers and their main product, clan registers, were one of the characteristics of the book production during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911). Among the more than 4,000 extant titles of these family genealogies, many were printed from wooden type by printers, especially by the peasants who, after the autumn harvests, carried type and simple facilities to the customers to print their family registers.(39) As traditional Chinese printing with blocks or moveable type needed no press, printers could move from place to place easily, just as Milne described. If printing on a small scale, all instruments might be carried in a tolerably large pocket handkerchief; on an extensive scale, a common trunk of four feet by two and a half could contain the whole requisite apparatus.(40) When Milne went down to Southeast Asia, Ahung, a type-cutter and printer, was employed to attend him on the journey at eleven dollars a month. On the way, Ahung produced three small works: 舊遺詔書第一章 *Chiu-yi-chao-shu ti-yi-chang*, the first chapter of Genesis, a hand-bill about the Scriptures and a farewell letter to the Chinese settlers. The former two were by Morrison, whilst the last one was Milne's first writing in Chinese. The chapter of Genesis was even cut on board ship, such that 'the characters are not so

neatly cut as I could have wished, but that was owing to the motion of the ship.'(41) Whenever needed, hundreds of impressions of each of these works were immediately taken from the blocks at hand. This was an advantage of Chinese block printing which was fully brought into play in the voyage.

From the moment that Morrison concerned himself with printing in 1808, the large octavo 'in which the classical books of the Chinese are printed' had been the standard size of book in his mind. Thus, from the Acts down to the complete New Testament struck off in early 1814 all were in the same format in order to conform with the most respected works in the country. It was found, however, that books in this size were expensive, because they required more paper; and were inconvenient, due to their weight as well as volume. The disadvantages were more conspicuous when the New Testament, consisting of 537 leaves, came out. In addition, as the brethren hoped that two sets of blocks were to be cut for each work and to be stored separately, in order to prevent the only set from being destroyed by the Chinese authorities or other accidents, a smaller size would more economically correspond to their desire. Accordingly, Morrison's original desire at last gave way to pragmatism. The size of the second edition of the New Testament, consisting of the same leaves as the first one, was reduced from large octavo (27 x 15 cm.) to duodecimo (17.5 x 12 cm.). In the late part of 1814, a printer at Canton was engaged to cut the blocks for 500 dollars and to cast off each copy for half a dollar. Only 50 copies of this edition were printed because Morrison felt that the translation was something of a hasty product and wanted a revision later.(42)

There were indigenous newspapers in various forms existing in China long before the nineteenth century. However, their contents were dull information about governmental acts issued by the court, but with none of the essential elements of modern magazines or newspapers, such as reporting, editing, and critical writing.(43) The importance of periodicals had been learnt by Morrison through his experience and thirst for communication with the outside world in ill-informed Canton or Macao.

First he thought of an English monthly or quarterly to be circulated among the LMS missionaries in the East, as a means for the exchange of information as well as a medium for publishing their works. A wider scope then evolved to include a Chinese periodical 'between a newspaper and *The Evangelical Magazine*' to combine the diffusion of general knowledge and Christianity. The idea of periodicals was implemented by Milne when he went down to Malacca again and started there a Chinese monthly, 察世俗每月統紀傳 *Ch'a-shih-su mei-yüeh t'ung-chi-chuan*, the Chinese Magazine, which was the first modern Chinese newspaper and magazine.(44)

By 1814, seven years had elapsed since Morrison's arrival in China and four years since he began printing. In that period, a strong sense of responsibility combined with anxiety drove him to grasp all the possible time, engaging in more and more work. Printing and the books produced greatly compensated for his grief at the fruitlessness of missionary work and brought him considerable satisfaction. In this period, his secular works received much encouragement, but the printing of them was either out of his control or remained in preparation, as the dictionary was.(45) By contrast, his religious works, though rather experimental, began to come out one after another, due to the application of handy block printing, pecuniary support from Christian societies and individuals and Milne's sharing the labour in the later part. While the brethren learnt quickly from experience, the conditions of the world and their surroundings were experiencing rapid change.

The year 1815 marks a turning point not only in the history of the world and Britain, but also in the LMS as well as in Morrison's printing activities. The Napoleonic War came finally to an end and a new world order was built up subsequently. Compared with other powers in Europe, Britain, as one of the victors, was much less ravaged. Meanwhile, industrial and commercial superiority quickly brought her domestic prosperity in her economy and international leadership in politics. In 1815, Britain was prepared for the starting point of the greatest times in her history. Churches, both the established Church of England as well as

nonconformists, became beneficiaries of national prosperity and strength. The growing number of the nonconformists, which was about two million out of the thirteen million population at this time, implied increasing influence. Two events on the eve of 1815 served well as signposts of the nonconformists' new position in national political and economic life. The first one was the parliamentary debate on the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1813, with the result that the Company maintained its administration of India but the monopoly of trade was abolished. To missionary societies, the great significance of the revision was their winning the right to send missionaries to India. Although the Company's monopoly of trade in China remained intact, it was now easier for missionaries to go to China or other Asian countries, by way of British India. The other fact was the rapid development of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which was founded by the nonconformists with the support of reformers in the established church. In 1814, ten years after its foundation, the Bible Society had its branches in most parts of Britain. During the same period, its annual income sprang up from an initial £10,000 in 1804 to £50,000 in 1812 and more than £76,000 in 1813, which facilitated more Bible projects in different languages appearing for the first time, including the Chinese versions.(46)

At the same time, the LMS also grew quickly, with its annual income rising from £6,800 in 1811 to £15,324 in 1813, and again to £19,372 in 1815. By the end of 1815, the LMS had eighty missionaries, including twelve native preachers, at forty-three outstations throughout the world.(47) As far as printing was concerned, a landmark measure in the history of the LMS was that the Directors began in 1815 to set up printing offices at its outstations. There was no particular resolution or announcement explaining the reason why the Directors had determined to equip their missionaries with this comparatively costly facility, nor was there any planning detail on how they prepared to maintain them once starting in operation. Nevertheless, it appears that the increasing prospects of support from an economically enriched public,

through the channels of the closely related Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society; the constant appeals for printing facilities from missionaries in the field and their encouraging experience in the work, as Morrison's; and, perhaps more directly, a desire to emulate the successful and well publicized printing office of the Baptist mission at Serampore, especially its incredibly rapid rebirth after a devastating fire in 1812; all of these provide the most likely explanations of the Directors' desire to begin their printing activities.

The minutes of the Directors' meeting of 23 January 1815 show their first action, it being 'Resolved that a small printing press be sent out by the missionaries going to Otaheite - and that they be instructed in the art of printing before they embark.' The resolution was made concrete a year and a half later when William Ellis arrived in the South Seas with a printing press and type and inaugurated its operation under the watchful eye of the King Pomare.(48) The second station to attract the Directors' attention with regard to printing was the Chinese mission. In October 1815, Robert Steven, a layman Director, being animated by the good news about the fourth grant of £1,000 voted recently by the Bible Society for Morrison to print the Chinese Bible, moved that the LMS should appropriate £2,500 for the same purpose. While declining to accept this motion, the Directors resolved to send two printing presses and apparatus to Morrison and Milne for the purpose of printing octavo Chinese Testaments.(49)

In the meantime, the Chinese mission was undergoing a great change. The rule of the Ch'ing dynasty in China had begun to decline from the end of the eighteenth century and much deteriorated in the early nineteenth century. Conspicuous symptoms of social instability were rampant banditry and rebellions, the latter often under the cloak of religion. Unfortunately, not only was Catholic Christianity suspected of being related to some rebellious groups, it was even pronounced threatening to the whole of society by the emperor's edict in the middle of 1814, which was followed by the executions of two missionaries and severe

punishments for native converts in the following year.(50) Chinese Christians, especially those working for foreigners, at Canton and Macao were often under suspicion or interrogated. As translating documents in the government *Gazette* was part of his job, Morrison could keep himself up-to-date about the conditions in China. So far he had not been disturbed; on the contrary, the Chinese magistrate at Macao made several amicable calls on him in 1814.(51) Notwithstanding this, the anxiety in his mind led him to a decision to look for a quiet place outside China proper. By the end of 1812, Malacca had replaced Penang as the seat for a headquarters mission of the LMS in Asia. In a homeward letter of 22 December 1812, he wrote,

> 'I wish that we had an institution at Malacca for the training of missionaries, European and Native and designed for all the countries beyond the Ganges. There also, let there be that powerful engine, a Press. The final triumphs of the gospel will, I think, be by means of native missionaries and the Bible. The spring that gives motion to these (under God), European Christians - we want a central point for our Asiatic missions - we want organized co-operation - we want a Press - we want a Committee of Missionaries.'(52)

After Milne returned from Java and Malacca in September 1814, the two brethren again had serious discussions about their, or rather Milne's situation. At last they came to the decision that Milne should go to Malacca to establish a multi-functioning station there. Printing was no doubt an important factor in the considerations for moving, for it was enumerated first in their ten resolutions supporting the decision as a difficulty for their mission in China, and appeared in other resolutions in that they hoped to publish Chinese and English magazines, as well as many other works without fear or anxiety. On 17 April 1815, Milne left Canton with his family, a language tutor, a printer and paper.(53) It was from this time that the heart of the LMS's Chinese printing, along with other work of the Chinese mission, was transferred to Malacca and Milne shouldered the burdens. Accordingly, the press decided upon by the Directors in the same year was sent to Malacca, not Canton or Macao.

Dictionary Printing in a Troubled Period

From 1815 onward, the compilation of his dictionary and its printing took up most of Morrison's time and energy, on which he daily spent six to eight hours after work for the Company. Then there was the translation of the Bible and the recruitment of printing workers and the supply of paper to Malacca. As the Malacca station bore almost the entire work load of the Chinese mission, and as his wife and children sailed to England at the beginning of this year, it seemed that Morrison would have a much quieter period of time in his study at the English Factory at Canton or at the Company's printing office at Macao. The fact, however, was in contrast to what he might have expected. As far as printing was concerned, the five years between 1815 and 1819 were the most eventful and disturbing period in his life in China. The progress of the dictionary was constantly affected by the Chinese authorities' interferences in its printing and by his recruitment of type-cutters to send to Malacca. There was also an intensified contention with the Baptist missionaries in Bengal. Furthermore, he suffered the deaths of his wife in 1820 and Milne in 1822 before completing the printing of the dictionary as well as the Bible.

Morrison's dictionary 字典 *Tse-tien*, consisted of three parts: first, Chinese into English, according to the radicals; second, Chinese into English, arranged alphabetically; and third, English into Chinese. The whole dictionary was originally designed to be published in about forty sections: the first part contains twenty sections; the other two parts, ten sections respectively. At the beginning of 1815, only a portion of the manuscript was ready for the press and Morrison expected to supply Thoms, the Company's printer, with the remaining parts according to the course of the latter's work. However, before the Company's printing office at Macao could take on work on the dictionary, the problem of printing Chinese characters with the English letter type on the same page had to be settled. There existed no cast metal Chinese type. To cut at least a fount or two of 40,000 punches was obviously too time-

consuming to serve the situation, not to mention the considerable expense. To engrave characters on plates, so far the most common practice in producing European works with some Chinese characters, was impractical, because of the multitude of characters. To cut wooden characters and insert them into English metal type would lead to faulty impressions, due to the different nature of materials. After printing several pages with cut metal type and some with wooden type mixed with English type, George Staunton, who superintended the newly founded printing office, suggested the use of cut metal type to the Select Committee.(54) The reasons for this were that Chinese metal type could correspond more regularly to English type, both produced the same degree of blackness of ink in the impressions and the metal type could be re-used to print other works. The suggestion was accepted and Thoms began to make moulds for casting blank shanks in three sizes, employing native workers to cut characters on the face of each. By this unusual means, Thoms was eventually able to combine Chinese type with English ones for the press and printed the two first sheets in folio in early March 1815.(55)

Once the technical problem was solved, the printing went on steadily and the first volume of the first part was completed by the end of 1815.(plate 2-3) Among the 750 copies printed, 600 were sent to London in the following year, of which 100 were taken by the Company and 500 were Morrison's. He requested Joseph Hardcastle and George Burder, the treasurer and the secretary of the LMS, to negotiate with some booksellers for him, besides sending 35 copies to designated persons or institutes as a gift. Meanwhile, he gave 10 copies to Thoms to encourage his work.(56)

Whilst some native workers were cutting characters for the dictionary, Morrison was at the same time continuously recruiting type-cutters for the Malacca station. According to Chinese law, either helping foreigners in printing Chinese books or going abroad without permission constituted a crime. Morrison knew the situation very well, but he also learnt that the law had not been carried out thoroughly, as he wrote in his journal, 'The Chinese government never allows natives to serve

字典

56931

A

DICTIONARY

OF THE

CHINESE LANGUAGE,

IN THREE PARTS.

PART THE FIRST; CONTAINING

CHINESE AND ENGLISH, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE RADICALS;

PART THE SECOND,

CHINESE AND ENGLISH ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY;

AND PART THE THIRD,

ENGLISH AND CHINESE.

KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

BY THE REV. ROBERT MORRISON.

博雅好古之儒有所據以爲考究斯亦善讀書者之一大助

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

VOL. I.—PART I.

MACAO:

PRINTED AT THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S PRESS,

BY P. P. THOMS.

1815

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL & AFRICAN STUDIES LONDON

plate 2-3. The title page of Morrison's *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*. (SOAS Collection)

foreigners but yet winks at it. The practice goes on till the government wishes to annoy and distress the resident foreigners, then the law is enforced.'(57) Since Macao was quite a small place, the operation of the Company's printing office and the attempts to send out type-cutters could hardly escape the authorities' notice. Before long the menace would be looming.

In early July, 1815, the press came to a standstill for want of type, which resulted from the disappearance of the workers who were threatened by a search. The bookseller to whom Morrison gave the blocks of the duodecimo New Testament was also frightened by the search and burnt them to prevent any trouble. These incidents were followed by Morrison's failure, on two occasions, in secretly sending out type-cutters to Malacca in early 1816. Hundreds of dollars of advances in wages and passages were thereby lost. The whole of the latter part of the same year, in which he attended the Lord Amherst embassy to Peking as an interpreter, was fairly peaceful because the Chinese authorities wanted no distractions to arise during this period. After the failure of the ambassador's mission, he arrived in Canton on the first day of 1817, around which time Morrison was informed that there might be an attack on the Company's printing office when Lord Amherst left the country. As he could not confirm the news, Morrison preferred to wait and see. On 10 February 1817, shortly after the ambassador's departure, the attack took place. A team of twenty-four officers with knives and sticks raided the press at Macao, which was also Thom's residence, arrested a cook while other workers fled hastily, and confiscated a box of books and Chinese type. At this time, Morrison and other Company staff were at Canton for the trading season. A letter of complaint was immediately written by him, under the direction of his superior, to the Viceroy of the Canton province. In March, the Company received a reply that its staff might learn Chinese themselves but must not employ native assistants, including printing workers. Since the arrested cook was forced to give the names of those connected with the printing office and Morrison, all his workers and assistants absconded. For the rest of 1817, Thoms himself had to

write the characters and employed the Portuguese to cut them, which accounts for the different appearance of the characters between the second part and other parts of the dictionary.(58)

As it was the first time that the Chinese authorities had taken any action with regard to matters directly relating to Morrison, and the shock brought about by the attack culminated in his long-standing fear and anxiety coming to a head. Admitting that 'I live under all the anxiety of times of persecution,' he could not help conjecturing upon the authorities' attitude towards him, 'My name has not been mentioned in any official paper from the government, but I am of opinion that the local officer at Macao who has failed in getting either money or credit by attacking the press, has told the Viceroy of his surmise respecting my religious object.'(59) In another homeward letter, he wrote, 'In Macao I was obliged to be extremely cautious in appearing to have Chinese come about the house.'(60) A desire to move to Malacca welled up again, 'After ten years of anxiety here, I wish to retire to a place of some quiet, where I may pursue my object openly. This is a tiresome place. A place as far as religious society is concerned, truly solitary.'(61) To make the situation worse his further attempts on two occasions to send ten type-cutters to Malacca failed in this year, which led to the arrest of four workers and Yong Sam-tak, who was commissioned to deal with these recruits.(62)

In January 1819, the manuscript of the second part of the dictionary, i.e. Chinese into English arranged alphabetically by syllables, was finished. Because the arrangement was deemed by his pupils to be more useful for foreign beginners in studying Chinese than the radical order of the first part, it was put through the press without waiting for the completion of the former part. Accordingly, Morrison was able to ship the first volume of the second part, which consisted of 1,090 pages, to London by the end of 1819 and the second volume, consisting of 483 pages, in the following year.(63)

By the time that he finished the manuscript of the second part, the compilation was about six months ahead of the printing. This enabled the indefatigable Morrison to undertake other works. The first one was a small book, with a map of the world, called 西遊地球聞見略傳 *Hsi-yü ti-ch'iu wen-chien lüeh-chuan*, A Voyage round the World, whose object was to enlarge Chinese historical as well as geographical knowledge of the world.(plate 2-4) Perhaps because of its non-religious nature and its consisting of 29 leaves only, Morrison had this book printed at Canton, which was exceptional as he usually had his works produced at Malacca after 1815.(64) The second and principal work was his resumption of the translation of the Old Testament, which he worked on intermittently. He and Milne divided the chapters, of which he took the larger part. On 25 November 1819, after about ten months of assiduous daily work 'from the morning about six till ten o'clock at night,' Morrison reported the accomplishment of the translation of the Bible:

> 'By the mercy of God, an entire version of the books of the Old and New Testaments, into the Chinese language, was this day brought to a conclusion. ... King James's translators were fifty-four in number, and rendered into their mother tongue, in their native country, under the patronage of their prince. Our version is the work of two persons, or at most of three (including the author of the MS), performed in a remote country, and into a foreign and newly acquired language, one of the most difficult in the world, and the least cultivated in Europe.'(65)

The manuscripts were sent to Malacca for an edition of the whole Bible, with the support of the latest grant of £1,000 from the Bible Society.

Two weeks before finishing the translation, Liang Afa, a printer who had been baptized by Milne at Malacca and had recently returned to Canton, was captured. Shortly before the incident, Morrison gave him seventy dollars to cut the blocks of a small work by himself 救世錄撮要略解 *Chiu-shih-lu ch'uo-yao lüeh-chieh*, Miscellaneous Exhortations, and to cast off 200 copies. The books and blocks were taken altogether and burnt. Before he was beaten, Liang defended himself by saying that his book was not bad but exhorted people to be virtuous. The magistrate replied, 'Your book is stuff and nonsense. I punish you for going beyond seas!'(66) The last

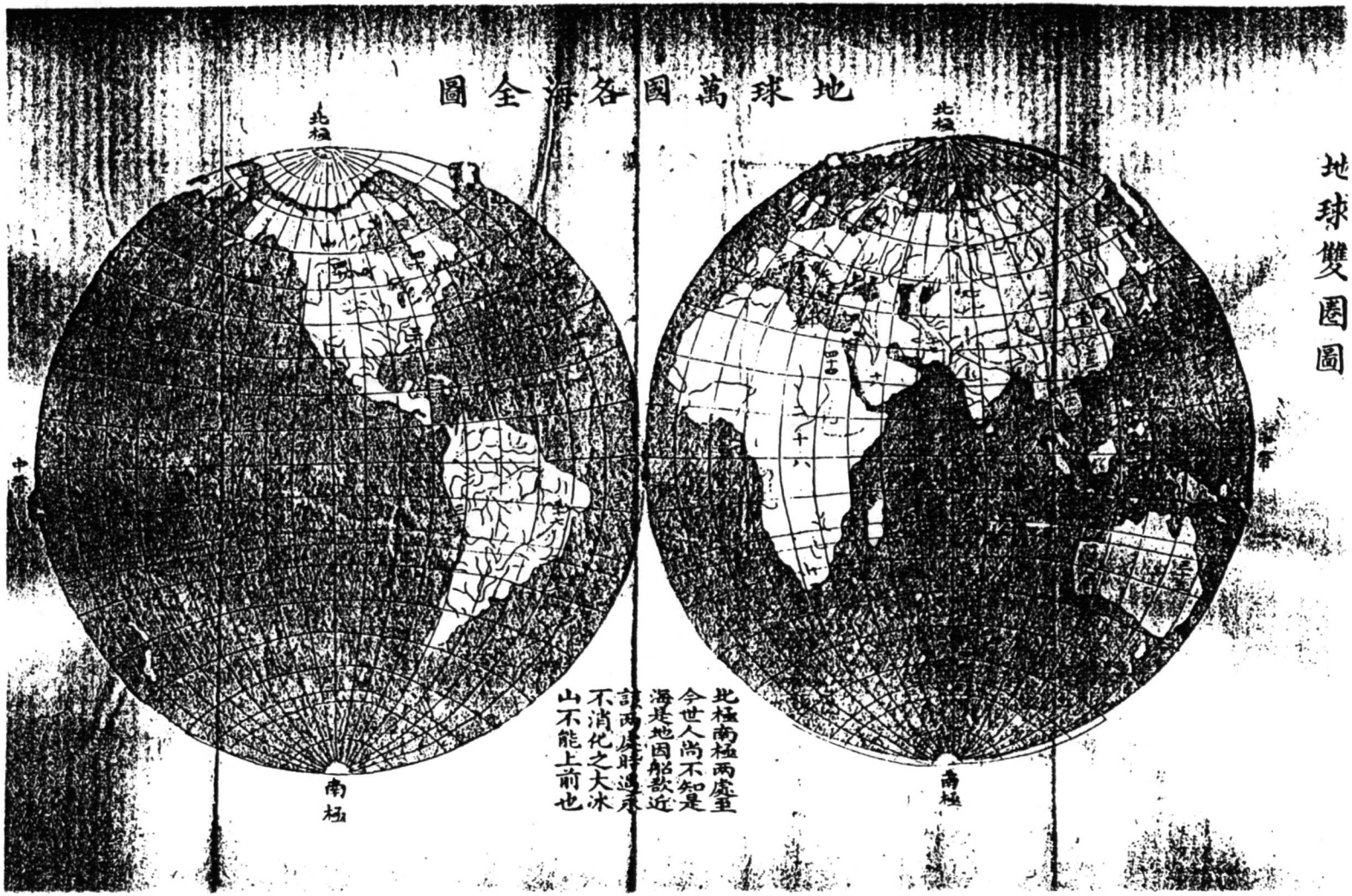


plate 2-4. An illustration of the globe in 西遊地球聞見略傳 *Hsi-yü ti-ch'iu wen-chien lüeh- chuan*. A Voyage round the World. (SOAS Collection)

words emphasized the key issue of this and other similar cases in which Morrison failed several times to send printing workers to Malacca. The incident led to a search by the officers of Morrison's room at the British Factory at Canton and he had to explain the matter to his superior.

On 9 April 1822, after fourteen years of arduous effort as well as many interruptions, the manuscripts of the whole dictionary were eventually completed. Two more volumes were printed in this year and the last one in 1823, and thus was finished the publication of this great work, consisting of nearly 5,000 pages in 6 folio volumes. It is almost unbelievable that, as an establishment which was always concerned with its commercial interests, the East India Company, could support, or at least tolerate, cultural work to the considerable expense of as much as £13,190 in ten years.(67) As for Morrison himself, the following remarks show his confidence in this achievement:

> 'When the Missionary Society commenced the Chinese mission, England was behind all the rest of the European nations in the knowledge of Chinese; and had no help for acquiring that language. But subsequently, by the Missionary Society's servant and by the Honourable East India Company's funds, England has advanced so, in this particular, that at this day she has better assistance in books, for acquiring Chinese, than any, or all of the European nations.'(68)

An equally commemorative occasion was the completion of the printing of 神天聖書 *Shen-t'ien sheng-shu*, The Holy Bible, consisting of 2,457 leaves in 21 volumes, from blocks, at Malacca in May 1823. So far the three tasks placed on his shoulders by the Directors, namely, acquiring the language, compiling a dictionary and translating the Scriptures, were all now accomplished. Relieved from years of anxiety, the most desirable thing and something which had long been in discussion with the Directors was to return to England and visit some European universities.

An interesting question is whether Morrison's ideas about the methods of printing of Chinese books had undergone any changes since the printing of his dictionary began in 1815. Prior to that year, all his Chinese works were produced by

blocks. Like his Jesuit predecessors, Morrison was deeply engrossed in the traditional art of Chinese printing. The use of Chinese moveable type by the Baptist missionaries in Bengal had no effect on him, even though he duly read news on the subject in the magazines and did receive a specimen of metal type from Bengal as early as 1811.(69) The following year, his formal application to the Company for printing his dictionary did not involve the question of how to print Chinese characters and English letters on the same page. Nor did the Court's reply mention the topic. Perhaps it was referred to as a sort of technical trivia and would be better left to the printer. Once Thoms began to combine English letters with Chinese characters engraved on the cast shanks and continued the same work for nine years, could this have given Morrison any influence on printing in Chinese?

In October 1815, Morrison reported that he would recommend Milne 'to set about making a fount of Chinese types to the number of 20,000 or so, for occasional works English and Chinese; or for his Chinese magazine.' He continued, 'For the Scriptures I would still use wooden stereotype.'(70) It appears that the idea of moveable type had entered his mind, but he thought it could only be applied to occasional works, nor should it replace the blocks in printing the solemn Bible. In November 1815, in a letter to the Directors about the comparison between 'wooden stereotype,' i.e. blocks, and metal type in printing Chinese books, he said that in terms of saving labour and errors in composition, of less expense in cutting blocks than producing types and of more output and flexibility in taking impressions from blocks than from the press, he was fully convinced that what favoured the use of metal stereotypes for printing standard books in Europe applied to the Chinese wooden stereotype. Under the influence of this letter, the Directors changed their original plan and sent only one press to Malacca instead two.(71) In February 1816, in a long letter to the editor of *The Baptist Magazine* refuting some incorrect calculations about his expenses in block printing, in a report prepared by his rival Serampore missionaries, he not only gave a brief history of the 'wooden stereotype' in China, but

was able to point out its technically and materially delicate advantages, as he said, 'One excellence of wooden stereotype is that it requires on Chinese paper, no pressing and the character appears to the eye-pleasantly to be laid on the surface of the paper, instead of being thrust his force half through it.' Thus, he concluded: 'I must yet remain of opinion that for standard classical books, stereotype; whether metal or wood, is preferable to moveable types.'(72)

Nevertheless, besides the standard classical works such as the Bible, there were various 'ordinary' works demanding possibly no less, or even much more attention, expense, as well as more time to produce. Morrison could not ignore these ordinary or occasional publications. In June 1816, before he accompanied Lord Amherst to Peking, Morrison ordered from Thoms, without the Company's knowledge, 1,000 dollars worth of metal type. He hoped the sum would produce, in the same way as for his dictionary, 40,000 to 50,000 types to 'make a good commencement at our Malacca station.'(73) In January 1817, when he returned to Macao, 9,000 complete types were waiting to be sent to Milne.(74) Very likely due to the subsequent attack on the printing office resulting in the dispersion of native workers, no more types were made for Malacca. Meanwhile, Morrison's trials of Chinese printing methods other than blocks stopped after getting these types. It was not until a decade later that he revived a keen interest in practicing new techniques, including lithography and casting moveable type.

Contention between Distant Missionaries

A very unpleasant event in Morrison's life in China was the aggravation of his relationship with the Baptist missionaries in Bengal concerning the translation and printing of the Bible, as well as other topics centred on the Chinese language. The veiled jealousy of the other party's efforts, which was first caused by the Directors' questioning the suitability of the Baptist's translating task at the beginning of the

LMS's Chinese mission, had undergone continuous unpleasant ferment in ten years and eventually came into overt antagonism with acrimonious verbal attacks after 1815. When Morrison arrived in China in 1807, the efforts at Chinese studies in Bengal, with a view initially to translating the Bible and to facilitate political intercourse in the future, had been under way for about three years. However, it was not the Baptists at Serampore who had first taken on the work, though they had previously announced their plan of translation; but rather Dr. Claudius Buchanan, the second chaplain of the Presidency of Bengal and the Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William at Calcutta, a well-known institution established by the Governor-General, Marquess Wellesley, in 1800 to educate the English civil servants in India. When he found it difficult to create a formal Chinese professorship at the college due to the shortage of funds, Buchanan privately employed Johannes Lassar, an Armenian Christian proficient in Chinese who happened to be at Calcutta for trading business in 1804, to start the translation of the Bible. Meanwhile, Buchanan offered a Chinese class, under Lassar's instruction and nominally attached to the college, to the Baptist missionaries. The Rev. Joshua Marshman, with his two sons and one of Carey's, started the Chinese course in early 1806. At this time, an improved relation already existed between the Baptist missionaries at the enclaved Danish settlement and the colonial government in Bengal. Carey had been the head of the Bengali department of the College of Fort William since its foundation. The Baptist printing office also considerably benefited from printing the text-books used at the college. In his addresses at the annual public disputations of the students of the college, Governor-General Lord Minto always praised without stint Lassar and Marshman's endeavours in Chinese.(75) Accordingly, compared with Morrison's single-handed striving in a difficult situation at Canton and Macao, the Baptists could not have had an earlier start with more favourable conditions in the competition to translate the Bible.

In the first years, both sides were busy in advancing their knowledge of Chinese so that they did not have time or opportunity to trouble each other. In spite

of some minor nuisances, such as the Baptist missionaries who seemed purposely to delay in their replies to Morrison's letters, their inflated opinions concerning their knowledge of Chinese and so on, Morrison continued to purchase paper, books and to find tutors for Marshman. In addition, a transcript of the manuscript of the New Testament in the British Museum was sent to Serampore from Canton. When they were confident of their knowledge being good enough to publish something in or on Chinese, however, the disputes emerged.

In 1809, Marshman published *The Works of Confucius*, and prefixed a dissertation on the Chinese language. Receiving a copy in 1811, Morrison quoted George Staunton's view of this work, and he was the best qualified to evaluate it, as 'by far a too hasty production.'(76) About this time Morrison had almost finished the manuscript of *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*, 通用漢言之法, which was then sent by the Select Committee, in the trading season of 1811, to Calcutta to recommend to Lord Minto for publication. Unfortunately, it was not until 1815 that the work was printed from the Baptist printing office. What made the affair worse was that, during the intervening period, Marshman's *Clavis Sinica, or Elements of Chinese Grammar*, 中國言法, came out from the same press in 1814. After reading the similar contents in the *Clavis Sinica*, so furious was Morrison that he wrote to the Directors to accuse Marshman of plagiarism, 'The next part is a Grammar, compiled chiefly from mine, which he kept lying by him in MS. whilst he took the substance of it, dressed it up, with other examples, and a few alterations, and gave it to the world as his own.'(77) The accusation was eventually passed on to Marshman, through a letter from Dr. Pye Smith, a Director of the LMS. Marshman refuted the allegation and insisted that Morrison's manuscript had been shelved by the government for nearly two years before it was sent to them to make an estimate of printing at the beginning of 1814. He further requested people to examine in detail these two works to see whether there was one page or one line alike in them.(78)

Marshman seems to be right in the question of delaying the publication. It was after the annual public disputation of the College of Fort William which was held in late September 1813, which meant more than a year and a half after Morrison's grammar being sent to Bengal, that the council of the college recommended its publication to the government.(79) Besides, there is an entry in Morrison's journal of 29 May 1814 saying that he received accounts from the Bengal government about the decision to print his grammar and the estimated cost.(80) A comparison between these two grammars also shows that there is no concrete evidence of the alleged plagiarism, although several among hundreds of exemplary sentences were closely similar. As these two works are the first Chinese grammars in English and are concurrently based upon the same concepts and principles of English grammar, it is likely that the two books would be similar in the arrangement of chapters and sections, as well as in some parts of contents. It appears that Morrison was too anxious that his first brain child on the Chinese language might have been stolen. On the other hand, however, as Marshman admitted that he knew where there was such a manuscript in the possession of government eighteen months before it was sent to him, and afterwards under his direct care nine months before he finished his own manuscript, it is surprising that he did not give at least a word to it in his preface to the *Clavis Sinica*. Especially while he mentioned two Chinese grammars written by Germans, which he obtained after printing off half of his work, and expressed his dissatisfaction with them, but totally declined to speak of a familiar compatriot's work which had no basic differences from his own. It is very hard to believe that Marshman had not consulted Morrison's manuscript during the period of about a year before his book was published. It is also difficult to think that Marshman neglected utterly Morrison and his work without jealousy.

Following the East India Company's establishment of a printing office at Macao to print Morrison's dictionary and other works either by him or by other staff, further possible arguments in respect of secular works were eliminated. Nonetheless,

there was another quarrel about printing the Bible in Chinese. The translation at Serampore was first done from an Armenian version into Chinese by Lassar before Marshman could attend to the job. After the St. Matthew and St. Mark's Gospels were finished in 1807, the mission employed Bengali workers who were 'accustomed to cut the patterns of flowers used in printing cottons' to cut the blocks under the superintendence of a Chinese 'artist' from early 1808. The printing was completed in 1810 and only 100 copies were struck off.(81) Since this was the first time the technique of Chinese block printing was transplanted to India, the workmanship was unavoidably much inferior to that in Morrison's Acts of the Apostles. Moreover, the Baptist's work took longer to complete. Accordingly, the Serampore missionaries determined to try moveable metal type and temporarily delay the printing of the remaining parts of the New Testament, while Lassar finished the translation by the middle of 1811 or earlier.

Some Chinese type-cutters replaced Bengali workers in producing metal type. A fire in March 1812 consumed founts of types in fourteen languages, including Chinese, but happily the matrices of all the types were preserved. In addition, a smaller and better fount of Chinese type was cut in 1813 and 1814.(82) In their fifth memoir of the translations for 1813, Marshman not only gave enormous publicity to the beauty, cheapness and convenience of their type, but asserted its superiority in every aspect to block printing, even if the latter was undertaken in contemporary China, including Morrison's Acts.(83) His ignorance of the technical history of indigenous Chinese moveable type and of the economic as well as social context of block printing in China subsequently caused Morrison's heavy counter-attack.(84) At the same time, the manufacture of the Bengal-made Chinese type, which will be discussed in detail in a later chapter, was not as smooth as expected, so the printing of the Bible from it could not be undertaken without delay. Although the Serampore press was the largest one in the East in the early nineteenth century, claiming to issue more than 212,000 volumes in forty different languages between 1801 and 1832, and

its Chinese department employed as many as sixteen workers with the well-advertised moveable type, it was not until 1822 that the printing of the whole Bible in Chinese could be completed, only a year earlier than that done with blocks at Malacca.(85) Furthermore, the Serampore version of the Chinese Bible soon faced a serious problem of where and to whom to distribute it. In the period of two years from March 1812 to April 1814, there were only 50 and 67 copies of St. Mark's and St. John's Gospels respectively distributed, neither at Serampore nor at Calcutta but in faraway Java.(86) In answering the inquiry from the parent society about his silence about circulating the Chinese Bible, Marshman gave two reasons: first, they had only small editions; and, secondly, 'it appears to me that for a man out of any country to recount with parade the books he had distributed among such of the inhabitants of it as were near him, would savor so much of ostentation, that I avoided anything of the kind.' To this Morrison gave a short comment, 'If they be not distributed, their being made is of no avail.'(87)

Chinese printing and Chinese studies at Serampore reached its apogee in 1813 and 1814 when the Baptist press produced better Chinese type and Marshman published the *Clavis Sinica.* After that, no more work on Chinese came from Marshman or anyone else relating to Serampore. Their Chinese Bible had almost the same ending. After the completion of their version in 1822, only a further edition of a portion appeared in the next year, which was the last recorded Serampore version of the Chinese Bible.(88) Accordingly, Chinese printing and studies at Serampore became a thing of the past. Later in 1834 the Serampore press was even in a state where it 'could not make up one complete copy of the whole [Chinese] Bible.'(89) In contrast, from 1815 onward, both Chinese studies and Chinese printing of the LMS's China mission were increasingly strengthened by Morrison in China and later missionaries in Chinese settlements in Southeast Asia. It is true that the Baptist missionaries have the credit for first producing the printed Chinese Bible and the cast Chinese type for practical use. But the rise and fall of Chinese printing, together with Chinese studies

at Serampore, provides a grandiose but improvident instance of the transplant of cultural and technical practices, resulting from a denominational missionary contention.

The Praised Becomes the Estranged

After some ten years in China, Morrison began to think of returning to England for a period of time, especially as his family was there, but the work of his dictionary detained the hope. It seemed time to go after the translation of the Bible and the compilation of the dictionary were both finished. However, Morrison had to make a journey to Malacca to clear up the situation left by the death of Milne. During some six months, from February to July in 1823, during his stay at Malacca, Morrison supervised the completion of the printing of the Holy Bible, from blocks left behind by Milne; re-organized the personnel of the mission, including the dismissal of the superintendent of its printing office; gave Chinese instruction to missionaries as well as other students; and conversed at Singapore with Stamford Raffles, the Lieutenant Governor, about the ambitious plan for a Singapore Institution. These will be discussed later. Morrison returned to Canton in August and sailed with his library of some 9,000 Chinese volumes, again from Canton in December of the same year, and arrived in England in late March 1824.(90)

After an absence of seventeen years, he returned to England with two great achievements, a comprehensive dictionary and the Chinese Bible, and received a magnificent welcome. The first year on furlough was almost entirely occupied by various engagements: addressing religious meetings, delivering sermons, visiting Scotland, Ireland and France, presenting a Chinese Bible to King George IV, and marrying his second wife. Despite the tight schedule, Morrison could find time to write more than once some suggestions to the Directors regarding the Chinese mission. In February 1825, the Directors resolved to accept his advice, sending out

additional missionaries to Malacca, appointing unmarried ladies to superintend schools there and facilitating the study of Chinese in London.(91) In order to carry out these measures, especially the one for language study, the Directors also requested him to extend his stay in England for another year. The Language Institution, whose object was 'to promote the cultivation of all the languages of mankind' but which started with Chinese, was accordingly established at Holborn, London, in 1825. He taught a class of thirteen students three days a week at the institution and made his Chinese library and museum available for student's use. Besides, he formed another Chinese class at his own house for ladies who desired to pursue missionary work. In addition, Morrison was appointed one of the Directors during his stay, obtained an office at the Mission House, the LMS's headquarters, and was given £1,000 as remuneration for his remaining longer. This period of more than two years in England was undoubtedly the most pleasant and splendid time, without anxiety, in his life.

It was during this time that Morrison came into contact with a still very novel printing method - lithography. The art was introduced to England, the first country outside Germany, by its inventor Aloys Senefelder in 1800. Among the few people who were interested in 'polyautography', as the art was then called, was Thomas Fisher (1781?-1836), Morrison's most intimate friend in the last ten years of his life. Known as an antiquary, Fisher was the son of a printer and bookseller at Rochester. In 1786, he entered the India House and worked there until his retirement in 1834. While lithography found it difficult to obtain the artist's as well as the public's support in its first years in England, Fisher was eager to promote the art by patronizing the first English lithographic printer, D. J. Redman, writing articles on it in *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, and publishing his own lithographic works. As he wrote later to Morrison, 'I was the very earliest friend and advocate of lythography in England, the inventors excepted, and that I have the largest, I believe an unique, collection of early specimens and am still collecting specimens from all parts of the world.'(92) In

another letter, he wrote, 'I do assure you that I never reflect upon the pains which I took between the years 1808 and 1819 to convince the British public of the value of that invention.'(93) Frequent communication between Britain and Europe resumed after the war with France and Senefelder's work *A Complete Course in Lithography* in English was published in 1819, so the art began its rapid growth around 1822.

Morrison was not satisfied with lithography when he first saw a specimen of the method in September 1825, and told Fisher, 'I fear it will not answer our purpose.'(94) By the end of this year, the LMS published his new work, *Chinese Miscellany*, in which there were twelve lithographic plates of specimens of Chinese literature and language, including three plates of his own inscriptions.(plate 2-5) At this time, Morrison's observation of lithography was that, although it was suitable to produce works entirely in Chinese, it was not adequate for those pages mixing Chinese characters with European letters.(95) In other words, typography was to be the best means of Chinese printing. Morrison accordingly appealed to his countrymen, giving to Britain the honour of producing the first founts of cast types in the Chinese language. Nevertheless, he took a small lithographic press with him when returning to China. On 14 November 1826, two months after he and his family arrived, Morrison shortly wrote down their first operation of lithography:

> 'We are trying at lithography. The carpenter has delayed us long; but, in a few days, I hope to be able to tell you that we have succeeded. John is the principal - Atsow is the painter. I am afraid to try with any writing that makes sense, such as I could with; and therefore we are trying with 山水 "hills and water" -"landscapes." '(96)

No more details can be found about the first attempt of lithography in China. But by the end of 1826, Morrison, his son John and perhaps the native assistant Atsow printed at least one sheet tract on the lithographic press and sent them to Fisher and to the library of the Language Institution.(97) Following John, in company with his unwell sister, to Malacca for a change of environment in March 1827 and his consequently remaining there for study, the first Chinese lithographic press was laid aside after merely two or three months in operation.

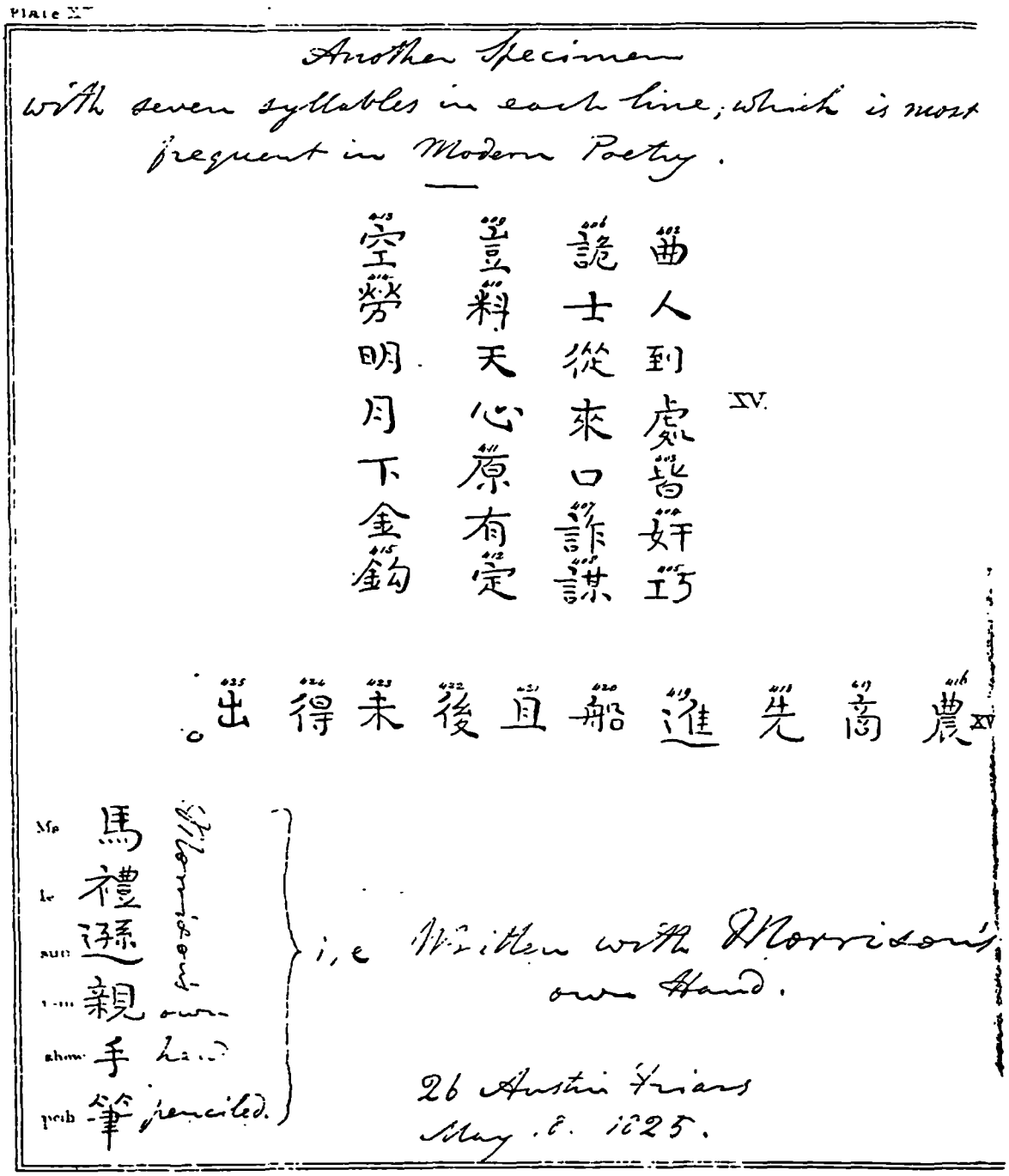


plate 2-5. A lithographic plate of Morrison's inscription in his *Chinese Miscellany*. (SOAS Collection)

Not long after returning to China, Morrison found himself landed in very embarrassing circumstances. As the initial tasks of his mission were all accomplished, what should he pursue or what could he do now? The policy of the Chinese government remained unchanged and was still preventing him from preaching the Gospel in public. Surprisingly enough to him, however, the new difficulties he now encountered were from the British side, either from secular or religious sectors.

The first was his precarious connection with the East India Company. The Court had never changed its reluctant attitude to employing a missionary, just as Morrison's awareness that, 'My being on the establishment here is rather tolerated than heartily sanctioned by the Court.'(98) While in London, he applied to the Court to resume his job in China, but was unexpectedly permitted to do so for a term of three years only. Upon withdrawing a further appeal to the Company, Morrison noted down in his journal:

> 'Finding my services almost indispensable, has been the only reason for employing me hitherto; and when that ceases, I do not suppose I shall be retained. I do not, moreover, think it quite right in me to be a suppliant for secular employment. If it come, well - and if it goes, well.'(99)

Notwithstanding, there were feelings welling up in his mind, 'What will be done at the end of my three years' services, should I live, it is impossible to say. Many friends, who knew my labours in former days, have died off, or gone away. Canton presents to my mind a melancholy blank. ... A year or two more, and there will not be one member of the Factory whom I found here on my first arrival.'(100) The Select Committee of the Canton Factory wrote a letter of very strong recommendation to the Court for him, but it was not until approaching the expiration of the three years in 1829 that a reply reached Canton confirming his continuance as the translator and interpreter. In 1830, after twenty-two years service, Morrison requested an increase in his salary or the right of a pension, but was turned down by the Court because,

> 'Most, if not all, of Dr. Morrison's works have been printed in China at our press, and principally if not entirely, at our expense; under these

> circumstances it may be supposed that some pecuniary advantage has been derived from the sale of those works. It consequently appears to us that ... Dr. Morrison has been adequately compensated for the assistance.'(101)

Despite the Court's inconsiderate attitude, his life at the Canton Factory after coming back from England appeared to have no problems, until the change of leaders around 1830, which brought him troubles, as he complained about working under 'young men who have attained the head of their service, and without consideration for my age and past labours in the Company's cause - are very irksome to me, as well as consume my precious time.'(102) Under these circumstances, it was natural for him sometimes to wish to be free from work for subsistence and be able to devote himself to evangelism.

Nevertheless, Morrison could not have imagined that the second and worse problem he was to be confronted with in this period was to be from his parent society, the LMS. The close relations with the Directors built up in past years, especially during his stay in England, quickly deteriorated. The cause of the trouble was the Anglo-Chinese College, which he had established, under Milne's management, on the grounds of the Malacca mission in order to provide a secular-oriented education to students not necessarily devoted to Christian lives. Though they could not but give the College material support to some extent, the Directors were in disagreement with this non-Christian project and dissatisfied with the ambiguous relationship between the mission and the college, since Morrison claimed complete control of the latter. After many arguments between Morrison and the Directors, the controversy seemed to be over when he announced, shortly after he reached London, his decision to move the College to Singapore to merge with the projected Singapore Institution. This was partly the reason that he was accorded an extraordinary and courteous reception by the Directors. Unfortunately, the Singapore Institution came to a premature end, due to the fact that the new authorities there did not support it, whereupon Morrison withdrew the plan to move the College before he left England.(103)

Two things, at least, reflected the Directors' dissatisfaction with Morrison's breaking his promise. One was their remaining indifferent to the dissolution of the Language Institution, which Fisher considered as Morrison's 'child.'(104) It was established with support from the LMS and some other missionary societies but had its own management committees. As the candidates for its Chinese mission were the students of the Institution, the LMS no doubt benefited from the programme. When some trustees in 1827 moved to close the Institution because 'it was useless,' however, the LMS just sat back and watched its closure in the middle of 1828, some three years after its foundation.(105) Morrison was told from a source that the 'Language Institution failed by the disaffection of our Directors.'(106) Since the affair was totally out of his control, Morrison could not do anything but said: 'It is to me a matter of regret, that the Christians of England should so far depart from the maxims of wisdom, as to seek the end without the means. But I submit. Perhaps the Institution was not, by me, made sufficiently a subject of prayer.'(107)

Another matter was the Directors' apparently cold manner toward him, represented by a lack of regular communication. In February 1828, he complained that 'I have not received one official line from the Society since I left England in May 1826.'(108) Again, he wrote in November 1830 that 'Although more than twenty ships have arrived from England this season, I have not received any letter from the Society and therefore have nothing to answer.'(109) Again he wrote, 'I write now by the first despatch to inform the Society that I am still in life and pursuing to the best of my ability and the utmost of my strength (which now fast declines) the objects of our Mission.'(110) Despite his continuous protests, the Directors did not change their coldness. As late as February 1834, i.e. five months before his death, Morrison still complained: 'The delay in replying to the subject of my letter of November 1832 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.'(111)

By the end of 1829, some three years after coming back to China, Morrison was eventually aware of the great change in the Directors' attitude before and after his returning to China, as he wrote, 'There seems to have been a set against me, because I did not fall down and worship the received opinions prevalent among our ministers in England.'(112) Around the year 1830, the Directors and Morrison seemingly intended to break the deadlock and suggested to each other a union of the College and the Malacca mission. Unfortunately, both sides failed to reach a compromise, and the Directors resumed ~~to~~ a dilatory policy and continued withholding communication with him.(113) The anxiety that occupied his mind in previous years now turned into deep disappointment and depression, as revealed in the following bitter remarks:

> 'Although my own direct services in the missionary cause be but small and unproductive, I have reason to rejoice and bless the Lord that the cause itself is gaining ground these regions of the pagan world. ... Mine is to sow, I hope others will reap. Some have already entered into my labours with advantages for which I toiled, and with the promise of growing strength and effort; on which we cease not to pray for the effusion of the holy spirit. Enemies also are rising up to reproach us, which is not a bad sign.'(114)
>
> 'Our friends in England seem to have given up the Chinese mission - *in China*. When revolving in my mind which course to pursue, I am hindered by the recollection that of late no measures seem even to have been thought of how the mission in China, that is, the *English* mission, is to be continued, in the event of my removal by any cause. I do feel a little desolate; but I hope the Lord will not forsake me.'(115)

The aggravating relations with the parent society doubtless seriously affected his printing activities, which was one of the very few things that he could do as a missionary in China and was the one thing in which he believed he could accomplish the most influence. The unfortunate fact was, however, that he could no longer get support, financial or verbal, for this purpose from the Directors. In the first two years back from England, he was concurrently undertaking two works in Chinese: 廣東省土話字彙 *Kuang-tung-sheng t'u-hua tse-hui*, Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect, and 古聖奉神天啓示道家訓 *Ku-sheng feng shen-t'ien ch'i-shih tao-chia-hsün*, Domestic Instruction Derived from Divine Revelation. The former was prepared according to

his superior's request at the Factory for his colleague's use in language study and was printed at the Company's printing office in 1828. The latter, a religious work including considerable material, was also completed in manuscript in the same year but was awaiting funds to print. In addition to requesting the Directors to help publish the work and another one by Liang Afa, his native assistant, Morrison went on further to suggest the foundation of an 'Oriental Translation Fund' or at least a 'Chinese Translation Fund,' which was 'not to translate pagan books into English but to render Christian books into pagan language.'(116) The Directors' refusal to publish his work and their rejection of the proposed translation fund caused a strong response from Morrison. At the end of 1829, he wrote to the Directors again and, besides telling them that Mrs. Morrison had appropriated $400 for the publication of his work, set about sharp criticism:

> 'I must say respectfully that there still appears to me in some quarters an unfounded and obstinate adherence to one favorite mode of dispensing divine truth, to the children of men, ... And seeing it is admitted, that in reference to China "the press is almost the only engine that can be employed," it is strange our Society should not employ it at all.
> 'In dispensing the word of life, I am anxious to employ all the means in my power. I grieve much because of the apparent unproductiveness of my labours. I am not without misgiving and that I am wanting in the use of means, or in the spirit of my office. My situation is, I suppose, very peculiar. The hostility from all quarters is great.
> 'What could either have done without Christian writers and the press? I do take comfort from the declaration "One soweth and another reapeth" - I have sown - But neither is he that soweth, nor he that watereth anything, but God who giveth the blessing.'(117)

This letter shows that, Morrison had eventually realized the extent of the Directors' dissatisfaction with him and that he could not afterwards depend upon them for printing. Ironically enough, round about the time that this letter reached the Directors, they voted in early May 1830 a sum of £100 for Liang Afa to print his work.(118) What made matters worse was that, while alienating the parent society, Morrison was in the meantime estranged, more or less, from two other influential organizations. The Bible Society sent grants for printing directly to Malacca after

1823, because the blocks of Morrison and Milne's Chinese Bible were there. As for the Tract Society, there was an argument between it and Morrison in 1827 about the account of a fund of £300 for printing and since then it stopped its assistance to him, although it helped Afa's printing as the LMS did.(119) If the five years between 1815 and 1819 were the most disturbing period in Morrison's printing work, the last five years between 1830 and 1834 were the most embarrassing. Now the situation was clear enough, if he wanted to print the only way was to do it at his own expense.

Private Printing in Later Years

While Morrison was facing the most difficult time in his missionary career and was considering what he should do, the year 1830 saw the beginning of a new period for the Protestant mission enterprises in China from this year on, neither was Britain the only country having her mission, nor Morrison the sole missionary, excluding the East India Company's chaplain, in China, or more precisely, at Canton and Macao. Directly because of his appeal and the efforts of several American merchants at Canton, two American missionaries, Elijah C. Bridgman and David Abeel, were sent out respectively by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and the Seamen's Friend Society in 1829 and arrived at Macao in February 1830. They promptly began work at Canton. Furthermore, a Prussian missionary, Karl F. A. Gutzlaff, sent out by the Netherlands Missionary Society, sailed up the northern coast of China in 1831 before he appeared at Macao and Canton at the end of the same year. About twenty years younger than Morrison, these newcomers were energetic full-time missionaries and, soon realizing the importance of printing to their missions, were eager to look for means to print.

The ABCFM supported its agent with tremendous means. At the end of 1831, an American press arrived at Canton, so from May 1832 Bridgman was able to publish a monthly magazine in English, called *The Chinese Repository*, claiming to

give 'the most authentic and valuable information respecting China and the adjacent countries.' In October of the same year, a lithographic press was added to the American mission. Additionally, a young printer, Samuel W. Williams, arrived at Canton from New York in October 1833 to superintend the ABCFM's printing office. Accordingly, as far as printing was concerned, the American mission rose to a leading position in a very short period.(120) As for Gutzlaff, he was now supported by Alexander Matheson, a well-known English merchant at Canton and later at Hong Kong, whence he could print whatever he liked, through commissions of local printers with block printing, and brought his own products with many from other sources to distribute along China's coast. Moreover, from August 1833 Gutzlaff published a monthly in Chinese, called 東西洋考每月統紀傳, *Tung-hsi-yang k'ao mei-yüeh t'ung-chi-chuan*, Eastern Western Monthly Magazine, which was 'a periodical apologia for Western civilization, designed to exhibit in an inoffensive manner the superiority of European culture and learning.'(121)

Other than this missionary printing work, two commercial newspapers in English came into existence at Canton and Macao in the early 1830s, due to increasing numbers of traders there. One was *The Canton Register*, a bi-weekly that first appeared on 8 November 1827, edited and printed by W. W. Wood, a young American from Philadelphia. In 1831, *The Canton Register* became the property of an Irish merchant, Arthur S. Keating, and Wood started the *Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette* on 28 July of the same year. Morrison appeared to have contrasting feelings toward these two papers. On the one hand, he was a constant contributor to *The Canton Register* from its inception, attracted by an offer of $300 a year to be bestowed on any benevolent institution he chose. On the other, he regretted their unfavourable attitude to religion, publishing material against Protestant missionaries, though not directed at him.(122)

Lastly, there was the East India Company's printing office at Macao. With the completion of Morrison's dictionary, the Court instructed the Canton Factory in

April 1823 that the press should be stopped and Thoms the printer disengaged; but the press could be continued at the expense of 1,500 Taels (*c.* £500) annually if the Factory hoped to do so. The press was thus kept in operation and Thoms offered to work a year more. After his departure in March 1825, the press had no more literary production for four years until Morrison's Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect in 1829, printed by G. J. Steyn and his brother. Toward the end of the same year, a lithographic press 'neater and better' than Morrison's was obtained by the Factory and started to work under the care of a junior tea inspector in early 1830; yet no records show that any work was ever printed from it. The Company's printing office existed until 1834 when its monopoly in the China trade was abolished. During the last five years, the Steyn brothers produced at least four additional works, including an English monthly, and an unfinished one.(123)

As far as the Protestant missions and printing were concerned, these were the situations of Canton and Macao in 1830 and the ensuing years. Morrison could not be insensible to the changes without deep feeling, as he remarked in 1832:

> 'There is now in Canton a state of society, in respect of Chinese, totally different from what I found it in 1807. Chinese scholars, missionary students, English presses and Chinese Scriptures, with public worship of God, have all grown up since that period. I have served my generation, and must - the Lord knows when - fall asleep.'(124)

As the pioneer with twenty years experience and a great reputation in the field, he could only look on as the younger generation actively undertook what he always believed to be 'the powerful engine' for evangelizing the Gospel in China. Thus Morrison decided to take it upon himself to emulate them, on his private ground, with either religious or secular printing at Canton and Macao. He carried it on so far as to not only print with lithographic and conventional presses, but he even began production of punches, matrices and type of Chinese characters. A key factor in his decision was his sixteen-year-old son's return to China in June 1830. In addition to lithography, that he practised for several months at the turn of 1826, John had learned the art of letter-press printing at Malacca.(125) In fact, Morrison's printing business

afterwards was mainly undertaken by John, although he had come to Canton to be employed by some private English merchants as their Chinese translator. Thus, the same amateur Morrison and son joined the small but already competitive foreign printing community in China.

Since the lithographic press was at hand, they started to work at it. In May 1831, Morrison sent to the Directors and Fisher respectively some specimens of their lithographic printing produced by John, who 'has paid a good deal of attention to it' and 'has brought to work very fairly.'(126) Meanwhile, John taught Keu Agang, a Chinese block printer who had been connected with the Malacca station for many years and was now an assistant to Liang Afa, the art of lithography. In the late part of 1831, therefore, Agang could write, paint, print and distribute, all at Morrison's expense, a great amount of impressions of what he himself called 'picture tracts,' i.e. scripture tracts on single sheets with pictures on the reverse side. As John's previous lithographic trial in 1826 was rather experimental in nature, it was now for the first time that the lithographic product appeared before many people in China proper.(127) Almost all the Morrisons' lithographic products were sheet tracts and ephemeral matter. There are a few specimens, very likely the only extant ones, in the LMS archives, including three single sheet tracts in Chinese characters, composed and written on stone by Afa and printed by Agang in 1831; a scene of the Canton Factories sketched by George Chinnery, a contemporary English artist residing at Macao, and printed by John; a map of Formosa (Taiwan) in English printed on a stone brought from Bengal; a note with the title 'The Whole Duty of Man' written in English, Greek, Hebrew and Chinese, in two sheets and bearing the imprint 'Anglo-Chinese Lith' Press, 1831.' The last two pieces were painted or written by John and printed by him. There is also a sheet with Chinese and Korean characters written perhaps by Afa and printed by John.(128)

Besides sheet products, they completed a pamphlet in October 1832 and claimed that it was 'the first lithographic tract that has been printed in China in the

form of a book.'(129) After the book was completed, however, the Morrisons' interest in lithography more or less waned, partly due to some technical difficulties in their practice and partly because of their new venture in type printing. In January 1833, Morrison admitted to Fisher that, 'We have not got our lithography to take off a sufficient number of copies yet. We require a European workman who has been well instructed in the art to teach natives and conduct the press.'(130) The request, together with another one of publishing a 'penny magazine' in China, was conveyed, but in vain, by Fisher to some societies in England, including the LMS. In October 1833, John wrote to Fisher and told him that the lithographic press had stood almost idle for a time.(131) Again he informed Fisher in June 1834, about a month and a half before Morrison's death, that 'The lithographic press remains at present almost idle.'(132)

Very likely evoked by the ABCFM's newly arrived press, the Morrisons determined around the turn of 1831 to launch themselves into the business of letter-press printing and commissioned a London printer, Samuel Bagster, to purchase all the necessary outfit.(133) An Albion press and founts of type, which were together worth £150, arrived at Macao by November 1832. The press was named 'The Morrisons' Albion Press' and John was the master printer. On 19 November of the same year, Morrison was 'very much pleased' to read its first proof, which was a circular in English concerning the progress of Christianity in China after a quarter century, affixed were his and Bridgman's names and it was dated 4 September 1832 in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his arrival.(134)

Based upon these experiences, the Morrisons started to think of a periodical. The idea originated from the penny magazines which they received regularly from Fisher from the middle of 1832 and found to be of great advantage to his children. In early 1833, he wrote to Fisher:

> 'I wish we had a penny magazine in China to supplant the depraved tracts and ballads that the poor who can read devour. It is a mighty object to supply the millions of China with innocent and instructive

reading. The object is worthy of a separate society. But we want writers, and we should have moveable types.'(135)

Although Fisher voluntarily took his idea to various societies, it appears that Morrison had not expected any help from home or that a society would really be formed for this purpose, but just resolutely decided to carry out the idea of a Chinese penny magazine or something else by himself, including the costly type production. The first number of a 'religious newspaper', *The Evangelist and Miscellanea Sinica*, came out on 1 May 1833. It consisted of four pages, in two columns each, and contained Chinese ethics with English translations, religious biographies and news from Canton and elsewhere in China. The texts were English with areas in Chinese printed with moveable type. The irregular 'newspaper' was sold through a bookshop at Macao and individually at Canton at one mace each or eight for a dollar. However, its contents referring to the Catholic church caused opposition from Portuguese priests at Macao. On 20 June 1833, an order from the Portuguese Governor to the president of the British Factory requested Morrison to stop further use of the press at Macao, not only because of 'the publication of certain works contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church,' but also the press 'cannot be made use of without the royal sanction of his most faithful Majesty and under the restrictions of a previous censorship.'(136) Therefore, after only four issues, the *Evangelist* ceased publication.

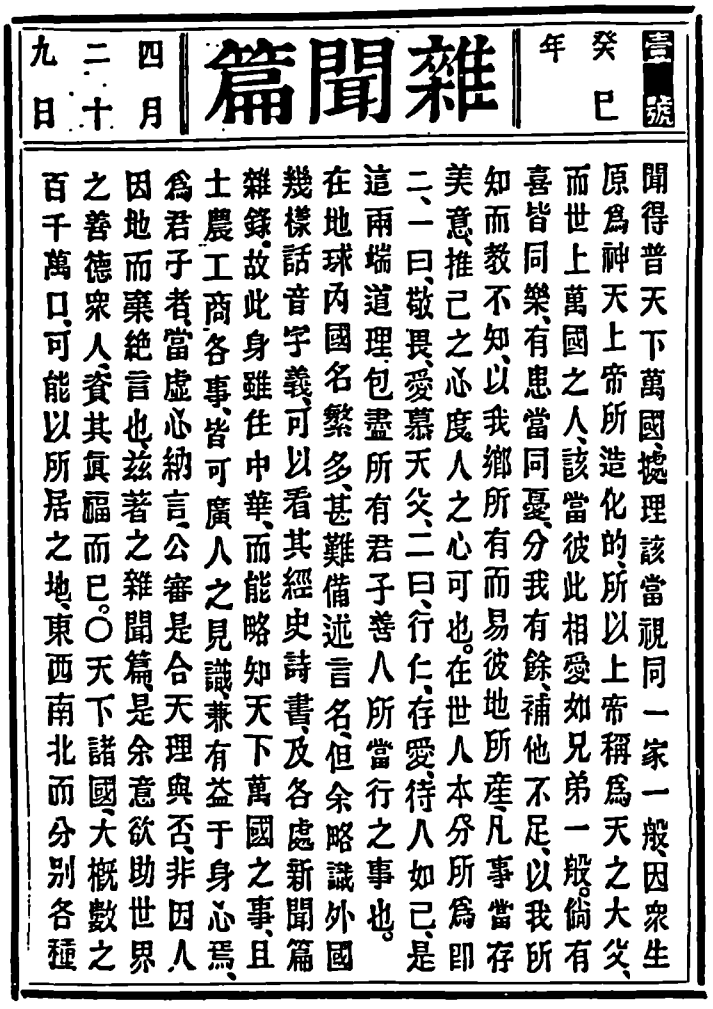
At this heavy blow, Morrison was rather more indignant with the English Select Committee than with the Portuguese. In the past quarter century, he often described the latter's jealousy of Protestantism, but until this time he had not been disturbed by the Portuguese, at least not directly. While reporting the death of the Catholic bishop in 1828, Morrison wrote that 'he had presided twenty years in Macao, was reputed bigoted but never annoyed, so as I know, the Protestant missionary there.'(137) In contrast, he felt aggrieved at his superiors' yielding to the Portuguese pressure, as he wrote, 'This made the Select Committee the medium of their order, and it lent its authority to the Portuguese. There is no press allowed in Macao, but the Company's goes on and nobody asks any questions.'(138)

The Morrisons' Albion Press stopped its printing in English, but not in Chinese, because he believed that, 'There are various reasons why we should go on as quietly with the press as we can;' and, 'As I have desisted from publishing the *Evangelist* perhaps the Portuguese will stop their operations against me.'(139) Accordingly, by the end of 1833, his four workers brought out, in addition to cutting more than 6,000 Chinese moveable types, an extraordinary amount of Chinese publications: three numbers of a Chinese replacement version of the *Evangelist*, 雜聞篇 *Tsa wen p'ien*, A Miscellaneous Paper, four pages each, containing religious instructions and general knowledge, 20,000 copies for each number; 祈禱文讚神詩 *Ch'i-tao-wen tsan-shen-shih*, Prayers and Hymns, the former by Afa and the latter by Morrison, consisting of sixty pages, 10,000 copies printed; and, several thousand copies of the first Psalm and other scripture extracts on slips of paper, Chinese on one side and English on the other, 'designed for ships where sailors and Chinese meet.'(plate 2-6) After the setback of the *Evangelist*, the vast numbers produced represented a plentiful harvest and a great consolation, and he could not lose the opportunity to tell the Directors about this accomplishment:

> 'Twenty-six years have rolled away since I first landed on the shores of China. To the Bible, the Dictionary and the College of former years, I have this season added sixty thousand sheet tracts, containing chiefly selections from holy Scripture; and ten thousand copies of a little book of sixty pages containing prayers and hymns. These were printed with Chinese moveable types at our press which I got out last year for the use of my son John. We called it The Morrisons' Albion Press. The printers and type cutters were all trained at the Anglo-Chinese College.'(140)

Meanwhile, as he usually did in this period, Morrison proceeded to remind the Directors that all these publications were not printed at their expense.

The completion of these Chinese works signified the climax in printing practice in his life, as the Albion press was moved to Canton for John's use in January



壹號　癸巳年

雜聞篇

四月二十九日

聞得普天下萬國、攄理該當視同一家一般、因衆生原爲神天上帝所造化的、所以上帝稱爲天之大父、而世上萬國之人、該當彼此相愛如兄弟一般。倘有喜皆同樂、有患當同憂、分我有餘、補他不足、以我所知而教不知、以我鄉所有而易彼地所產、凡事當存美意、推己之心度人之心可也。在世人本分所爲即二、一曰敬畏、愛慕天父、二曰行仁、存愛、待人如己、是這兩端道理、包盡所有君子善人所當行之事也。在地球內國名繁多、甚難備述言名、但余略識外國幾樣話音字義、可以看其經史詩書、及各處新聞篇雜錄、故此身雖住中華、而能略知天下萬國之事、且士農工商各事、皆可廣人之見識、兼有益于身心焉、爲君子者、當虛心納言、公審是合天理與否、非因人因地而棄絕言也、茲著之雜聞篇、是余意欲助世界之善德衆人、資其眞福而已。〇天下諸國、大概數之百千萬口、可能以所居之地、東西南北而分別各種

plate 2-6. The first page of the first number of 雜聞篇 *Tsa wen p'ien*, A Miscellaneous Paper. (SOAS Collection)

1834, to avoid further problems at Macao in the future. Several months before the removal, John was at Canton making experiments on cutting punches and casting type, while Morrison's cutting moveable type by native workers at Macao became the 'most expensive and unsatisfactory' matter which he continued with great difficulties. In contrast to the conception he held some twenty years ago that the Chinese Bible should be produced with block printing, Morrison had now become a supporter of moveable type and viewed type founding to be of 'first-rate importance.'(141) In October 1833, in discussion with John about the possibility of canvassing the business of printing the Chinese Bible for the American Bible Society, he remarked that, 'It would be better to print with moveable types an edition of ... the Old and New Testaments, as his funds would allow, than cut blocks for them.'(142) His great anticipation was now the success of type founding and he ambitiously hoped that 'in the span of one or two years, we shall be able to cast Chinese types with facility.'(143) However, John's attempts on punches were not as successful as they expected, partly due to technical problems and partly due to his range of work at Canton, including translating for English merchants, compiling and printing his *The Anglo-Chinese Kalendar* and *A Chinese Commercial Guide*, doing some jobbing printing, helping Bridgman's English monthly and Gutzlaff's Chinese magazine and training his own frequently changing assistants. Again, Morrison underwent another disappointment when the work was given up after March 1834. His ensuing and last endeavour in printing was to try an experiment in taking impressions from moveable type without a press, 'I have been at the press and tried to take an impression with the Chinese brush, and believe that it is quite practicable.'(144) If it was a zealous amateur's last striving for a technically unrealistic whim, it also reflects the efforts of a persevering missionary, treated coldly by his parent society, desperately seeking a handy way of printing so that he could afford to produce a greater result in religious as well as secular terms. In fact, from the beginning of his printing in 1810, Morrison was always enthusiastic for printing, no matter whether he printed with blocks, cut or cast

type, or used a lithographic method, as he wrote in 1834: 'I often admire and wonder at the power of the press in modern times. Many of my sentiments have by means of it found their way to every language and every people.'(145)

The year 1834 witnessed a fundamental change in Anglo-Chinese relations due to the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly in the China trade and the appointment of a Superintendent of Commerce in China by the British Government, which meant afterwards a new relation of direct contact, for better or worse, between two governments. The day after the arrival of the first Superintendent Lord Napier at Macao on 15 July 1834, Morrison was commissioned as Chinese Secretary and Interpreter, whereby he became the King's servant rather than the Company's employee. Less than a month later, however, he died at Canton on 1 August at the age of fifty-two. The fledgling John could not maintain both lithographic and Albion presses, or, even one of them, in operation long after his father's death. Toward the end of 1835, he wrote to Fisher to tell him that there were three or four lithographic presses at work, except that his, the Albion press and type were lent out.(146) Therefore, other religious and secular presses continued their businesses either under the support of Christian societies or commercial institutions, or just being self-supporting by selling their products, Morrison's private printing enterprise, which had already been in somewhat straitened circumstances a year before his death, could be said to come to an end.

To complete the story of the LMS's Chinese printing in China in this period, mention must be made about the work of Afa and his assistant Agang, who both received the society's monthly allowance through Morrison. In contrast to Morrison's embarrassing situation, Afa procured considerable support not only from the LMS, whose fund of £100 in 1830 was mentioned before, but also from the Tract Society, the British and Foreign School Society, the American Tract Society, foreign Christian merchants at Canton and Gutzlaff. These various resources enabled the publication of his two major works from blocks: 聖書日課初學便用 *Sheng-shu jih-k'o ch'u-hsüeh*

pien-yüng, Scripture Lessons, and 勸世良言 *Ch'üan-shih liang-yen*, Good Words Exhorting the Age. The former, principally a translation of the same title published by the British and Foreign School Society, was in three volumes and printed in 1831. The latter, a collection of nine tracts composed by himself, was in nine volumes and printed in 1832. Besides the two lengthy works, Afa and Agang constantly worked on sheet tracts at Morrison's Albion or lithographic press at Macao, as Morrison remarked, 'The two perform part of the work themselves. It is interesting to read of Afa one day composing tracts; another taking off the impressions; Agang stitching them and both setting off on a journey to distribute the words of eternal life.'(147)

Despite having been prohibited by the local authorities from appearing in Canton since 1819, Afa often went up there to distribute books, especially to hundreds even thousands of students who came to the provincial capital to attend prefecture or provincial literary examinations. Morrison was quite worried about Afa's 'unusual boldness' in distribution being at the risk of his safety.(148) As Morrison feared, the troubles came within a month of his death. Afa's distributing books to students during the triennial examination coincided with the confrontation between Lord Napier and the Canton authorities, caused by the former's insisting upon direct and equal communication with a suitable counterpart. A printed statement in Chinese to the public by Napier raised a cry against Chinese traitors and Afa with his companions hence became wanted suspects. Ten people were arrested, but Afa and Agang escaped by a hair's breadth and fled down to Malacca with Bridgman's and John Morrison's help.(149)

Following Morrison's death, there was no residential missionary of the LMS in China. The exile of Afa and Agang also ended the LMS's printing in the country. It was not until nearly a decade later, after the Opium War, that the new generations of the LMS's missionaries came in 1843 and began a new phase of their Chinese printing as well as other mission work.

Chapter Three
The LMS in Southeast Asia, 1815-1846

With a view to seeking an environment in which missionaries could pursue their work with overseas Chinese without interference, William Milne, who had not been able to reside at either Macao or Canton, came down to Malacca, a British colony on the Malay Peninsula, and established a mission station there in 1815. In 1819, three more stations were established by other LMS missionaries: two at Singapore and Penang, on the same peninsula under British control, and one at Batavia in Java, part of the Dutch East Indies. These four stations formed a regional body called the Ultra-Ganges Mission. As expected, missionaries at these places were under the protection of colonial governments whilst undertaking their work, mainly preaching and establishing schools as well as printing and distributing books to Chinese migrants and the natives. Not until China opened her doors, after the Opium War in 1843, did the LMS missionaries leave Southeast Asia, except for continuing the Singapore mission, and move to China proper. As far as printing was concerned, during a period of thirty-one years (1815-1846), these four stations produced from blocks, by lithographic press and with moveable type, a total of 991,373 copies of religious and secular books and periodicals in Chinese, Malay and other languages.(1) In addition to this immense quantity of almost a million volumes, the LMS contributed to the history of printing in Southeast Asia, being the first to start printing in Malacca and Singapore, having begun the experiment of casting metallic Chinese moveable type at Penang and possessing the most productive printing office in contemporary Batavia. It was also Southeast Asia, in this period, that saw the implementation, undertaken by an LMS missionary, of the transition of Chinese printing from xylography to typography.

Situated between the Pacific and Indian Oceans, Southeast Asia has been the pathway, both overland and as a sea route, between China and India. As early as the second century B.C., an official Chinese mission visited India via Southeast Asia. From the second century A.D., Southeast Asian countries began their constant trading activities with China in the form of tribute. At least 116 such missions were recorded in Chinese governmental annals during a span of 370 years (220-589 A.D.).(2) In the meantime, there were visits to these countries by officials and Buddhist monks from China. In spite of this frequent communication, however, there is no evidence to show that there were migrant Chinese communities anywhere in Southeast Asia until the tenth century. The main reason that prevented the Chinese from moving to that region in groups was the lack of technique to build ocean-going ships, so that the early interactions between Chinese and other peoples overseas were brought about using either Arabic, Persian, or Indian vessels.

China was in turmoil in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Constant massacres of people in nation-wide civil wars forced many coastal residents to flee abroad in ships, built by the Chinese themselves who now possessed the knowledge. The comparatively close Southeast Asia was naturally the place for refuge. Soon finding that there were plenty of risks but a lucrative opportunity in trading with Southeast Asia, more and more merchants, including skilled workers, from China's southern coastal provinces emigrated. In the long period of nearly a thousand years, merchants continuously made up the overwhelming number of the Chinese in Southeast Asia. It needs to be borne in mind that, under the deep influence of Confucianism in Chinese society, merchants were the lowest social class, after literati, farmers and workers, because they were deemed to be greedy and intent on nothing but profit, thereby contributing the least to the nation. While in Southeast Asia, however, Chinese merchants could improve their reputation by their shrewdness

in business, hard work and frugal virtue, without being stifled by Confucian doctrines. This enabled them to compete with Indians, Arabs and other merchants who came to the area much earlier. Besides this, skilled Chinese workers could also earn higher wages, even many times that of their competitors from other ethnic groups. By the fourteenth century, the Chinese already made up an active element of the economic community in Southeast Asia as a whole.

In the first part of the fifteenth century, China paid extraordinary attention to its relations with Southeast Asian countries. Chinese naval vessels sailed again and again on cruises in the region and the social status of Chinese immigrants reached a new high. However, the policy soon changed when the Manchus threatened from China's northern frontier. As successive governments consistently cut back, for the sake of national security, their relations with foreign countries and prohibited their people going abroad, the Chinese overseas found themselves becoming illegal emigrants. With no protection of any kind to be expected from Chinese governments, the migrants would probably be prosecuted or be subjected to extortion by officials if they dared to return to their motherland. In spite of this dilemma, however, the Chinese continued to migrate to Southeast Asia seeking their fortunes.

About half a century after China had abandoned her active interest in Southeast Asia, Europeans began to appear in their waters and soon brought about tremendous changes to the region's history. Without exception, the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and British immediately found that the Chinese would be instrumental in the development of their new colonies. The Europeans tried every lure or forced means to get the Chinese to move to their territories, using them as the major source of skilled workers in constructing new cities and as the providers of daily necessities, as intermediaries between themselves and the natives in business transactions, and as both collectors and payers of taxes. Although no accurate total for the Chinese population in Southeast Asia can be obtained, it has been estimated that there were around 320,000 in the Malay Peninsula and the Southeast Asian archipelagoes in

1850.(3) Different ethnic groups in towns throughout Southeast Asia usually resided together in their specific quarters and kept their own languages, customs, religions and so on, so as to form a plural society in each town. To rule the mixed but not combined society, the Europeans introduced a Kapitan (Captain) system, in which the most prominent merchants were appointed by local government as heads of different ethnic groups and were authorized to deal with their own internal affairs. Combining this administrative position with business interests and the social welfare service provided for poor folk or new arrivals, the Chinese Captain had enormous influence upon his people's social, economic, cultural and religious life.

Except for a few incidents, the Chinese were welcomed in Southeast Asia at most times after the sixteenth century.(4) However, their best time was perhaps the half century from 1786 onwards in the Malay Peninsula, during which period they were very welcome in the foundation of British colonies in Penang, Malacca and Singapore, and where they promptly achieved dominance in economic as well as social respects. Amongst the universal praise for the Chinese role in the development of colonial Southeast Asia, a typical remark was made by Francis Light, the founder of Penang in 1794 when he said that, 'The Chinese constitute the most valuable part of our inhabitants; ... They are the only people of the East from whom a revenue may be raised without expence and extraordinary efforts of government.'(5) John Crawfurd, the Resident of Singapore from 1823 to 1826 and a scholar of Southeast Asia, in 1823, said 'one Chinaman is equal in value to the state to two natives of the Coromandel coast and to four Malays at least.'(6) It was in these circumstances that the LMS came to the region.

Malacca

A Historic City

Located on the west shore of the Malay Peninsula and facing a strategic strait which was the most widely used passage between China and India in the times of sailing ships, Malacca became the capital of the newly established Kingdom of Malacca around 1400, having formerly been a fishing village. Along with the rapid expansion of the kingdom and its conversion to Islam over several decades, the city of Malacca grew to be the political and religious centre of the Malay world. Its prestige was further enhanced by its increasing prosperity in international trade. In the hundred years from its foundation, Malacca rose to become one of the greatest entrepôts in the East, as at any one time there were upward of two thousand boats lying at anchor in the harbour and 100,000 people speaking eighty-four languages living there.(7)

China's contact with Malacca began soon after its establishment. In 1402, the Emperor Yung-lo, of the Ming Dynasty, sent an envoy to Malacca, along with other Southeast Asian countries, to proclaim his accession. Hence began Malacca's relationship with China in accepting vassal status. In the following three decades, Malacca was visited by Chinese naval fleets on their seven expeditions to Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. In the meantime, Chinese merchants appeared in its market-place and a Chinese community called 'Campong China' gradually established itself in this rising cosmopolitan city.

Malacca's booming commerce invited seizure by the Portuguese, who were eagerly occupying strategic points along the vital spice route. However, their conquest of Malacca in 1511 led China to reject Portuguese attempts at direct trading, this being the beginning of unpleasant relations between China and the West in the period of modern history, and in the meantime there followed constant fighting between the Portuguese and the neighbouring Malay states. Wars, together with

Portuguese monopolistic practices in commercial transactions, drove many merchants to other places and led to the slow but continuous decline of Malacca. Nevertheless, when St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the East, first arrived in 1545, there were more than a hundred ships, including Chinese junks, anchored in the harbour.(8) In addition to being a trade entrepôt, Malacca was the headquarters of Portuguese Catholic enterprises east of India. In 1613, there were 7,400 Catholics, 8 parishes, 14 churches and 4 convents belonging to different orders.(9) Through the missionaries of these orders, the faith was spread to many places in Asia. It was from Malacca that Francis Xavier, accompanied by a Chinese convert, set out on his unsuccessful journey to China in 1552.

In 1641, Malacca fell into the hands of the Dutch. The heavy death toll in fierce fighting drastically reduced the population from an estimated number of 20,000, in the Portuguese period, to 2,706, including about 300 to 400 Chinese shopkeepers and craftsmen. In order to reconstruct the ruined city, the Dutch had urgently to import Chinese workers from Batavia. Based on their previous experience in developing Batavia, the Dutch encouraged Chinese migration. The number of Chinese migrants in Malacca increased to 2,160 among the total of 9,635 inhabitants in 1750, the year with the highest number in the Dutch period. The Chinese also contributed the largest part of Malacca revenue.(10) However, being in a peripheral position in the Dutch empire in Asia, Malacca could not attract much attention either from Amsterdam or from Batavia. As the Dutch East India Company was in a process of decline throughout the eighteenth century, Malacca continued to suffer from its chronic deterioration.

In 1786, the foundation of British Penang, with its superior harbour 260 miles further up the same coast and more liberal management of trade, came to Malacca as a heavy blow. This was followed by Britain's taking over Malaccca in 1795, together with some other Dutch territories overseas, to prevent it from being occupied by the French in the Napoleonic War. As it was expected that Malacca

would be handed back to the Dutch after the war, the British caretaker administration resolved not to spend too much in Malacca. Its silted harbour received only a few small vessels annually. Local government never had enough revenue to meet its ends. Convinced that Malacca was a hidden obstacle to Penang's development, the British destroyed in 1807 the stone fortress of Malacca built by the Portuguese. Meanwhile, an order was given from India to move all Malacca's inhabitants to Penang, but the impractical measure was abandoned halfway through. Estimates made between 1808 and 1814 gave the size of the population of the town and suburbs as being 20,000 or less, consisting of Malay, Indian, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch and some other peoples. The Chinese were the largest ethnic group in town. Most of them were from the southern part of Fuchien province and spoke the dialect of that area. Like their countrymen in China, these migrants practiced a religion mixed of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. During his first visit to Malacca, during his journey to Southeast Asia to choose future missionary station in 1814, Milne found that its Chinese residents could not number more than 5,000, but he happily found that they were all concentrated in their campong, which would be very convenient for missionary work.(11) He also considered that the Chinese in Malacca seemed to be more intelligent than those in Java, and to have preserved their own language better. Some Chinese families had lived in Malacca for centuries. Many Chinese male migrants married Malay women and their descendants formed a large 'baba' community with a mixed culture; for example, speaking Malay but reading Chinese. The Chinese dominated Malacca's commerce by controlling almost all retail and much of the wholesale trade. In addition to merchants and skilled workers, Milne even found that there were learned men and poets amongst them.

Penang, Malacca and Batavia were the three alternatives when Morrison and Milne considered the place for a new mission among overseas Chinese. Penang was dropped first as Milne had not got there before the monsoon changed. It is true that Batavia was a thriving city with a Chinese population three times that of Malacca, but

there were concerns other than economic ones that were more important to the brethren.(12) Malacca was closer to China and located in a more convenient position to communicate with other parts of Southeast Asia having Chinese communities for potential missionary work. In fact, the historic city of Malacca had been in Morrison's mind for several years. He more than once appealed to the Directors to establish Malacca as the centre of Protestant Christianity in Asia, it being his wish

> 'that we had an institution at Malacca for the training of missionaries, European and native and designed for all the countries beyond the Ganges. There also, let there be that powerful engine, the press. ... We want a central point for our Asiatic missions. We want organized co-operation. We want a press. We want a committee of missionaries.'(13)
> '... to make Malacca a central point; a well supported missionary station, supplied with good missionaries and a press, or presses. ... Let Malacca be the seat of your missionary college for training both natives and Europeans to the work of the ministry in the countries beyond the Ganges.'(14)

Consequently, despite its economic decline, which led the town to be described as deserted or lifeless by various visitors in the 1820s, quiet Malacca was determined to be the right place for their missionary endeavours.(15)

The Beginning of the Mission

Before Milne left for Malacca, the brethren had formed ten resolutions to serve as the guidelines for the new station, including the need to obtain a piece of ground for buildings, to start a Chinese free school, to print works in various languages, to begin religious services, to translate the Bible into Chinese and so on. Because surreptitious printing had been the major part of their labours in past years, it is not surprising to find that more attention was given to this subject than any others. In the first resolution, justifying the new station outside China, printing was pointed out as the major difficulty in their work. In three other resolutions, they continued to describe what would be expected of printing at Malacca. The first was a monthly

Chinese magazine for the diffusion of general knowledge and Christianity. Then an English periodical to promote the union and co-operation amongst the LMS missions in the East. The third was the printing of the Chinese Bible and other Christian and secular works in Chinese, Malay and English.(16) On the whole, these projects were too ambitious for Milne to undertake, considering that he would be the only missionary on the spot and that his health was precarious, not to speak of his other work in school, services, translation and as well as sundry duties. Nonetheless, Milne determined to take up this great challenge, partly in deference to his senior brethren, from whom were coming most of these ideas, and partly because of his own zeal. On 17 April 1815, he set out from Canton with his family, a Chinese teacher and a printer, Liang Afa, and arrived at Malacca on 22 May of the same year.

The Malacca station began without difficulties. Within two and a half months, the first two efforts, 義館 *I-kuan*, the Free School, and 察世俗每月統記傳 *Ch'a-shih-su mei-yüeh t'ung-chi-chuan*, the Chinese Magazine, were simultaneously launched on 5 August 1815.(17) The school opened with five students only, for it was the first time that there had been such a thing as a free school at Malacca, and it caused parental apprehensions of the 'foreign' missionary's motivation. Milne had to print, with blocks, an announcement stating the aims of the school, the courses offered and that stationery would be provided.(18) The number of pupils increased to fourteen by the end of the year. When the school in the mission premises continued to grow, several schools branched out to different quarters of Malacca in the following years.

Always called by its founder the 'small' or 'little' magazine, the Chinese Magazine was in fact the first modern periodical, and to some degree newspaper, in Chinese.(plate 3-1) Its preparation had already begun when Milne wrote a preface and had it cut in Canton before he left for Malacca. The purpose of the magazine was to diffuse both religious and general knowledge, but it seemed natural to Milne to give priority to the former: 'To promote Christianity was to be its primary object,

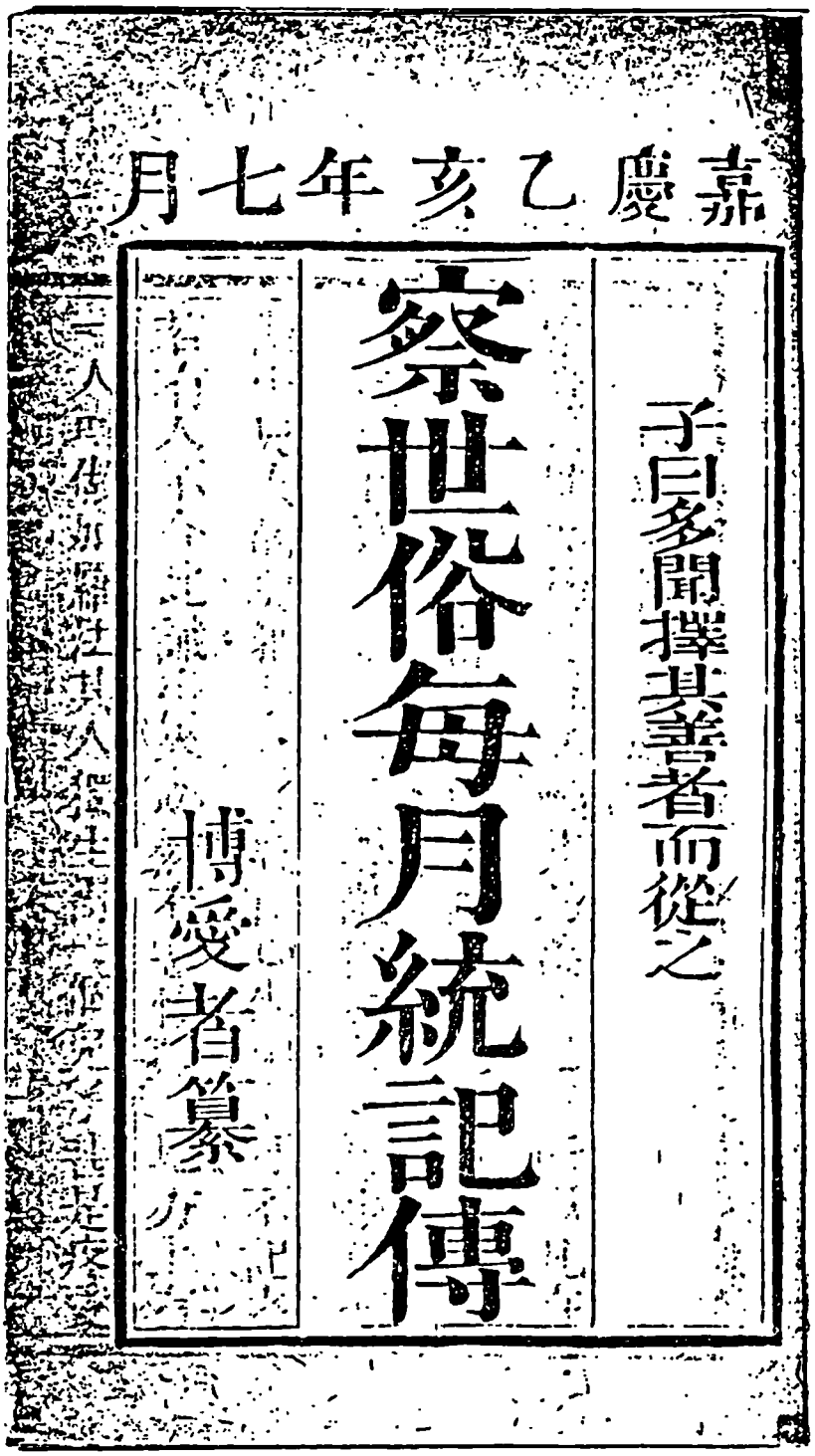


plate 3-1. The title page of 察世俗每月統記傳 (*Ch'a-shih-su mei-yueh t'ung-chi-chuan*, the Chinese Magazine. (British Library Collection)

other things, though they were to be treated in subordination to this, were not to be overlooked. Knowledge and science are the hand-maids of religion, and may become the auxiliaries of virtue.'(19) Therefore, Milne declared in the preface that the three main subjects in the magazine would be, in order, 神理*Shen-li*, Christianity, 人道 *Jen-tao*, humanities, and 國俗 *Kuo-su*, the state of nations. In addition to these, subjects such as astronomy, geography and reports of incidents would appear occasionally. Meanwhile, Milne assured its readers that the length of each essay would be limited to the time that the poor and the labourers could afford to read, and be written in a plain way.

The first number consisted of 8 leaves (or 16 pages), containing the preface, an essay on a repentant dutiful son and the announcement of the opening of the school, without counting the cover and title page. Afterwards the size of the magazine, from the overall total of 77 issues published in 7 volumes, varied from 4 to 10 leaves each. Physically, the magazine was a typical Chinese work printed with blocks. It was printed on one side of thin paper made from bamboo and shipped from Canton by Morrison. A motto combining two sayings of Confucius多聞擇其善者從焉 *Tuo-wen tse ch'i shan che ts'ung yen*, 'Inquire much - select that which is good and accord therewith,' and the editor's pen name博愛者 *Po-ai-che*, The Catholic Lover, appeared on the title page. Each leaf was divided, and folded inward when printed, into two half-leaves (or two pages) by 'the heart of the block', where the simplified title, a symbol called 'fish tail', and the number of the leaf were printed from top down. At first, each half-leaf had seven vertical lines, containing twenty characters (or words) each. The whole printed area was surrounded by a double-line margin. More Chinese flavour was added with a common Chinese position device, i.e. a single-space elevation, which was sometimes applied to show reverence to characters that were intended to refer to God. The number of characters in each line and lines in each half-leaf were twice increased in later issues to fill more material.(20) This measure, however, was at the expense of the pleasing appearance of the first leaves.

Because blocks were cut by different workers, who were usually in the meantime the scribes, block-cutters and printers, individual craftsmanship resulted in different styles and qualities throughout the whole series between 1815 and 1822. In the first three years 500 copies were printed of each issue, then 1,000 copies from 1819 until its end. More copies of the complete volume for each year were also printed from the original blocks, with a new table of contents, and bound together for circulation. From the beginning, the magazine was circulated gratis. A repeated announcement invited local Chinese inhabitants to collect the magazine at Milne's residence at the beginning of each month. For those living in other places, special delivery could be arranged through mail or boatman.

Just as Milne desired, religious and moral essays had a large share in the magazine's contents. Of the space in the whole 1,098 half-leaves of the British Library collection, which is the only nearly complete one known to be extant, around 950 (86.5%) belonged to this category. The remaining 148 half-leaves (13.5%) were shared by science and technology, history and geography, literature, news and miscellaneous matters. Except for very few pages by Morrison, Medhurst, Liang Afa and Milne's pupils, all came from Milne's own pen. Writing for the magazine required half of Milne's time and labour, with the other half left for worship, street preaching and house visiting, supervising schools, studying the Malay language, writing for and editing *The Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, translating a Chinese Bible, as well as the affairs of the Anglo-Chinese College after 1818. His tight schedule and multiple tasks could hardly allow him to finish a whole work at one time and Milne began publishing in instalments from the inception of the magazine. A topic was divided into sections and written to fill just a full leaf or leaves each month, then all sections were re-printed from original blocks to form a complete work. Publishing in instalments not only suited Milne's time and working pattern, but also gave an additional opportunity for him to correct any errors or to make necessary revisions to blocks. On the other hand however, some defects resulted from this kind of

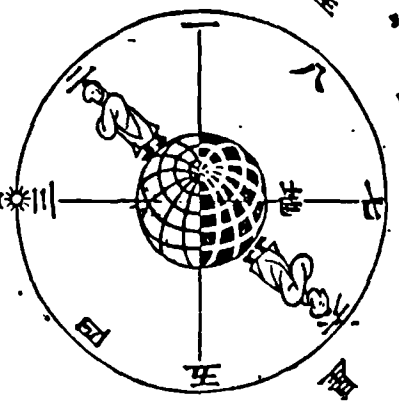
publication, such as the lack of a consistent style in writing and the disordered sequence of sections with confused marking systems of leaf number.

Regarding religious and moral subjects, three of Milne's important works were in instalment form before they were published as single books. Among these was his most well-known 張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen, which first appeared in twelve issues between 1817 and 1819. In this work the Christian doctrines were for the first time explained in Chinese through a plot, consisting of twelve dialogues between two friends. This induced later missionaries to think that it would be interesting enough to attract Chinese readers. Various editions printed by the LMS and other societies finally made it become the best seller of all Christian tracts in Chinese.(21) Milne's liking for the dialogue style and his confidence in its effect were testified to by several further essays, written in a similar way in later issues of the magazine. Besides the Dialogues, Milne's two other religious instalments were 古今聖史記 集 *Ku-chin sheng shih-chi chi*, Sacred History, in 71 leaves, which was the longest one in the magazine, and 聖書節註十二訓 *Sheng-shu chieh-chu shih-erh hsün*, Twelve Short Sermons, which occupied just one full leaf in each issue, a very typical style in instalment form.

In respect of science and technology, the major effort was a series on astronomy in 10 chapters, published between August 1816 and February 1819. To help his readers, who had no experience of modern science, Milne made an ambitious trial to use wood-cuts in this series. Six plates in total were inserted, depicting the diurnal motion and the revolution of the earth as well as the solar and lunar eclipse. In his letter to the Directors in October 1816, Milne enclosed an impression taken from a wood-cut and excitedly told them, '[It] will show you that our workmen can cut with tolerable exactness; and as this is the first plate of the kind cut here, I hope they will be able to cut such other plates and maps, as may be necessary for illustration, more exactly and with finer strokes.'(22)(plate 3-2) However, it is

半繞到得日地與日相去如此之遠也地有兩動行一是地周圍自己之軸自西至東每日運行一輪此所使有日夜一是地每年周圍日自南至北而運行一輪此所使有四時也至於地每日之動行學者可察下圖庶乎可畧明白此理也

地每日運行圖



此圖是教學者知地每日運行一輪日雖如小其實大於地萬萬倍而只因離地甚遠人想其爲小學者不可不記

plate 3-2. The first woodcut in the Chinese Magazine, August & September 1816. 'The diurnal motion of the earth.' (SOAS. LMS Archives. Malacca. 1.1.D., Milne to the Directors. 26 August 1816.)

regrettable that Milne did not continue to use any further illustrations in the magazine, except a later one irrelevant to science.

As to history and geography, the main item was a serial entitled 全地萬國紀略 *Ch'üan-ti wan-kuo chi-lüeh*, Sketch of the World, published from April 1820 until March 1821. Milne divided the world into four continents, i.e. Europe, Asia, Africa and America, giving each a summary of population, system of government, language and religion. In addition to this, there was an article narrating the voyages and discoveries of Dias and da Gama in the issue of September 1821.

Literature was a very interesting part of the magazine. Milne published his five translations from *Aesop's Fables* in different issues between 1819 and 1821. This was the second time that Aesop's work appeared in Chinese, almost exactly two hundred years after an earlier publication.(23) There were also Milne's twelve Chinese poems. Furthermore, corresponding with the foundation of the Anglo-Chinese College in 1819, his pupils' several compositions and poems appeared in later issues. A column entitled 少年人篇 *Shao-nien-jen p'ien*, A Teenagers' Page, was also introduced in 1821.

The last subject, which only occupied a very small portion in the magazine, was news. Very likely the most interesting, not only as a news report but amongst the entire contents of the magazine for its Chinese readers, was a leaf entitled 新聞篇 *Hsin-wen p'ien*, The News Page, in the issue of May 1820. It consisted of a report of four incidents that happened in China between June and August in the previous year: a flood in the Chih-li province, a tributary mission from Nanchang arriving at Peking, the Emperor's fall from horse back on his way to Manchuria but without injury, and the trial of a man from Shanhsi province for murdering his father, after his wife had been raped by the father. Despite these four news stories having very different lengths, from just one line (with twenty-two words) to fifteen lines, all possess the elements of news. 'The News Page' is definitely proof of the claim that the Chinese Magazine was the first modern Chinese journal.(24) More interestingly, this leaf was

printed with metallic moveable type cut in Macao by Chinese workers under the supervision of P. P. Thoms, the East India Company's printer, and sent down to Malacca in 1817. From the point of view of technique or beauty, the quality of this leaf was far inferior to those printed with blocks. A very incompatible effect resulted from this and other parts, due partly to its smaller characters in somewhat awkward strokes and partly from different printing methods. However, Milne reported in a letter to the Directors that the news increased the circulation of the magazine. He did not give the reason for such an increase, but almost certainly it was because of the murder trial, which occupied a little more than half of the leaf.(25)

By the end of 1816, the Malacca station had printed seven works, excluding the Chinese Magazine. Of these, four were cut in China before the launch of the station, whilst two others were reprints from the magazine and one from a pamphlet on vaccination.(26) This situation tells us that the Chinese Magazine was apparently the mainstay of printing in Malacca during the first year and a half.

Development and Transformation

While the free school and the Chinese Magazine carried on smoothly, Milne was thinking of another important object, i.e. obtaining a plot of ground and buildings for the further growth of the Malacca station. This became more urgent after the news reached him that Malacca's restoration to the Dutch was being determined at the Vienna Conference of 1815. Meanwhile, the arrival of C. H. Thomsen, a missionary sent out by the Directors for the purpose of working among Malay natives, in September 1815, increased the necessity. In January 1816, Milne went to Penang, the capital of the Presidency government, seeking a grant of land. In his petition, Milne added two requests: seeking the establishment of a printing press and free passage around Southeast Asia in the East India Company's vessels. The government gave Milne all that he hoped, even if the conditional grant of land would be subject to the

final decision of the expected Dutch authorities. Being too far from the town, the land was then exchanged for another smaller private property, situated on the seafront just outside the Tranquerah gate of the town, but still big enough for the use of the mission.

With the land in hand, Milne lost no time in building accommodation for various uses, including space for printing facilities and printers. The physical base of the Malacca station took its shape when a range of new buildings was completed in January 1817, together with the original buildings on the land. However, Milne was soon impelled to build further as unexpected good fortune came from additional resources for more printing work. They were, first, a sum of £1,000 from the Bible Society for the production of a Chinese Bible; secondly, a printing press from Calcutta with English and Malay types and six printers; and thirdly, an English printer, Walter H. Medhurst, with another press from England. Combined together, this new situation not only enlarged the prospect of Chinese printing with blocks in Malacca, but also rendered the mission able to develop into a great printing establishment in the East, with various facilities in different languages.

First, with the £1,000 from the Bible Society, Morrison determined to print an edition of 8,000 copies of the New Testment in duodecimo size and 1,500 copies in octavo. Prior to this, his translation of the New Testament had been wholly cut in duodecimo in 1813 and 1814 and partly in octavo before 1814. The blocks of the duodecimo edition were then given to a Canton bookseller with the hope that he might print with them. Afraid of the prospect of a threatened police search, the bookseller destroyed some of them in 1815. Now what was needed was to re-cut this lost part, to complete those lacking in octavo and have all of them printed. As Morrison perceived that 'to carry on the work here [i.e. in Canton] would be remaining great risk and apprehension,' he decided to send workmen and paper to Malacca to carry out this work.(27) When six type-cutters, blocks and a large supply of paper were ready to leave for Malacca in February 1817, the coincidental attack by

the Chinese authorities on the East India Company's printing press at Macao occurred. Blocks and paper were fortunately sent off, but not the type-cutters. Another setback occurred at the end of the same year, when four type-cutters were arrested. Morrison lost at least 600 dollars and Yang Sam-tak, who was commissioned to bring both materials and type-cutters to Malacca, was dismissed by his boss and forbidden by the authorities to appear in Canton.(28) It appears that the duodecimo edition began to come out in October 1817 and the octavo edition much later, in 1818 or 1819.(29)

Secondly, possessing an English printing press had long been contemplated by Morrison, he never ceased pointing out its necessity in his previous appeals to establish Malacca as central point in Asia. Besides making the request directly to the Directors, he urged Milne himself to obtain one from India for the planned English periodical, as prescribed in the resolutions concerning their choice of Malacca and previously mentioned.(30) After the arrival of Thomsen to work among the Malays, printing one more language gave further justification for a press. Once gaining the permission from the Pengang government to establish a press, Milne wrote to a friend, John H. Harrington, a judge in Bengal with whom he became acquainted in Cape Town, South Africa, on his way to China in 1812. His purpose was to obtain a press, a compositor and a pressman, English type and a new fount of Malay type cast by the Baptist foundry at Serampore. In September 1816, the Malay type arrived first, several days after Thomsen had left for England because of his wife's illness. With two manuscripts in Malay left by Thomsen, Milne considered that he might have to oversee the printing of these works when the press came, so he employed a Malay teacher and started studying the language. In November 1816, the press and six printers, instead of the two expected, arrived at Malacca. The great expense of their passage, with an estimated wage bill of more than $100 per month in total afterwards, was only one thing embarrassing Milne. The others were that he neither had a text in English ready for printing nor was his knowledge of Malay sufficient to correct the printing. An expedient to keep the printers at work and to save Milne himself from

the Directors' blame was to print an edition of two of the LMS's publications: *Essay on the New Testament* by David Bogue, his mentor at the Gosport Seminary and a Director of the LMS, and *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, by Philip Doddridge. Even so, Milne and Morrison had to write long letters to the Directors explaining the whole matter.(31)

In May 1817, the first number of *The Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, edited by Milne, came out of the press.(plate 3-3) Although this English quarterly was 'for a more regular and efficient correspondence between the various missions, under the direction of the Missionary Society,' Morrison and Milne were afraid that it would not obtain the Directors' support because of its too general nature, containing 'miscellaneous notices relative to the philosophy, mythology, literature, and history of the Indo-Chinese nations; drawn chiefly from the native languages.'(32) They decided to carry it on privately. *The Gleaner* never paid for itself, although Morrison and Milne always wished that there might have been profits for some philanthropic aim. The printing of the 20th number had just been completed when Milne died in June 1822.(33)

Malay printing in Malacca began with the two translations left by Thomsen, about the same time *The Gleaner* started. According to Milne, they were produced 'with a view to try our Malay types.' One contained the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, translated by Thomsen, together with a short introduction and concluding address by Milne. The other one was Issac Watts's first catechism, which was also Thomsen's work, 'with the exception of the title page and the substitution of some Malay words instead of Arabic.'(34) Thomsen returned to Malacca in December 1817. Possessing some knowledge of printing and type founding, which he had obtained during his stay in London for several weeks, Thomsen took over control of Malay printing.(35)

The third factor in the turning point of printing development at Malacca was the LMS's new policy toward printing. Indeed, it needs to be borne in mind that in the

THE

INDO-CHINESE GLEANER.

No. I. MAY, 1817.

CONTAINING

EXTRACTS OF THE OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

OF THOSE

MISSIONARIES IN THE EAST,

WHO LABOUR

Under the Direction of the Missionary Society;

TOGETHER WITH

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES RELATIVE TO THE PHILOSOPHY MYTHOLOGY, LITERATURE, AND HISTORY OF THE INDO-CHINESE NATIONS; DRAWN CHIEFLY FROM THE NATIVE LANGUAGES.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY,

OR AS OFTEN AS MATTER CAN BE FURNISHED.

MALACCA:

Printed at the Mission Press.

1817.

plate 3-3. The cover of the first issue of *The Indo-Chinese Gleaner* (SOAS Collection)

twenty years between 1795, the year the LMS was founded, and 1815, the Directors had done almost nothing in relation to printing at their out-stations, except purchase a small printing press for the Gosport Seminary in 1805 and send out another one to their Tahiti station in early 1815.(36) Yet, as far as Chinese printing was concerned, some emulating motivations were aroused by the achievements of the competitive Baptists in Serampore. The Directors seemingly felt that it was time to go farther in this respect. In March 1815, two letters written by the Treasurer and the Secretary on behalf of the Directors were sent to Morison and Milne for their opinion 'with respect to the difference of expense, etc. in printing with moveable type and with stereotyped wood block.'(37) The two letters were accompanied by copies of Serampore's *Memoir of the Translation for 1813*, in which could be seen eye-catching specimens of Chinese characters printed with wooden block and moveable metal type, together with others in fifteen languages. Before the brethren wrote their reply, the Directors, who were now stimulated by the £1,000 recently granted by the Bible Society for a Chinese Bible and were too impatient to wait, had resolved on 16 October 1815 to send two printing presses to Malacca for the same purpose. But the Directors in London must not have known that Chinese block printing did not involve a press. Consequently, after Morrison and Milne's letters arrived, an amendment was made to send one printing press instead of two, to Milne.(38)

So far no printer had been mentioned in the Directors' decision. Fortunately a concurrent event helped to resolve the matter. James Read, a LMS missionary in South Africa since 1800, wrote a letter to the Directors, from Bethelsdorp, dated 24 August 1815. The letter's appeal for a printing press to be sent to that place struck the Directors, so they published it in *The Evangelical Magazine* and promised to send forth a press and more labourers. The news drew six printers to offer themselves to the LMS. Beside one, Evan Evans, for Bethelsdorp, the Committee of Examination also recommended Walter H. Medhurst to be employed as a missionary-printer to Malacca.(39)

Walter H. Medhurst was born in London in 1796. After leaving St. Paul's School, he was apprenticed to a printer, Joseph Wood at Gloucester, for six years, until his offer to the LMS. In his letter of recommendation, Wood testified that Medhurst was 'not only a good compositor and pressman, but competent to the direction of a printing estalishment.' He assured the Directors that they could not 'find a young man better qualified in every respect to conduct your press at Bethelsdorp.'(40) Although the Directors did not choose the twenty-year-old Medhurst for South Africa, he accepted the appointment to Malacca and sailed, with the press and type for that station, from London in September 1816. In the instruction to Medhurst before his departure, the Directors pointed out,

> 'At a period of life, unusually early, it hath pleased our Lord to enlist you, as we trust, into his service to fight under his banner in the Heathen world, and to engage you under the direction of the Missionary Society to assist in spreading abroad, by the means of printing, the saving knowledge of the Son of God. That great invention has been a principal instrument in his hand to diffuse in the Western part of the world, in Europe and in America, the light of the Reformation. Now, the great Lord of all is imploring it in the East for the same purpose. Mr. Morrison at Canton and Mr. Milne at Malacca have been raised up as eminent instruments to promote the knowledge of the Gospel in the Chinese language; and from the latter place we earnestly hope the light of the Gospel will be extensively diffused.
> 'It is to assist Mr. Milne, our highly esteemed brother, and chiefly by means of printing, that you are sent forth by this Society; and we are happy to find that God has been pleased to endow you with a sufficient talent for the ready acquisition of languages; this ability, we trust, you will gladly consecrate to the honour of Christ, and the salvation of souls.'(41)

Medhurst's arrival at Malacca in July 1817 symbolized the completion of a printing transformation at the Malacca station. A little more than a year later in August 1818, Milne described the work and people at the printing establishment as follows:

> 'On the left side of the premises--
> 1 The Book of Psalms - in which three men are engaged.
> 2 The Chinese Magazine - two men
> 3 The New Testament - three men

4 Various Tracts, tin characters - two men
On the right side--
5 The printing with the moveable Chinese type in miscellaneous usage - one man
6 Malay printing - one man
7 English printing - one man
N.B. Press Men for all these three purposes - two
8 Binding - one man
9 Two apprentice boys - one, a Chinese for Chinese printing; the other, a freed slave for English and Malay printing.
Besides these, There were assistants and other persons now and then employed.'(42)

Eighteen people in total were regularly employed. It is true that printing in Chinese still had the large share, but there was English and Malay printing as well. It is also true that block printing continued to be the main method of publication, but typography began to have its place. Printing in all these different languages and using different methods were, at least, intended in theory to be under the superintendence of a professional printer from Britain. On the other hand, following Medhurst's example, or perhaps more properly following the Malacca station's example, the Directors continued their policy to send printers and presses to their stations. By 1832, the LMS had thirteen printing establishments and in 1839 it had fifteen, scattered over Africa, India, Southeast Asia, the South Sea islands and the Mediterranean area.(43)

Intra-Mission Controversies

In August 1817, Milne departed from Malacca for China to seek a better climate for his exhausted health and a union with his wife and children, who had left several months earlier for the same purpose. The whole station was committed to Medhurst's care, although he had been in Malacca just less than one month, until Milne's return in February 1818. During the period of Milne's remaining in China with Morrison, a decision was made to carry their religious and literary work forward in an organizational framework. The two brethren formed themselves into 'The

Provisional Committee of the Ultra-Ganges Missions' and worked out a paper including fifteen resolutions in November 1817, then an additional four resolutions in January 1818. The first mainly concerned the management of the existing Malacca station, whilst the additional ones related to the establishment of an Anglo-Chinese College. When solemnly signing these resolutions after several months discussion, they could not have conceived that their painstaking talks would unfortunately turn out to be the causes of vexed controversies not only between themselves and other missionaries who came later, but between them and the Directors.

In respect of the management of the Malacca station, two principles permeated throughout Morrison and Milne's resolutions: the Chinese should be the first priority and the station needed a head. Of course this was out of the question when Milne was the only missionary on the spot. But there were now Thomsen and Medhurst joining the work and very likely more people would come to work with both Chinese and Malays. The first two brethren felt the necessity of 'order of the very first importance' for future proceedings. They determined that a general plan should be formed of a few important and leading particulars in order to keep the mind bent on one or two prominent objectives. To them, there could be no possibility but that the Chinese mission was the most prominent objective of the Malacca station. They were sent out as missionaries to the Chinese. Both deeply admired Chinese culture, one at the present time was a well-known Chinese scholar and the other was rising. Furthermore, the Malacca station was originally founded by them with an especial view to China, and as the best substitute for an actual residence in that country. Thus they took it for granted in their resolutions that the Chinese mission deserved to occupy the chief part of the buildings and accelerate the translation and printing of the Chinese Bible. In contrast, 'considering how little acquanitance the Malays, as a people, have with letters,' they urged other brethren working with the Malays to 'direct their more immediate attention to oral instruction and the establishment of schools; as we conceive that the extensive circulation of books and

tracts among that people, would be of comparatively small present advantage, for want of an ability to read.'(44)

To ensure the continuity of this Chinese-favoured direction, an effective leadership was deemed necessary. In fact, Morrison and Milne's relationship was exactly a case in point. While Milne was barred from living in China after his first arrival in 1813 but was reluctant to leave for Southeast Asia, it was Morrison as the more senior who got him to go. The situation was repeated in Milne's going to Malacca in 1815, as Morrison wrote to the Directors after the final decision was made, 'I am of opinion that the Society would do well to require the subordination of juniors to seniors in missions that have been established.'(45) Afterwards, Milne continued to comply with Morrison's wish in every respect and hoped that those who arrived later would do the same as him. He argued that,

> 'a principle of subordination among a body of missionaries, is, to a certain extent, perfectly consonant with the dictates of common sense; agreeable to the letter and spirit of the New Testament; and that its utility is confirmed by its almost universal adoption in every plan, where associated effort is necessary - whether the objects be political, commercial, literary, or religious; or in other words, that "the younger (in the service) should be subject to the elder," where matters of faith, privilege, or interest are not concerned.'
> '... in every family, whether consisting of many or few persons, one should be considered as the head, who should possess some authority over its general movements.'(46)

To the two brethren, it was clear that Milne was the right man to head the missionary family at Malacca.

As to the Anglo-Chinese College, Morrison was again the designer and founder whilst Milne was the builder and manager. An institution for training European and native missionaries was included in Morrison's previous appeal for Malacca. In October 1815, i.e. five months after Milne opened up the station, Morrison drew up 'To the Benevolent Christians of Great Britain and Ireland, Proposals for establishing, by voluntary subscription, an English and Chinese College at Malacca, in the East Indies.'(47) This college's immediate object was to be literary

intercourse between Britain and China, followed by the dissemination of science as well as Christianity in the East. Although the response was not encouraging, Morrison insisted on launching the project and appropriated £1,000 from his savings as the cost of its foundation, with an annual £100 for the first five years.(48) In the above-mentioned additional resolutions, Morrison and Milne allotted, as the provisional committee on behalf of the LMS, a plot of ground at the Malacca station for the building of the College. In doing so, they announced that the College was 'for the purpose of cultivating the Chinese language, and for such other purposes (literary, theological, and philosophical) ...' In a concurrently published 'General Plan of an Institution forming at Malacca under the superintendence of the Rev. W. Milne,' its secular nature was further confirmed with the reciprocal cultivation of Chinese and European literature. More extreme than this, while the European students and professors of the Chinese language would be Protestants, the native students in prospect 'shall not be required to profess the Christian religion, nor will they be compelled to attend Christian worship,' but they would be invited to do so and required to attend all public lectures. The courses for Chinese students would be geography, history, arithmetic and other branches of learning, together with moral philosophy, Christian theology and Chinese classics, whilst the European students would be taught the Chinese language for religious, literary or commercial purposes. In short, the College was now a private venture and Christianity became at most a sideline.(49)

With these new projects to pursue and more or less improved health, Milne and his family returned to Malacca in February 1818. He found that Thomsen was already back, with an additional missionary to the Chinese, John Slater. In September of the same year, came three other brethren, Thomas Beighton for the Malays and John Ince and Samuel Milton for the Chinese. So far there were four missionaries in the Chinese department, and two in the Malay, besides Medhurst the printer. Except for Milton, the only unmarried missionary on the spot, these newcomers were

prepared, after a period of language study at Malacca, to set up their own stations somewhere under British or Dutch control. Thus, after a three-year effort Malacca was able to play a headquarter's role in the development of LMS enterprises in East Asia.

Following encouraging growth, however, resentful feelings toward Milne's leadership began to spread among the missionaries. The junior members' grievances included the fact that their salaries could only be drawn through him from local agents, that native workers at the mission were told to comply with his command only, that no other names but his appeared on all outgoing letters and public documents, and so on. A joint letter by three brethren complained that, 'it is only for one man to say to his brethren "do this" or "refrain from that;" and if not obeyed, the reply is "a representation of your conduct shall be made to the public!"'(50) According to a junior member's later review, Milne supervised the station in a typically Chinese way and,

> 'As to the principles on which the mission was conducted, I believe it to be purely Chinese gathered from the rules and maxims of the Four Books of Confucius, which is the principle of a father and his family, where the father alone has power to act and direct. And the seniority and juniority which has created so much bitter dissension has been the strict adherence to the Chinese doctrine of elder and younger brothers.'(51)

Nevertheless, the senior member was not the only one to be blamed, as the review continued,

> 'There were some little minds among the junior missionaries which created much unpleasantness, and some girlish notions in the family that were continually making fumes and discontents between the brethren, and these things rendered it impossible for us to live together in harmony.'

In the meantime, the College became involved in the disputes. Its foundation stone was laid in November 1818 to begin construction work. The young member adopted a detached attitude towards it, because of its placing literature ahead of religion, its stressing Chinese whilst excluding Malay studies, and what was probably

most unpleasant to them was the fact that it was under one man's control. With the college, as a private institution, being built on ground belonging to the mission and Milne's concurrent responsibility for both the mission and the college there was no clear division between the two. In addition, the juniors questioned why the mission press changed its name to the Anglo-Chinese press and used the title as its imprint, and why the mission library became known as the Anglo-Chinese library.(52)

When dissensions went from bad to worse, the intra-mission disputes became a subject of talk in the local community as well as elsewhere. The junior missionaries began to leave Malacca with a feeling that their respectability was much injured. In April 1819, Slater and Beighton went to Batavia and Penang respectively. Two months later, Ince joined Beighton. Milton left for Singapore in October of the same year. In September 1820, Medhurst also went to Penang. Finally, Thomsen joined Milton in Singapore in May 1822. Even so, the exchange of arguments between them and Milne continued to fill their letters to London. In October 1821, the Directors eventually drew up a nineteen-point resolution on the controversy. They considered, as the basis of disagreements, that 'jealousy (though the Directors are convinced of its being mingled with upright motives and intentions) appears to have arisen on one hand, and an apparent defect of conciliation on the other.'(53) The junior brethren were blamed for an absence of the spirit of meekness, for their break with the senior member without the Directors' knowledge and their taking up stations to which they were not appointed. But the Directors subsequently recognized that the new stations were independent and that each missionary should draw his own salary. On the other hand, Morrison and Milne were required to 'contribute to the maintenance of this friendly relation by the brotherly kindness affection and respect with which they will treat the persons and opinions of their younger brother.'(54) Besides, it was thought that the press should return to its former name, the Mission Press, 'as keeping up a more immediate relation to the Society whose property it is, and to the work for which it was established.'(55) The Directors also showed their conditional support for

the college, if 'so conducted as to train up able and faithful missionaries to carry the Gospel, not merely to one, but to all the nations in that quarter of the globe.'(56) No matter what the Directors said, it was obvious that the junior missionaries' difficulties were over, but not those of the seniors.

For Milne, the removal of Slater, Beighton and Ince was in fact a matter of time. The disputes only shortened their stay at Malacca. Milton's going to Singapore was with Milne's consent, as his old friend Farquhar was now the Resident there and promised to give every kind of help to a new mission. As to Thomsen, his removal was a result of Milne's insistence, for Thomsen was considered to be the instigator behind the young missionaries. However, the case of Medhurst was different, for his leaving was really a heavy loss to Milne. Medhurst first proved himself to be a very capable young man in his shouldering the whole mission alone within a month of his arrival. During his caretaker period of six months, in addition to his studying mandarin Chinese and success in making the mission 'nearly the same as it was at Mr. Milne's departure,' Medhurst efficiently supervised the printing of works in Chinese and English, including the duodecimo New Testament, the Chinese Magazine, Doddridge's *Rise and Progress in Religion* and *The Indo-Chinese Gleaner*.(57) He had also let four of the six Bengali workmen leave Malacca, thereby considerably reduced the expense of the mission. After Milne's return, Medhurst continued to devote himself to the printing office, to four Chinese schools, to book distribution and to studying the Fuchien dialect, the commonest amongst the local Chinese. In August 1818, as Milne described things, 'with one important pursuit or another, his [Medhurst's] whole time is filled up, and his whole strength employed.'(58) A strong motive behind Medhurst's endeavour to go far beyond printing was his eagerness to be a missionary, which had been in his mind since his attending the mission. As a result, he was ordained by Milne in April 1819 and continued his multiple work, including care of the printing office.(59)

About one month before Medhurst's ordination, the Governor of Penang,

Colonel Bannerman, asked Milne to let Medhurst go to Penang as a residential missionary. In declining the Governor's request, Milne felt it 'impossible to part with Mr. Medhurst.'(60) Thus it can be seen how distressed Milne was by the fact that Medhurst, who considered Milne as his father in their first days together and who was so helpful in the mission, would one day break with him.(61) Under Medhurst's management, the year 1819 was not only the most productive year so far of the printing establishment but it was, for the first time, able to 'yield about enough to pay its own expenses.'(62) At the English press, eight works were printed. Of these, three were at the mission's expense: an English spelling book, a part of a *Life of Jesus* and a part of Thomsen's *English and Malay Dialogue*. Another five works were paid for by individuals or the Dutch government, including *The Gleaner*, most parts of Milne's *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of Protestant Missions to China*, handbills, a Dutch Catechism for the government and some work for merchants. Meanwhile, Chinese works continued to be the principal product in 1819. There were 2,950 copies of the New Testament printed and parts of the Old Testament; 40,000 copies of fifteen books and tracts and 12,000 copies of the Chinese Magazine, 1,000 each month. These totalled as many as 54,950 copies in all. Of the 140,249 copies of Chinese works printed by the missionaries from 1810, nearly four out of ten (39.18 per cent) were produced at Malacca in 1819.(63)

Yet, once having decided to leave Malacca, Medhurst had become too impatient to await the succeeding superintendent of the printing office, who was known to have already reached Batavia, and he departed for Penang in September 1820. The focus of the subsequently intensified contention caused by his hasty departure was his carrying away, without Milne's knowledge, some property from the Malacca mission, including a portable press and some English and Malay type. The small press, 'consisting of board and roller' and 'valued about five or six Spanish dollars,' was an invention of the East India Company's printer, Thoms, and was presented to the mission for printing wooden blocks.(64) Speaking for Medhurst,

Thomsen told the Directors in a letter that he had modified and improved the press to answer for metal types, besides making a replica press. In the meantime, Thomsen mentioned that the Malay type was part of the fount cast by him at Malacca. When returning from London, where he had learned the skill of type cutting and casting, he found that the Malay fount was deficient in setting up more than four pages in octavo at a time. He then increased it to eight pages and more.(65)

Shortly after arriving at Penang, Medhurst wrote a letter to the Directors giving an account of the printing establishment at Malacca. The major point raised was whether it was worthwhile for the LMS to hire a European printer to handle its operation. In respect of Chinese block printing, it was so simple and 'needs little or no superintendance but merely calculating the work and paying the wages of the people employed.'(66) Medhurst thought this 'may easily be done by any common accountant better than a professed European printer.' As to Malay printing, it was 'wholly under the care of Mr. Thomsen, who has employed his own boys as compositors and carried on the printing of his own tracts and translations himself without interference from any.'(67) In printing English works, the only branch possibly needing a superintendent, there was already a compositor with two or three apprentices. What remained for the suprintendant was 'to read the proofs and inspect the work.'(68) As a large proportion of work at the English press was occupied by *The Gleaner*, together with Milne's *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years*, Medhurst suggested that the Directors should let Morrison and Milne purchase the press. Then, it would be much better for the mission to pay for what might be printed at the English press than hold it in hand.

Whether bearing a grudge against a senior or not, this proved to be belated advice. More than two years before Medhurst's letter and a year before his ordination, Milne had written to the Directors inquiring about his successor. Apparently learning from Medhurst's case, Milne asked for a person 'of inferior talents,' and wrote, 'Let the printing be his sole work. Let him not view himself in any other light than that of a

printer.'(69) The Directors resolved to send a London printer, George H. Huttmann, to Malacca.(70)

Upon Huttmann's arrival in September 1820, the Malacca station consisted of two separate departments, one Chinese and one Malay, though under one roof. Milne still took charge of the station, but he could not attend to the Malay department, whilst Thomsen refused to attend the brethren's meetings. In the Malay department, besides worship, schools and printing, there were twelve young persons, eight boys and four girls supported by and working for Thomsen. Among them, one was trained as a bookbinder, one as a printer, two as teachers and one learned drawing. So far there had been eleven Malay works printed, including the first two handled by Milne. All were small tracts written or translated by Thomsen.(71) It appeared that he did not welcome the arrival of another printer. In July 1820, he requested in a letter to Beighton that he detain Huttmann when the latter arrived at Penang on his way to Malacca, 'The Society is printing nothing here. What is done here is all foreign to their objects. There is now a heavy debt on the press. The Society do not know how matters are here. Perhaps the press and library both will have to be taken somewhere else.'(72) However, Beighton had no plan to take part in this attempt.

In an official letter given to Huttmann several days after his arrival, Milne detailed all matters, great and small, concerning his duties. Three principal points that were emphasized in this lengthy letter revealed Milne's thoughts about the intra-mission disputes and his strong expectations of the newcomer. The first principle was, of course, the law of seniority and subordination. He told Huttmann that, 'Dr. Morrison is senior to me in the missions. I am but the second member. Therefore, I make the following remarks with due deference to his judgment.'(73) He further told Huttmann that, 'as it is necessary for the execution of business; to preserve uniformity in our plans and labours, and to prevent improfitable alteration, that some one takes the lead; ... I naturally expect that you will fall in with existing regulations as far as

you can, that you will, in Dr. Morrison's absence, apply to me, in any case of difficulty for counsel, ...'(74) The second was Huttmann's studying language. Although Huttmann was reminded that Chinese would be his chief study, for it was the main language applied in work, he was in the meantime directed to begin the Malay language first. Even though Huttmann had spent some time on Malay during his journey, Milne's request was rather unusual and could only be explained as being aimed at Thomsen. Not long after this, Milne spoke to Thomsen and wrote to the Directors asking for a move from Malacca or at least a move to some other part of the town.(75) The third thing was property management. Amongst other things, Huttmann was especially reminded to take care of the Malay matrices and some moulds for casting the body of the moveable Chinese type. Without doubt, this was a lesson that Milne had learned from Medhurst's presumptuousness.(76)

Milne was pleased to find that 'an air of business and regularity pervades every department [of the printing office],' once Huttmann had set to work.(77) Yet a new problem soon arose. Finding that a missionary salary was £200 per year, with additional income of between £120 and £200 from local government for services at church or teaching at schools, Huttmann was dissatisfied with his £150 per year, or $50 per month. As the LMS had no written agreement with him, Huttmann took advantage of this loophole to request double, £300 per annum or he would leave in August 1821. To prevent sudden disruption of the printing work, Milne temporarily agreed to give him the requested amount from that time until the Directors' reply came.(78) Yet in February 1822, Milne wrote in a letter to the Directors about the injustice and unreasonableness of the matter, where a printer who was under a missionary's direction had a higher salary than his superior. Moreover, Huttmann was heard to say that, 'had his business been prosperous in London, he would not have come out.'(79) Several days after writing this letter, Milne left Malacca for Singapore in search of a better chance for his seriously collapsed health, thence proceeded to Penang in April for the same purpose. He returned to Malacca later in May and died

of pulmonary complaints on 2 June 1822.

During his last two and about a half years, Milne unyieldingly drove himself to work at the mission and the college. The mission was still in a divided state and continued to have two separate departments. He had to learn from indirect sources about some things, even baptism, at the Malay department.(80) In fact, Thomsen did not leave the station for Singapore until 11 May 1822, three weeks before Milne's death. Although much injured by intra-mission contentions resulting in the removal of all brethren, Milne tried to look upon it not as a loss to the general cause, 'like the tides, which, as they recede from one shore, gain upon another.'(81) Nevertheless, both the mission and the college desperately needed more staff. In early 1820, a new missionary, Robert Fleming, came to the Chinese department, but was suspended from work after becoming insane within a year. Another of the brethren, James Humphreys, arrived in September 1821, but was afflicted with illness. Then with a period studying the Chinese language, Humphreys began to take charge of the schools in February 1822, when Milne was about to sail for Singapore. As to the college, the construction of its building was completed in about August 1820.(plate 3-4) A square edifice with a Chinese-style roof, it was a two-storied building, 90 feet in length and 34 feet in breadth. The upper floor was for housing the faculty family and students whilst the lower floor was for classrooms, a library and a museum. The first students were seven in number, five Chinese and two Europeans, studying language, literature and other subjects.(82) Milne was the only person to bear the teaching load, with some help from a Chinese teacher. Thus Milne told the Directors in a letter while in Penang that, 'My stay here, however necessary to my health at present, I must make as short as possible. ... I must hang on, till I see persons able to carry on the work.' (83)

Prevented by his physical weakness from other missionary activities, Milne's later time was principally occupied by sedentary work, especially writing, translating and correcting the press. In respect of writing, the Chinese Magazine and *The Gleaner* always had the first priority. Even while in Singapore to regain his health in

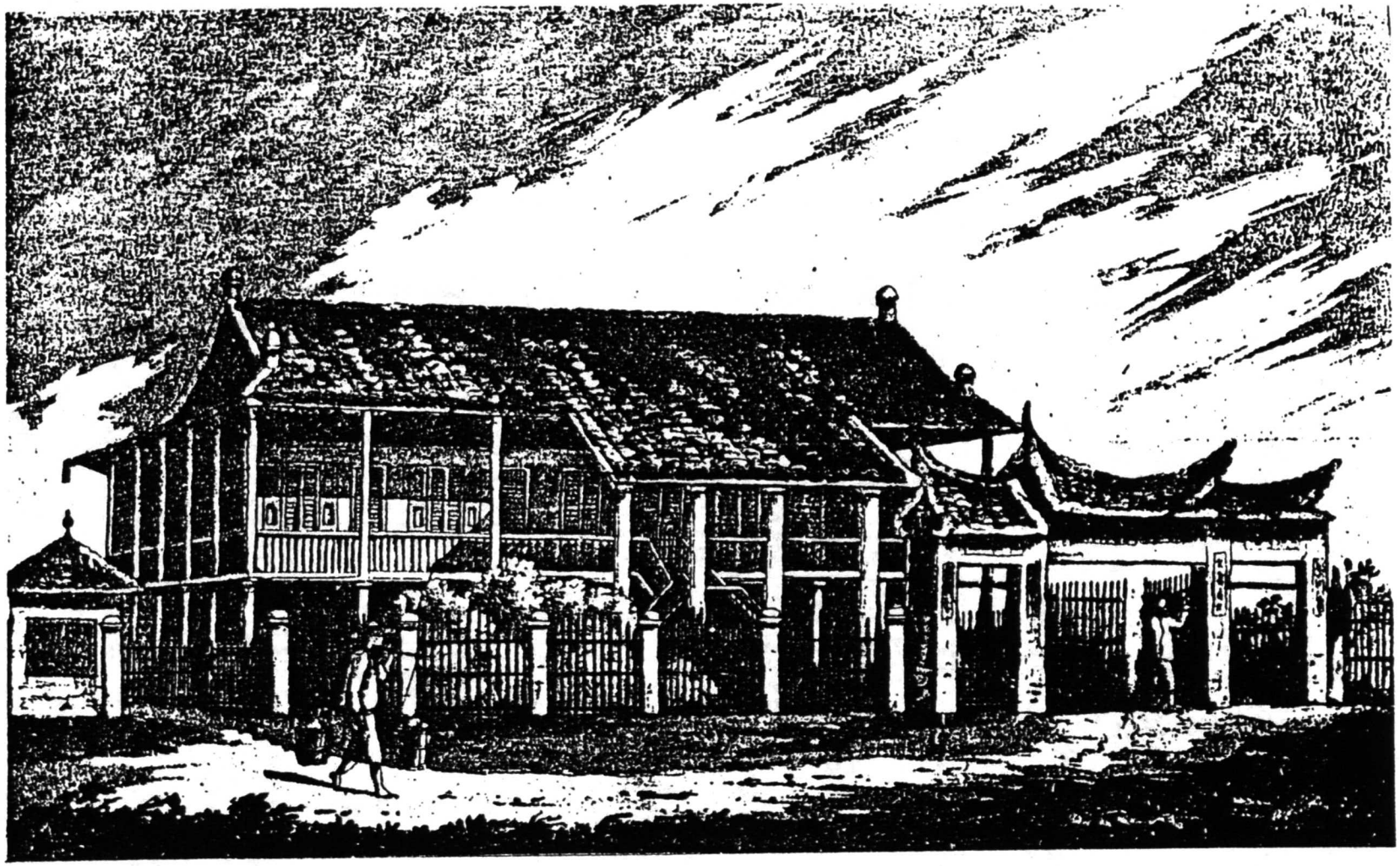


plate 3-4. The Anglo-Chinese College (P. J. Begbie, *The Malayan Peninsula*. Madras: Vepery Mission Press, 1834.)

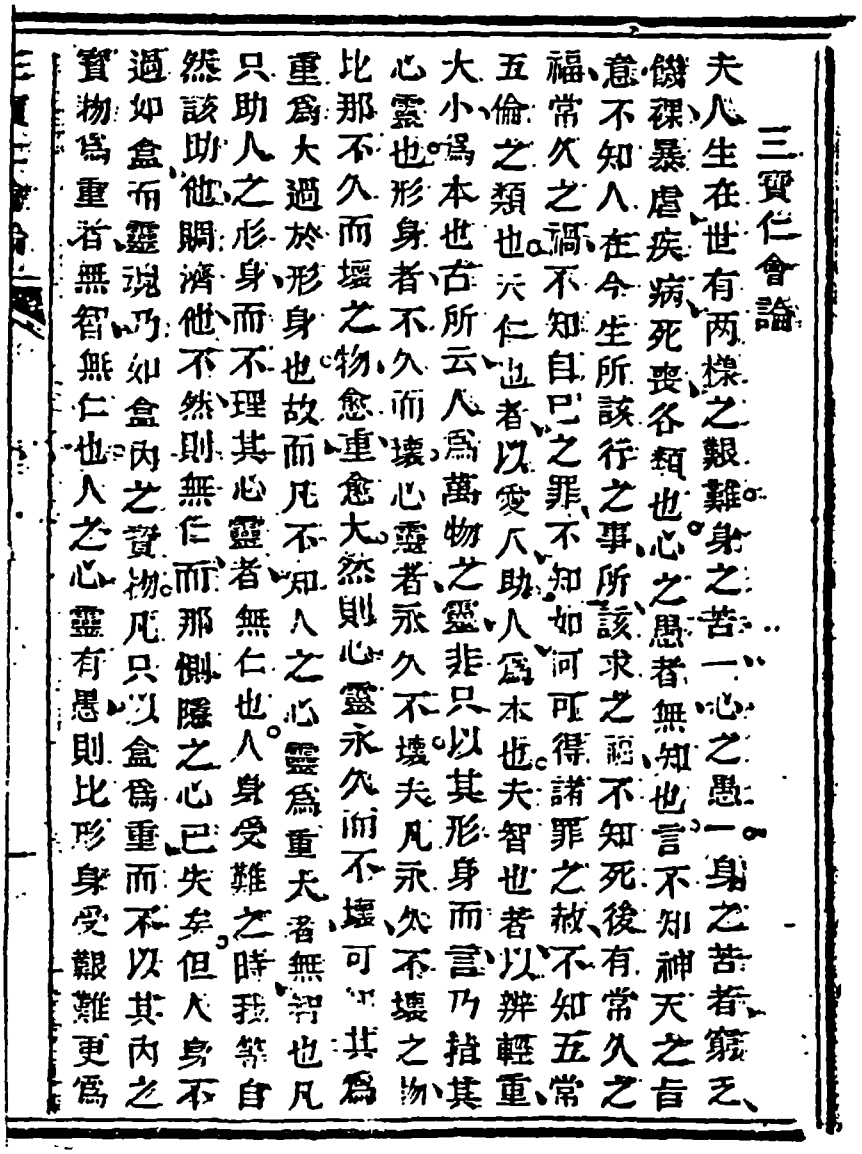
March 1822, Milne wrote to Morrison that, '*The Gleaner* has matter enough for one number - The Chinese Magazine, for two numbers.'(84) Still, he could manage to find time and energy for more writing. By the end of 1819 Milne had already published his thirteen books and tracts in Chinese and one in English, including offprints from the magazine. In 1819, the size of editions for these works varied from 2,000 to 6,000 copies, only two earlier works among them ran to 400 and 500 copies. Then, from 1820 until his death, Milne published six more works, including one in English, and completed another two Chinese works in manuscript.(85)

In the translation of the Old Testament, he and Morrison concurrently completed their own shares in Malacca and Canton in the November 1819.(86) Its printing was carried on while translation was in process. By the end of 1819, Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua and Psalms were printed. From 1820 on, the printing of other parts was accelerated. Milne's reports of proceedings again and again revealed his waiting for its completion with great anxiety. Liang Afa's return from China with three new workmen, in February 1822, brought Milne hope to see the completion of its printing by the middle or end of the next year.(87) Yet, this became his unfullfiled wish.

Another noticeable characteristic of Chinese printing at Malacca during this time was greater application of the metallic moveable type cut in Macao. After being sent down to Malacca in the spring of 1817, these types were occasionally applied to insert some Chinese characters in *The Gleaner* or to append a leaf of news in the Chinese Magazine. Two reasons contributed to such a limited use of them. First, the number of little more than 9,000 types was far from enough. When Medhurst first tried them to set up a few pages of Morrison's Catechism in November 1817, the first page required 'upwards of 100 new characters' to be cut.(88) The workmen were taught to cast the metal body of the type and then cut the word on the top. But owing to local shortage of material and the workers being unfamiliar with the skill of cutting type, little had been made. Secondly, Milne consistently took a liking to print

Chinese with blocks. Unlike Morrison's changing his liking from blocks to type, Milne advocated the former on every occasion. Having a good grip of Chinese block printing, Milne was able to make the most of its two principles, i.e. numerous reprints without recutting and the saleable size of each edition. He was fond of its technical simplicity, economical production and pleasing perception to the Chinese eye.(89)

No explicit reasons show why the Malacca mission began to use type more frequently after 1820. It was probably because the number of staff had been increased to a practical degree, as there was a worker responsible for printing with type from August 1818 or earlier.(90) It is also very likely a result of Milne's decision to gather all type-cutters to accelerate the printing of the Bible, as greater use of type appeared subsequently after work on the Bible commenced. Malacca's first typographical product in book form was 三寶仁會論 *San-pao-jen-hui lun*, Three Benevolent Societies, in 16 leaves, or 32 pages.(plate 3-5) It was an account of the object, plan, and operations of the LMS, the Bible Society and the Tract Society. The manuscript had been finished in December 1819, but not until April 1821 were 1,500 copies printed with type. The delay was perhaps due to the type-cutters being occupied by the Bible. Milne was not gratified with the first trial, as he said, 'We consider the impression much dearer than if cut in the usual way, and greatly inferior in appearance - so much for our moveable type printing.'(91) The second work was 新增養心神詩 *Hsin-tseng yang-hsin shen-shih*, An enlarged edition of Morrison's *Hymn-Book*, containing fifty hymns. Of these, the twenty-two newly hymns were metred by native students, according to the rules of Chinese prosody. This work was printed in August 1821.(92) The third one was 上帝聖教公會門 *Shang-ti sheng-chiao kung-hui men*, The Gate of the Church, a pamphlet for candidates for baptism. It contained 30 leaves and was printed at the close of 1821. Besides these three works, certainly printed in Milne's days, there were four works also printed with cut type shortly after his death. They were: Milne's 續纂省身神詩 *Hsü-tsuan hsing-shen shen-shih*, A Supplementary Hymn-Book; John Ince's 聖錄名人問答 *Sheng-lu ming-*



三寶仁會論

夫人生在世有兩樣之艱難。身之苦。一心之愚。一身之苦者。窮乏、饑寒暴虐疾病死喪各類也。心之愚者。無知也。言不知神天之旨意。不知人在今生所該行之事。所該求之福。不知死後有常久之福。常久之禍。不知自己之罪。不知如何可得諸罪之赦。不知五常五倫之類也。天仁也者。以愛人助人爲本也。夫智也者。以辨輕重大小爲本也。古所云人爲萬物之靈。非只以其形身而言。乃指其心靈也。形身者不久而壞。心靈者永久不壞。夫凡永久不壞之物比那不久而壞之物。愈重愈大。然則心靈永久而不壞。可不爲重爲大過於形身也。故而凡不知人之心靈爲重大者。無智也。凡只助人之形身而不理其心靈者。無仁也。人身受難之時。我等自然該助他。瞬濟他。不然則無仁。而那惻隱之心已失矣。但人身不過如盒。而靈魂乃如盒內之寶物。凡只以盒爲重而不以其內之寶物爲重者。無智無仁也。人之心靈有愚。則比形身受艱難更爲

plate 3-5. The first book printed from cut Chinese type at Malacca (1821). 三寶仁會論 *San-pao-jen-hui lun*. Three Benevolent Societies. (British Library Collection)

jen wen-ta, A Catechism; Jame Humphreys' 敬信洗心篇 *Ching-hsin hsi-hsin p'ien*, On Regeneration by Faith; and, 節錄成章幼學問答 *Chieh-lu ch'eng-chang yü-hsüeh wen-ta*, A Translation of Brown's *Catechism for Youth*, by the students of the Anglo-Chinese College.(93) Although printed with type, the appearance of these works were in imitation of the style of block-books, which was a common feature in all Chinese books printed with type until the early twentieth century.

The intra-mission contentions did not destroy the Malacca station, but irreparably damaged its opportunity to fulfill the original goal of a central point for the LMS's enterprises in East Asia. The secular-oriented Anglo-Chinese College could not bear responsibilities as a seminary for training missionaries. In the three major branches of work undertaken by the Ultra-Ganges missions at various stations, preaching and education were matters engaged in by residential missionaries. Printing remained the only activity that could extend its power beyond geographical limitation and over personal feelings. Other stations were even more in need of books from Malacca, because it was their only or largest supplier. Thus during the period of disputes, publications from Malacca continuously flowed to other stations, in other parts of Southeast Asia and China. Milne founded the printing facilities in Malacca and developed them into a great printing establishment possessing Chinese and Western printing methods and thriving in book production in the contemporary world. As his successors had little similar experience in and sentiments toward Chinese printing, his early death in 1822 ended an era in printing history at Malacca.

The Years after 1823

In the period around the time of Milne's death, some changes occurred in Malacca and the outside world. According to the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, which was a re-mapping of political spheres in Asia between Britain and Holland, Malacca was again handed over to Britain. Consequently in 1826, Malacca, Singapore and

Penang were incorporated into a new Straits Settlements, the fourth Presidency of India. Malacca was the largest and most populous among these three places. According to the census of 1826, its inhabitants numbered 24,819, including Malays 16,212 (65 per cent), Chinese 4,125 (16.6 per cent) and others. Nearly all Chinese migrants lived in the town of Malacca, amounting to about 4,000 of the 12,000 towns people. In fact, throughout the period of the LMS running its station there and long after, the Chinese remained the dominant ethnic community in the city of Malacca.(94)

In contrast to the economic prosperity of Penang and Singapore, however, Malacca in the 1820s suffered a serious slump. A rapid decline had been visible since the founding of Penang in 1786, but was exacerbated by the establishment of Singapore in 1819. Malacca's export and import duties and harbour fees drastically dwindled from $50,592 in 1815 to $7,217 only in 1823. In 1822, a British visitor noted that compared with hundreds of ships in Penang and Singapore, there were only five or six in Malacca. In the 1820s and 30s, Malacca was often lamented by Western visitors as 'lifeless dullness,' 'stillness,' and 'solitary and deserted.'(95) It is doubtful that the missionaries on the spot could have had different feelings. Yet it appeared that, to a fervent missionary, this quiet economic backwater might still be a promising field for evangelism. Eight months after Milne's death, Morrison, for the first time, arrived at Malacca in February 1823. A fortnight later he wrote to the Directors that he could not express to them, 'the great satisfaction afforded me by this house; the libraries, the Chinese printers (unawed by any Mandarins) printing the book of God; and the Chinese youths singing, in their own language, the high praises of Jehovah.'(96) Four months later, he further asserted that, 'The old settlement is still what it was originally deemed by our departed brother, the best seat in these parts for your Anglo-Chinese mission.'(97)

Upon Morrison's arrival, the Malacca station had two missionaries, Humphreys and David Collie. The latter had joined after Milne's death and was

studying the Chinese language, as was Huttmann. Morrison temporarily took over the affairs of the mission and the college. To the memory of Milne, a memoir was prepared and a monument of a Chinese gateway was erected, with inscriptions in Hebrew and Chinese on it. The old mission house was pulled down and several new houses were built for workmen and students. Besides giving daily Chinese courses to missionaries, the first class of the college was placed under his tuition, both in Chinese and English. Morrison also translated parts of Joyce's scientific dialogues into Chinese for his pupils. With respect to preaching, he twice on weekdays and four times on Sundays gave Christian instruction to students and printers.(98) Moreover, there were two things concerning printing, i.e. the completion of the printing of the Bible and the dismissal of Huttmann.

The printing of the Bible ceased after Milne's death, for no one could correct the press. Morrison lost no time in resuming the work as he hoped to finish it before his departure. On 20 May 1823, the printing of 神天聖書 *Shen-t'ien sheng-shu*, The Holy Bible, was finally completed.(99)(plates 3-6 & 3-7) Of the stitched 21 volumes in duodecimo size, the Old Testament occupied 17 volumes whilst the New Testament occupied 4 volumes. The Old Testament was wholly new cut at Malacca, but the New Testament was partly re-cut and revised and partly re-printed from the blocks of the 1813 and 1814 editions. The paper label in English on the first volume explained the condition of the New Testament that, 'Of some parts of the Scriptures several thousand copies have been printed; which use has worn the blocks, and injured the impression.' Except for this label, the appearance of the Bible was typically Chinese. Compared with other Chinese publications printed by Morrison or Milne, the Bible was characterized not only by its volumnious size, but by its technical excellence, including greater regularity of the block size and more consistency in the form of characters, even though it was transcribed and cut by different workmen. Therefore, while adding lustre to the history of the dissemination of the Bible, its completion also crowned the history of Chinese printing in Malacca.

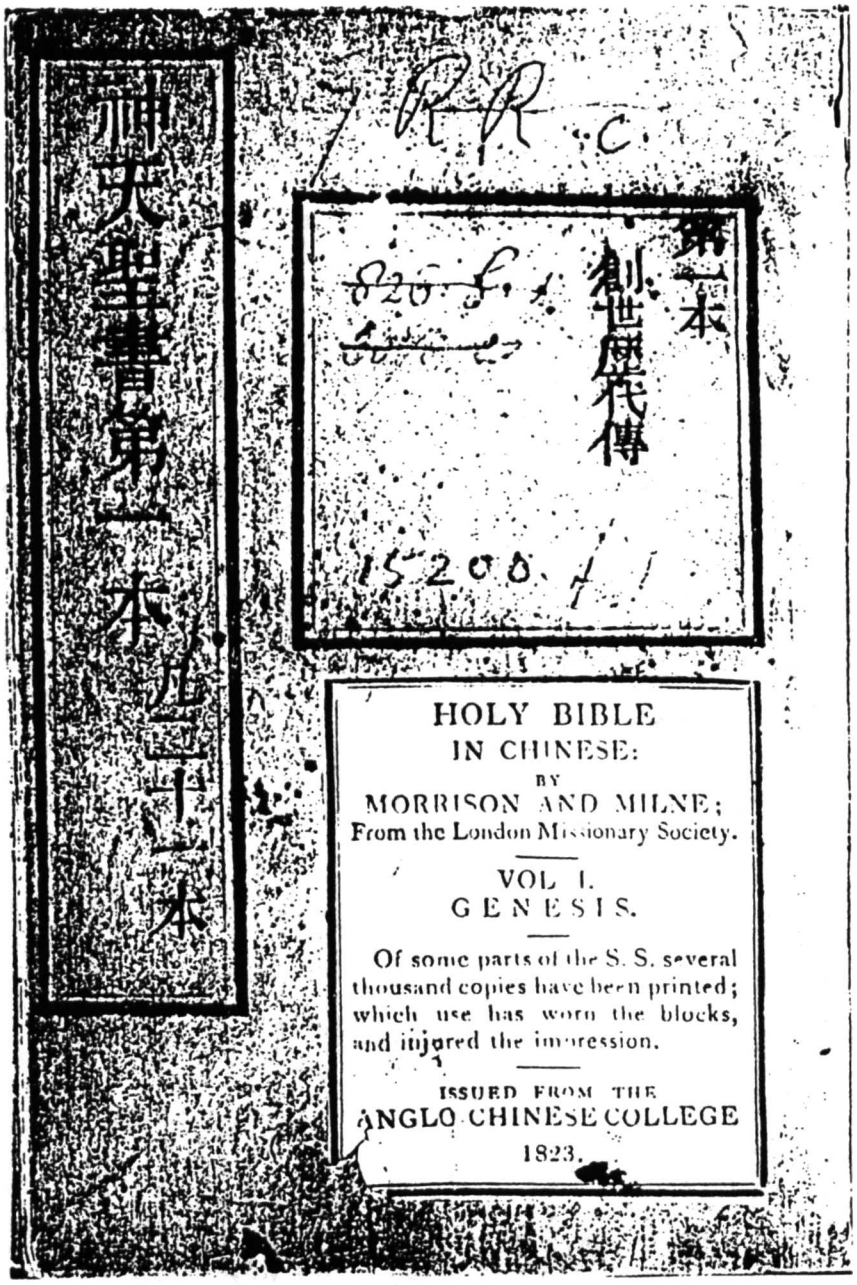


plate 3-6. The cover of the first volume of 神天聖書 *Shen-t'ien sheng-shu*. The Holy Bible. Malacca, 1823. (British Library Collection)

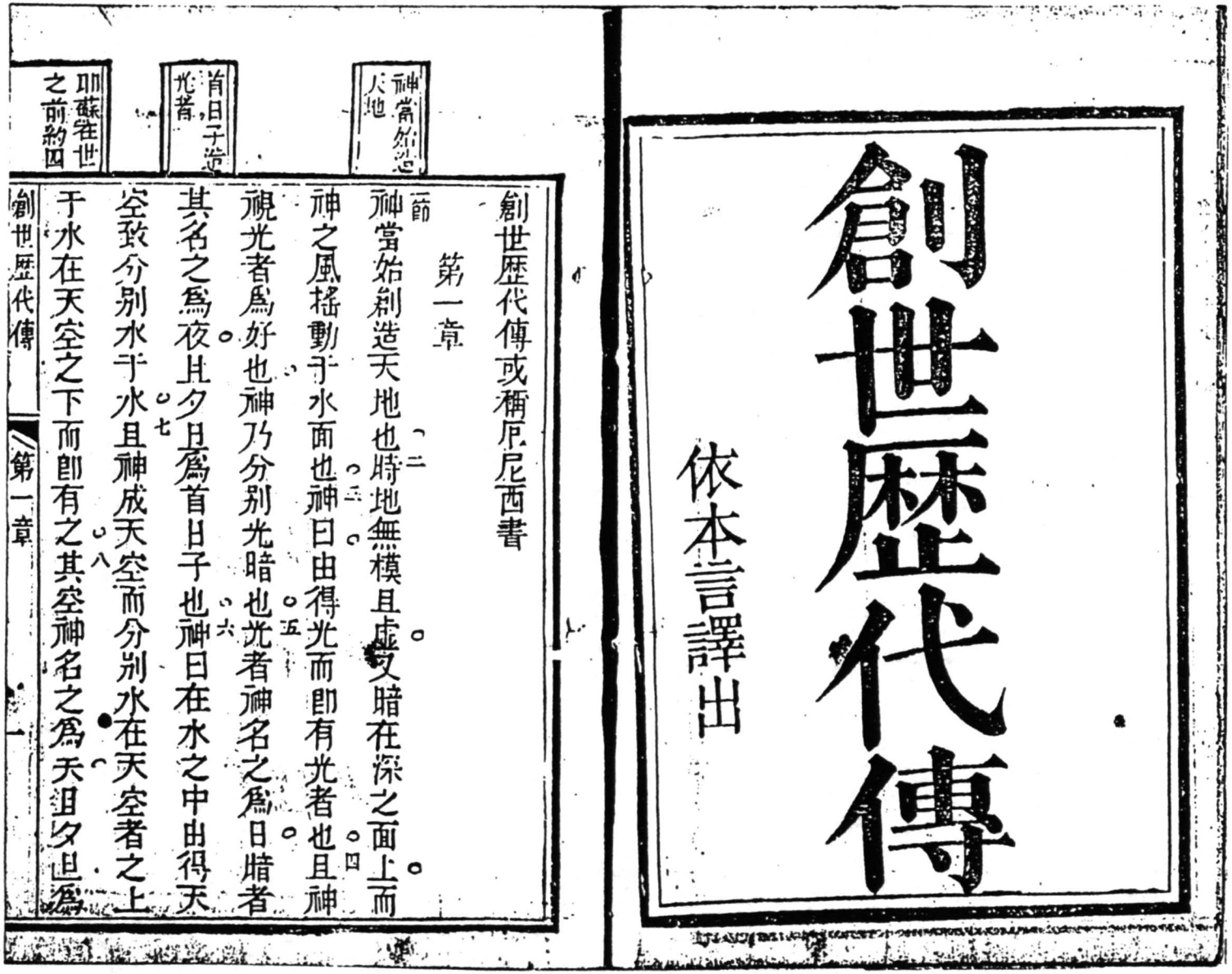


plate 3-7. The title page and the first page of Genesis. The blocks were cut before 1819. (British Library Collection)

As to Huttmann's dismissal, it was the result of his exorbitant demands and arrogance. As mentioned previously, he requested the doubling of his annual salary from £150 to £300, despite the missionary's salary being £200. The Directors' answer, which arrived after Milne's death, was to give him the same as a missionary. Only acting upon this for several months, Huttmann then took the opportunity of being responsible for the mission accounts to draw his monthly salary at the level of £300 per year, besides refusing to attend worship. After Morrison's arrival, Huttmann continued what he had done and made a new request for leave of absence, returning to London to get married, with his passage paid by the LMS. While infuriated by these excesses, Morrison found that Huttmann was totally ignorant of the Chinese language, which was an unacceptable matter for the senior member of the Chinese mission. As a result, Huttmann was required to submit his resignation in March 1823 and it came into effect a year later. In the meantime, the affairs of Chinese printing were immediately taken out of his hands and placed in Collie's care, whilst the accounts passed to Humphreys. Only the English and Malay press remained in Huttmann's hands. Moreover, Morrison wrote to the Directors that,

> 'At this station, as things now are native printers will be competent to do all that is required; and on Mr. Huttmann's return I would not recommend the sending out of a successor unless he were a humble Christian man who would work at composing, and be assisting generally under the direction of the missionaries.'(100)

From then on British printers disappeared from the Malacca mission. Morrison gave no further information about native printers in his letters. Yet those he referred to were not necessarily Chinese, but rather people from different backgrounds. Accounts of the Malacca station from August 1821 to August 1822 showed that there were nine workers at the English and Malay press: two Bengali compositors who came to Malacca in 1816, two Chinese pressmen, a Malay compositor and three apprentices, who would have been from local Portuguese-Asian families.(101)

After a six-months stay in Malacca, Morrison returned to China in August 1823. Yet he left an unresolved problem at Malacca - the Anglo-Chinese College. While there he accepted a suggestion from Sir Stamford Raffles, the founder and Governor of Singapore, to move the Anglo-Chinese College there, combining with a projected Malay College to form a new Singapore Institution. This decision was welcomed by the Directors, for it would help to solve the tangled controversies centered on the ambiguous relations between the mission and the college. Among the problems involved was the status of the printing establishment, something that should have been clear and beyond question. Even though in 1821 the Directors ordered Morrison and Milne to return to its original name of 'The Mission Press' from 'The Anglo-Chinese Press,' the demand was ignored. An example was the paper label on the Bible, it read, 'Holy Bible in Chinese: ... Issued from the Anglo-Chinese College, 1823.' In a letter to the Directors in March 1823, Humphreys, who was newly appointed as principal of the college by Morrison, further revealed that, 'In consequence of the removal of the college and those acquainted with Chinese, it will be necessary to remove the mission press at the same time to Singapore.'(102) Although Humphreys added that it would still be LMS property and under the missionaries' supervision, this was obviously *ultra vires*. Probable disputes were dispelled by a later decision by Morrison to build up a new printing establishment at Singapore, instead of moving the existing one from Malacca. Then the removal of the college was aborted after several years due to Raffles's successor's opposition to the whole plan for a Singapore Institution. Nonetheless, as long as the college continued to be closely linked with the mission, the old problems remained unresolved.

Since Morrison went down to Malacca to clear up Milne's unfinished work, the short period of his stay there in 1823 can be regarded as a continuance of the Milne era. In terms of printing, the prestigious Bible in Chinese was now completed, the superintendent was sacked and some workers dispersed. Liang Afa the head Chinese printer returned to Canton. Morrison sent another to Singapore. The two

Bengali compositors left for Calcutta. Malay workers, except for a compositor, had followed Thomsen to Singapore earlier. As to the missionaries, who now directly took care of the printing business, Humphreys and Collie were very new to mission work. Humphreys moved to the Malay department shortly afterwards, whilst Collie was still studying the Chinese language. Even Morrison had no intention of resuming the Chinese Magazine and *The Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, nor had the two junior brethren. In his nine years in China and Malacca, Milne wrote twenty-one works in Chinese, including parts of the Bible and the magazine running to more than a thousand pages. Except for the first two works, nineteen of these were first published in Malacca. In the twenty years between 1823 and 1843, the Malacca mission had, for longer or shorter periods, eight Chinese missionaries. As a whole, they wrote nineteen Chinese works, just as many as Milne had produced alone in seven years. Of these, fifteen were written by Collie and Samuel Kidd and published by 1830; two were Samuel Dyer's works in the 1830s and two by James Legge in the 1840s.(103) It is obvious that without Milne's further output, writing for the press in Malacca was carried on at a slower pace.

In addition to the low yield amongst the residential missionaries, the build-up of printing offices at other stations also reduced their dependence upon Malacca for books. In 1822, the beginning of printing at the Singapore station ended the Malacca monopoly. It was followed by the Batavia station the following year. Finally, the Penang station obtained its own printing facilities in 1832. Moreover, the American printing establishments appearing one after another in Canton, Singapore and Bangkok in the 1830s further widened the distribution of Chinese printing facilities in Southeast Asia. Therefore, while the mission press at Malacca remained the largest one among all these printing establishments until it was transferred to Hongkong in 1843, its unique place had been lost after 1822 and its lead gradually shrank.

In the several years immediately following Milne's death, a decline in output occurred. Compared with the 54,950 copies printed in 1819, the number of copies

produced in Malacca drastically dropped to 13,000 in the year between July 1824 and July 1825. In 1827, the number went up to about 30,000.(104) Notwithstanding this reduction, the brethren appeared to be working hard to maintain the reputation of the mission press. Notably, besides some tracts, four lengthy works were printed between 1824 and 1827, one work every year. These were, in order, Milne's two posthumous books, 靈魂篇大全 *Ling-hun-p'ien ta-ch'üan*, An Essay on the Soul, in 183 leaves, and 新增聖書節解 *Hsin-tseng sheng-shu chieh-chieh*, A Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians, in 104 leaves; Collie's 天鏡明鑑 *T'ien-ching ming-chien*, Celestial Mirror, in 70 leaves, and 聖書憑據總論 *Sheng-shu p'ing-chü tsung-lun*, Essay on the Evidences of Christianity, in 184 leaves. One may find with surprise that, from the technical point of view, these lengthy books were by no means inferior, indeed perhaps superior, to those previously printed by Milne, the Practical Exposition, printed in 1825, especially so. The work consisted of the text in forty-four paragraphs in a large character. Each paragraph was accompanied by a paraphrase, critical and explanatory notes and an exhortation. These three parts were in medium size character commencing one or two lines lower than the text and headed by a device cut in intaglio. Additionally, there were marginal references in small character at the top of the page. When Milne completed the manuscript in March 1821, he well knew the degree of difficulty in carrying out such complicated work, which he estimated as amounting to 90,000 characters in total. Yet, while worrying about the expense and technical problems in printing it with moveable type, he continued to show his confidence in block printing, writing that,

> 'On the Chinese mode, the different sizes of character are all cut on the same block, by the same hand, with the same ease, and at nearly the same price. But indeed, in our present circumstances and with our views of the subject, we are fully satisfied that the Chinese method of printing is the most suitable to their language, and best adopted to our purposes.'(105)

Another feature of printing in the same period was the publication of a Chinese newspaper, 天下新聞 *T'ien-hsia hsin-wen*, The Universal News, in 1828 and

1829. Being the second periodical in Malacca but rather more general than religious, it was 'a publication of a miscellaneous nature' and 'with a view of circulating information concerning China and England, and on subjects of religion and literature.'(106) The paper was edited by Samuel Kidd, a former employee of a linen draper at Hull who joined the mission in 1824 and later became Britain's first professor of Chinese at University College London in 1838. The first number of the single-sheet paper appeared around May 1828, then it seems to have been published irregularly. As the paper mainly proposed to diffuse general knowledge, its contents were mostly secular, such as 'news from China likely to interest the native readers, some articles of European intelligence, paragraphs illustrative of European science, history, religion, and morals.'(107) It was the support from Morrison's two friends in Canton that allowed the experiment of a newspaper 'in which the missionaries might intent whatever matter they pleased.'(108) Charles Marjoribanks, on the staff of the East India Company at Canton since 1812, a member of its Select Committee in 1825 and later the President in 1830 and 1831, gave $200 and James Matheson, a private British merchant, $50. Yet this co-operative effort of missionaries and businessmen proved to be a premature venture, as Kidd complained that, 'this means of diffusing knowledge has not yet received the degree of attention which is desirable.'(109) The reasons for its comparatively short life are provided partly by the missionaries, writing that, 'there are so few writers in Chinese and so much to do, often in the midst of indisposition,' and supposedly due to the readers with the argument that, 'The Chinese seem to like the paper, but they like the cash better, and are not willing to pay for it.'(110)

At the time The Universal News was in print, there was another local newspaper in English, *Malacca Observer and Chinese Chronicle*, being very close to the mission. The publisher and editor, J. H. Moor, came out from Dublin to be a student of the Anglo-Chinese College, in 1825 and 1826, and taught an English class in the evening to pay for his tuition in Chinese. He then became the head-teacher in

the local Free School, supported by the Malacca authorities. In September 1826, Moor began to publish his bi-weekly newspaper and commissioned the mission press, the only printing facility in Malacca, to print it. The $30 of printing revenue per month raised by this, was at that time the only source of regular profit for the mission press.(111) Trouble came in July 1829, when criticism of the government of the Straits Settlements appeared in the paper, which had a monthly subsidy of 50 Sicca Rupees from the local authorities. As written warning seemed in vain, the Governor, Robert Fullerton, took another approach to put pressure on the mission, which had also received a monthly subsidy of $100 from the government since 1827. To the Governor's question on a face-to-face occasion, Kidd replied that he 'neither wrote in it nor even corrected the press for it,' and expressed his wish to be neutral in politics and not to be considered as a censor of the paper.(112) After the Governor predicted that the paper would be closed down and after Kidd told Moor about his meeting with the Governor and about 'the inconvenience which might result to the Society from continuing the paper in connection with the mission press,' the *Malacca Observer* was closed.(113) While losing a regular source of profit, Kidd reduced Moor's three months payment due to the mission to two and a half for lightening the publisher's loss in this incident.

Did the *Malacca Observer* have any relevance to The Universal News? Was it possible that the former inspired the missionary's desire for a Chinese newspaper, or that The Universal News drew materials from the *Malacca Observer*, just as the latter did from other English papers coming to hand? While such circumstances were probable, however, no further information is available which could enable us to ascertain this.

An obscure episode in the development of printing at Malacca was its having possessed a lithographic press from the middle 1820s. It is unclear by whom and when the press was sent to Malacca. There was no mention of it in the correspondence of the missionaries to London, nor in the Board Minutes or in the

Directors' outgoing letters. Probably it was Morrison who sent the press to Malacca, as he brought another private one with him when returning from London to Canton in 1826. The lithographic press was already in Malacca when Morrison's son, John, was there in 1827. Yet he did not try it out, although he had worked on his father's at Canton for several months close to the end of the previous year.(114) It is doubtful that anyone else ever tried it. The lithographic press, together with a very small quantity of stone and some sand, lay in Malacca for years hence.

The period between 1828 and 1834 was the most unstable time in the history of the Malacca mission. Missionaries came and went as often as if they were on a merry-go-round. Collie died in early 1828. Humphreys, who had worked with the Malays only for a few years, returned to England in 1829, due to sickness. Besides Kidd on the spot, two junior Chinese missionaries, Jacob Tomlin and John Smith, arrived in 1827 and 1828 respectively, yet afterwards came and went several times. When Kidd finally returned to England at the end of 1831 for his health, Josiah Hughes, a Malay missionary who arrived a year earlier and was the only one available at Malacca at that time, took charge of the mission and the college. Then Tomlin returned in 1832 but finally left the LMS in 1834, when he launched his own seminary at Malacca. There were also some unpleasant relationships between individual missionaries. Under these circumstances, it would be rather an extravagant hope for many gains for the mission as well as for the college. This instability also caused other problems, such as the poor discipline of the workmen, all of whom lodged on the mission premises. In the middle of 1832, a Chinese printer, who had recently returned from Malacca, told Liang Afa in Canton about the printers at Malacca, stating that, 'They are very different from the way they were in Mr. Milne's days. Excluding those who visit prostitutes, gamble and smoke opium, you could hardly find one or two good men.'(115)

It was not until 1834 that the personnel problem settled down. John Evans, a former teacher of classics and mathematics for ten years, came out as a missionary

and arrived at Malacca in August 1833. After he took charge of the mission and the college in May 1834, a kind of revival began to appear in every department of the mission. Prior to this time, Milne baptized a Chinese, Liang Afa, and a Malay woman; Kidd, a Chinese college student and a Malay slave; and Humphreys, a Malay woman and her two children. These seven Christians appeared to be the only fruits of the Malacca station in nearly two decades. Then there was a dramatic increase in the Evans period. In October 1834, he reported on his first baptism.(116) On 1 January 1835, he again wrote to London, 'The present aspect of the mission is promising. During the year eight native adults & two children have been baptized & there are seven candidates ...'(117) Afterwards Evans continued to hold the ceremonies of baptism. By the end of 1840, the number of baptized Chinese, Malays and Indians amounted to about sixty.(118) Also, the college and the mission schools were in a very flourishing condition. In 1836, he had ten Chinese and six Malay schools, containing upwards of 600 children. Additionally, the college had sixty students, 'a greater number than at any former period.'(119) In November 1839, Evans wrote that, 'The number of youths in the college has increased. We are now quite full.'(120)

The printing establishment reflected the same atmosphere too. It was first strengthened by the rejoining of Liang Afa and Keu Agang, who came down to Malacca at the end of 1834, after escaping from persecution in Canton. A further reinforcement was the missionary Samuel Dyer moving from Penang in October 1835. Dyer immediately took care of the printing office and began his hard work in making Chinese moveable type, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Strengthened personnel brought about a very different picture of production in subsquent years. In 1833, there were ten works printed, 10,800 copies in total.(121) Meanwhile, some Malay type were obtained in the hope of resuming printing in this language. In 1834, the number of copies printed increased to 40,956 in Chinese, 2,000 in Malay and 500 in Portuguese.(122) Then the year 1835 became the most productive year in the history of the Malacca station. The number rose to 66,698

copies, consisting of 54,728 tracts and 573 complete Bibles in 11,970 volumes.(123) Although these were almost wholly printed with old blocks or re-cut blocks of old works and a part of them was an extra production for Medhurst's special distribution in his voyage along the China coast in the same year, this number was still a very significant index of the maximum capacity of printing in Malacca. The number dropped in the following years. Yet after Dyer returned to England in May of the same year, Evans still managed to have 20,000 copies printed in the last six months of 1839.(124) In addition to Chinese books and tracts, an English monthly, *The Periodical Miscellany and Juvenile Instructor*, was published from 1836. It was 'a small monthly periodical of a miscellaneous nature, with special reference to the juvenile class of the community in the Straits.'(125) Fixed at 24 pages each issue, the magazine had a variety of subjects in its contents, with much emphasis on the Chinese language. Evans reported that the magazine paid its own expenses. The 'Introduction' to the extant volume two also expressed that its success had far exceeded their original expectations.(126)

Unfortunately, Evans died suddenly of cholera in November 1840. Perhaps more unfortunate for the mission press was that Evans's successor was a man who liked to write for the press but by no means liked to deal with printing affairs himself. James Legge, who was a graduate from King's College, Aberdeen, and the first sinologist at Oxford in later years, arrived at Malacca in January 1840. Soon he was unable to get along well with Evans and Heinrich C. Werth, an assistant missionary. As the situation deteriorated, Evans wrote to the Directors, about three weeks before his death that,

> 'It has for some time been a matter of much grief to me, to see a young person, who has so recently joined me as a colleague, entirely ignorant of the manners and customs of the natives & quite inexperienced, not only desirous of introducing & setting up his own places, but insisting on having them carried into effect. ... both Mr. Werth and myself feel it to be our conscientious duty to separate ourselves from him. Indeed to speak quite correctly, he cut us first. We cannot any longer unite, ...'(127)

Yet it was now the young Legge who was left to manage the business. Everything done by his predecessors seemed wrong. The college was but an elementary school, the system of mission schools was radically defective, whilst the management of the mission and Evans's conduct in money affairs were questionable. As to printing, while expressing his opinion that 'one press for the Straits is sufficient,' Legge felt that, 'perhaps Singapore or Penang is more convenient than Malacca' to possess the facilities.(128) Grudgingly suprintending the press for one year, he could not stand for it any longer,

> 'Day treads upon day, and week chases after week, while I am fuming and fretting and labouring amid a press of multifarious business - having, in truth, six muckle Feersdays every week, and can only send regrets instead of epistles across the sea.'(129)

At last Legge determined that Singapore should be the right place for the English printing press, mainly because two of the three brethren there being with 'a much larger share of mechanical genius than I possess.'(130) Within a month of his writing to London on this subject in early September 1842, the printing press had gone. What Morrison and Humphreys had thought about nearly twenty years earlier was eventually carried out by Legge. Further, facts in the following thirty years proved that this matter was but the first one of those concerning printing and publishing which ended in his hands.(131) One of the last works printed at the Malacca mission press was Legge's *A Lexilogus of the English, Malay and Chinese Languages*, in 111 pages and published in 1841. Throughout this work, the Chinese types, cast by Dyer, were applied to print with Roman letters on each page and rendered in a beautifully matching effect that could not be found in works previously printed with cut type. Thus, although by no means interested in the art of printing, Legge was actually the first author, Dyer himself excepted, that benefited from other brethren's assiduous labours. Accompanying the printing press, the Malay type were also sent to Singapore, because Legge considered them 'useless and unemployed at Malacca.'(132) However, Evans did print and sell an enlarged and improved edition

of Thomsen's *A Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages* in 1837 to raise $400 towards building a wing for the college.(133) In addition to this, there was a half-completed work of Thomsen's revision of the Malay New Testament in the press since Evans's death.(134) Together with type, the burden to carry on this work was handed over to the brethren at Singapore. Moreover, the lithographic press having lain at Malacca for about fifteen years was also sent to Singapore.(135) Thus, after twenty-six years of printing in various languages, the Malacca station was now capable of Chinese only. Even so, as the subject of printing hardly appeared in his correspondence with the Directors, it is difficult to know how Chinese printing was undertaken in the last few years. No information was given in Legge's reports about the number of copies printed at Malacca for 1841 and 1842. The number for 1843, which was the last year of the Malacca station, was merely 3,550 copies.(136) Indeed, compared with any previous years, this was but a negligible amount. Only three works are known to have been printed under his care. They were, in 1841, two sheet tracts in letter form addressed to the Chinese on cholera and the feast of the tombs, and, in 1842, a hymn book.(137)

Before Legge succeeded Evans, the Opium War had already broken out in 1839. Discussions about the probablity of setting up stations in China, the final goal of the LMS's Chinese mission, began to prevail in the communication between the missionaries of the Ultra-Ganges missions and the Directors. When the situation was clear after Britain won the war and Hong Kong was ceded, the Directors decided to proceed to China and abandoned the Ultra-Ganges missions, other than retaining the Malay department at Singapore. Legge was designated to occupy the Hong Kong mission and to remodel the Anglo-Chinese College into a theological seminary on that island.(138) After disposing of the mission properties and packing up the library, Chinese blocks and other moveable property, Legge departed from Malacca on 6 May 1843. A printer, Agang, was among the Chinese who followed him to Hong Kong.(139)

During a short stay in Singapore on his way to Hong Kong, Legge was able to review the work of the Malacca mission. He asserted that the 'unproductiveness' and 'barrenness' of this station was due to the fact that 'it never was worked by an agency, possessing to a sufficient extent the qualifications requisite to success, on a large and permanent scale.'(140) Unproductiveness and barrenness? To a missionary whose paramount work was to convert the heathen, the sixty-odd Christians in a period of nearly three decades might mean nothing. It is also easy for one to put the blame on predecessors, especially when swayed by personal feelings. In a broader context, the contemporary political, social and cultural conditions in China, Southeast Asia and Britain, and even the Directors' policy toward their missions, were in the meantime equally important or more decisive factors in the work. Combined together, these factors produced results other than religion. In respect of printing at Malacca, the LMS mission began the first local press, which remained the only one in the period of its existence, and produced about 500,000 copies of books and tracts, including the Bible and the first Chinese magazine. More significantly, with the mixed application of various printing methods and the beginning of casting Chinese moveable type, the mission press at Malacca represents a critical transformation from xylography to typography in the history of Chinese printing.

Singapore

Unlike the long-standing prestige of Malacca in Southeast Asian history, Singapore prior to 1819 was an obscure island at the south-eastern tip of the Malay Peninsula. It was called Temasek before the name Singapura came into use in the fifteenth century. A Chinese trader and traveller of the early fourteenth century gave the first eye-witness description of this island, pointing out that there were some Chinese residents living with the natives. In the following centuries Singapore

experienced warfare and changes in its possessors from amongst the Malays, Thais and Portuguese, besides the pirates. On the eve of British occupation in 1819, Singapore was a part of the territory of a Malay sultanate, the Johor state, and was under the control of Temenggong, one of the sultan's senior ministers. It was estimated that there were about 1,000 inhabitants in Singapore, including natives of different tribes and about twenty to thirty Chinese.(141)

The founding of modern Singapore was a direct result of one individual's resolute action. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles began his career in the East as the assistant secretary to the Penang government in 1805. During the occupation of Java between 1811 and 1816, he was the Lieutenant Governor there. Then he was given the same title at Bencoolen, a British colony on the western shore of Sumatra Island. Being anxious about the resumption of Dutch power and Britain's concession in Southeast Asia after 1815, he tried to persuade the Governor-General of Bengal, Lord Hasting, of the importance of holding a station east of Penang along the route of the East India Company's trade with China. With permission in hand to search for such a place, Raffles, accompanied by Farquhar and a fleet of eight ships, came to the island of Singapore at the end of January 1819. A treaty for the setting up of a trading post on this island was consequently signed by him and Temenggong and the Johor sultan on 6 February. Before he left Singapore on the following day, Raffles appointed Farquhar the Resident and Commandant whilst remaining responsible to Bencoolen.

In spite of the jealous Penang government and Dutch protest, the infant settlement began to grow rapidly. Ideally located at a point convenient to communicate with other parts of Southeast Asia and with Raffles' proclamation of a free port, Singapore soon attracted people flocking in all directions in search of their fortunes. When Raffles returned to Singapore at the end of May 1819, he could boast that, 'We have not been established four months and it has received an accession of population exceeding five thousand, principally Chinese, and their number is daily increasing.'(142) The 1824 census, which was the first in this settlement, showed

that there were already 10,683 inhabitants. Of these, the Malay (4,580 or 42.87 per cent) and the Chinese (3,317 or 31.05 per cent) were the two largest ethnic groups. The Chinese that moved to Singapore were of three types. The first were those who were accustomed to European administration and mainly came from Malacca, Penang and the Dutch colonies. The second were those who had experience of dealing with the Malay in other places, whilst the third group were new and from the southern provinces of China. The early arrivals were mostly merchants, skilled workers and farmers. Those from Malacca took a leading role in the Chinese community, as some of them were already established businessmen and acquainted with Farquhar. However familiar with the Europeans, the first and second groups, most of them being country-born Chinese, kept their traditional customs and sense of values, not to mention those newly arrived from China.(143)

1819-1837

Like these shrewd merchants, Milne at Malacca soon became aware of the potential development of Singapore. Four months after the new settlement was founded, he wrote to Farquhar in May 1819 for a plot of land to build up a mission there. This request gained the Resident's positive answer.(144) Whilst writing to the Directors for two missionaries for Singapore, a Chinese and a Malay, Milne agreed to let Samuel Milton go there in September 1819 to open up the first Christian mission.(145) Born in Devon in 1787, Milton had been an apprentice and servant to a farmer for twelve years before becoming a missionary to the Chinese. His arrival at Singapore was cordially welcomed by Farquhar. The Resident erected a house for him on the granted land, donated a sum of $150 to his school and requested Milton to dine with his family every day. As Milton wrote to the Directors, 'Colonel Farquhar has been and still is exceedingly kind to me. If I had been his child he could not have paid me more attention or given me more encouragement in my work as a

missionary.'(146) A Chinese and Malay school was opened after he employed a school-master. Religious instruction to his Chinese helpers and the students also began. In addition to the Chinese language, Milton in the meantime devoted himself to the study of Malay.

While it appears that the Singapore station had a very good start, Milton managed the new mission without any directions from the Directors for about two and a half years. At the end of 1821, he was still to complain that, 'I have received not one sentence on the subject of missions since I left England. ... It is now carried to such a degree that I have no other alternative but to return to England and give up the missionary work.'(147) Milton did not go, yet the development of the mission in the first few years proved that he was a person of great ambition without careful consideration and necessary perseverance, so bringing about a series of setbacks to himself as well as to the Chinese mission later on. As Farquhar considered that Britain's title to Singapore need to be further confirmed, lands were granted on conditions. In November 1820, Milton reported that the government was likely to take back the land occupied by the mission for public purposes and give instead another piece of land.(148) Even the missionaries at Penang, Beighton and Ince, knew that it would be better not to spend too much on buildings at Singapore whilst all lands were granted conditionally there.(149) Yet in May 1822, Milton had finished a row of buildings 90 feet long and 18 broad, whilst another building 40 by 28 feet was in construction on the same site. He added that the great expense of £400 for this work had been 'paid out of my private concern.'(150)

In the mean time, Milton diverted his language study from Malay to Siamese and began to translate the Bible into that language. In September 1822, he reported the first trial of printing in the history of Singapore,

> 'I have employed two Chinese type-cutters to carry on a periodical work in Chinese and also to print an Exposition of the Book of Genesis in that language. Three men are cutting Siamese types for printing a pamphlet on the redemption of sinners by Jesus Christ, and perhaps in some future time the whole or part of the New Testament - should not

types be cast by any society for that purpose.'(151)

As the two Chinese works referred to were not mentioned by him again, nor is any copy of them known to be extant, it is doubtful that Milton completed the printing of them. Besides, shortly after this, Milton attempted a much more ambitious project in printing.

When Milton finished his buildings in May 1822, Thomsen arrived at Singapore. His scheming and designing character formed a sharp contrast to Milton's foolhardiness. In view of his bitter experience with Milne at the Malacca station, Thomsen did not join Milton on the same site but preferred clearing land that Milne further obtained from the government for the potential removal of the Anglo-Chinese College.(152) Therefore, it is accurate to say that the LMS had two missions at Singapore, one Chinese and one Malay. Although Thomsen received a cool welcome from Farquhar, who was apparently influenced by Thomsen's evil dissension with respect to Milne, what happened in Singapore between late 1822 and early 1823 had a decisive impact upon the rise and fall of these two missions and the LMS enterprises on this island as a whole.

Raffles returned to Singapore in October 1822 and stayed there for eight months until June 1823. Preparing to retire after this visit, Raffles was extremely anxious to put a series of new measures into effect to give the settlement, 'a child of my own,' a new appearance and prospects.(153) During this period, Raffles often fell out with the more gentle Farquhar over public affairs and personalities and eventually took over the duties of the Resident himself in early 1823. His largest and most far-reaching policy was a new layout for the town, involving a nearly complete re-settlement of existing inhabitants. In order to implement this plan, the government resumed control of all lands and re-appropriated by request. In January 1823, Thomsen wrote directly to Raffles in order to retain the land he was occupying, with an additional request for permission to use the small portable printing press that he had brought from Malacca.(154) Raffles's official reply, which came in six days, was

far beyond Thomsen's expectation. The original land was now granted to Thomsen instead of the LMS. Raffles did not give an explanation for such an alteration, but only informed Thomsen that, 'it is the anxious desire of the Lieutenant Governor to afford to you personally, as well as to the Missionary Society, every possible accommodation which can be required.'(155) As we shall see, Thomsen seized this and further opportunities of land grants to make later enormous trouble for the LMS.

With regard to the press, Thomsen's approach to Raffles, instead of to Farquhar, to submit his application showed his astute judgment. Raffles was much interested in printing. In 1819, he had brought a printing press with Roman and Malay type from Calcutta to Bencoolen in order to set up a printing establishment.(156) Shortly after returning to Singapore in 1822, Raffles asked Milton whether he had a printing press, as he 'want[ed] to print several things.'(157) It appeared that Thomsen must have been asked the same question or at least must have known the situation. He could not miss the opportunity to cater to Raffles. The results of Thomsen's application to use his printing press were better than he could hope. In addition to full sanction of Thomsen's requests, Raffles wrote to the Directors of the LMS urging them to send out two printing presses by the earliest opportunity. Meanwhile, he added that 'the government will engage to do all their work at the missionary press and there is reason to believe that when once it is in activity there will be various demands upon it by the community.'(158) Hitherto the government's, as well as the merchants', printing work had been carried out at the Malacca station.(159) Subsequent to Raffles's promise, Thomsen took over the business. In February 1823, i.e. within a month of his application, Thomsen was able to report that he was printing in English and Malay. Five young Malays, who had accompanied him to Singapore from Malacca, worked respectively on English and Malay composition, pressing, type-cutting and bookbinding. In requesting the Directors to send out the presses, type and other apparatus recommended by Raffles, Thomsen assured them that, 'I could engage that the Society will be indemnified for

the whole of the expense in three years.'(160)

In contrast, Milton was absent from Singapore during this critical period. Without the Directors' knowledge, he went to Calcutta in December 1822 to procure everything for his great printing establishment in prospect. Returning in early April 1823, he brought a dazzling list of the results of his journey,

> 'I returned here ... with three printing presses and their furniture, one fount of English types, one fount of Chinese types (this is the first fount of these types that was ever cast), one fount of Malay types, with a quantity of English printing paper, printing ink, English composition & also a quantity of type metal, moulds furnace, and ladles; one set of Siamese, one set of Malay, & one set of Arabic matrices and every thing requisite for casting types in the above mentioned languages, ... I have also furnished myself with a complete set of European tools, figures, letters, presses, & for binding books and have engaged a man to attend to that department.'(161)

To prevent the Directors from being fearful of these expenditures and of his assertion that he was prepared to print in five languages, i.e. English, Siamese, Malay, Chinese and Arabic, Milton emphasized that he would personally pay the whole expense of £2,500.

However, developments were not as Milton thought they should be. Upon his return, he found that Morrison was at Singapore in discussion with Raffles about the removal of the Anglo-Chinese College thither to combine with the projected Singapore Institution. According to Milton, Morrison subsequently brought pressure to bear upon him by saying that it was Raffles's wish to request him to make over all the printing facilities to the Institution.(162) Morrison himself had a different story. As he saw that Milton had neither funds to pay the merchant nor food to eat after his return to Singapore, he lent Milton $1,000 and used his influence with Raffles to take all printing facilities off Milton's hands for $2,000.(163) Regardless of who told the truth, in a meeting held several days later, the trustees of the Institution eventually appointed Milton as the professor of Siamese, purchased all his printing facilities, employed the printer whom he brought from Calcutta, and stated that 'it is expected that Milton will take charge of the presses, &c. for the time being.'(164) Since the

Institution did not have its own buildings as yet, the printing presses remained in Milton's residence and began operation in early June 1823, about four months after Thomsen's press. One press was printing official rules and regulations prepared by Raffles, whilst another press was employed on Medhurst's *A Dictionary of the Hok-kë èn Dialect of the Chinese Language*, whose printing was in accordance with a resolution of the trustees of the Institution.(165)

Thus far Singapore had two printing establishments at work. One was the LMS mission press, being a small portable press under Thomsen's control, whilst another one was the property of the Singapore Institution, being much larger in size and in Milton's care. Both were principally printing for the government.

For Milton, there were worse dilemmas than the take-over of his printing facilities by the Singapore Institution. According to Raffles's new town plan, Milton's residence was located in the commercial area and was on the land that the local agent of the Thorton Company in London determined to purchase for their warehouse. The problem was that, being absent in Calcutta, Milton had missed the dead-line to apply for the possession of other land. In other words, the LMS lost a plot of land. Raffles and Morrison had already left Singapore. Farquhar, though still in Singapore, was ignominiously replaced by John Crawfurd, a medical doctor and author of books on Malay. The new Resident, whom Milton had met in Calcutta by way of Raffles's letter of introduction but felt no congeniality with, ordered Milton to sell his house and move elsewhere. Facing this great difficulty, Milton continued with his distinct, or rather eccentric, way to make up the situation. He purchased 'the largest and best lot of ground in the settlement' and employed as many as sixty-five workers to hasten the construction of two stone houses, because the government requested that 'every purchaser was to build a strong and durable house on his lot within twelve months or forfeit the land.'(166) Of the two stone buildings, the larger one, 100 feet square, was for the accommodation of four missionary families and a missionary academy which he 'designed purely for the education of pious native of all casts & nations.'(167) A

smaller one, 68 by 36 feet, was a printing office with space to house workers. Again, he privately bore the expense, of more than $12,000 or £3,000, but said that the entire land and buildings were intended for the LMS. Yet before the completion of these strong buildings, he was twice robbed of 'everything I had except my bed and a few clothes' at the house which he temporarily rented.(168) Amongst the losses were a set of Siamese and Arabic matrices and punches, together with 572 punches of Chinese characters, which he said he had spent nearly three years of leisure time in cutting.

The last in the series of Milton's peculiar acts was his unwise offending of the new Resident with regard to printing. In January 1824, Singapore's first newspaper, the *Singapore Chronicle*, was founded and was printed at the Institution's press under Milton's care. It was published by Frederick J. Bernard, the acting Master Attendant of the government, yet in reality was controlled by Crawfurd the Resident.(169) Feeling that Crawfurd was 'inimical to the Gospel of Christ', Milton asserted in the meantime that 'nothing could be more painful to me than to be so circumstanced as to print newspaper.'(170) Eventually in June 1825, he told the Directors in a letter that, 'It affords me the prettiest pleasures to inform you that I have got rid of printing newspapers or anything in English. Though my giving it up gave great offense to the Resident, but I could not do it any longer from a principle of conscience, and I had rather offend man, however exalted, than God.'(171) Yet it was too late for him to find out that, following his rejection of printing the newspaper, the printing presses with all apparatus were to be removed from his house to Thomsen's, who now assumed the work.

Due to their very different characters, Thomsen and Milton had executed their missionary duties in separate ways. Their printing businesses being in competition, the two brethren's relations unavoidably declined from coldness to conflict. Milton felt deceived into believing that Thomsen would share the labours in managing his printing presses after returning from Calcutta. He also suspected that Thomsen was covertly attempting a takeover of the land belonging to the mission,

amongst other things. Additionally, Thomsen was accused of being Crawfurd's instrument. On the other hand, Thomsen criticised Milton's odd behaviour in dealing with mission work and his arguing with almost every one, including cursing the Directors. It is not surprising to find that both brethren exchanged fire with personal remarks in their letters to London. In fact, besides explaining his great plans for building and printing or pouring out his grievances, Milton gave few accounts in his letters of his printing practices for missionary purposes. A report in June 1825 appeared to be the only one concerning his real printing work. It showed that he had printed four of Milne's tracts in Chinese, a Siamese catechism translated from Milne's Chinese work and a part of David Bogue's theological lectures in English. The four Chinese works, which must have been printed with blocks, were 3,000 copies of 張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen, 2,000 copies of 諸國異神論 *Chu-kuo yi-shen lun*, Tract on Idolatry, 15,000 copies of 幼學淺解問答 *Yü-hsüeh ch'ien-chieh wen-ta*, A Catechism for Youth, and 1,000 copies of 賭博明論略講 *Tu-po ming-lun lüeh-chiang*, The Evils of Gambling.(172) It is ironic that, after spending so much time, energy and money in printing, his ambition resulted in so little output, let alone anything turned out with Chinese type. The imprudent and flighty performance of Milton led to a factual separation from the LMS in the middle 1825, after two LMS delegates, Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, examined all his accounts and papers.(173) At the delegates' suggestion, the Directors formally resolved to discharge Milton's connection with the LMS in March 1827.(174) Referred to by the brethren at Penang as 'insane,' Milton was the first, but regrettably not the sole, incompetent missionary who was injurious to the Singapore station.(175) The Chinese mission in Singapore from then on underwent a nearly blank period of more than ten years. It was nominally under Thomsen's concurrent care for about eight years, with two short breaks of several months respectively in 1827 and 1828 when two missionaries to the Chinese, Jacob Tomlin and John Smith, temporarily came to take on the work.

To the Directors in London and the Singapore station itself, it was a deeper disappointment that Milton's incompetence and inconstancy was followed by Thomsen's more hurtful concealment, slyness and pursuit of private interests. Thomsen's craftiness first exhibited itself in the land issue. There were in total four plots of land granted by Raffles in Thomsen's name. The first was the one in town that was originally obtained by Milne on behalf of the LMS but was put into Thomsen's name. A declaration was made by him, in the presence of his wife and Morrison, clarifying that it was not his but the LMS's property.(176) Although Thomsen asserted that he had forwarded the document of transfer to the LMS in London, the Directors never received it, thereby they did not know its details, such as the actual size and site involved.(177) The second and third plots adjoined the first and were used together by the mission, yet Thomsen concealed these two additional land grants. These schemes led to the Directors having only a vague knowledge of their estates in Singapore and gave Thomsen the opportunity to sell them later. The fourth one, 200 acres in size, was at a distant location and without a road to reach it. Thomsen spent about $3,000, charged to the LMS's account, in clearing and cultivating it.(178) For the last plot, large but of little value, the LMS did get the document of transfer from Thomsen.

Thomsen's misconduct was further revealed by two LMS delegates, who found that Thomsen indulged himself 'in the most complete inactivity as to all missionary duties.'(179) The remarks about him listed in the deputation's report were roughly of two sorts, i.e. his neglecting missionary duties and pursuing pecuniary interests. In his work, the report pointed out, amongst other things, that his only public activity was preaching on Sunday to about six people, including his four domestics. He never went into Malay houses, though he was surrounded by them. For his monetary pursuits, Thomsen had other regular jobs and salaries, including that of Malay interpreter and translator for the government and professor of Malay at the Singapore Institution. The Thomsens also had eleven children under their care and

were paid by local Europeans. From these various sources he earned an annual income of nearly £700, including his missionary salary of £300. In spite of the Directors' repeated urging, Thomsen at first avoided answering these remarks with the excuse of illness. After a two year delay, he eventually gave his reply which was evasive or beside the point. For instance, to the charge of his inactivity, his defense was that 'during their [i.e. the delegates'] stay here I printed a translation of the Assembly's Catechism.'(180) Already deeply disappointed by Thomsen and Milton's performances, the Directors once resolved to abandon Singapore as a regular and permanent station.(181) They preferred occasional visits to this island by the missionaries from other stations for the distribution of books, rather than to be exhausted by the constant troubles of Milton and Thomsen. After further considering the geographical superiority, commercial prosperity and increasing population of Singapore, the Directors rescinded the former resolution.(182)

While idling with regard to other work, however, Thomsen appeared to be much interested in printing. In his first year in Singapore, Thomsen operated a small portable press on a small-scale and produced several works in Malay and in English, besides doing jobbing work for the government. In January 1823, Raffles wrote to the Directors urging them to send out two presses for Thomsen, as previously mentioned. The Directors resolved to comply with this advice. However, they changed their mind after learning that Milton had brought three presses from Calcutta to Singapore.(183) Then by the middle of 1825, Thomsen replaced Milton and was concurrently in charge of the Singapore Institution press. Yet the institution presses were mysteriously worn out by November 1826, within one and a half years under his care and only four years after they had been made in Calcutta.(184) In the meantime Thomsen established a private printing office on the land adjoining the mission premises and subsequently used the imprint 'The Mission Press.' The properties of this establishment included land 600 by 150 feet, two brick buildings 52 by 14 feet each, a wooden house 70 by 20 feet, a complete assortment of Roman type, founts of

Arabic, Javanese, Buginese and Laos types, with moulds and matrices, two iron presses, two paper presses and a set of book binder's tools. In total, it was estimated by Thomsen himself at a value of $7,500 or £1,500.(185)

After obtaining this large printing establishment, Thomsen's printing output obviously increased from 1827 onwards. His annual report for 1827 showed that six English and three Malay works were printed.(186) Except for a new Malay tract, these were reprints of tracts, school lessons and his *A Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages*. He also wrote that, 'The aspect of the Singapore mission is, I think, on the whole more cheering than hitherto.'(187) This satisfactory condition continued in the following years and printing occupied more and more of Thomsen's work. In June 1831, when the printing of his revised edition of the New Testament in Malay began, Thomsen wrote to the Directors that, 'The Malay mission has a more pleasing aspect now than at any former time; calls for books increase. A spirit of reading has at last been produced by our new types and new books.'(188) In fact, 1831 and 1832 were the most productive years of his printing office. The press was regularly working twelve hours daily, printing one ream of paper per day.(189) In 1831 only, eight tracts and school books in the Malay, Buginese and Siamese languages were printed, amounting to 10,500 copies. In the following year, eleven works came out of the press, amounting to 14,000 copies.(190) At this time printing had already become his most important work, if not his sole missionary work, as he said, 'Writing and the work of the press almost all that I am able to attend to now.'(191) This feeling of satisfaction was at its peak when, in 1833, he completed the revision and printing of the Malay New Testament, though this work was then considered by his language teacher, Munshi Abdullah, and other missionaries as being unintelligible and a new translation would have been more practical. His other works in Malay were also perceived as defective and not adaptable to use in school.(192)

Since his printing business was prosperous, it was surprising to find that Thomsen was prepared to sell the printing office and with land. He wrote to the

Directors in July 1831, hoping that they would take it over and asked a price of £600 or $3,000.(193) The real reason for the sale was not given in this letter. According to the missionaries at the Penang station, however, Thomsen had mortgaged his printing office to Robert Burn, the chaplain of Singapore, and the money was now required as Burn was to return to England.(194) The Directors had no interest in this transaction.

In 1832, a fresh and very injurious scandal arose involving Thomsen with the prevailing rumours that he had children by native women and that he was 'loose and free with females.'(195) This caused a tediously long discussion and investigation amongst the missionaries inside and outside the Ultra-Ganges missions. The investigation produced no final conclusion, yet apparently Thomsen was most unsuitable to remain in Singapore any longer. The coincidental diagnosis of his wife's cancer at this time impelled them to leave Singapore for England in May 1834. They had no sooner arrived in London than his wife died. Thomsen subsequently ceased to be connected with the LMS and moved to Germany early in 1835.(196)

Thomsen's departure did not end the Directors' annoyance. Of the three adjoining plots of land in town granted by Raffles, on the first stood the mission house and chapel; on the second, Thomsen's private printing office; and the third, which was totally unknown to the Directors, had been sold earlier in 1827. Before leaving Singapore, he sold his printing office with land to American missionaries (ABCFM) for $1,500. Assuming that their lands included the second lot, the astonished Directors wrote to question the ABCFM about the business. Meanwhile, members of the Ultra-Ganges missions and Samuel Wolfe, a new missionary who arrived at Singapore from England in September 1835 to take up the Chinese mission, were requested to investigate the case. Unfortunately, Wolfe died after about one and a half years. It was not until 1838 when later residential missionaries made a thorough investigation that the full truth came out.(197)

In short, during nearly two decades from 1819 to 1837, the LMS's Singapore mission had very limited production of Chinese printing, due to improper persons.

This was a great disadvantage to a mission in a place like Singapore, where the Chinese were in the majority. Besides Milton's edition of Milne's four tracts in 1825, a small work entitled 訓女三字經 *Hsün nü san-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic for the Instruction of Females and printed in 1832 was probably produced on the island.(plates 3-8) Its author, 馬典娘娘 i.e. Sophia Martin, who was a sister-in-law of Medhurst, came to Singapore from Batavia in 1829 for her health and to help the mission in female schools.(198) This small book, in 9 leaves, was written in 212 sentences, three words each, and printed in very large characters. As there is no imprint indicating its publication, it is uncertain at whose expense and where this interesting work was printed. It appeared that Thomsen did not print any Chinese books, even though he had taken care of the Chinese mission for about eight years. His stock of Chinese books was entirely supplied by the Malacca station. A curious situation was that the Chinese books distributed by him greatly outnumbered the Malay books. For instance, of the 6,570 copies circulated in 1826, 5,000 were in Chinese, 1,020 were in Malay and 550 in English.(199) Again in 1832, of the greater quantity of about 70,000 copies distributed, 50,000 were Chinese Bibles and tracts, only 19,000 were in Malay and some were in English.(200) Besides these two years for which numbers are available for comparison, other years must have seen the same thing, as he several times reported that, 'Our depository [of Chinese books] is now almost empty,' and that, 'Distribution of Chinese books has been this year more extensive than formerly.'(201) However, he was unacquainted with the Chinese language, so that no positive results were seen.

1838 -1846

Whilst the Chinese department of the Singapore station experienced a gloomy period of nearly two decades and had no residential missionary for more than ten years, the settlement continued its rapid development. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of

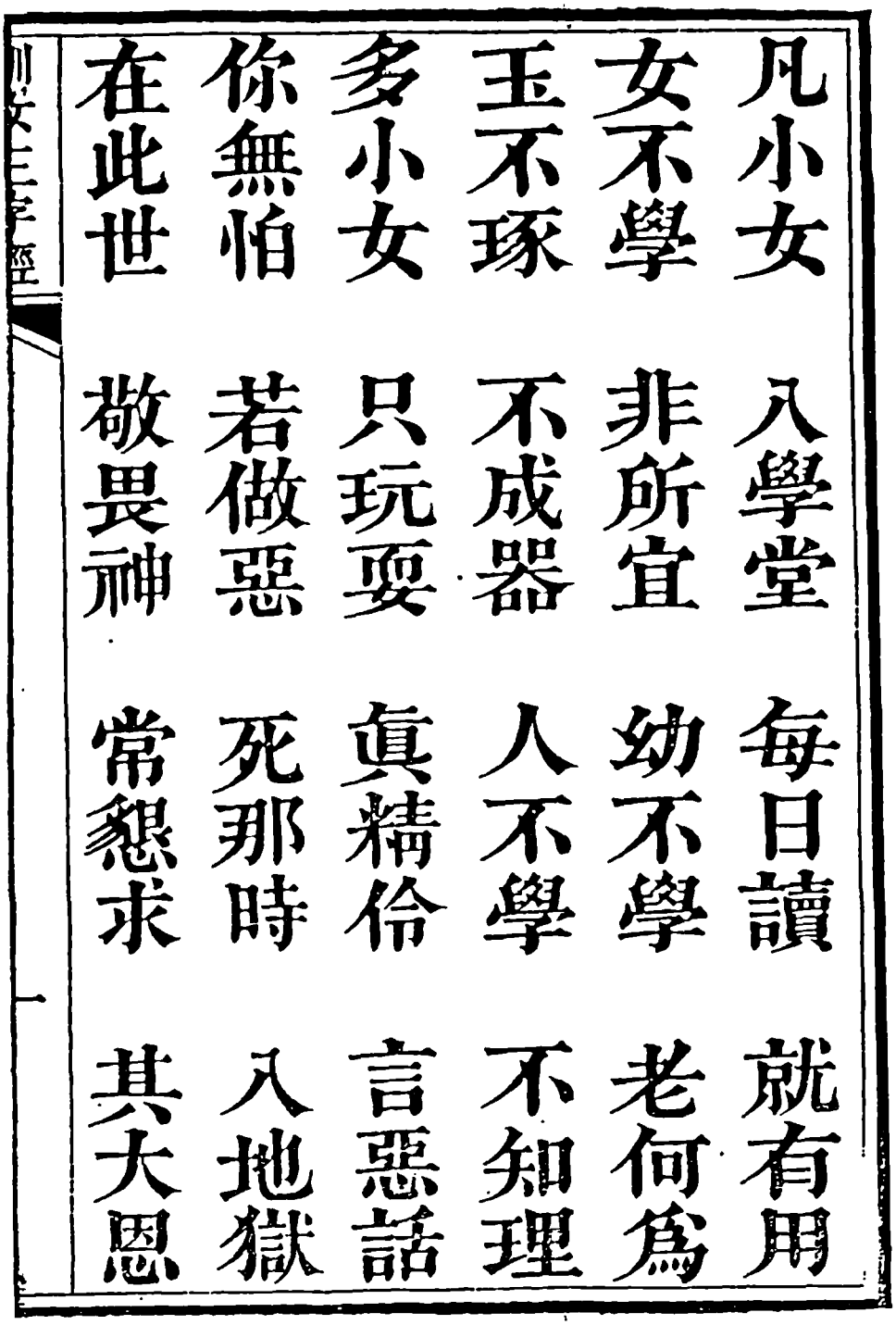


plate 3-8. The title-page of Sophia Martin's 訓女三字經 *Hsün-nü san-tsu-ching*, Three Character Classic for the Instruction of Females. (British Library Collection)

1824 and the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the East India Company and the Sultan of the same year ensured British possession of this island. It was followed by the incorporation of Singapore, Malacca and Penang into the Straits Settlements in 1826. Six years later, Singapore replaced Penang as the capital of the settlements. With its political stability and free port policy, the island attracted more and more commercial transactions and an influx of migrants. By 1826, the government's revenue outstripped that of Penang. The returns of its imports and exports totalled from $11.6 millions in 1824 to $16.7 millions in 1833. In addition to becoming the regional commercial centre of Southeast Asia, Singapore rose to be an important entrepôt in universal trade, including transshipping between China and Europe. The population also increased to 13,732 in 1827, of which 6,088 (44.3 per cent) were Chinese. From this year on the number of Chinese outpaced the Malay. In the census for 1836, just over half (8,233 or 50.98 per cent) of the entire inhabitants (16,148) were Chinese. In this year only, Singapore's population increased about 4,000, of which three-quarters were Chinese. Every winter the north-east monsoon led hundreds, often thousands, of Chinese emigrants on board junks from various Chinese ports to Singapore. In the junk season, the Singapore harbour was bustling with activities and provided a convenient opportunity for tract distribution.(202)

As regard Christian missions, the LMS was not the only missionary society with its agents in Singapore. In 1821 or 1822, a Portuguese Catholic priest came from Malacca to take care of his followers there. The Portuguese mission was formally founded in 1825 and the Catholics in this settlement rose from a dozen in 1821 to about 200 in 1829. The French Catholics joined the competition in 1831.(203) The 1830s also saw the arrival of other Protestant missionary societies at the already established settlement. First came the ABCFM in 1834. It was followed by the Church Missionary Society in 1836. The Americans especially aimed to use this island as a central point for all its missions in Southeast Asia. The purchase of Thomsen's land, houses and press provided them with a ready physical station and

convenient facilities from the beginning. In the following ten years, there were constantly four or five residential ABCFM missionaries and a printer on the spot. A spectacular achievement of the Americans was the immense production from their 'new' press, first with the imprint 新嘉坡書院 *Hsin-chia-p'o shu-yüan*, The Singapore College, then from 1836 新嘉坡堅夏書院 *Hsin-chia-p'o chien-hsia shu-yüan*, The American-Chinese College at Singapore. In 1835, the second year after they had obtained the press, 2,000,000 pages in Chinese, 60,000 in Malay and 41,000 in English were produced. Twelve native workers produced, in 1837, more than 2,500,000 pages in 100,000 copies.(204) In contrast to this flourishing scene, the LMS, the first Christian society to occupy Singapore and the pioneer of printing at this settlement, amounted now to almost nothing, except a leaking mission house standing on dwindling ground.

The second period for the LMS in Singapore began in March 1838 when Alexander and John Stronach arrived to reopen the suspended mission. Both the Stronachs were in the Chinese department. Alexander was born in 1800 and, after working with tin-plate, ironmongery and a job as a clerk, he had worked for different Christian societies in Ireland since 1830. John was born in 1810 and graduated from the University of Edinburgh. Unlike Milton and Thomsen, who had an acquaintance with the Chinese or Malay languages when first arriving in Singapore, the Stronachs had to spend their first year in studying languages. Upon their arrival, they found that Liang Afa was in Singapore, working for the ABCFM in its printing establishment. He also revised Chinese tracts composed by the missionaries as well as Morrison and Milne's Chinese Bible. Fortunately, the Americans agreed to share Afa's labour with the LMS. As the Stronachs had no immediate printing projects, Afa was employed to preach to the Chinese and to distribute books supplied by the Malacca station. It is interesting to find that Afa, who was now an experienced evangelist, took a rather more principal role than the Stronachs in these activities.(205) The Stronachs wrote that, 'We have been somewhat disappointed to find that our smattering of Hokkeen

colloquies was almost wholly useless, and that we had to yield to Afa the conversational part of our duty, while delivering the tracts.'(206) Until Afa's return to China in July 1839, it appears that the Singapore mission did not print any works.

About the time that Afa left Singapore, another person came to the island and brought the hope of reopening the Malay department. Benjamin P. Keasberry, an Englishman born in India and educated there, applied to the Directors for the job. He had been employed by Medhurst to help the Batavia mission in lithographic printing, tract distribution and school teaching for three years. Then he went to the United States to study at a theological institution, with a view to becoming a missionary. On his way back to Batavia, Keasberry arrived in Singapore in about May 1839 and taught drawing for his living. Being fluent in the Malay language, he was recommended by the Stronachs to be appointed as a missionary to the Malays. Before the Directors' positive answer arrived in September 1840, Keasberry had been employed to teach in the Malay school belonging to the mission.(207)

It was for Keasberry to revive the LMS's printing in Singapore. Noticeably, the need for school books in Malay, rather than tracts for general distribution, first drove him to undertake the work. In September 1840, around the time he received the Directors' formal appointment, Keasberry started lithographic printing at a press lent by the ABCFM's missionaries,

> 'I have recently finished a little book, translated from one of Mr. Gauladet's works, called The Picture Reading Defining Book, consisting principally of short and simple stories from the Bible, accompanied with plates which I drew on stone. I hope soon to get in readiness Little Henry and His Bearer for them, but at present I am busily revising and enlarging the Malay hymns which we are in much need of. They are now in the press and will soon be out.'(208)

However, due to a shortage of stone and other materials which could not be obtained in Singapore, Keasberry found that he could not do much with the lithographic press all at once. Therefore, he also had his publications printed at the press of the Singapore Institution and at a higher cost. At the same time he could not

control its progress.(209) When more tracts were ready for the press in early 1841, Keasberry and the Stronachs wrote separately to the Directors requesting a printing press, together with two book cutters and one pressing machine.(210) The current situation of books in Malay was described by Keasberry when he wrote that, ' ... scarcely half a dozen tracts or Christian works in Malay are in print, besides the few which Mr. Thomsen did publish are defective. Since I joined this mission I do not recollect of having seen one book adapted for schools. Those which are published in Batavia are written in a style and idiom quite different from that spoken in this island.'(211) Although he emphasized the need for works 'in accurate and idiomatic Malay' and pledged to 'supply work sufficient to keep it in constant motion,' the time was unfavourable for his request, and for a similar one from Beighton at Penang. The outbreak of the Opium War in 1839 affected the Directors' view of their enterprises in Southeast Asia. They pronounced that the situation would 'unavoidably lead to some considerable modifications in the existing arrangements of the Ultra Ganges stations.'(212) While awaiting the earliest opportunity to establish the long anticipated missions in China, the Directors adopted a reserve policy toward Southeast Asia and determined not to spend more in this region. As a result, they declined the requests of the Singapore and Penang stations stating that, 'we should not at present feel disposed to sanction any extra expenses in connection with your mission, however excellent and desirable the objects may be in themselves, such us the printing press for which you have appealed.'(213)

The Directors' decision, though disappointing, did not excessively hinder Keasberry's effort in printing. A work by him on sciences was printed at the American lithographic press in about October 1841. The plates and maps in it interested not only school children but also Malay adults who came to ask for it. While remarking on the great help provided by this press in preparing school books, something that 'could not be done without it,' Keasberry asked the Directors to supply him with stones and other materials and tactfully mentioned that, by taking work from

local merchants, the press would pay its own expenses within a few months to 'relieve the Society in some measure.' This time he succeeded.(214)

The Singapore mission was greatly strengthened by Dyer's coming from Malacca in March 1842. One of his principal tasks was to continue the production of metallic Chinese type, which he had experimented with in Penang, begun in Malacca and now prepared to carry out on a larger scale in Singapore. In addition to a type foundry, a printing office was set up after the English and Malay press formerly owned by the Malacca mission was sent to Singapore in September 1842. After a small bindery was added in early 1843, Dyer wrote to his father that, 'we have the whole affair pretty complete.'(215) Interestingly, although he already had a considerable amount of Chinese type in hand at this time, Dyer printed three Chinese tracts with blocks, which needed no press, lent by the ABCFM.(216) This fact, though minor, reminds us that there was a long way to go to the practicability of Chinese typography and that the old but convenient blocks still had their advantages up to this time.

Once established, the printing office was in active operation and paid a portion of its expenses. During about nine months, from late October 1842 until the Stronachs and Dyer left for Hong Kong to attend a meeting on the future of the LMS's Chinese mission in July 1843, the press produced nine works in total. Four of these were prepared by John Stronach and Dyer and concerned the Chinese language, i.e. a translation of *Esop's Fables* in the Changchou and Ch'auchou dialects (plates 3-9), a comparative vocabulary of the Fuchien and Ch'aochou dialects, a manual for students of the Chinese language and a Chinese tract. Another four were in Malay and were prepared by Keasberry, including a work of Malay and English sentences, a school book, a geography and a commentary upon St. Matthew's Gospel. In addition, a small hymn book, its author and language unknown.(217) Of the four works in Chinese or concerning that language, only *Esop's Fables* is know to be extant. Intended to be study materials for two dialects of the Chinese language, it consisted of two parts, the

ESOP'S FABLES;

AS TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE BY

R, Thom Esqr.

RENDERED INTO THE

COLLOQUIAL

OF THE DIALECTS SPOKEN IN

THE DEPARTMENT OF CHIANG-CHIU,

IN THE PROVINCE OF HOK-KIEN:

AND IN

THE DEPARTMENT OF TIE-CHIU,

IN THE PROVINCE OF CANTON.

BY

S. DYER AND J. STRONACH.

Part first—HOK-KIEN

SINGAPORE MISSION PRESS.

1843.

plate 3-9. The title-page of *ESOP's Fables* (SOAS Collection)

first in the Changchou dialect in 40 pages and the second in the Ch'auchou dialect in 37 pages. In the preface, Dyer and Stronach acknowledged that it was the work of their Chinese teacher of these two dialects and they themselve were but compilers; therefore, the work had 'all the authority of a genuine native production.'(218) The texts in the two parts contained the same eighty-one fables and were not in Chinese characters but were romanized with special accent and tonal marks. This unusual arrangement resulted in typographical problems. As Dyer and Stronach admitted, errors remained even after as many as seven or eight proofs were read.

The re-deployment of the LMS's stations and missionaries from Southeast Asia to China was a matter of great effort and trouble. The slow communication over vast distances between London, the Straits, Java and Hong Kong added much uncertainty and complexity. While transferring the Ultra Ganges missions to China remained a fixed policy, the Directors also intended to retain a mission, including both Chinese and Malay departments, in Southeast Asia. In 1844, Singapore was the place eventually chosen by the Directors. Regarding their printing establishments, the Directors' first guidance in 1842 was to move the two presses from Batavia and Singapore to China, without mentioning the one at Penang. At the Hong Kong meeting in 1843, the missionaries resolved to transfer the press at Penang to Hong Kong and the one at Singapore to Fuchou, one of the five ports open to foreigners after the war and Dyer and John Stronach would take that city as their station. However, the sudden death of Dyer at Macao after the meeting disrupted the plan. Fuchou was dropped from the station list. John Stronach returned to Singapore for several months and moved to China again in the middle of 1844, when his brother came from Penang to succeed him in Singapore. Alexander Stronach worked on the island until leaving to join his brother at Amoy in June 1846, hence was finished the LMS's Chinese mission in Singapore as well as in the whole of Southeast Asia.(219)

During the period between Dyer's death and Alexander Stronach's leaving, the Singapore mission press, including its bindery and type foundry, was still in active

operation. As the Stronachs were unacquainted with the printing business, it was surprising that, under their supervision, the mission press could pay its own expenses and keep a sum of more than one hundred dollars in credit.(220) The brothers' resolution to take up Dyer's unfulfilled wish to cast Chinese type, which was really a challenge to them, will be discussed in the next chapter. As to Chinese printing, the brothers each respectively completed a new work, at the Religious Tract Society's expense. John's was a history of the sayings and doings of Christ, written 'in a most attractive style' by his Ch'auchou dialect teacher and revised by him and Dyer.(221) This work was printed in 1844 on the lithographic press, with beautiful impressions that much satisfied John. It was the only Chinese book known to be printed using this method in Singapore. Alexander's work was entitled The Contrast between the Life and Death of the Righteous and the Wicked, 5,000 copies were printed from type in 1845.(222) This work contained a revised edition of Medhurst's two tracts, the Poor Joseph and the Death of Altamont, fourteen Psalms and twelve portions of Isaiah, all revised by Alexander with explanatory notes. It is regrettable that no copy of the Chinese works printed in Singapore by the LMS missionaries, Milton, Dyer and the Stronach brothers, are known to be extant.

As the Chinese department was leaving, the Singapore station was about to become entirely a Malay mission. With the future of this station and himself both uncertain around 1842 and 1843, Keasberry wrote to the Directors requesting them 'not [to] suffer this mission to be left from any great length of time without the necessary means of carrying forward our operation, especially as it regards printing.'(223) After about two years waiting, the news that Singapore would be maintained and he would be retained as a missionary eventually relieved Keasberry from great worries in the middle of 1844. Then the Singapore mission began a new stage in its development.(224) As far as printing was concerned, the mission press continued to progress. The original English press and its apparatus was brought to Hong Kong, yet Singapore obtained another one with a fount of Malay type from the

Penang station. With respect to lithography, besides the press which belonged to the Malacca station and was sent to Singapore, Keasberry bought, in 1845, two presses and stones and two founts of small type from Germany.(225) As Thomsen did before, Keasberry taught the Malay boys printing. The difference was that Thomsen employed them just as labourers whilst Keasberry gave them education first. Giving his students a professional skill with which to earn their living after school was a part of Keasberry's idea of education. From 1843, some boys had begun to learn printing, binding and type casting. This measure proved not only useful to the students, but also benefited the mission itself. When the Chinese department left, these Malay boys took over the printing office with even more facilities.(226) In fact, the removal of the LMS and other British and American societies to China allowed the Singapore mission press to become a supply centre of Christian and school books in the Malay world in the late 1840s and 1850s, to some extent similar to the role the Malacca mission press had in relation to the Chinese.

Penang

Situated at the north-western edge of the Strait of Malacca, the island of Penang, about fifteen miles long and from seven to eight miles broad, lies five miles off the mainland of the Malay Peninsula. Before the British acquired it in 1786, Penang was an almost uninhabited island belonging to the Sultan of Kedah, a Malay state. The desire to possess a naval base to the east of the Bay of Bengal, and a harbour for refitting and replenishing its ships on the trading route to China, induced the East India Company to establish a settlement on this island. Actually, British possession of Penang was a measure based upon an offer from the Sultan in the hope of assistance in defending his state against attacks from Siam. Whether the Sultan obtained help or not, Penang became the first British settlement on the Malay

Peninsula, nine years before the occupation of Malacca and twenty-three years earlier than the foundation of Singapore.

The history of the first twenty years of Penang until 1805 was characterized by the rapid increase of its population and commercial prosperity. Immediately after Francis Light, the founder and the Superintendent of Penang, landed on the island, peoples from various directions began to move in. Sixth months after the founding of this settlement, Light wrote that, 'Our inhabitants increase very fast, and did not the Dutch keep a strict watch over the Chinese, most of them would leave Malacca: forty of them had prepared to come in the *Drake*, but were stopped by the order of the Dutch government, and not a man is allowed to leave Malacca without giving security that he will not go to Penang.'(227) Within two years the population numbered about 1,000, nearly all living in George Town, the capital of the new settlement. In 1797, it reached 6,937, and again in 1801 the inhabitants had already increased to 10,310.(228) Among these early residents, Malays, Indians and Chinese were in this order the three largest ethnic groups. Captain Kyd, who was sent to Penang by the Bengal government six months after the birth of the colony, wrote about the situation of the Chinese there: 'The shops in the bazaar, which is now pretty extensive, are principally kept by Chinese; at present there are sixty families and many more are expected to settle on the island soon.'(229) In his report on the state of affairs of the island in 1794, Light gave a description of the different peoples in Penang. Of the three largest groups, the Malays were 'most part indigent, ignorant of arts, manufactures or trade, they are employed in cutting down woods at which they are both expert and laborious, and in cultivating paddy.' The Indians were 'all shopkeepers and coolies.' As to the Chinese, Light especially regarded their value in the development of Penang. The following was his observation of them:

> 'The Chinese constitute the most valuable part of our inhabitants. They are men, women and children about 3,000. They possess the different trades of carpenters, masons and smiths, are traders, shopkeepers and planters. ... They are the only people of the east from whom a revenue

> may be raised without expense and extraordinary efforts of government. ... They are indefatigable in the pursuit of money, and like the Europeans they spend it in purchasing those articles which gratify their appetites. They don't wait until they have acquired a large fortune to return to their native country, but send annually a part of their profits to their families. This is so general that a poor labourer will work with double labour to acquire two or three dollars to remit to China. As soon as they acquire a little money they obtain a wife and go on in a regular domestic mode to the end of their existence. They have everywhere people to teach their children, and sometimes they send males to China to complete their education.'(230)

Mainly due to a free port policy, business in Penang grew fast. Within three years, the total value of imports and exports reached from nothing in 1786 to $853,592 in 1789. By 1804, the returns already expanded to $1,418,200, mostly coming from its transit trade. Britain and India's products were brought to Penang for onward shipment to other parts of Southeast Asia, whilst the Straits' products were collected here to sell in exchange for goods from Britain, India and China.(231)

The year 1805 marked an important point in the history of Penang. With the great hope of fulfilling initial naval and commercial purposes, Penang was promoted from a residency to become British India's fourth Presidency, a status equal to that of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. However, it was soon discovered that this hope was impractical. Penang and its surrounding area did not produce wood suitable for shipbuilding, whilst Britain's fixed policy not to intervene in the affairs of the Malay states prevented Penang from further enlarging its trade with the broad hinterland on the peninsula. When making Penang a naval base eventually became an aborted plan, in the early 1810s, its trade returns were also stagnant. This situation coincided with the deterioration of government finance. From the beginning of its establishment, the local authority with only a small staff could not meet its ends. Now a host of personnel with many senior positions, created by the presidential government, not only quickly consumed revenue, but increased a deficit year by year.

Despite the fact that Penang became a financial burden upon the India government, the island continued to develop. In 1818, a year before the LMS began its mission on this island, the population of Penang, including its appendage on the

peninsula, Province Wellesley, rose to 30,200, excluding Europeans. Of these 12,190 (40.36 per cent) were Malays, 8,197 (27.14 per cent) were Indians and 7,858 (26.02 per cent) were Chinese.(232) The remainder included several hundred Europeans, mostly British people. In four respects relevant to mission work, Penang society was different from Malacca and later Singapore. First, Penang had a much larger Western community, including government officials, merchants, chaplain, teachers, printers, tavern keepers and others in handicraft businesses like coach makers, watchmakers, coopers and shipwrights. There was a pleasant social life, as it was described that 'Penang rivals anything that has been fabled of the Elysian fields.'(233) Secondly, from the beginning of the settlement, there was a firmly established Catholic mission. In addition to a school, a college was built in about 1805 for training Chinese youth to take up missionary work in China. In 1826 alone, the Catholic college sent four youths back to China and there yet remained fifteen students.(234) Thirdly, a Free School was established by the Penang authority in 1816 to educate native students. Teaching, in this the earliest Western-style school in Penang, was conducted through the medium of English.(235) Fourthly, there was a printing office and a weekly newspaper, entitled first *The Government Gazette*, then the *Prince of Wales Island Government Gazette*, concurrently established in 1806 by A. B. Bone, a British printer having come to the East to seek his fortune. Both his printing office and newspaper were the first of their kind on the Malay Peninsula. After Bone's death in 1815, these two businesses continued to be run by other owners until 1827 when they were sold and their names changed.(236)

1819-1829

In these circumstances the LMS started its mission in Penang in 1819. Yet it needs to be borne in mind that, as early as the years between 1804 and 1806, when the LMS's China mission was in preparation, Penang was considered to be the proper

place to start it, since the island was under British control as well as its thousands of Chinese migrants, presenting a potential field for mission work. It was only several months before Morrison's embarkation for the East, in 1807, that the Directors determined to plant their China mission directly on her soil, thereupon Morrison's destination changed to Canton.(237) In early 1816, Milne became the first LMS missionary to visit this island and he applied to the government for a plot of land in Malacca. In January 1819, Medhurst went to the island on a missionary tour. During his two month stay there, he was welcomed by the Governor, Colonel Bannerman, who granted a monthly allowance of twenty dollars to his two Chinese schools. After distributing 3,000 Chinese tracts, Medhurst remarked that, 'The people for the most part willingly received the books, and read them with attention.'(238) Following this was the commencement of a regular mission, when in April and June 1819, Thomas Beighton and John Ince respectively arrived from Malacca to open its Malay and Chinese departments.

Once having begun, the Penang mission progressed smoothly. Official and private assistance soon came from the Governor and other officials. A plot of ground about two miles from George Town was granted, whilst ten dollars of allowance were added to the original monies for Malay schools. Other help also came from local British merchants. David Brown, one of the richest and most influential people in Penang, gave a hand in acquiring more land and a house at a favourable price, besides giving some pecuniary help. When Medhurst came to Penang again in September ~~1819~~ 1820, after breaking with Milne, Brown accommodated him and his Chinese and Malay followers from Malacca in a house with land for cultivation, until his departure for Batavia at the end of 1821. After more than thirty years of development, further whetted by the greatly increased number of well-paid staff since the creation of the Presidency, Penang became a place with a very high cost of living. In his first letter from the island to the Director, Beighton already noted, 'Everything seems to favour the mission at Penang, money excepted.'(239) Yet help from various quarters enabled

the missionaries to settle down and to begin their tasks quickly.

In its first ten years, the Penang mission concentrated work on two fronts, i.e. religious services and native schools. For the former, in addition to worship in the mission house, a small bark bungalow was built in 1822 as a chapel to replace an original room in the centre of the town. With the Governor's support and with public subscriptions, a regular chapel was then erected in 1824 and opened in the following year. Moreover, whenever the chaplain was absent on business in India or in Macao for his health, Beighton and Ince were invited to preach in the established church.

Nevertheless, it was the native schools that mostly occupied the missionaries and they became the conspicuous feature in the history of the Penang mission. On Beighton's arrival, he found that there was the Free School, conducted through English, and two Chinese schools established by Medhurst, but not one for Malay children in the medium of their own language. As a missionary to Malay, Beighton determined to make up this gap, with a view to both gain their confidence in him and in the hope that 'emulation may be excited even among the adults, and if possible tempt them to come for instruction.'(240) In two months, a Malay school was built. Just as Milne had encountered in Malacca when he opened the first Chinese school, the Malay parents in Penang were astonished at such a thing as a free school in the Malay language. To dispel a rumour that children might be abducted to become slaves, a written document, similar to Milne's printed announcement in Chinese, was circulated in the Malay community.(241) Still Beighton was able to enroll eleven boys and wrote to the Directors that, 'My little Malay school is going on tolerably well.'(242) In August 1819, there were already five schools under missionary care, including two Chinese, two Malay and an evening school for teaching adult Chinese and Malays who 'have a strong desire to learn English.' Once initial misgivings had been dispelled, the mission received applications from the Malays in various parts to open new schools. By the end of 1822, the number of mission schools increased to seven, consisting of 33 boys in two Chinese and 164 boys and girls in five Malay

schools. Often the missionaries wrote to the Directors saying that they could have opened more schools if more funds had been available. After Robert Fullerton, the first Governor of the newly established Straits Settlements, took office in 1826, he brought a great present to these mission schools, i.e. a monthly allowance of $100, compared with the original $30.(243)

More students meant a need for more books. At first Beighton had to transcribe some parts of the Bible onto board for school use. Then it seemed to be a favourable turn when a portable printing press was brought to Penang by Medhurst in ~~1819~~ 1820 and permission to set up a press was granted by government.(244) In a joint letter to the Directors in October 1820, the three brethren on the spot wrote that there were religious and school books in preparation and that they had obtained some jobbing work for the press. Meanwhile, a promise was made to carry on the use of the press and with little expense. Another joint letter shortly after this further reported that the small press was about to produce elementary books in English and Malay, and English and Chinese, which was a matter in relation to which 'the mission has been hitherto in a great weaken destitute.'(245) However, the recently formed union of the three brethren was soon put to the test when Beighton and Ince were indignant to find that Medhurst had sent his order for type to Calcutta without their knowledge. The order was cancelled, on the excuse of its not procuring the Directors' approbation in advance. Beighton and Ince bitterly added that, 'We could wish Mr. M had not come here on such an errand, and to interfere most unwarrantably with our station.'(246) This disagreement ended the hope that Penang would become the second station of the Ultra Ganges missions to print. Estranged from the other two brethren, Medhurst subsequently moved to a smaller town at the other end of the island. It appeared that Medhurst did not print anything at Penang before his departure for Batavia with the portable press in early 1822.

With no printing press at hand, Beighton and Ince had either to send away what they wrote or needed to be printed to other stations, or to rely on others to supply

books for their schools, as well as for general distribution. In a period of more than ten years, the Malacca, Singapore and Batavia stations, one after another, printed for Penang. In the spring of 1823, Malacca printed Ince's 聖書教問答 *Sheng-shu-chiao wen-ta*, the Scripture Catechism, with blocks.(plate 3-10) This work consisted of 28 leaves, with 94 questions and answers in nine chapters. A very interesting thing was that its title page distinctively bore Jesus' exhortation of people to study the Bible instead of sayings by Confucius or other Chinese sages which were usually in previous Chinese works by Morrison, Milne and Medhurst. A polite expression '恩士敬送' *En-shih ching-sung*, i.e. 'With the compliments of Ince,' also appeared on this page.

Despite the fact that there was a printing press in town, the Penang mission preferred to make all its 'deals' with sister missions, even if it was for a single sheet only. For instance, when its chapel opened in 1824 English hymns printed on one side of a sheet, to be used on this occasion, were produced at Malacca. Another English work, entitled *Remarks Concerning the Protestant Mission at Prince of Wales Island*, in 34 pages, about the state of the mission in 1826, with a catalogue of 201 books in its library, was also printed at Malacca in the same year.(247) As to Malay works, Beighton's first tract, Scripture Catechism, was printed at Malacca in 1821 and ran to two further editions there by 1830.(248)

In addition to their own works, Penang also depended upon sister missions or other sources to supply other books. Any books that came to hand were welcomed. For Chinese books, the Malacca station was the only supplier. In his first two months in Penang, Ince distributed 2,500 copies of Milne's Chinese Magazine.(249) As to Malay books, there were more sources, such as the LMS or other missionary societies' brethren in India, M. S. Hutchings, the chaplain of Penang, the Bible and Tract societies and similar groups in India were among Penang's principal suppliers. Thomsen also sent Malay books to Beighton from Singapore after he began to print in 1823. However, for about ten years, Beighton appeared not much interested in books

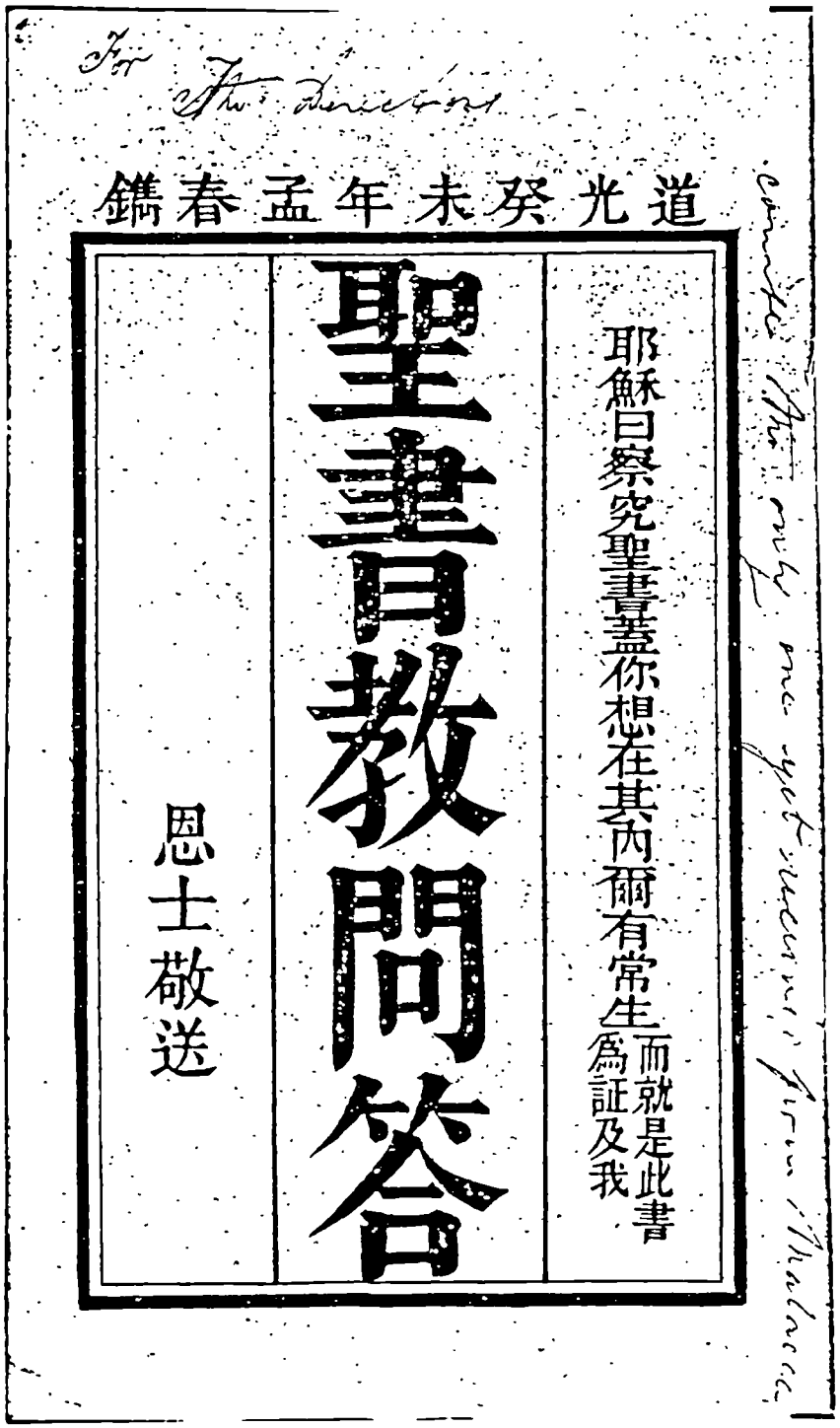


plate 3-10 The title-page of Ince's 聖書教問答 *Sheng-shu-chiao wen-ta*. Scripture Catechism, with his superscription. (SOAS Collection)

for general distribution. During the whole year of 1827, he distributed 42 Bibles, 152 Testaments and 2,010 tracts, including some sent to Batavia.(250) Compared with other stations, this was a very small number. This was partly due to his unsteady supply and partly because of the way he distributed them. Very different from other missionaries, he only gave books to those who could read and who were willing to receive them. He remarked that, 'I do not consider it probable that any beneficial effect will follow by giving them to persons who are unable to read, and who in great reluctance to receive the books, when offered.'(251) Yet even so, he was sometimes embarrassed when a Bible was brought back for sale, and even more distressed when the natives often asked a high price for it. While feeling ridiculed by these requests, Beighton could only try to explain them away by writing that, 'In a worldly point of view, they know well the value of the Bible, while in another, they reject it.'(252)

A heavy loss to the Penang mission occurred with Ince's death in 1825, at the age of twenty-nine. For more than two years afterwards, no other missionary came to Penang to succeed to the post. In August 1827, Dyer visited the island on the way to Singapore, his assigned station. He found that the Chinese department 'had fallen to the ground, except a boys school,' and that, 'almost the only vestige of former labours that has come to my notice is that in one house I found one volume of Mr. Milne's Essay on the Soul.'(253) Dyer decided to remain on the island to take up the work. In three months, four Chinese schools were established and followed by one for girls, under Mrs. Dyer's care, around the turn of 1827. In addition to schools, which were so far the focal work of this station, Penang was the place and Dyer was given the credit for executing a new task that was to change the thousand year old method of Chinese printing, i.e. the making of cast Chinese type. The idea to pursue this end originated in his mind prior to his leaving London. Several months after settling down at Penang, Dyer began by counting through various books to make sure of the suitable size of a fount, i.e. the number of the commonly used Chinese characters. Then a study of the principles of Chinese characters was undertaken, resulting in a

detailed report as a theoretical basis for casting type. Meanwhile, Dyer proceeded to carry out an experiment to stereotype wooden blocks in a process in which the characters were transcribed at Penang, blocks were cut at Malacca and then stereotyped in London. Details of this work will be discussed in the next chapter.

Another heavy blow came in 1829, when the authorities cancelled the $100 school allowance. As previously mentioned, the financial situation of the government went from bad to worse after Penang was promoted to the position of Presidency in 1805. In the following two decades, there were numerous orders to reduce expenditure from the Court of the East India Company and justifications and promises to improve were made by the government of the Straits Settlements. Eventually losing its patience with the considerable deficit, the Company ordered, in 1829, the degrading of the settlements to the rank of residency. This was followed by a general cut in all monies, including the allowance for mission schools under the head of charity.(254) The mission was forced to reduce the number of its Malay schools from eight to four, whilst it closed the Chinese girls school. The allowance was restored to $30 per month in 1832 after missionaries' repeated petitions. In 1833, therefore, the Penang station again ran four Chinese and six Malay schools, catering for 261 students.(255) Yet, the situation showed that, after the cut in allowance in 1829, the schools were never again the only thing that occupied the missionaries' minds.

1830-1846

Indeed, it was in the several years around 1830 that Beighton much involved himself in the distribution of books and yearned to print at Penang. First, in the middle of 1828, a large supply amounting to about £1,000 of Malay Bibles, printed at Serampore, was handed over to Beighton by the chaplain, who hoped to make room previously occupied by these Bibles for other use.(256) Afterwards Beighton

obviously changed his formerly pessimistic view of distribution. At first it seemed that he still had some reservations, writing that, 'I have the satisfaction to know that in some instances the Scriptures have been read (and I hope carefully) by the natives.'(257) Then in 1830, he was able to distribute 4,220 publications of various kinds, which was double that of 1827, and reported that, 'I never in any former year had opportunities to such an extent for distributing so many books among the natives.'(258) In 1831, the number of books distributed again grew to 4,694 copies, including 1,175 Malay Bibles. By the end of this year nearly all the large stock of Bibles that he had received from the chaplain was gone, and he once more rejoiced at the scale of his distribution of books.(259)

A more direct factor leading to the beginning of printing at the Penang mission was Beighton's difficult experience in getting his own increasing writings printed. By the end of 1829, a revision of his Scripture Catechism and a manuscript on the worth of the soul were respectively sent to Malacca and Singapore to be printed. Further, a work on circumcision and baptism was also sent to Malacca in early 1831 for the same purpose.(260) Yet there seemed an endless wait for their results. On 27 June 1831, while 'compelled to have the Scripture Catechism transcribed at much expense for the use of the schools' and having none for distribution, Beighton wrote to the Directors in complaint about the brethren at Malacca stating that,

> 'I find it very difficult to get any tract or anything else printed at Malacca, and Singapore cannot be depended on under present circumstances. The press there it appears does not belong to the Society, and at Malacca no one appears to pay any attention to the Malay printing, so the press and types are doing nothing at all, while I am quite distressed for books. My Scripture Catechism has been in hand about two years, and I have none to go on with. I have written till I am weary, and rather than there would be wish a stop to the Malay printing. I really think it would be better for the Malay press and types to be sent to Penang. This can be done by the Directors.'(261)

Complaints alone were likely to be useless. Beighton's second letter on the same day on the same subject revealed that, at this time, he not only determined to

obtain printing facilities, but had already done something towards this end. After stressing the desire and the necessity to print Malay works at Penang, he requested that,

> 'Will the Directors order the Malay press and types to be sent to Pinang, in which case Mr. Dyer might superintend the press, and myself the binding, stitching &c. In case the Directors do not accede to this suggestion, will they send out a small printing press for Pinang. We will undertake to procure a fount of Malay types without any expense to the Society. We have now a private subscription open for the purpose, and on the strength of what we have already collected, have written to Calcutta. This is at present a secret. ... I hope the Directors will order the book binding materials (which I asked for lately) to be sent out as soon as possible.'(262)

In response to Beighton's three demands, the Directors quickly supplied Penang with the binding materials, but declined to move a printing press from Malacca to Penang or to send out one from England. In a later letter, Beighton further explained that what Penang wanted was not a large printing establishment, but merely a press and Malay fount, which would not incur any extra expense.(263) The Directors, however, did not change their decision. In answer to Beighton's request, the Foreign Secretaries on behalf of the Directors wrote to him saying that, as there were already 'one efficient Malay press at Malacca and another at Singapore,' they had no intention to establish a third at Penang.(264) However, an alternative was proposed. Beighton might acquire from Thomsen the small portable press which he brought to Singapore in 1822, 'if that be still fit for use.' As to the 'secret' fount of Malay type referred to by Beighton, it was purchased with the help of W. H. Pearce, a Baptist missionary in Calcutta, at an expense of 700 Sicca Rupees (*c.* £70) subscribed by Penang's Christian public.(265)

Looking at the situation of the LMS in Southeast Asia as a whole in the early 1830s will help to understand Beighton's anxiety to establish a Malay printing press at Penang. The fact was that printing by the Ultra Ganges missions, and other work as well, was at its lowest ebb at this time. Malacca was in a state of instability, due to rapid personnel changes. In respect of printing, Malacca still worked on the largest

scale, but with the stress on Chinese printing. Moreover, after Humphreys returned to England in the middle of 1829, no one at the Malacca mission had sufficient knowledge of the Malay language to correct the press. It was not surprising that Beighton had to wait more than two and a half years to have his small tract, the Scripture Catechism printed at Malacca in a condition that he described as 'defective.'(266) In the case of Singapore, the mission was suffering from Thomsen's various forms of misconduct. In addition, 'The Mission Press' was publicized by him to sell from July 1831. Moreover, in a letter to Beighton in August 1832, Thomsen remarked that as all his products could be consumed in Singapore, there would be a limited supply of Malay books for Penang thereafter, even if Beighton had to pay for them, as with previous supplies.(267) Therefore, Singapore became another unreliable source for books, not to mention its turning to Chinese printing after it was purchased by the ABCFM. Reviewing the situations of Malacca and Singapore, Beighton could not but lament, 'These missions certainly wear a very gloomy aspect.'(268) As to the Batavia mission press, which printed Malay, Chinese and some other languages, the situation was rather better. Yet distinctions between spoken and written languages caused by geographical distance between Penang and Java presented hardly surmountable obstacles.(269) The only Batavian edition of Beighton's work was 2,000 copies, 12 pages each, of the tract on circumcision and baptism printed at Medhurst's lithographic press in the period between October 1832 and March 1833.(270) When getting Malay books from sister stations became too difficult and it looked that the situation was to be worse after the mission press at Singapore was sold, the solution to secure Penang from a shortage of books was to procure its own printing facilities.

At the very beginning of 1832, Beighton reported that he had received the 'secret' fount of Malay type.(271) Yet he had to wait nearly a year until the small wooden press sent by Thomsen arrived at the end of November 1832. At first, it was thought to be the one referred to in the Directors' letter and belonging to the LMS.

But a question was then raised when Beighton and Dyer wrote that, 'it was not sent in consequence of our application, but in consequence of Mr. Thomsen's forward kindness in helping our little operations. So that we are not sure if we possess the Society's property.'(272) Whether or not this was a further instance of Thomsen's hypocrisy, to use the LMS's press as his private gift, Beighton lost no time in trying their new Malay type on it and wrote excitedly to the Directors that, 'It affords me very sincere pleasure to enclose the first sheet in Malay struck off at our Penang Mission Press. The type is beautiful, large and distinct.'(273) (plate 3-11) Thus, by the end of 1832, all four stations of the LMS's Ultra Ganges missions had their own printing presses, though the Singapore press was not the LMS's property.

After printing some school lessons, the wooden press was found 'very defective and required double the labour and time of an iron one.'(274) Now Beighton wanted a new one. This subject repeatedly filled his letters to London between 1833 and 1836. His desire was so strong that even the Directors' rejection of his request only impelled him to once again turn to a private subscription. With the sum of $500 given by an anonymous friend, Beighton eventually obtained, again with Pearce's help, an 'excellent' iron press and had engaged a printer from Calcutta by March 1836. In addition, two former students of the mission schools were employed as compositors.(275)

By this time several Malay works had been printed on the old wooden press, including a poetic tract, Creation of the World, composed by a native. Then from 1836 on, with better means at hand, printing apparently replaced schools in Beighton's mind and work. In December 1836, he wrote a long letter to the Directors discussing the necessity and importance of a local press and asserted that, 'My firm conviction strengthened by constant experience is that at every station in these parts of the world that is separated from one another by seas and communication can only be carried on through the medium of shipping, there ought to be a press for local purposes.'(276)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

عبارت ڤرکتاءن

١ کتم داغن انڤن

مك برکاتله ساءيکور ايبو کتم کڤ انڤن مڠاڤکه اڠکو تياد برجالن بتول کهاڤن مك دساهوت اوله انڤن کتان مڠاڤکه اڠکو سذيري ڤون تياد برجالن بتول کهاڤن

هرتين عبارت ڤرکتاءن اين

اڤ ڬونان اورڠ مڠاجر کڤ اورڠ لاين منوروة جالن يڠبتول کالو اي سذيري منوروت جالن بيڠکوق

٢ اورڠ ڤڠايل دڠن انق ايکن

مك ڤ سوات هاري اداله ساورڠ ڤڠايل مڠهولرکن مات کايل کالم اير مك دداڤتين ساءيکور انق ايکن مك دڤنتا اوله انق ايکن ايت کڤ ڤڠايل سڤاي لڤسکن دي کمبالي کالم اير کتان اڤ ڬونان اڠکو منڠکڤ اکو کرنا توبهکو اين کچيل لاڬي لڤسکنله اکو اين کمبالي اڤبيل اکو بسر بوله اڠکو داتڠ منڠکڤ اکو ڤول تتکل ايت جاديله سڤيڠڬن ڤنوه کرنا سکارڠ اين تياداله چوکڤ ساموليه مك دجاوب اوله ڤڠايل ايت کتان اڤ ڬونان ڤرکتاءنمو ايت کرنا سکارڠ اين اداله اڠکو ددالم تاڠنکو جکلو اکو لڤسکن ديکو کالم اير ڤرل اڤ ڤرين کلق اکو منڠکڤ ديکو کتمين سکارڠ ماسوقله اڠکو کالم راڬا کو ڤتڠ اڠکو دماسوقکن کالم کوالي

هرتين عبارت ڤرکتاءن اين

تياد ڤاتت کيت لڤسکن بارڠيڠ تنتو اکن مذاڤت بارڠيڠ بلوم تنتو

٣ کلاي داغن کرا دان تيکوس مندوء

مك اداله سواة هاري کلاي دان موبيت دودوق برچرترا اکن حال نصيبن مك برکتاله کلاي ايت کڤ کرا هي ضحابتکو اداله سوات کچلاءن اتسکو سنب تياد برتذوق باڬي روسا مك جواب ڤول کرا کتان هي ضحابتکو کچلاءنکو ڤون بوکنن سيکيب سبب تياد برايکور باڬي کودا مك اڤبيل دداغر اوله تيکوس مذوء اکن ڤڠادوءن کوا بناتڠ ايب مك دساهوت اوله تيکوس مذوء کتان ديمله اولهمو هي ضحابتکو درڤ مڠادوکن کچلاءنمو ايت ليهتله اولهمو اکن انتڠکو يڠ چلاك اين دان تيمبڠله اولهمو اکن حال نصيبکو اين يڠتياد داڤب ممنڠ بارڠسوات بوکنکه ببراڤ بايك نصيبمو ايت درڤ اکو اين .

هرتين عبارت ڤرکتاءن اين

چوکڤکنله اولهمو دالم حالمو دان جاڠتله اڠکو طمڠ لوبا اکن کبسرمن اورڠ لاين ماسيڠ٢ اورڠ دالم ڤڠکتن اد سوسهن .

Penang Mission Press
1 Dec. 1832

plate 3-11. A specimen of the first Malay printing at the Penang mission (SOAS Collection)

To support this viewpoint, he enumerated the following advantages: accurate printing and convenient correction of the press, less expense in a home-made product and better results with timely printing and distribution. On the last point, Beighton supplied a lively example. In that year a Malay with some distinction committed a murder and was executed after trial. To grasp the opportunity to teach the sixth Commandment to the Malay 'while the awful event is fresh on their minds,' Beighton immediately wrote and printed a large sheet tract concerning the case, with a woodcut showing the scene of execution. This kind of sensational illustration was rarely seen in religious publications. Two or three thousand copies were distributed 'as fast as the printer could strike them off.'(277) An additional seven thousands were soon printed. They were followed, in less than two years, by two works: a large sheet tract containing an 'address of Sir William Norris (the Recorder of the Straits Settlements) on passing sentence of death on a murderer with remarks on the sin of murder enlarged from the first edition,' 4,000 copies; and, a History of Sayd Abbas, or the Sin of Murder, in 16 pages, 2,500 copies for the first edition, and in 34 pages, 2,000 copies for the second edition.(278)

In the course of the twelve years of its existence, between 1832 and 1844, the Penang mission press produced nearly sixty Malay titles and editions. (279) A characteristic of its products after 1839 was an increasing attack upon Mohammedanism. The Christ and Mohammed Compared, a tract by Beighton, was put into circulation at the beginning of 1839, accompanied by a printed letter to Mohammedans. As Beighton expected, both excited great attention among the Malays. His journal of 31 January 1839 states that,

> 'While reflecting with some degree of satisfaction on the reception the Comparison had met with, I was suddenly aroused from my pleasing dream by the intelligence that there was a great stir among the Sayds [i.e. the Mohammedan nobility] and that considerable excitement prevailed. ... January has been to me almost like a dream. I can scarcely believe all to be reality - I never before passed such a month in missionary work.'(280)

A year-long controversy between him and local Mohammedans was then opened up. A deputation visited him several times and there were exchanges of questions and answers in the form of a public letter. In 1839, two new tracts, Resurrection of Christ and The Trinity Revealed in the New Testament, Containing a Conversation between a Learned Mohammedan and a Missionary, and a revised one, Way of Salvation, were published to strengthen his arguments in the debate. There was a sharp contrast between the two sides of the controversy. Beighton printed, usually 1,500 copies, and distributed his views, whilst his Mohammedan counterparts had only a written copy of their arguments and read this publicly before sending it to him. He could not have had any sentiments other than great satisfaction when he showed a Mohammedan deputation his printing press and the Malay Bible depot during a visit to the mission premises.(281)

When the debate went on in 1840, the Christ and Mohammed Compared ran to a second edition of another 1,500 copies and a new tract, The Victory of the Gospel, was added to request that the Mohammedans examine the evidence of Christianity. Believing that many Malays 'gaze and stare looking to the conclusion and wondering how it will end,' Beighton promised his counterparts that he would continue the debate on paper as long as both sides should wish.(282) In the middle of 1842, a new tract, The Lock Exploded, or the Hidden Secret Treasury of Mohammedanism Exposed and the Godhead of Jesus Manifested, was published, which was partly written by Beighton's former Malay transcriber and partly as his most recent reply to a Malay priest. He reported that, soon after its distribution, he was told that a priest 'had broken up his establishment and gone to another place.'(283) Another old priest, who had constant communication with Beighton during the controversy and was apparently impressed by his tracts, was charged by his fellows 'with a shaking of his faith.' Beighton remarked that, 'The press is too powerful an engine for him to cope with.'(284) After more than three and a half years, the controversy appeared at an end, as Beighton stopped writing about it in his

letters to the Directors.

In contrast to the number and variety of Malay publications, which dominated the printing work of the mission, Chinese printing appeared much less impressive. Only five works in Chinese were printed during the eleven years from the beginning of printing at the mission until its end in 1844. Nevertheless, a very interesting feature of these five works was that they were printed using at least four different methods, i.e. metallic type, wooden type, blocks and stereotype plates. Significantly, Penang's first Chinese publication, The Beatitudes, was printed with metallic type, which must have been Dyer's first fruit. In the report of the mission for 1833-34, which was prepared in September 1834, this small work was 'just complete with metallic types' and it was reported that an edition of 3,000 or 5,000 copies would be produced soon.(285) It is a matter for regret that the report failed to give both its Chinese title and the author's name, nor did it appear again in any of Penang's correspondence.

The next Chinese work at Penang was even more obscure. At the end of a list of books printed in 1834, Dyer briefly noted, 'Tract on Heaven (Chinese), 700 copies.'(286) No information was given concerning the method of its production. The third one, title unknown, was printed with wooden type cut by Malacca's workers and 700 copies were printed in 1835.(287) It was followed in the next year by Liang Afa's sheet tract 論靈魂生命貴於珍寶美物 *Lun ling-hun sheng-ming kuei yü chen-pao mei-wu*, What Shall It Profit a Man If He Gain the Whole World and Lose His Own Soul, which was originally a short essay in his collected papers, Good Words Exhorting the Age. Some 4,000 copies of this tract were printed with a block supplied from Malacca, though the brethren there advised Beighton to produce 10,000 copies for Penang. The whole matter of this sheet tract must have been arranged by Dyer, who removed to Malacca not long before and who deemed Afa's writing as being 'beautifully simple.'(288) According to Beighton, this work attracted much attention at Penang after its publication and a Chinese told him that people liked it

very much and that it was very superior. Such a response induced Beighton to hope that Afa, who was then at Malacca, could visit Penang for a few months. Although this suggestion obtained the Directors' consent, Afa did not make this trip for unknown reasons.(289) Penang's last Chinese tract was Dyer's 福音總論 *Fu-yin tsung-lun*, Summary of the Gospel, which was very distinctively printed with stereotype plates in 1841. This tiny tract consisted of 7 leaves only, with a printed area 11.5 x 13.6 cm. each, and contained only 448 characters or words in 112 sentences, four characters to each sentence.(plate 3-12) At the request of the Religious Tract Society, it was first cut in blocks and brought to London to be stereotyped when Dyer returned to England in 1839. Plates were then sent to Penang, where 3,000 copies were printed, and to other Ultra Ganges missions as well as the American mission at Bangkok, Siam.(290)

From its inception, the Penang mission press was under Beighton's full control. Though he devoted himself to the far-reaching task of making Chinese type, Dyer did not get involved in the management of the press. For a time Evan Davies, who arrived at Penang to succeed to Dyer's post in September 1835, paid some attention to Chinese printing. He once desired to engage a block-cutter, based upon the observation that Penang would be, year by year, less able to take a share of the output of the Malacca press. This idea, however, was given up after discussions with Beighton, who was always in restraint of the mission's expenditure in order to avoid any extra expenses that would be likely to be disapproved of by the Directors.(291) Except for the few cases above-mentioned, Penang continued in its dependence upon Malacca to supply Chinese books for distribution until the closure of the mission in 1846.

The history of printing at the Penang mission cannot be completed without mentioning Beighton's last literary effort, i.e. the translation of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. In August 1840, while the controversy with the Mohammedans continued, he wrote to the Directors expressing his desire to take up this famous

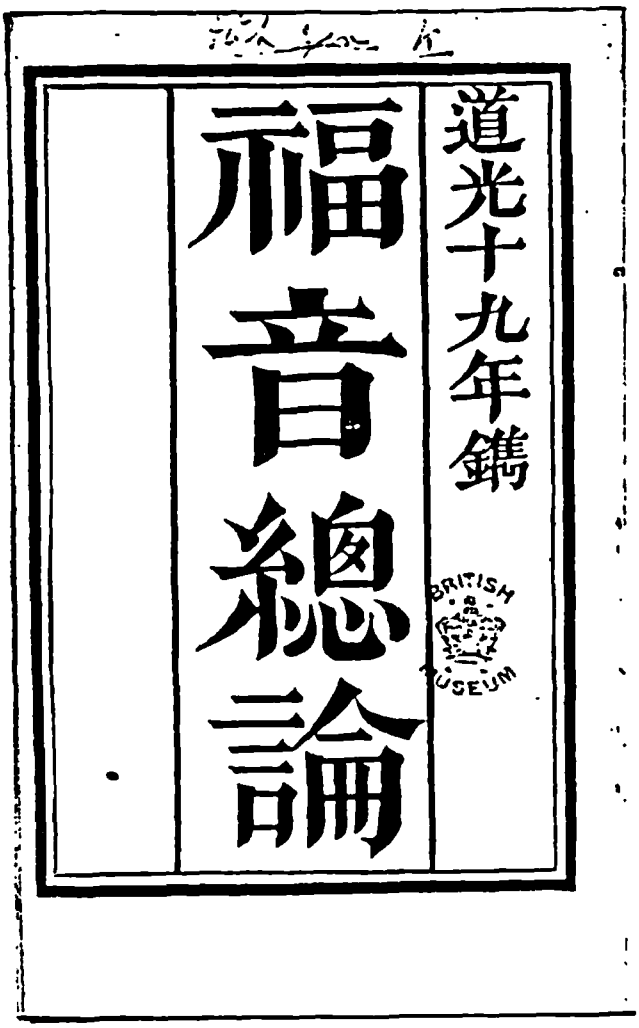


plate 3-12. The title-page of Dyer's 福音總論 *Fu-yin tsung-lun*. Summary of the Gospel, printed using stereotype plate. (British Library Collection)

work, as 'it might interest the Mohamedans.'(292) In fact, he had by this time begun its translation. About six months later, an account of this work showed that several natives were assisting in 'so far as the language is concerned,' that explanatory words were occasionally added where 'the sense would not otherwise be comprehended by the Malays,' and that there were some alterations in the names of the streets in Vanity Fair in order to place the work in a Malay context.(293) In September 1841, the translation of the first part was finished and the manuscript was sent to the brethren at Singapore for their 'observations and corrections.' Yet this turned out to be an unpleasant experience for Beighton. Some parts were 'scratched out so completely that no one can read them,' whilst some other alterations were 'most objectionable.'(294) Munshi Abdullah, a 'determined' Mohammedan and at that time John Stronach's language teacher at Singapore, was suspected of these mutilations and alterations. As soon as the translation of the first part was finished, Beighton was anxious to print an edition of 700 copies. The Directors refused to give assistance on account of the LMS's insufficient funds at that time. However, local subscriptions and the Religious Tract Society's grants of forty reams of paper and more than 500 sets of illustrations from its edition of the same work rendered its printing possible.(295) By September 1842, part of Beighton's translation, to the 'Pilgrims and Talkative', was printed, and was put into circulation in the following month. He remarked that,

> 'I sent a copy to all the respectable Mohammedans; several have sent me their best thanks requesting more copies for their friends. ... One native says, he read the Pilgrim for three nights successively, without stopping; that he never saw such a beautiful work in Malay before.'(296)

Heartened by this encouraging response, Beighton proceeded to print the remaining part and commenced the translation of the second part, 'Christina and her children.'

While things looked to be going well, there suddenly came a bolt from the blue. In October 1842, the same month that The Pilgrim's Progress was first

published, a letter from the Directors brought the worst news to him. Following the imperative transfer of the Ultra Ganges missions to China, Penang would probably be abandoned as a station. As a missionary to Malays, Beighton appeared less sensitive to the changing situations brought about by the Opium War. He simply suggested a reduction of expenses, including his own salary, in order to keep the mission, as expenditure had always been a principal subject of his communication with the Directors. In February 1844, in the Directors' final resolution about the transfer of the Ultra Ganges Missions, Beighton was given the choice of remaining at Penang at an annual allowance of £200 or retiring to Van Diemen's Land, i.e. the island of Tasmania off the south coast of Australia, on £150 per year. A *proviso* added that, no matter what he decided, Penang would no longer be a LMS station.(297) Beighton had no opportunity to choose. He died in April 1844, before this resolution arrived. About this time the printing of the first part of The Pilgrim's Progress was completed and also the second part, up to 'Christina at the house Beautiful.'(298) Four years later, a second edition of Beighton's Pilgrim was printed on a lithographic press by Keasberry at the Singapore mission.(299)

The Penang mission press, which ceased operation upon Beighton's death, had an unexpected end. In his repeated appeals to retain the Penang station, Beighton had several times reminded the Directors that it had been established by private donations upwards of $1,000 and that only part of the production expenses had been met by the LMS. While identifying the 'very good' press as 'the Society's property for local purposes at Penang,' Beighton was by no means willing to give up his control over it, despite the fact that, at the Hong Kong meeting held in August 1843, the missionaries for the Chinese passed a resolution to move it to Hong Kong.(300) Acknowledging Beighton's strong desire and special sentiments toward it, the Directors at first intended to provide another press for their China missions and 'not to interfere with the press at Penang.'(301) Soon after his death, however, the Directors changed their attitude and instructed Alexander Stronach, the missionary at Penang,

to dispose of the mission property and transfer the printing press to China.(302) Yet a backlash came from the people who contributed towards the original purchase and who were 'decidedly averse to the removal of the press from the Straits.' A compromise was then reached in that it might be removed to Singapore, as it was still in the Straits, and that any missionary printing for Penang in future would be undertaken at cost price.(303) The removal of the press and its joining the Singapore mission press must have occurred in June 1846, when Keasberry went from Singapore to Penang to sort out the mission properties there.(304) The Penang mission press then passed into history.

Batavia

Among the Ultra Ganges missions, Batavia was the only station not in the Strait of Malacca, nor under British protection. Planted in the capital of the Dutch East Indies, the Batavia mission had a rather distinctive local setting. Before it was seized by the Dutch and christened Batavia in 1619, Jayakarta, the original name of present day Jakarta, was a minor port on the northwest coast of Java island. By the end of the sixteenth century, it had a population of around two thousand, with a small Chinese settlement. In 1610, the Dutch gained permission from the local chieftain to build their factory in the Chinese quarter. After the British obtained a similar footing in this city in 1618, the jealous Dutch, in view of its strategic importance on the route from the Strait of Malacca to the land of spices, were quickly determined to occupy this port to make it the seat of the Dutch government in the East.(305)

After occupying Jayakarta, the Dutch recognized the necessity of building a castle and promoting trade as a means to ensure their control of this city. As a result, the colonial authorities started to encourage immigration, especially amongst the Chinese, who had long been described as a hard-working and peace-loving people. In

the same year as the foundation of Dutch Batavia, a Captain of Chinese was appointed to deal with civil matters among the community, numbering no more than 350 among the estimated 2,000 residents of the city. By the end of the seventeenth century, the number of Chinese within the walls of Batavia increased to 3,679, representing 39 per cent of the population (9,406). Again in 1739, in contrast to the reduced population of 7,233, the number of Chinese rose to 4,199 (58 per cent), with a further 10,574 in the environs.(306) Due to the increasing number of migrants, the Chinese captain in Batavia had six lieutenants to help him. As Dutch policy was to use the Chinese in various dealings with the natives, especially in collecting taxes, the Chinese had by 1740 developed themselves into the necessary role of middleman between the Dutch and Javanese. A contemporary Dutch observer wrote in the 1720s that, 'Not only do they [i.e. the Chinese] conduct wholesale trade in the town in tea, porcelain, silk cloth and lacquer work, but they also engage very industriously in many crafts, being very good smiths, carpenters, very fine chair-makers, ... The whole agriculture of Batavia depends on them too. ... There is nothing that you can imagine that they do not undertake and practise.'(307) A later historian of the Dutch East Indies economy said that, 'All that the natives sold to Europeans they sold through Chinamen, and all that the natives bought from Europeans they bought through Chinamen.'(308) Another historian even argued that, Batavia was 'economically speaking, basically a Chinese colonial town under Dutch protection.'(309)

Economic expansion by Chinese migrants caused Dutch apprehension, which eventually led to a massacre in 1740 and a subsequent Chinese rebellion spreading all over Java until 1743. About 10,000 Chinese, with 6,000 to 7,000 houses burnt, became victims during this period.(310) From then on the Chinese were often in a difficult situation whenever the Dutch government or the Javanese needed scapegoats for harsh colonial policies. As emigration was illegal in China and thereby overseas Chinese had to stand on their own feet, buying security from corrupt officials became an open secret. After 1740, the relationship between the Dutch and the Chinese was

still close for the gain of mutual profits, yet it was no longer as friendly as it had been. In spite of these unfortunate experiences, however, the Chinese continued to emigrate to Java. It was estimated that, by the end of the eighteenth century, the Chinese population was around 100,000, mostly concentrated in and around Batavia. Another Dutch observer wrote in 1799 that domestic and inter-islands trade was entirely in the hands of the Chinese, and the wealth of the Chinese in Java was 'worth ten times as much as that of all the Europeans there put together.'(311)

In 1806, Napoleon annexed the Netherlands. As a measure to prevent Dutch overseas colonies from falling into the hands of French, the British fleet from India conquered Java in 1811. Thomas S. Raffles was appointed the Lieutenant-Governor until the island was restored, in 1816, to the Dutch after the peace in Europe. The five years of British rule were in fact too short for Britain to effect many deep changes in Java, especially since there was insufficient manpower at Raffles's command. Yet to the LMS, a great opportunity to touch this so far inaccessible region was opened up during this period. Significantly, its attempt to extend its evangelical work to Java was closely connected with its Chinese mission. Precisely speaking, it was the Chinese on that island that first attracted the Directors' attention. In a letter to Morrison in January 1813 concerning the printing of the Bible, the Directors remarked, 'It is a remarkably pleasing coincidence that, at this juncture, so many thousand native Chinese have fallen under British dominion by our recent conquest of Java, among whom all the copies of the Scriptures, which you may be enabled to print for years to come, may be safely circulated.'(312) Further steps were then respectively undertaken by Morrison and Milne in the field and the Directors in London.

In 1813, while considering Milne's removal to Southeast Asia and due to his neither gaining permission to stay in Macao nor his having the prospect of residing long in Canton, Morrison wrote that, 'I have a strong impression on my mind that Java would be a better place than this [i.e. China] for our mission.'(313) After a

missionary tour to Southeast Asia was determined, Milne set out first to Java in February 1814 and stayed in Batavia, Java and adjacent islands for more than five months. Raffles was much impressed by this 'liberal, well-informed, excellent' young missionary, on whose suggestion the Java Auxiliary Bible Society was founded in June 1814.(314) The Chinese whom Milne contacted in Batavia ranged from the lieutenant-captain to the poor. For the latter he was even able to translate a petition to the government. In describing this people, Milne wrote,

> 'The Chinese on Java are generally in much more easy circumstances than when in their own country. They are diligent sagacious people, well skilled in mechanical labours, and exquisitely so in commercial transactions. Their superiority to the Javanese and Malays in these respects is probably the cause of the competency which they enjoy. They generally adhere to the religion and customs of their native country.'(315)

With Ahung, a Chinese block-cutter and printer, Milne was able to print while travelling. As soon as he arrived at Batavia, in March 1814, 500 copies of the first chapter of Genesis were printed, with blocks cut on board ship. Milne reported that he planned to have 15,000 more for distribution.(316) Several days later, 700 copies of a hand-bill, concerning the Scripture and composed by Morrison, came out of the printer. Milne pasted up a copy outside his door with a note 'A place where books are given away' in large character. This small advertisement solicited six to twenty Chinese seeking books every day.(317) Before leaving Batavia for Malacca, Milne printed, in 3 leaves, a farewell letter to the local Chinese, dated nineteenth day of the fifth moon of the nineteenth regnal year of Chia-ch'ing, i.e. 5 July 1814.(318)

An object of Milne's journey was to try the publication of Morrison's *Dialogues and Detached Sentences in the Chinese Language* somewhere in Southeast Asia. This work was compiled in 1812 and presented, together with his *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*, to the East India Company. But only the latter was sent to Bengal to be printed at Serampore.(319) While in Batavia, Milne was granted permission by Raffles to print the *Dialogues* at the government press. In April 1814,

a 'rough' specimen of this work was sent to the Directors, but Milne eventually gave up its printing for want of time and a compositor. Obviously, Ahung the Chinese printer could not help with Milne's first typographical effort.(320)

In London, the Directors still had their eyes on Java. The arrival of three Dutch and German missionaries in London in 1813 further encouraged the Directors' strong desire to send agents to that island. Joseph Kam, John C. Supper and Gottlob Bruckner had been posted to the Dutch East Indies by the Netherlands Missionary Society but were obstructed by wars in Europe and in Java. They were gladly received by the LMS as its missionaries. After ordination in London, they sailed for the East and arrived at Batavia at the end of May 1814. Meeting them in that city and being somewhat disappointed at their aiming at the Javanese, Milne could only wish that the Directors or the Netherlands Missionary Society would send other missionaries for the Chinese in Java.(321) While Bruckner and Kam respectively proceeded to Semarang, a city on the northeast coast of Java, and Amboyna, an island of the Molucca archipelago, Supper remained in Batavia to open the LMS's first Javanese mission. He was also appointed a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church there and the Secretary to the recently founded Java Auxiliary Bible Society.(322) Some work was done among the Chinese, including the organization of a reading society, consisting of sixty members. Supper also reported that books sent to him by Milne were gratefully received by the Chinese, some of them 'bowing respectfully to the ground and kissing the books.'(323) After his early death in 1816 and Java's return to the Dutch in the same year, the Directors showed no inclination to send further missionaries there, thus leading to the closure of the LMS's infant enterprise in Batavia.

1819-1828

The revival of the Batavia mission was, like those at Singapore and Penang,

a result of the intra-mission controversy at Malacca. John Slater, a former gardener in Liverpool, came out as a missionary for the Chinese in 1817. On his voyage to Malacca, Slater visited Batavia and was kindly received by the Dutch Governor. It appeared natural that, when he later determined to leave Malacca, Slater chose Batavia as his own station. In June 1819, the first Chinese mission in Batavia was started soon after his arrival in that city. In the following two and a half years, the principal labour was to distribute books supplied from Malacca, especially Milne's Chinese Magazine, and Slater handed out about 1,000 copies monthly. Though finding that the local Chinese always listened attentively to him, Slater felt in the meantime that 'it is more for curiosity to hear me speak to them in their own tongue than for any love of the truth.'(324) A school and a chapel were also built on a plot of ground bought in the centre of the Chinese campong near the city of Batavia.

At the beginning of 1822, the Batavia mission was strengthened by Medhurst's arrival from Penang. Consequently, new ventures such as a library, a dispensary and Malay and English preaching were launched or projected. Moreover, Milne's death in June 1822 touched off their strong desire to take up printing, Malacca was so far the only station working among the four Ultra Ganges missions. Now as the senior missionaries to the Chinese in Southeast Asia, excluding Morrison in China, Slater and Medhurst expressly felt that it was their responsibility to 'take up any of the unfinished labours of Milne.'(325) A very different situation existed between Batavia and the other three places where there were Ultra Ganges missions, this was that the art of printing in Batavia had long existed since 1668. The facilities were almost entirely possessed by the government, but in practice were contracted out to various printers for a specific period. The Dutch Reformed Church also owned a press in the middle eighteenth century for printing the New Testament and also prayer books in the Malay language. In 1809, two government presses, the Castle Printing House and the City Printing House, were consolidated to form the Landsdrukkerij or the Government Printing Press. It survived in the British interregnum and resumed its

name in 1816.(326) The differences between the LMS's missionaries plans and the existing printing establishment lay in the language and the method, i.e. the former purposed, at least in the first days, to print Chinese mainly with blocks, whilst the latter dealt with Dutch or Malay with types.

The preparatory work began by asking Morrison to remove from Malacca to Batavia the whole or some Chinese printing. Slater and Medhurst knew very well that it was Morrison, rather than the Directors, who was the real supporter of Chinese printing at Malacca, since all block-cutters, paper and other materials were being sent down by him from China. Though judging it to be advantageous to have Chinese printing in Batavia, Morrison felt that there was no occasion to change what was being done at Malacca. Nevertheless, he took with him a supply of paper, blocks and tools worth £100 for Batavia, when travelling down to Malacca via Singapore in January 1823.(327) Again, with Morrison's help, two block-cutters were brought from Malacca by Slater after a journey to that place for his health in March of the same year. While in Singapore for a short stay, Slater made a further, but fruitless, effort to get Chinese matrices there. Thinking that Chinese workers could 'cut any types when they have the pattern,' Slater was disappointed at being unable to find anyone 'capable of making a matrix.' Therefore, Slater, who was apparently unacquainted with the business of printing, wrote a letter to the Directors for 'three different sizes of matrices.'(328) Surely this was too impractical a request for the Directors to be able to answer.

Unfortunately, the Batavia mission was subjected to serious humiliation not long after Slater's return. He was, besides being charged with severely treating his slaves, found guilty of smuggling contraband opium into Batavia and selling it. Subsequently he fell into disrepute as the first Englishman to be tried in the public court in Batavia and was fined 2,000 rupees for this crime. When this shameful affair was 'in everybody's mouth, and there was scarcely an individual in the China Campong who did not know the whole circumstance of the case,' Medhurst grievously

lamented the result of this incredible setback, writing that 'The heathen give me little credit for the sincerity of my intentions and cannot divest themselves of the idea that having being once connected. We must therefore be all of a piece. ... There can be little doubt, but the misconduct of this one man has done more harm than the labours of twenty missionaries will be able to retain in the course of as many years.'(329)

After Slater resigned his post as a missionary, the Batavia mission was under Medhurst's sole charge for the following twenty years, until he and the mission transferred to China in 1843. Competent, zealous, yet frustrated while in Malacca and Penang, Medhurst eventually had the opportunity to shoulder his own station, though it was a seriously injured one. His time and energy were daily occupied by visiting Chinese residences, preaching in the street and markets, supervising mission schools, composing in Chinese and managing the station's printing. Because of Medhurst's former background, printing was naturally an important branch of the Batavia mission. A great encouragement came in August 1823 when the Dutch gave permission to carry out Chinese printing with two conditions, i.e. submitting a copy for the censor before its publication and printing for government upon request.(330) As two former applications by British Baptist missionaries in Java for the same purpose had been rejected, the permission, which was granted shortly after the Slater scandal, presented a special significance to Medhurst himself. In this and other instances, the distinctive treatment he received could be attributed to carefully looking after his relationships with Dutch officials and clergymen, as well as those in the local British community. For instance, when Ven der Capellen, the Dutch Governor-General who gave permission to print, returned to Holland via London in 1826, Medhurst presented an address of thanks to him and twice wrote to the Directors asking them to wait on him when the ship arrived in London.(331)

In fact, while awaiting permission, printing at the Batavia mission had already begun. At the end of May 1823, Medhurst reported that he was printing his tract 三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic. Some 300 copies, 17 leaves

each, were printed and used as a textbook in the mission schools. After the model of a popular child's primer in China, and of the same title, each sentence in this work consisted of three characters. Its plain writing and easy manner in conveying Christian doctrines made this first Chinese work printed at the Batavia mission his most popular tract. At least twenty-seven editions and revisions printed by the LMS brethren at various places appeared during the following forty years, besides some works in imitation by other missionaries.(332) From this work on, Medhurst used 尚德者 *Shang-te-che*, One Who Esteems Virtue, as his pen name in Chinese publications.

For the first three years of printing, the main product of the Batavia mission was 特選撮要每月紀傳 *T'e-hsüan ts'uo-yao mei-yüeh chi-chuan*, the Monthly Magazine, first published in the sixth month of the third regnal year of Tao-kuang, i.e. July 1823.(plate 3-13) Its preface explained that the magazine was designed as a successor to Milne's Chinese Magazine. Each number consisted of 6, 7 or 8 leaves and contained a leading secular or religious essay, which was followed by several short items, such as interesting anecdotes or scraps of natural history. In its first year, the copies of each number ran differently from 2,000 to 3,800 every month. It is rather strange that such a fluctuation happened with a magazine under the management of Medhurst, who should have had enough experience in handling this matter while in Malacca. Of the copies printed, around 1,600 were distributed in Batavia and its environs, about 400 sent to other Ultra Ganges missions, whilst the rest waited for distribution in tours to other quarters of Southeast Asia.(333) It is regrettable that only three copies of different numbers of this magazine are known to be extant.(334)

Not only did the magazine's purposes and contents follow Milne's example, but Medhurst followed the same method of instalment writing on lengthy subjects, which enabled him to carry on monthly publication amongst his other multiple tasks. His first work published in instalments was, though not religious in nature, doubtless



plate 3-13. The title-page of the first number of 特選撮要每月紀傳 *T'e-hsüan ts'uo-yao mei-yüeh chi-chuan*, The Monthly Magazine. (British Library Collection)

very fitting to its projected readers. It was entitled 咬留吧總論 *Yao-liu-pa tsung-lun*, History of Java, and appeared in the first and following numbers of the magazine in 16 sections. The blocks of 84 leaves, with woodcuts of two maps and some illustrations, were then collected and 800 copies had been published separately by August 1824. Later on the blocks were repeatedly used for reprints. As late as 1841, there were still 250 copies of this work printed, but this appeared to be its last edition.(335) Besides making use of some subjects in Raffles's *History of Java*, Medhurst drew from a manuscript kept by local Chinese giving accounts of Chinese migration in Java from the earliest period. In all, to induce the Chinese to 'read our books' was Medhurst's purpose in preparing this 'amusing' work.(336) By this means he was able to attract much attention from the Chinese for this work and the magazine. He wrote to the Directors at the beginning of 1825 about the circulation number of the magazine having reached to 3,000 copies monthly, stating that,

> 'I have the satisfaction to inform you also that it is read with a great degree of interest and attention by the Chinese here. Wherever I go, I am accosted about it and interrogated respecting its contents. They like the mixture of religious and miscellaneous pieces, particularly the notices regarding the history of Java, and they are accustomed to receive it so regularly, that they look for it at the usual time, and seem disappointed if the distribution is delayed.'(337)

Meanwhile, he remarked that since the inception of Chinese printing in Batavia, there had been 300 leaves or 600 pages cut and about 60,000 or 70,000 copies of different publications printed. In this period of about one and a half years, Medhurst composed on average four leaves in Chinese per week.(338) Like Milne's precedent, writing for the press occupied a principal part of his time.

The year 1825 saw an extreme change in Medhurst's attitude to preaching the Gospel to the Chinese. So far three years had elapsed since his arrival in Batavia and six years since his becoming a missionary, yet he had not been able to reap any fruits of his labours. The few attendants at his Chinese services were almost always those who were in his employment, like school teachers, printers and apprentices. No

matter how politely or gratefully received were his publications or medicines, no Chinese showed deep interest in Christianity. The increasing anxiety for achievements in his missionary task drove Medhurst to believe that it was necessary to take new measures in preaching. As the simple statements of the Christian gospel 'have been done, and done very extensively,' but could not wake up Chinese 'lethargy,' Medhurst determined a head-on strategy in which 'the attack is carried into their own territories and their darling vices pointedly exposed.'(339) With printing facilities in hand, he proceeded to carry out this aggressive policy, which other missionaries, including Morrison, never thought or nor dared to use in the past. A series of tracts were prepared, five in 1825 and one in 1826, for various Chinese feasts, i.e. 中華諸兄慶賀新禧文 *Chung-hua chu-hsiung ch'ing-ho hsin-hsi wen*, Tract on the New Year; 清明掃墓之論 *Ch'ing-ming sao-mu chih lun*, Feast of the Tombs; 普度施食之論 *P'u-tu shih-shih chih lun*, On Feeding the Ghosts; 媽祖婆生日之論 *Ma-tsu-p'o sheng-jih chih lun*, Birthday of Ma-tsu-p'o; 上帝生日之論 *Shang-ti sheng-jih chih lun*, Birthday of Hsüan-t'ien Shang-ti, in 1825, and an untitled handbill on the Dragon Boat Festival in 1826. Generally, every tract started with a short account of the origin and development of the feast. This was followed by a much longer criticism and reproach of the Chinese belief and practice. Even Confucius and other Chinese sages were sometimes deprecated to give prominence to Jesus, whilst sometimes Medhurst cleverly selected the Chinese sage's sayings to support his own points. Then the tract ended by exhorting the Chinese to give up their idolatry or immoral practices and believe in God. Armed with these tracts, Medhurst went to the Chinese temple, the burial ground or wherever the ceremony was taking place, distributed his publications and talked to the Chinese about their contents.

These tracts attacking Chinese society and customs soon provoked tension between Medhurst and the Chinese in Batavia, theirs being the oldest and largest overseas community and a stronghold of traditional practices. Being caught unawares by the first tract on the New Year celebrations, the Chinese Captain, who possessed

great authority and influence over his flock, reacted promptly to the second one. On the day that the Chinese worshipped their ancestors' tombs, Medhurst distributed about 900 copies of his tract. Before he left the burial yard, the Captain posted his tracts on the wall, with notices on them, saying that, 'These attacks on the doctrines of the sages are most abominable. Whoever peruses this book is no true Chinaman.'(340) Although surprised by this unprecedented and strongly worded response, Medhurst persisted in carrying on his works in a similar nature, so as to cause a controversy something like that between Beighton and the Mohammedans in Penang. Though some Chinese continued to receive his publications, others refused. In the meantime his journal and letters began to fill with records of arguments and debates with Chinese. Around the end of October or early November 1825, an anonymous handbill in Chinese appeared. To Medhurst's bringing the Chinese into ridicule, the author answered back sarcastically that, while acquiring some portion of Chinese literature, he vainly imagined that he had attained a proficiency. Following the assertion that 'we Chinese are determined never to comply with the religion of another people,' the author counterattacked by illustrating with examples that, it was the 'foreigners,' not the Chinese, who wanted for benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom.(341) To this handbill, Medhurst returned another tract, entitled 兄弟敘談 *Hsiung-ti hsü-t'an*, Fraternal Dialogues, 'putting the sentiments of the handbill, one by one, into the mouth of Chinese.'(342)

While the controversy continued, the Batavia mission was again humiliated by another incident in June 1826. Two young Chinese block-cutters were arrested by the police for counterfeiting local notes. Brought by Medhurst from Penang in 1822, they were bound as apprentices to the first two printers, with the hope that the mission could be in due course independent of the workers from China. When the first printers' contracts expired in April 1825, the boys took over the job.(343) As they had been under Medhurst's care and instruction for six years, their committing the crime much embarrassed him personally as well as the Batavia mission. More than

interrupting Medhurst's offensive tract series and the Monthly Magazine, this scandal further worsened his bitter enough relationship with the Chinese community. His own remarks, made in 1828, revealed what an unwelcome person among the Chinese he was, that,

> 'The Chinese who formerly manifested very little aversion to our labours among them begin now systematically to oppose our attempts, particularly the priests and rulers among them. At the temple the priests have almost forbid [*sic*] my entrance, and did on one occasion request me to walk out, a thing I never before knew them to do, though I was not at the time disputing with any one, or saying a word about their idolatrous worship. By the rich Chinese I am almost systematically shunned. I can seldom get admission to their houses, and they nearly all refuse our books.'(344)

In a sequel to this controversy in 1831, two boxes of tracts shipped to Bangkok were thrown into sea on the voyage 'at the instigation of some of the Chinese of Batavia.'(345) The long-standing opposition on the part of local Chinese which resulted from his offensive attitude expressed in tracts and his verbal arguments was doubtless the principal, if not the only, reason of the almost fruitless result of his labours with the Chinese during twenty-one years at Batavia.(346)

As far as printing was concerned, the dismissal of the block-cutters in the middle of 1826 led to a standstill at the Batavia mission of more than a year, except for the production of reprints from old blocks. Because of this and previous displeasing experiences with Chinese block-cutters, Medhurst no longer employed these 'troublesome men, very difficult to be kept in order,' at Batavia.(347) In fact, a desire to carry on the work independently of the Chinese block-cutters had often occurred in his mind since the beginning of printing in Batavia. The incident in 1826 further impelled him to pursue this goal. Thus, the several years at around the time of the stagnant period also meant a period in which the hope of new printing techniques and language varieties for the Batavia mission were about to be seen on the horizon.

In September 1824, Medhurst first wrote to the Directors asking for a lithographic press, stating that,

> 'it strikes me would be excellently adapted for Chinese printing - particularly a periodical work, such as the Magazine, and would be a great saving of time and expense in carrying on that work. I think it must be much preferable to either blocks or metal types, and if it could be brought to here, would form a new era in the Chinese mission.'(348)

The same subject appeared twice in his letters to London in 1825 and the Directors agreed to purchase a press for him, worth £30 and 'large enough for a demy broadside to print four pages of Chinese at one time.'(349) Before it was shipped out, however, Medhurst obtained, around the turn of 1825, another one from an unidentified local person or group, who had recently received it from the Netherlands Bible Society. The first trials of this Dutch press failed, due to the hot climate and the defective varnish used in making ink. Though disappointed and whilst writing to London to delay the English press being sent out, Medhurst unyieldingly determined to try every possible means to work out the problems, believing that 'it will be indeed a great saving in Chinese printing to use the lithographic mode.'(350) After a varnish that 'will not soil the stone and produce good impression' was made in May 1826, Medhurst lost no time in writing to London. The Directors swiftly responded to his letter by resolving, in November of the same year, to send out the lithographic press.(351) After its arrival at Batavia, many tests were undertaken to overcome the problems brought about by the tropical climate. Eventually, the impressions produced were 'sufficiently well to answer every purpose of plainness and perspicuity.'(352) Meanwhile, to secure a continuous and economical supply of stones, Medhurst tried those he took from Java's mountain areas and found that they were very suitable for lithographic printing. Further facilities were at his command when he made a new wooden press and purchased an iron one, at a cheap price and at his own expense.(353) Thus, about the end of 1827, it appeared that everything was ready for the beginning of lithography at the Batavia mission.

By the middle of 1828, five works, two in Chinese, two in Malay and one unknown, were printed on the lithographic presses. One of these was his Chinese book, entitled 東西史記和合 *Tung-hsi shih-chih ho-ho,* Comparative Chronology, in

37 leaves or 74 pages. It was a comparison between historical accounts from China and the West from the earliest period up until 1820. The page was divided into two parallel columns, the upper one for Chinese chronology and the lower one for the West. Both were exactly corresponding to each other, year by year. The arrangement of the text and its form evidently satisfied the author's purpose, i.e. to teach the Chinese, whom Medhurst believed indifferent or bigoted towards the West, that there was another civilization equally old and as remarkable as the Chinese. This work was still in keeping with his aggressive attitude in preaching. Yet what was different when compared to his controversial tracts was the disappearance of the offensive remarks about Chinese society and customs. Instead, he gave indications of his Chinese sources wherever necessary, in order to 'tempt some to peruse the book, who would throw it aside, if it contained only foreign names, dates and allusions.'(354)

The first Malay works printed at the Batavia mission were an 8-page prayer by Thomsen and a 56-page Way of Salvation by William Robinson, a Baptist missionary at Batavia from 1813. In fact, Malay printing was at first not included in Medhurst's exclusively Chinese scheme of lithography. Once finding that lithography fitted the Malay language technically as well as the Malay people psychologically, he could not miss the opportunity to extend the power of printing to this new domain, as he remarked,

> 'I have found it of peculiar advantage in printing in Malays, in which language I have long wished to produce a work in a larger type, and more like their own written books; for the Malays have few or no printed books and when we present them with one executed by letter press, it is altogether so unlike their own, and so foreign in its appearance, that, that alone, is enough to make them suspect and reject it; besides, the native here have been accustomed to read books with points, and in letter press it is difficult and troublesome to put points to every work. But in lithography all this is easy. Books printed thereby have every appearance of manuscript, the points may be easily added, and with a Mahometan superscription at the beginning, the generality cannot then tell ours from their own publications, and numbers have been circulated without the least suspicion of their being Christian books, in places where a printed work would not have been received.'(355)

In addition to block and lithographic printing in Chinese and Malay, Medhurst proceeded to typography in another language, i.e. Javanese. The idea came from Gottlob Bruckner, the former LMS but now Baptist missionary to the Javanese at Semarang. Intending to print his translation of the New Testament in that language, Bruckner offered 1,000 rupees to Medhurst for the casting of a fount of Javanese type. For this purpose Medhurst began, in June 1826, to study that language and then commenced the work, from smelting the metal and cutting the punches, to making a press and necessary furniture. While the whole business was midway to completion, Bruckner had his version printed at Serampore, under the auspices of the Batavian Bible Society, and gave over the new fount to Medhurst.(356) By the middle of 1828, therefore, the printing office of the Batavia mission developed into an establishment equipped with three printing methods, i.e. xylography, lithography and typography, and was capable in various languages.

1828-1843

Once begun, lithography soon replaced xylography as the principal printing method at the Batavia mission, whilst typography still needed time to grow. In the first six months of 1829, seven works were printed by the lithographic presses, amounting to 4,500 copies, 90,500 pages. In contrast, only three Chinese works were printed from old blocks, amounting to 2,260 copies, 34,400 pages.(357) Those lithographed works included a school book in Dutch and Chinese, another one in Malay, and two interesting handbills in Chinese. A handbill regarding Buddha drew upon an essay written by 韓愈 Han Yü (768-824), a well-known Chinese scholar and official of the T'ang dynasty, to admonish the Emperor Hsien-tsung against Buddhist superstition. It was obvious that Medhurst cleverly made use of a past Chinese authority to disparage the present and thereby keep himself out of trouble. He proudly reported that this handbill 'has been most readily received and eagerly read by

告白

為安黎民、不以謠言動心之事。蓋聞夫子教人、不語怪力亂神、因怪者說異無據、虛誕不經、最足駭人聽聞、惑人心志、是則因何近來、在結石珍、有散謠言、論及天災、驚嚇小民、豈合夫子之教哉。余竊聽二三月間、有人病重往拜觀音、叫人上堂、附神問藥、彼上堂之人、不禁逆口出怪異話、言三月終、或四月初、人該防備、恐有天災矣、且結石珍人、所最怕者火也、故此言一出、人驚必有火、言初四初六、初九之中、必有大事、又有一婦人夢火、隨動女流、家家題緣、請道隶舞、賜番仔食力袋、以謝神明、後男人復夢、神遣囑托、使請道士、打一清醮、如是結石珍人、通舍遥動、男有土色、女驚半死、費數百銀、燒數萬金、皆因一人之謠言也。在余微想、何苦如此、誠有神言、何無効驗、今初九以過、十五將至、而無甚事也、諒那上堂者、自專亂言、假設此事、以惑民心、實乃通結石珍之罪人也、無事之時、創到有事、上憲一知、必加刑罰矣、且尔等小民、何故信之、觀音神像、何能識事、前年火燒神像同燒、自己全身、不能挽救、何能救人哉、或言像燒、其神就上天、則何不帶像同上、救無事也、人想走火、必身靈同去、若留身燒盡、只脫靈魂、則死無活矣、且前年真火、其尚不知、而走不離、則此假火、其何能知哉、且有人言、此做戲打醮、非為神明、乃謝天地大事變小事、小事變無事、然生死有命富貴在天、若誠有天命注定、將要降火、則豈肯爾賤戲、因爾卑謔、而免事矣、天地非貪不須金紙、神明無飢不用賜食、不正經戲、豈中其意、污穢道隶、何能悅心、至於番仔念經、道士搖鐘、此在神天何利益哉、然也四民各安分樂業、老實公道、做事正經、所行清潔、日敬神天、信從即蘇、則上天喜悅、自然無事矣。余盡怪衆人、輕信假語、難從真言、余七八年來、日論情理、言不悔改、信從即蘇、必落地獄、被真火永燒、此真道理、無人肯信、然近日有甚麼無名之輩、不識字通理之人、布散半明半暗之語、假創火燒謠怪之言、隨即敬信、甘費錢財、以求苟免、豈非敢乎異端、斯害也矣、何不醒悟哉、

道光九年四月十三日

plate 3-14. Medhurst's handbill against fear of fires, printed with lithography in 1829.
(SOAS Collection)

the Chinese and has excited no little attention and enquiry among them.'(358) Another handbill against fear of fires purposed refuting a rumour, originating from a Buddhist temple, concerning the imminent threat of a great fire.(plate 3-14) In a panic the Chinese offered lots of sacrifices to their gods and invited the monks to pray for them. Learning of the rumour, Medhurst composed the handbill, printed 500 copies at the lithographic press and distributed them the following day. Such a quick response to the incident greatly surprised the public.(359)

Dictionaries and vocabularies in various languages were a notable feature of Medhurst's works. A talented linguist, Medhurst had managed, by 1830, to learn Mandarin Chinese or the official language, the southern Fuchien or the Hok-këèn dialect, which was the commonest among the Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Malay and the Javanese languages. To be added to this list, and a language that much interested him in the late 1820s, was Japanese. With the help of books obtained from the Japanese in Batavia, he taught himself that language and began the compilation of a vocabulary. In March 1830, *An English and Japanese and Japanese and English Vocabulary*, containing about 7,000 words in 344 pages, was printed by lithography at his own expense.(plate 3-15) It was the first English dictionary of the Japanese language and the first of his philological series. Medhurst dedicated this work to Dutch Governor-General, J. Van den Bosch, though his application for a religiously motivated journey to Japan had been rejected by the Dutch government a year earlier. In the preface, Medhurst remarked on the somewhat inferior quality of printing, writing that,

> 'The printing needs a thousand excuses; but it must be remembered that the work has been executed at a Lithographic press, by a self-taught artist, and in a warm climate, where the Lithography often fails; also that the whole has been written by a Chinese, who understands neither English nor Japanese; added to which, being a colony, it was found impossible to obtain sufficient paper of a like sort, ...'(360)

Following the Japanese vocabulary came a *Translation of a Comparative Vocabulary of the Chinese, Corean and Japanese Languages*, printed at the

AN

ENGLISH AND JAPANESE

AND

Japanese and English

VOCABULARY.

COMPILED FROM NATIVE WORKS,

BY

W. H. Medhurst.

BATAVIA:

Printed by Lithography.

1830.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES FINSBURY CIRCUS

plate 3-15. The title-page of *An English & Japanese and Japanese & English Vocabulary*, printed with lithography. (SOAS Collection)

Parapattan press, i.e. the mission press, at his own expense in 1835. The original work was compiled by a Korean for the study of the Japanese language. The text was in Chinese characters, which were commonly used in those two countries, with sounds expressed in Korean and Japanese letters. Having learnt two of these three languages, Medhurst added to the text, by the help of some reference tools, the corresponding English words. This work consisted of 136 leaves, of which the first 115 leaves were lithographed on Chinese paper, with the Chinese title 朝鮮偉國字彙, *Ch'ao-hsien wei-kuo tse-hui*, and orange-coloured sheet-covers, then the last 21 leaves, containing an English index, were printed with type on Western paper, with an English title-page. Such an unusual composite, together with its multi-language texts, had a very strange appearance. (361)

In the years between the completion of the Japanese and the comparative vocabularies, the indefatigable Medhurst resumed his efforts on a dictionary of the Hok-këèn [i.e. the southern Fuchien] dialect. Prone to vicissitude in the course of its compilation and printing, this dictionary took as long as seventeen years to complete from beginning to end. In 1820, while still in Malacca, he began to print a Hok-këèn vocabulary, but only partly finished it.(362) The unfinished work was brought to Penang and then to Batavia and gradually expanded to a dictionary. In April 1823, moved by Morrison, the trustees of the Singapore Institution, in preparation, resolved to print 500 copies of this dictionary at its press. Meanwhile, Samuel Milton, the LMS's missionary in Singapore, agreed to take care of its printing and to correct the press.(363) However, with the suspension of that institution after Raffles's leaving Singapore, the manuscript lay in that city for years until it was returned to Medhurst in 1830. Now, at Morrison's suggestion again, the Canton Factory of the British East India Company became interested in printing it at Macao. Stimulated by this encouragement, Medhurst started to revise and enlarge this work to contain about 12,000 words, arranged in Chinese and English.(364) Until the compilation was finished in March 1831, all his leisure time was occupied so much so that no new

tracts were composed. As soon as the manuscript was sent to Macao, his work on the second part in English and Chinese got under way. When proceeding to the letter G, however, half of the manuscript was stolen by 'some wicked fellows.' Though Medhurst vowed to re-compile it, the second part was never finished.(365)

Also the printing of the manuscript in Macao did not go smoothly. Shortly after its printing commenced at the Company's press in May 1831, Morrison's son, John, who superintended and corrected the press, left for Canton to work as a translator for the British merchants there. The printing dragged on. The new President of the Canton Factory, J. F. Davis, even on one occasion ordered its printing to be stopped. Following the end of the Company's operations in China in July 1834, printing stopped at page 320. A year after, when Medhurst came to China, a fund based on subscription, largely coming from a generous American merchant, D. W. C. Olyphant, enabled the re-commencement of this work. It was then printed at the ABCFM's printing office, with John R. Morrison's Albion press and English type and the Company's Chinese type. After so many twists and turns, the printing of *A Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language*, in 857 quarto pages, was eventually finished in June 1837.(366) This dictionary, which was the first of its kind, was the only one of Medhurst's philological series not printed at the mission press. Its long and complicated course of printing caused a contemporary Canton critic to comment that, 'Our friends in Europe and America can have but an imperfect idea of the difficulties, which have here hitherto impeded the publication of philological and other works in any way connected with the Chinese.'(367)

For about a year, from late 1830 to early 1831, when Medhurst was fully absorbed in revising the Hok-këèn dictionary, printing at the Batavia mission was reduced to a nearly dormant state. Lithographic printing had ceased, whilst only 4,000 copies of Chinese tracts were printed from the old blocks for Penang. After revision came to an end in March 1831, the printing office returned to its busy track. For the better quality of lithographic products, a German lithographer was employed.

At the same time, the Directors were assured that the lithographer's 'small' salary would be partly defrayed by jobbing work from local merchants.(368) In fact, for the sake of economy, Medhurst had no intention of permanently employing any professional printers at all. Just like the case of the previous Chinese block-cutters, several apprentices were soon placed under the German. As it was always Medhurst's principle to shorten the period of the transfer of technical knowledge as far as possible, the German lithographer had been discharged by June 1832.(369) Keasberry, later the missionary at Singapore, took over the German's job. In addition, there were four lithographic assistants, one letter press printer and binder, and one Chinese writer. The expenses of the printing establishment were estimated at about 100 rupees monthly, or £100 annually, excluding paper. For this sum, about 500,000 pages could be printed and bound.(370)

In 1832, the printing office was in active operation. Some seven new works were produced on the lithographic presses and one at the letter press, besides five from old blocks. While the latter ran to 100 or 200 copies each, those printed at the lithographic or letter presses were from 200 to 1,000 copies each. The entire number for production amounted to 5,900 copies, 288,400 pages in total. Of the eight new works, four were in Chinese and four in Malay. Among the lithographed Chinese works was a Scripture History, consisting of nineteen prints and 1,000 copies were printed. Thus appeared Medhurst's first book in picture form. Yet little information is given about it, not even its Chinese title, nor is any copy known to be extant.(371)

Compared with the year 1832, an rapid growth of production capacity was seen in the following several years. In 1833, there were 15,225 copies, 574,058 pages printed, including eight works (three in Chinese and five in Malay) at the lithographic press and eleven from old blocks.(372) In 1834, production was nearly double that of 1833. There were 28,000 copies, 1,275,250 pages printed, including nine (four in Chinese and five in Malay) at the lithographic press, eleven Chinese works from old blocks and twelve (four in Javanese, three in Malay, three in English, one in Dutch

and one in Dutch and Malay) at the letterpress.(373) Again in 1835, there were 24,645 copies, 1,830,656 pages printed, including fifteen (six in Chinese and nine in Malay) at the lithographic press, four from old blocks and the other six at the letterpress.(374)

Noticeably, the principal cause for this considerable increase was not in Batavia or anywhere else in Southeast Asia, but in China. From the year 1830 onwards, a new era for the Protestant missions in China began. The arrival at Canton of the first two American missionaries, Bridgman and Abeel, in this year interrupted the situation where the LMS had been the only missionary society and Morrison the only missionary in China. A further difference was brought about by Gutzlaff, the Prussian missionary who joined the field in 1831. His unprecedented sailing along the Chinese coast, three times in 1831, 1832 and 1833, and each time armed with a considerable quantity of books mainly supplied by Malacca and Batavia, created a sensation throughout the international missionary communities.(375) Medhurst was no doubt among those who were most struck by Gutzlaff's activities. When Gutzlaff first arrived in Batavia from Rotterdam in 1827, he stayed with Medhurst for a period of time and was initiated by the latter into studying Chinese and Malay.(376) After several years travelling back and forth in Bangkok and other places, Gutzlaff not only went to live in Macao and Canton, but broke down the supposed taboo that China was inaccessible. While constantly supplying thousands of books for and communicating with Gutzlaff, Medhurst the senior missionary to the Chinese, next only to the now weak and somewhat low-spirited Morrison, was full of reflections upon the situation and had a strong spirit of emulation. In December 1833, Medhurst wrote to the Directors about his desire to make a similar voyage to investigate China's real situation for missionary purposes.(377)

As soon as Medhurst obtained the Directors' consent for such a journey, the printing office of the Batavia mission was geared up. In February 1835, about 8,000 copies were dispatched, whilst another 5,000 were waiting for shipping. In preparing

books for this special occasion, Medhurst remarked that,

> 'Works intended for the Chinese, who are a reading people, should be of a respectable size, and the subject treated on, if thoroughly handled, require a little scope, in order to exhibit the matter in all its bearings, and to conduct the argument to the wished for conclusion; but in some instances doubtless smaller treatises will answer the purposes of a first distribution, and will lead to the demand for, and the perusal of larger ones. I shall therefore endeavour to combine the two objects, and in a new edition of the tract on the Divine Attributes, and that on the Fall of Man, now began, I intend to break each book down into eight or ten sections, and bind each up in a separate wrapper, reserving a number of the same edition for being bound together; thus we shall have eight or ten books instead of one, which will afford the advantage of a wider circulation connected with the disadvantage of a partial view of the whole subject.'(378)

In June 1835, Medhurst arrived, for the first time, at Canton. From late August to the end of October of this year, he sailed in an American vessel, the *Huron*, along the Chinese coast from Canton to the Shantung Peninsula in the north, going through four provinces. During this journey, he visited many cities and villages, including Shanghai, his future station, and distributed as many as 18,000 copies of books, printed at Batavia, Malacca and Canton.(379) Everywhere these books were welcome, even eagerly demanded. However, Medhurst knew well that, 'Their anxiety to obtain books, however, must not in the least be ascribed to any knowledge of, or relish for, their contents; but merely to an eager curiosity, to get possession of something that came from abroad, and an insatiable cupidity, to obtain what was to be had for nothing.'(380) In his voyage, Medhurst also met and conversed, or argued, with many Chinese civilian and military officials, some of whom were high in rank. These officials' inability to expel or arrest him from illegal intrusion as well as their failure to prevent him from distributing contraband Christian publications disclosed the serious inefficiency and corruption of the Chinese government. Soon after Medhurst's sailing, Emperor Tao-kuang issued an edict regarding this displeasing event. While mocking the edict as a further exposure of the Emperor's helplessness to prevent the introduction of Christian books into his dominions, Medhurst did not

think of his conduct as being against Chinese law. He but declared that, 'It is only for the propagators of Christianity to persevere in their efforts, to enlighten the people, and when the government find that they are unable to prevent it, they will consent, either to shut their eyes to what they cannot help; or to admit that to be done regularly, which will be done irregularly without them.'(381) The very negative impression of the Chinese government he obtained on his voyage, combined with his aggressive but futile and frustrated experience in preaching to the Chinese people in Batavia, had a great influence upon his strong attitude towards mission work in China after the Opium War.

In April 1836, shortly after coming back to Batavia from China, Medhurst set out on another voyage for London to report his observations on China to the Directors as well as to promote mission work for China. During a two-year stay in England, two things regarding Chinese printing also absorbed Medhurst's mind. The first matter was a new version of 新遺詔書 *Hsin-i-chao-shu*, the New Testament. Before Medhurst's visit to China, the work of revising Morrison's translation of the New Testament had already been begun by a committee consisting of Medhurst, Bridgman, Gutzlaff and John Morrison, each sharing a part of it. The revision was finished during Medhurst's stay in Canton. Prior to his leaving for London, Medhurst put it in the hands of the Batavia mission press, with a view to procuring the Bible Society's support for it after arriving in London. In the meantime, the same version was printed with blocks at the ABCFM's Singapore mission press, under the auspices of the American Bible Society, whilst another edition was printed, at Gutzlaff's expense, with moveable type at Serampore. Owing to the opposition of Evans and Dyer, the brethren at Malacca, however, this new version failed to obtain the Bible Society's recognition nor its pecuniary support.(382) While another two editions were carried through the press in Singapore and Serampore without difficulties, Medhurst had to struggle in London for its Batavian edition. During his absence, the version had been printed in three editions, 1,000 copies each and 325 leaves per copy, at the

lithographic press at Batavia. This was the only New Testament in Chinese known to have been lithographed. All the first and part of the second editions were sent elsewhere for circulation, before William Young, who was Medhurst's assistant at Batavia and took care of its printing as well as other business of the mission during this period, received notice from London to stop its distribution.(383) It is unclear whether the LMS or Medhurst himself finally bore the expense of more than £300 for printing this work. In any case, it was Medhurst's setback in working on the Bible. Yet it was not the only, nor the greatest, trouble he encountered in revising and translating the Bible, as we shall see later in Chapter 5.

The second matter that occupied Medhurst while in London was the improvement of Chinese printing. Medhurst's expectations on this subject included raising enough funds for a steam press and a complete set of Chinese metal types.(384) The idea of a steam press, which was still a novel machine in the printing business, obtained a full sanction from the Directors.(385) Yet without the requisite moveable type, it would be rather a premature thought for Chinese printing. To be practical, therefore, Medhurst turned his attention to moveable type. A detailed and deliberate comparison between xylography, lithography and typography for Chinese printing was thus made. In terms of cost only, lithography appeared more favourable than typography, whilst xylography was the most expensive one. However, in considering technical and social factors as the advantages and disadvantages of these three methods, the conclusion of this comparison was that, 'printing by means of metal types is greatly preferable to every other method.'(386) The result of Medhurst's comparison differed from both Morrison's and Milne's, which were made more than twenty years earlier and were in favour of xylography. This difference significantly represented a progressive stage in the early development of Chinese typography between the 1810s and 1830s. Indeed, when Medhurst made his judgment in favour of typography, the manufacture of moveable type, either by Dyer at Malacca or by Marcellin Legrand in Paris, was not many years far from completion.

In July 1838, Medhurst embarked again for Batavia, with a printing press and a lithographic press.(387) Several months after his return, Chinese typography began its trial in Batavia. As the type cast by Dyer and ordered by the Batavia mission was still very deficient in sorts, Medhurst altered and accommodated his compositions to suit the type in hand. In this way, 1,000 copies of 神天十條聖誡註解 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh chu-chieh*, Commentary on the Ten Commandments, 68 pages each, were printed by March 1840. On this, the first fruit of this method, Medhurst remarked that, 'The principal advantage of these type is the saving of expense in block-cutting, and the great gain of time in the presswork; as well as the superior clearness and beauty of the execution.'(388)

Following this was a History of the Christ, a specially contrived polyglot in Chinese, Malay and English. As Dyer's Chinese type were as large as the double pica size of Roman type, so the Malay and English texts, one line each in Roman character, were printed for one line of Chinese. Such a verbatim arrangement suited the country-born Chinese readers in the study of Chinese, as many of them were more familiar with Malay in Roman character than in their ancestors' character. Besides being 'eagerly sought after' by Chinese adults born in the archipelago, this work was also used in school for studying English as well as Chinese.(389) Because of the polyglot form, the size of this work grew necessarily into two volumes. However, after the publication of the first volume, 1,000 copies and 108 pages each, by October 1839, it appears that Medhurst did not proceed to produce the second volume.(390) More regrettably, and for unclear reasons, the infant Chinese typography at the Batavia mission press came to an early end.

Despite the short-lived Chinese typography, the Batavia mission press continued to be the most active one among the LMS, very likely among all Christian printing establishments in Southeast Asia. At the end of the 1830s, the printing office employed eleven workers in total, including six lithographers and one Chinese transcriber working at the lithographic press, two apprentices from the local orphan

asylum founded by Medhurst as compositors and one pressman working at the letter press, besides one bookbinder. The four lithographic and two letter presses, together with old blocks, printed annually about 1,500,000 pages, in Chinese, Malay, Javanese, English, Dutch and, occasionally, in the tribal languages.(391) The production capacity even increased to between 2,000,000 and 2,500,000 pages per year in its last years in the 1840s. This immense output cost considerable money. Medhurst's accounts showed that, from 1839 until 1842, except once in 1839, his half-year printing expenses were around 2,000 florins (*c.* £160), which represented between 22.61 per cent and 31.55 per cent of the mission's entire expenditures.(392) It was obvious that, while declining to aid printing at Singapore and Penang, the Directors could not entirely at the same time afford such relatively considerable printing expenses in Batavia. To maintain this actively operating establishment and to produce more and more, Medhurst depended upon two other pecuniary sources, i.e. the British and the American Religious Tract Societies and jobbing printing. An important source after the LMS itself was the British Tract Society, which had constantly provided either paper or funds since the inception of printing at the Batavia mission. The following example is sufficient to show the extent of the British RTS's assistance to Batavia. Of the fifteen titles printed in the six months from April to September 1839, fourteen in Chinese and other languages and amounting to 15,750 copies, 692,000 pages, were printed on paper supplied by the British RTS.(393) From 1840 onwards, the American RTS also frequently gave funds to the Batavia mission for printing.

As to jobbing printing, the work was by no means from merchants only, nor was there small income. For instance, the Dutch School Committee paid, in 1837, 378 florins (*c.* £30) for the printing of a book. In March 1842, the Custom House paid 400 florins (*c.* £32) for printing its forms.(394) One of the mission press's principal customers for jobbing work was the Batavian Literary Society, which was 'the first association for intellectual pursuits established in a tropical European settlement'

founded in 1778.(395) In 1840, the mission press printed the Society's eighteenth transaction for an unidentified sum, yet the profit from this work was expected to defray the expense of building a store-room for books and paper.(396) Again in the following year, two sums, 500 florins (*c.* £40) each, from the Society appeared in Medhurst's accounts for the printing of a Formosan and Dutch dictionary.(397) The following comparisons may be enough to highlight the share of jobbing work to the mission press. In the half year from October 1839 to March 1840, the expense of the printing office was 2,240.74 florins (*c.* £180), of which 521.35 florins (*c.* £42) were workers' wages, including rice and New Year presents for them. In the same period, the income from various jobbing work was 707.98 florins (*c.* £57), nearly one third of the entire printing expense and larger than the amount of workers' wages.(398) In addition, it is easy to find that jobbing printing at the Batavia mission press far exceeded that at other Ultra Ganges missions, thereby gaining it greater means to support itself. Medhurst's good relationship with the local Dutch and English communities, his speciality as a printer and his remarkable eagerness for work were doubtless the main factors contributing to this situation.

Although occupied by various kinds of missionary work after returning from England, Medhurst did not shelve his language study. More precisely, the compilation of philological works resumed while on his return trip in 1838. This time it was an English and Chinese dictionary, intended to include about 15,000 words and 'fit for every purpose of religion and science.' He was so absorbed in this work that he could remark, after arriving at Batavia, that, 'I have only to regret that the voyage was too short, and that I had not time fully to complete the undertaking, before I entered on my more active labours here.'(399) The compilation continued during the following three years and, as he reported in 1841, it would 'soon be available for use.'(400) As other seemingly more urgent business arose, however, its publication had to wait until several years after the author's move to Shanghai.

It is surprising that, while working on the above dictionary and coping with a

daily routine, Medhurst could still manage to find time to compile two other works, i.e. a Formosan, Dutch and English dictionary and a Chinese and English dictionary. Though commencing shortly after the previously mentioned English and Chinese dictionary, these two works surpassed it. To Medhurst, the Formosan dictionary was rather an unexpected matter, but prominently highlighted his language talent. The manuscript, entitled 'Favorlang woord boek, by Gilbertus Happart, 1650' and written in an old fashioned hand, had lain in the archives of the Dutch Reformed Church at Batavia for nearly two centuries. No one knew what it was. Learning of the manuscript from the Dutch clergyman, Medhurst first ascertained that its author was a Dutch minister in Taiwan in the seventeenth century. The book was then identified as a dictionary of an aboriginal language in Taiwan which had been compiled by order of the Dutch East India Company. After a 'little' study, Medhurst was able to deduce a system of letters in the work, and was thereby able to decipher it.(401) The dictionary was printed, beginning in 1840 and finished in 1842, at the mission press at the expense of the Batavian Literary Society. Medhurst further translated it into English, and entitled it *Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect of the Formosan Language*. Shortly before he left for China, the printing of 300 copies, 383 pages each, of this work was completed at the letter press.

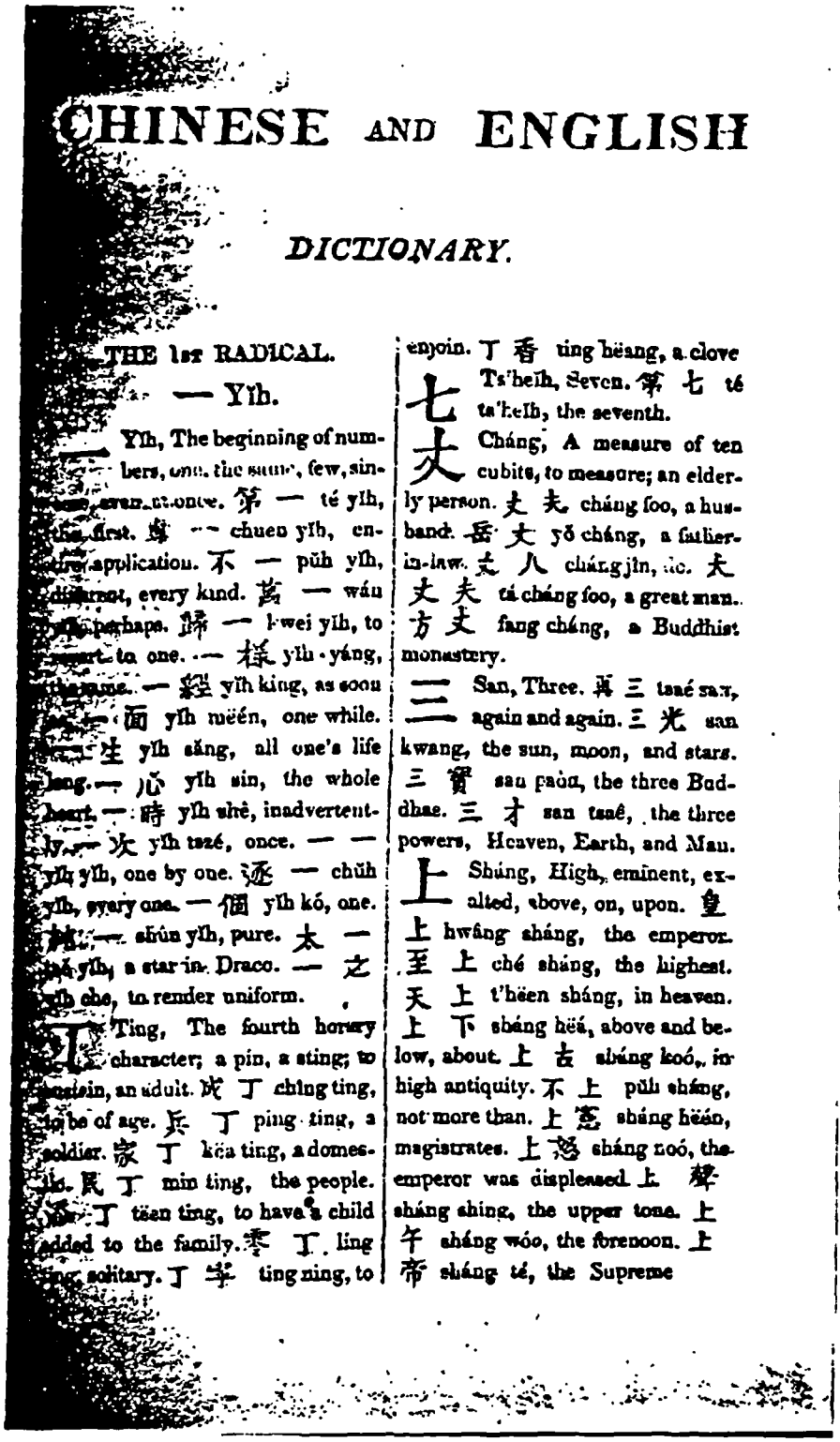
Interestingly, the motivation to produce a Chinese and English dictionary came from Morrison's expensive one, which the around 200 or so pupils in the boarding schools supported by the Ultra Ganges missions needed but could not afford. Designed as a 'compendious and cheap' one, it was determined to contain 'every character in Morrison's with all of the useful phrases, in one volume at the moderate cost of a few dollars.'(402) The idea was sound, yet difficulties lay in expenses and technical problems. First, there was no prospect of any organization offering £13,000 towards the cost of a Chinese and English dictionary, as the East India Company had provided for Morrison's. Secondly, the number of Dyer's type in hand was merely 1,500, which was not only far behind the required 40,000 for this dictionary, but was

too large in size. However, there seemed nothing that could baffle Medhurst, especially in printing. An 'easy and expeditious' method that combined typography and lithography together was eventually discovered, as he described it,

> 'The method I employ is the following: first I cause all the English words together with the sounds of the Chinese characters to be composed in letter press, leaving blank spaces for the Chinese characters, after this I take a clean proof on transfer paper with transfer ink, and then get a good copyist to write in all the Chinese characters required in the blank spaces left for them; which done, I turn the whole over on the lithographic stone, and pass it through the press. On taking it up, I find the whole has taken at once on the stone, and I have nothing further to do, then to get it printed as a common work in lithography.'(403) (plates 3-16)

This unique method, though not able to produce perfect and beautiful impressions, was found to 'answer the purpose of speed, cheapness, and legibility.'(404) Nevertheless, the printing, which was carried on at his own expense, was not completed in a year, as was first wished. Attempting a work 'as efficient as possible,' the author added enormous explanations and example sentences to his manuscript, so to double the size. The first volume of the *Chinese and English Dictionary*, 600 copies, 648 pages each, was completed by October 1842 and the second, in 838 pages, was finished in May 1843, only one month before his departure for China. Its inexpensive printing enabled Medhurst to keep his promise to sell this bulky dictionary at merely ten dollars.(405) Incredibly, in the course of printing this dictionary, the tireless Medhurst could produce a *Notices on Chinese Grammar*, in 148 pages, printed using the same method in 1842, also at his own expense.

Thus, during his years in Batavia, Medhurst produced six philological works, with one remaining in manuscript. Among the various motives behind these works, the one behind the *Chinese and English Dictionary* was an ambition to outdo Morrison's previous work. The opinion of a contemporary book review testified to the result by remarking that, 'If Mr. Medhurst does not improve upon himself, he improves vastly upon Dr. Morrison.'(406) The knowledge of various languages involved, the perseverance in compiling them, the special printing method discovered



CHINESE AND ENGLISH

DICTIONARY.

THE 1st RADICAL.

— Yih.

一 Yih, The beginning of numbers, one, the same, few, single, even, at once. 第 一 té yih, the first. 專 一 chuen yih, entire application. 不 一 pŭh yih, different, every kind. 萬 一 wán yih, perhaps. 歸 一 kwei yih, to assort to one. 一 樣 yih-yáng, the same. 一 經 yih king, as soon as. 一 面 yih mëën, one while. 一 生 yih săng, all one's life long. 一 心 yih sin, the whole heart. 一 時 yih shé, inadvertently. 一 次 yih tszé, once. 一 一 yih yih, one by one. 逐 一 chŭh yih, every one. 一 個 yih kó, one. 純 一 shún yih, pure. 太 一 tá yih, a star in Draco. 一 之 yih che, to render uniform.

丁 Ting, The fourth horary character; a pin, a sting; to sustain, an adult. 成 丁 ching ting, to be of age. 兵 丁 ping ting, a soldier. 家 丁 kēa ting, a domestic. 民 丁 min ting, the people. 添 丁 tëen ting, to have a child added to the family. 零 丁 ling ting, solitary. 丁 寧 ting ning, to enjoin. 丁 香 ting hëang, a clove

七 Ts'heih, Seven. 第 七 té ts'heih, the seventh.

丈 Cháng, A measure of ten cubits, to measure; an elderly person. 丈 夫 cháng foo, a husband. 岳 丈 yŏ cháng, a father-in-law. 丈 人 cháng jin, &c. 大 丈 夫 tá cháng foo, a great man. 方 丈 fang cháng, a Buddhist monastery.

三 San, Three. 再 三 tsaé san, again and again. 三 光 san kwang, the sun, moon, and stars. 三 寶 san paòu, the three Buddhas. 三 才 san tsaé, the three powers, Heaven, Earth, and Man.

上 Shàng, High, eminent, exalted, above, on, upon. 皇 上 hwâng shàng, the emperor. 至 上 ché shàng, the highest. 天 上 t'hëen shàng, in heaven. 上 下 shàng hëá, above and below, about. 上 古 shàng koó, in high antiquity. 不 上 pŭh shàng, not more than. 上 憲 shàng hëën, magistrates. 上 怒 shàng noó, the emperor was displeased. 上 聲 shàng shing, the upper tone. 上 午 shàng wóo, the forenoon. 上 帝 shàng té, the Supreme

plate 3-16. The first page of the *Chinese and English Dictionary*, printed with a method combining typography (English text) and lithography (Chinese text). (SOAS Collection)

and the enthusiasm and capacity to publish these works, all these factors marked his great difference from the other brethren in the Ultra Ganges missions. Meanwhile, like the offensive tract series in the middle 1820s, Medhurst's philological series, excluding the Hok-këèn dictionary, represented an extraordinary aspect of Batavia mission publications after 1830.

While the Batavia mission press was prospering in the 1840s, the Opium War was raging on in China. Anxiously following the progress of the war, Medhurst could not wait for the coming of peace and he wrote, in February 1842, to the Directors seeking their approval to move to China, with the printing establishment and his pupils.(407) The Directors did not accede to this too early request. Then, as soon as the Directors' instruction came that missionaries of the Ultra Ganges missions for the Chinese should assemble, in August 1843, in Hong Kong to discuss their future work in China, Medhurst was busy in winding up the Batavia mission. The mission premises, including the printing office and paper store, were sold to the local English congregation. The presses and type, with a large number of books, were sent to Hong Kong before his departure on 25 June 1843.(408) The Batavia mission press literally closed in its heyday.

After a period of thirty-one years (1815-1846), all four stations of the Ultra Ganges missions came to an end, except the Malay department at Singapore. As initially expected, the LMS's missionaries were able to undertake their work under the protection of the British and Dutch authorities in this period. Nevertheless, the freedom to preach did not at the same time mean the success of mission work. Considering the expense and the number of missionaries sent to this region during these years, merely several tens of Chinese converts were indeed an incommensurate reward. There were several factors that led to these results. On the LMS side, the

qualities and performance of missionaries in the field and the Directors' somewhat reserved policy, resulting from the temporary and experimental nature of these missions, were two principal reasons. On the Chinese side, long-lasting sinocentric concept brought from their native country presented the most difficult obstacle to mission work. The influence of the Chinese captains on local communities was another factor. Above all, the international relations, which dominated the situation in a broader context, were the decisive factor leading to the commencement and closure of the Ultra Ganges missions. Being thought to be 'a powerful engine' to propagate Christian belief among the Chinese, the press, with the products of nearly one million volumes, was unable to achieve what it should have. In respect of Chinese printing itself, however, this period saw an important transition in technical development. In the 1810s, xylography was the only appropriate means for the LMS's printing, with a negligible amount of work done with cut moveable type. The 1820s saw the entry of other printing methods. While lithography became the second mode of the LMS's Chinese printing, typography was also advanced from discussion to experiment. Then, in the 1830s, lithography overcame xylography to become the major method of printing in Batavia and the work of casting type began in Malacca. Even stereotype was once tried, but only in London. In the early 1840s, while lithography was extended to Singapore, typography also made great progress in the same place. By the year 1843, when the Ultra Ganges missions began to transfer to China, the application of typography on a large scale and its substitution for xylography in printing religious as well as secular publications was no longer simply a wish, but a matter of time. The cause of missionaries' endeavours was religion, the result was a technical revolution in Chinese printing.

Chapter Four
The Development of Chinese Type up to the 1850s

Indigenous Type

The invention of moveable type in China in the middle of the eleventh century was an effect of the fast expanding book market beginning about one hundred years earlier. It is true that Chinese people began to print with wooden blocks sometime in the early T'ang dynasty (618-907), yet it was not until the Sung dynasty (960-1279), which was the most splendid time in the cultural and intellectual development of China, that printed books became widespread and generally superseded manuscripts. Several factors in Sung society led to the sophisticated development of printing in contemporary China. First, the emperors were earnest patrons of the arts and literature, including writing and publishing. Secondly, both central government and local authorities vigorously played a part in book production. The Directorate of Education, 國子監 Kuo-tsu-chien, was the largest and most important publisher, its publications being for public sale as well as being made available to local academies. Within forty-five years of the establishment of the Sung dynasty, the number of cut blocks owned by the Directorate increased from several thousand during its first years to more than a hundred thousand in the year 1005.(1) Other departments of the central government and numerous local authorities, at different levels and of different kinds, were engaged in their own publishing projects. Thirdly, many officials were interested in publishing, with various reasons for being so. Some privately printed their ancestors' works to show their filial piety, whilst others used public funds to publish books for profit. Fourthly, the civil service examinations helped the prosperity of the book trade. Because Sung officials were well salaried and had many privileges, the periodic recruitment examinations attracted scholars throughout the country. Books necessary for preparing for

examinations, such as Confucian classics, model essays and reference books were best-sellers. Producing these books, combined with the textbooks for nationwide academies, became a lucrative business.(2)

While books were more accessible and the art of block printing reached a state that has never been surpassed since, there remained the problem of the process of book production. Despite it being faster and cheaper than manuscripts, block printing was still a cumbersome activity, and more so in producing voluminous books. To comply with an emperor's edict in 971 to produce 佛藏, *Fo-tsang*, the Tripitaka, workers spent twelve years in cutting more than 130,000 blocks and produced, in 983, the first complete Buddhist scriptures in Chinese.(3) Another well-known work, 太平御覽 *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, the Encyclopedia for the Emperor, compiled in the tenth century yet not printed until the next, required 8,852 blocks.(4) While the book market continued to expand, time-consuming block cutting and the storage of considerable numbers became problematic. In seeking a more efficient method of book production, 畢升, Pi Sheng, a man of the common people and probably a goldsmith, invented moveable type between 1041 and 1048.(5)

Although little is known about the inventor himself, his technique was recorded in 夢溪筆談, *Meng-hsi pi-t'an*, the Dream Pool Jottings, written by 沈括, Shen Kua (1031-1095), a contemporary scientist and official whose nephews obtained Pi's type after his death. The type, each one containing a character and being as thin as the edge of a coin, were made of sticky clay and baked, after a character had been cut, to harden them. Types were set in an iron plate covered with a mixture of pine resin, wax and paper ashes. Then the plate was placed near fire to melt the mixture slightly and type were pressed with a smooth board to make them stand at the same height in the plate. After the mixture hardened, the forme was solid and ready for making an impression utilizing the same method used in block printing. When printing was completed, the forme was again warmed to melt the mixture for

distributing the type. Pi also experimented with wooden type but found that the texture of wood became uneven after inking and type stuck to the mixture easily.(6)

Very likely due to its embryonic technique on the one hand and the existence of highly developed block printing on the other, Pi's invention did not gain much attention during his lifetime, nor are any works recorded as being produced by the world's first typographical experiments. However, because of the popularity of the *Meng-hsi pi-t'an* in the succeeding centuries, the account of Pi's moveable type could not fail to inspire some people to follow his method. In 1193, 周必大, Chou Pi-ta, a scholar and official of the Sung dynasty, printed part of his work 玉堂雜記 *Yü-t'ang Tsa-chi*, Miscellaneous Notes on the Han-lin Academy, with type.(7) Then, five decades later in the 1240s, 姚樞, Yao Shu, a councillor of Kublai Khan, had his pupil 楊古, Yang Ku, print several works on Confucianism with type.(8) The sources of these two events clearly indicated that both Chou Pi-ta and Yao Shu learnt their typographical technique from the *Meng-hsi pi-t'an*.

In the late thirteenth century, the still infant Chinese typography saw new developments in making type and in the arrangement of the type case. By this time tin had been used as type metal, but it was found to not take ink readily and to make untidy impressions, therefore it was discarded after a short period.(9) Between 1295 and 1298, wooden type was successfully experimented with by 王禎, Wang Chen, a magistrate of Ching-te county in the province of An-hui. His method was to cut characters in blocks first, then to saw each character in a square from the block. The type were finished off with a knife until they were exactly the same size and height. By this means more than 30,000 type were produced and used in printing 旌德縣志, *Ching-te hsien-chih*, the Gazetteer of Ching-te County, containing more than 60,000 characters. After 100 copies were completed within a month in 1298, Wang declared that, 'they were just like those printed with blocks.'(10) Wang's other innovation was the revolving table, about seven feet in diameter with compartments on it for placing type according to the five tones and rhymes. The compositor sat between two such

tables whilst taking out type for setting or for distribution after printing. Because each Chinese type contained a word, not a letter, a workable fount of type would consist of up to 8,000 sorts of type, therefore the revolving table enabled the compositor to get or return type easily, without moving back and forth.

About twenty-five years after the publication of Wang Chen's Gazetteer, 馬稱德, Ma Ch'eng-te, another magistrate of Feng-hua county of the Che-chiang province, cut about 100,000 type from unidentified materials and printed several works in 1322, including a Confucian classic.(11) Then there was a gap of about 170 years between Ma's work and the prosperous period of Chinese typography starting in the 1490s. The period of about 270 years from Pi Sheng's invention until Ma Ch'eng-te's enterprise can be conceived as being the first and experimental stage in the history of indigenous Chinese typography. Sporadic attempts were made on a very small scale, from occasional trials to a handful of works at most, by unrelated individuals and all of them initiated by Shen Kua's accounts of Pi Sheng's invention. It is surprising, and very different from their later counterparts in Europe, that none of these Chinese typographical pioneers undertook his task due to commercial motivation. Except for the inventor Pi Sheng, all were scholars and officials who always viewed books as educational means to spread Confucianism. The typographical efforts of the councillor of Kublai Khan and the two local magistrates of the Yüan dynasty especially reflected their belief in the instructive function of books. Trying a potentially better medium to produce books, therefore, was driven by the incentive for individual officials to better fulfill their administrative responsibilities. It appears that such a non-market orientation, with little or no drive for profits and without competition, contributed most to make sure that Chinese typography remained long in its infant stage.

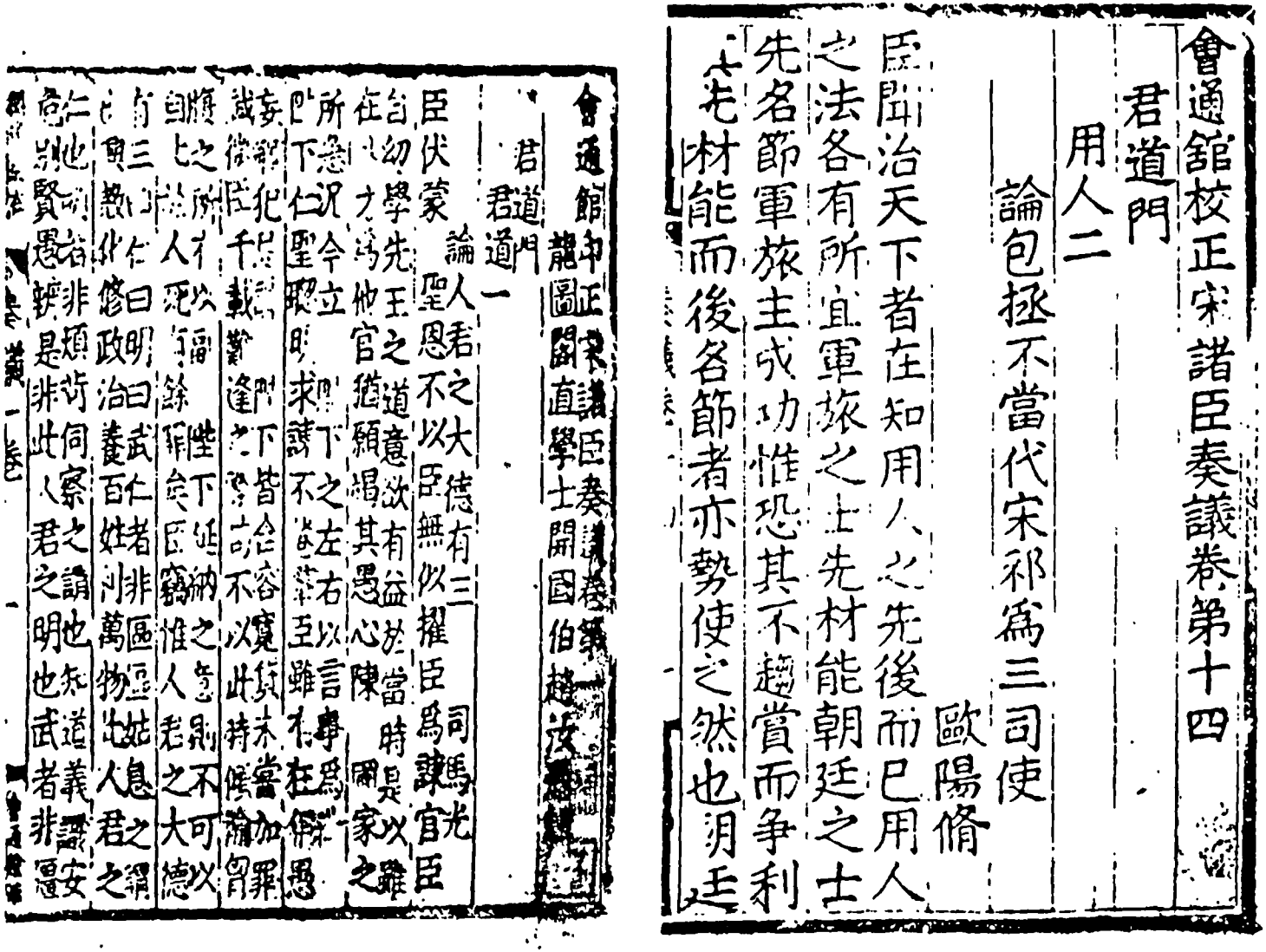
A comparatively fruitful time for Chinese typography began in the 1490s and lasted for about 150 years until the end of the Ming dynasty(1368-1644). Ming China provided advantageous conditions for the wider use of type. After overthrowing the

Yüan dynasty and expelling the Mongolians, the Chinese resumed authority over their own country in 1368. In addition to re-building the national economy which had suffered in the war period, the emperors of the new dynasty were, like their Sung predecessors, eager to patronize literature and the arts. Books and stationery were exempted from taxes, whilst imperial edicts were issued to acquire ancient books conceived to be no longer extant and to publish textbooks for nationwide circulation. The abolition of pre-publication censorship of the Yüan times further encouraged the publishing enterprises. All these measures, together with nationwide economic development and increasing literacy, enabled printing in the second half of the Ming dynasty to attain 'a very high level which equaled if it did not surpass, that of previous periods.'(12) Yet, compared with the Sung dynasty, the urgent demand for printed books in Ming times came from different quarters. In the former, it was mainly readers who had only recently experienced the accessibility of printed books brought about by the rapid expansion of the printing business. In contrast, it was the authors who led to flourishing growth in Ming times. During the Ming dynasty, the number of printed works by earlier and contemporary authors, including various editions of a work, was estimated at being between 10,000 and 20,000. Most were produced after the year 1500.(13) In the meantime, Ming authors wrote as many as 15,725 works, so there was inevitably a backlog of works waiting for publication.(14) To make things more competitive, there was the prevailing practice from the middle Ming period onwards to publish one's own essay collection when passing the civil service examination and again an anthology when retiring from an official career. In order to absorb the vast number of writings in general and to publish timely commemorative works specifically, a faster and hopefully economical method of printing was sought, so giving moveable type an opportunity to be utilised on a much larger scale for commercial ventures.

There is no evidence to show that Ming Chinese used clay type, but they did use wooden and bronze types. More than one hundred works are recorded as being

printed with wooden type and sixty-one with bronze, by noblemen, local academies, booksellers, individual officials and intellectuals, and at many places in eight provinces.(15) Eventually the central government at Peking joined, in 1638, i.e. only six years before its being overthrown, the business of using wooden type to print its daily gazette.(16) Among the Ming's typographical works, many were voluminous, such as collected memorials to the emperors, general literary collections, encyclopedias and other reference books. A notable example was the publication in 1574 of the bronze-type edition of *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, the encyclopedia compiled in Sung times and containing about five million words, as previously mentioned. The frequent use of type in printing sizable works testifies to the fact that many Ming Chinese learnt its advantages of saving both time and money when compared with cutting blocks.(17)

Though the use of wooden type was probably more prevalent, the emergence of bronze type toward the end of the fifteenth century was more significant. 華燧, Hua Sui, a wealthy landlord of Wu-hsi county, Chiang-su province, who began to study at the age of fifty, brought out, in 1490, 宋諸臣奏議 *Sung chu-ch'en tsou-yi*, Collected Memorials to the Emperors of the Sung Dynasty, the first Chinese book printed with metal type(plate 4-1). In addition, twenty-nine works were also produced by the same means by Hua Sui and his close relatives during the following thirty years. Inspired by Hua's achievement, 安國, An Kuo, a successful businessman of the same county, ventured on the same enterprise in the 1510s and produced around twelve works before his death in 1534. Being the two major publishers with bronze type, the Huas and An produced together about two-thirds of the entire Ming editions in bronze type. Underpinned by a thriving book market throughout the country and the increasing interest in books printed with type, the emulation between these two wealthy families, and among several other families and booksellers in this affluent region on a smaller scale, might have advanced indigenous Chinese typography to a more advanced level, competing with xylography in the sixteenth century.



會通館校正宋諸臣奏議卷第十四

君道門

用人二

論包拯不當代宋祁爲三司使

歐陽脩

臣聞治天下者在知用人之先後而已用人之法各有所宜軍旅之士先材能朝廷之士先名節軍旅主成功惟恐其不趨賞而爭利其先材能而後名節者亦勢使之然也朝廷

會通館印正宋諸臣奏議卷第一

龍圖閣直學士開國伯趙汝[illegible]

君道門

君道一

論人君之大德有三　司馬光

臣伏蒙聖恩不以臣無似擢臣爲諫官臣自幼學先王之道意欲有益於當時是以雖在[illegible]方爲他官猶願竭其愚心陳國家之所急況今立陛下之左右以言事爲[illegible]陛下仁聖聰明求諫不倦羣臣雖有在[illegible]愚妄[illegible]犯[illegible]陛下皆合容寬貸未嘗加罪[illegible]微臣千載難逢之際苟不以此時傾輸胷腹之所有以副陛下延納之意則不可以自[illegible]人死[illegible]餘罪矣臣竊惟人君之大德有三[illegible]曰明曰武仁者非區區姑息之謂[illegible]教化修政治養百姓利萬物此人君之仁也明者非煩苛伺察之謂也知道義識安危別賢愚辨是非此人君之明也武者非[illegible]

plate 4-1. The first Chinese book printed with metal type, 宋諸臣奏議 *Sung chu-ch'en tsou-yi*, Collected Memorials to the Emperors of the Sung Dynasty, by Hua Sui in 1490 (Collection of National Library, Taipei.)

Unfortunately, the lack of technical progress in manufacturing type, i.e. cutting instead of casting them, raised the cost considerably and often prolonged the work.(18) Failing to be improved sufficiently in the best ever period in the course of its development, indigenous Chinese type continued to play a supplementary role in Chinese printing.

Following the private character and the fad of metal type in the late Ming period, Chinese typography took a different course after the seventeenth century, one in which the imperial court took a leading role and wooden type surpassed others. In 1644, Manchu troops entered Peking and founded the Ch'ing dynasty, which was followed by a forty-year period of upheaval as the conquerors massacred thousands upon thousands of resisting people. In their first century and a half, Ch'ing emperors pursued a two-sided cultural policy, i.e., strict censorship with cruel punishment and contrived reconciliation, reflected in the establishment of 武英殿修書處 Wu-ying-tien hsiu-shu-ch'u, The Imperial Printing Office, in 1680, and many writing and compiling projects run under imperial edicts. Two of the most notable examples among these were the compilation of 古今圖書集成 *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng*, the Grand Encyclopedia, containing about 160 million words, and 四庫全書 *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, the Complete Library of Four Classes of Literature, containing 2,300,000 leaves in 36,000 volumes. For the Grand Encyclopedia, the imperial printing office cut a fount of about 250,000 bronze type and printed, in 1728, sixty-four copies, consisting of 5,020 volumes each. Gradually stolen and sold by the officials whose task was to take care of these type, the rest were eventually melted down for casting coins in 1744. Thirty years later in 1774, when the regretful Emperor Ch'ien-lung, who approved the melting plan, wanted to print some rare books in the Complete Library, the imperial printing office had to cut a fount of more than 250,000 wooden type and produced a series of 134 works, called 武英殿聚珍板叢書 *Wu-ying-tien chü-chen-pan ts'ung-shu*, Collectanea Printed by the Imperial Printing Office Moveable Type.(19)

Owing to its considerable cost, the imperial court's use of bronze type could hardly inspire many imitators, and only 11 more works are recorded as being printed with bronze type elsewhere during the Ch'ing dynasty.(20) In contrast, however, the court's wooden type did arouse many imitators, including local authorities, academies, intellectuals and booksellers, as well as numerous families who wanted to print their genealogies. It is estimated that more than 2,000 works were printed with wooden type throughout the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911). Most of them were produced in the nineteenth century.(21)

Almost exactly eight hundred years after Pi Sheng's invention, two instances of indigenous cast type eventually appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first one was clay type prepared by a rural teacher, 翟金生, Chai Chin-sheng of Ching county, An-hui province, and, incredibly, it was cast from matrices also made of clay. Inspired by the accounts of Pi Sheng's method in the *Meng-hsi pi-t'an*, Chai perseveringly spent thirty years experimenting before he at last succeeded in making four or five founts in different sizes.(22) The first work printed with these cast type was, in 1844, Chai's poems 泥版試印初編 *Ni-pan shih-yin ch'u-pien*, the First Experimental Edition with Clay Type, which was followed by three or four works by him and others before 1857. Being the first Chinese to cast type, Chai was perhaps also the last in the history of Chinese indigenous type to work in clay.

Six years after Chai's first success, another example of cast metal type appeared in Canton. In 1850, a wealthy and enterprising bookseller surnamed 唐, Tong, who lived at Foshan, an industrial town near Canton, prepared three founts of type, made of an alloy of tin and lead. His method was to cut the characters on blocks and take impressions by means of fine soft clay, which then became a mould for pouring melted tin and lead in the proportion of four to one. Four types were cast each time in a frame and the clay mould was broken to take out the type but could be re-used a second time. The type, which were of reduced height compared with ordinary Roman type in order to save expense, were then set up in a flat wooden

frame and printing was carried out with a brush in the usual Chinese way. It appears that Tong had, in the meantime, improved Chinese water-based ink, it being 'prepared with great care of the best materials,' so as to overcome its incompatibility with metal type, which was a long-standing problem for all Chinese printers, as Wang Chen had mentioned in the thirteenth century.(23) Tong's type were principally used in printing lottery tickets, for which 30,000 sheets were produced from each forme, and for sale at the rate of $30 for every 10,000. A voluminous reference work 文獻通考 *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, the Antiquarian Research, containing 9,674 leaves bound in 120 volumes, was printed with these type in 1851 and was appraised as being 'in a style equal to any printing done by xylography.'(24) Deeply impressed by this simple and economical method of casting metal type and the fine impressions made from it, Benjamin Hobson, the LMS missionary in Canton, urged others to 'learn a practical lesson from the Chinese.'(25) Unfortunately, only five years after this success, Tong's printing enterprises were destroyed, in 1855, by a rebellious army, for the making of bullets.(26) Tong's type appeared as the first and also the last indigenous cast metal type, as afterwards all were directly foreign products or native imitations derived from them, making their own improvements.

One may ask, as there were so many instances of type being made with different materials after Pi Sheng's invention, why typography did not prevail in China before the nineteenth century? There were two principal reasons. First, the ideographic character of written Chinese meant that a practicable fount would consist of up to 8,000 various characters, which imposed an insurmountable burden upon its manufacture.(27) Secondly, and to make matters worse, the Chinese used to cut type, which prolonged the work and increased the cost considerably. The long delay in possessing the technique for casting type and the incompatibility of metal type with Chinese ink hindered further development of indigenous type.(28) Therefore, as long as block printing continued to suit the book market in traditional Chinese society, type could only play a minor role in Chinese printing.

Korean Type

Because of its geographical proximity, Korea had been under great Chinese influence even before the Christian era. Closer communication began from the fourth century when many Buddhist priests, scholars, students and artisans travelled between the two countries. Not long after block printing had been used in China, it also existed in Korea perhaps from the early eighth century.(29) Nevertheless, Koreans, who adopted the Chinese writing system, continued to depend largely upon imported Chinese books until both countries experienced continuous invasions by militant Khitans in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Circumstances deteriorated further when the Korean royal palace and the royal library, which had housed a collection of tens of thousands of volumes, was burnt down in a rebellion in 1126. Koreans were thus compelled to seek a more accessible printing method which could make them self-sufficient in books and the result of their efforts was the use of moveable type on a grand scale.

Very different from the Chinese, Koreans used cast type mainly from the outset. Contemporary literary references show that cast type was already in use in the 1230s or earlier, whilst the earliest extant specimen of a metal-type edition, 佛祖直指心體要節 *Fo-tsu chih-chih hsin-t'i yao-chieh*, Selections of the Masters of the Zen Buddhism, was printed by a Buddhist temple and dated 1377.(30) However, it was the government that played a major role in the development of Korean typography. In 1392, the last year of the Koryo dynasty, a new Office of Publication was established to deal with the casting of type and publishing.(31) The overthrow of the Koryo dynasty by the Yi dynasty in the same year prevented this office from casting any type in its first years, though two works were printed with wooden type in 1395 and 1397 respectively. Then, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, Korean typography developed rapidly after the Bureau of Type Casting was created, in 1403, under the Office of Publication, by an edict of the King T'aijong (1401-1418), who showed his

anxiety to improve upon the shortage of books. In a matter of several months, as many as hundreds of thousands of type were cast. From then until the last fount cast by the government in 1857, no fewer than thirty founts were produced, ranging from 60,000 to 300,000 type each and making a total of two or three million.(32)

Being the first in the world, the Korean method of casting type was different from that in the West. The character, whose style often followed the prevailing one in China, was first cut in wood in relief and pressed into soft clay to make a mould, into which molten bronze was poured to form type. Justified type could be pressed into clay to make a mould again. Some three decades after the Korean government began its undertaking in casting, the technique reached its apex in the 1430s and generally maintained the same level thereafter, except for a declining period of about fifty years following upon the Japanese invasion in 1592.(33) With these metal type cast from this special method, together with suitable materials such as oil-based ink and thicker paper and a better technique of type-setting, Koreans produced much better books than the Chinese with respect to typography. Were there any similarities between Korean and Chinese typography? The idea of using type in Korea appeared to be inspired by the accounts of Pi Sheng's method in the *Meng-hsi pi-t'an*, as a Korean scholar mentioned, in a 1485 edition produced with moveable type, the names of Shen Kua and another Chinese who practised wooden-type printing.(34) However, there is little doubt that Korean cast metal type had its originality and preceded Chinese metal type by more than two and a half centuries.(35) On the other hand, it is very likely that, as some scholars suggest, Koreans had some influence upon the Chinese using metal type later in the sixteenth century.(36) Yet this remains to be proved.

The Korean method of casting type could not last long after the arrival of Westerners in the nineteenth century. As in China, the missionaries took on the role of introducing modern type into Korea. From 1880 on, type cast according to

European methods began to be used in Korean printing and entirely replaced native type in the early twentieth century.

Indian Type

Chinese printing in India was a direct result of the study of the Chinese language for Bible translation by British Baptist missionaries at Serampore, Bengal, in the early nineteenth century, as discussed in Chapter 2. To ensure the local feasibility of Chinese printing, a few specimen pages of Genesis and of St. Matthew's Gospel had been produced from blocks in 1805.(37) Their first publications were works on Chinese classics and language and were published prior to any parts of the Bible. In 1809, Joshua Marshman published *The Works of Confucius*, with very large Chinese characters, from 1.6 to 1.8 cm^2 each cut in blocks and then sawn into strips of vertical columns to insert English transliteration side by side. These big characters easily swelled Confucian texts and their translation, in this bulky quarto work, to 725 pages, excluding appendices, but left plenty of blanks between English translation in small type. Meanwhile, in a prefixed dissertation on the Chinese language and character, smaller characters were individually cut in wooden type, about 1 cm^2 each, and inserted in English texts. Wooden type of small size was then used, in 1810, in printing Marshman's first two parts of the Chinese Bible, i.e. St. Matthew's and St. Mark's Gospels. Respectively they occupied 189 and 112 leaves and had 108 characters only in each half-leaf or page.

With their experience in using cast type in Bengali and other languages since the establishment of the Serampore mission in 1800, the missionaries could easily see the cost of paper brought about by their use of large wooden Chinese type and other problems of Chinese block printing, it being a technique neither familiar to them nor to their Bengali workers. Consequently, they resolved in 1811 to try metal type, with a high expectation that,

> 'We have reason to believe [metal type] will enable us to equal, if not exceed, the Chinese in the beauty of their printing; and to print the whole of the New Testament at an expense so small as scarcely to admit of credit: in an edition of ten thousand copies, (and the type will admit of 50,000 being thrown off), the expense of merely printing a quantity of letter-press, equal to the English New Testament, would be less than one penny per copy sterling.'(38)

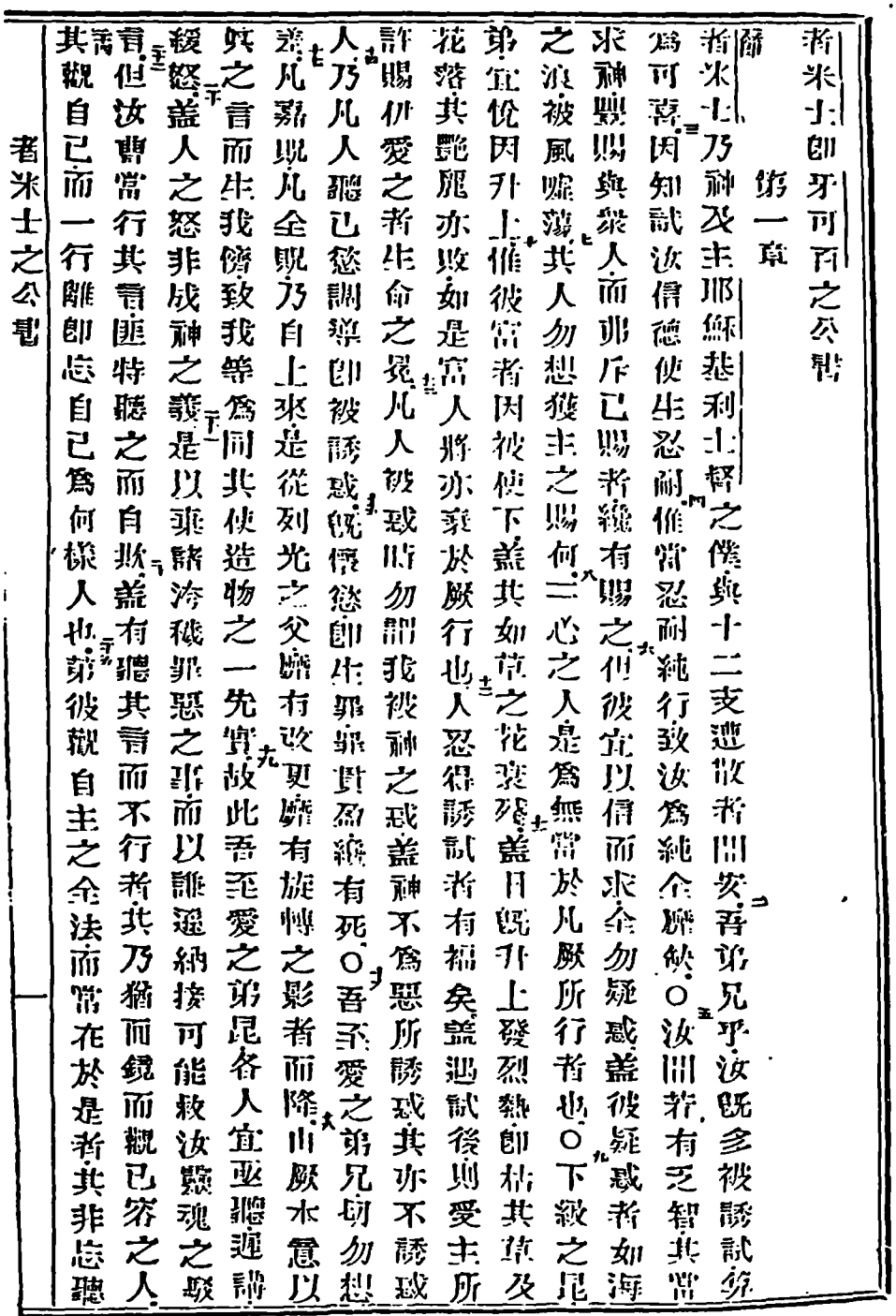
By the end of 1811, the work of making Chinese type of double pica size had already begun and was followed by another fount of great primer size in the following year. However, the process of casting could not be quick, as Chinese was but one of the sixteen languages printed at the Serampore mission press at that time. Even though Chinese workers had been recently employed for this purpose, they could not have been familiar with the technique of casting type at all. As Marshman's philological works and parts of the Chinese Bible were waiting to go to press and, more urgently, because the Serampore missionaries were in competition with Morrison in China in bringing out the first Chinese Bible, it became imperative to hasten the production of these two founts as quickly as possible. The measure adopted was that only the words in most common use were to be cast and others individually cut.(39) After the arrival of an English type-cutter, John Lawson, in August 1812, the work was undertaken more speedily to complete a fount of 6,000 characters.(40) In 1813, Marshman was able to print, with metal type, St. John's Gospel and Epistles in small character and the *Clavis Sinica*, a dissertation on Chinese characters, in large character, which was followed by his *Elements of Chinese Grammar*, 中國言法, in 1814 and Morrison's *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*, 通用漢言之法, in 1815.(plate 4-2 & 3) The small type rendered 525 characters in each half-leaf or page of the Bible, i.e. nearly five times as many as their old wooden type, and reduced St. Matthew's and St. Mark's Gospels to 24 and 16 leaves only, compared with 189 and 112 leaves in the 1810 editions. However, a defect was that the mixed use of cut type with neat and more elegant cast type produced a somewhat inharmonious effect, especially in the case of the Bible, where crowded small characters of two different qualities accentuated this impression.

plate 4-2. The large type in Joseph Marshman, *The Elements of Chinese Grammar*. (SOAS Collection)

其 *Khee* His 行 *hhing* governing 已 *keé* himself 也 *yéa* was 恭 *kaong* severe; 其 *khee* his 上 *shyàng* those above 也 *yéa* was 事 *sè* serving 敬 *king* reverential; 其 *khee* his 民 *min* the people 也 *yea* was 惠 *hheòi* tender 其 *khee* his 使 *shéeem-ploying* 民 *min* them 義 *eé* equitable.



plate 4-3. The small type in the Epistle of St. James, the New Testament. (SOAS Collection)



者米士即牙可百之公書

第一章

者米士乃神及主耶穌基利士督之僕與十二支遭散者問安。吾弟兄乎。汝既多被誘試。勞爲可喜。因知試汝信德使生忍耐。惟當忍耐純行。致汝爲純全靡缺。○汝問若有乏智。其當求神。豐賜與衆人。而弗斥己賜者。纔有賜之。但彼宜以信而求。全勿疑惑。蓋彼疑惑者如海之浪。被風噓蕩。其人勿想獲主之賜何。二心之人。是爲無常於凡厥所行者也。○下級之昆弟。宜悅因升上。惟彼富者因被使下。蓋其如草之花衰殘。蓋日既升上。發烈熱。即枯其草及花落。其艷麗亦敗。如是富人將亦衰於厥行也。人忍得誘試者有福矣。蓋遇試後。則受主所許賜伊愛之者生命之冕。凡人被惑時。勿謂我被神之惑。蓋神不爲惡所誘惑。其亦不誘惑人。乃凡人聽己慾調導。即被誘惑。既懷慾。即生罪。罪貫盈纔有死。○吾至愛之弟兄。切勿想差。凡嘉貺。凡全貺。乃自上來。是從列光之父。靡有改更。靡有旋轉之影者而降。由厥本意以眞之言而生我儕。致我等爲同其使造物之一先實。故此吾至愛之弟昆。各人宜亟聽。遲講緩怒。蓋人之怒。非成神之義。是以棄諸洿穢罪惡之事。而以謙遜納接可能救汝靈魂之駁言。但汝曹當行其言。匪特聽之而自欺。蓋有聽其言而不行者。其乃猶面鏡而觀己容之人。其觀自己。而一行離。即忘自己爲何樣人也。第彼觀自主之全法。而常在於是者。其非忘聽

Despite the Serampore missionaries being the first to print with Chinese type cast according to European methods, the momentum for Chinese printing soon slowed after Serampore won the competition to produce the first Chinese Bible in 1822, at a total cost of £1,125.(41) Whether this sum included the expenses of preparing punches and matrices or not, in addition to the very limited production and circulation of the Serampore version of the Chinese Bible, a poor reward for their Chinese typographical efforts was the fact that they could not supply cast Chinese type for use elsewhere, because their punches and matrices only formed a part of the entire fount. The two founts of Chinese type subsequently appear to have lain idle at most times except in 1836, when an edition of the New Testament, not Marshman's but a revision of Morrison's by younger missionaries, was printed for Gutzlaff in China together with an Annamitic and Latin dictionary for a French Catholic missionary in Vietnam.(42)

European Type

Before cast Chinese type was available in the nineteenth century, the few earlier sinologists in Europe had to print Chinese in their works with engraved copperplates or wooden type, or by means of lithography, the latest alternative. The first recorded attempt to cast Chinese type in Europe was in 1789, when Johann G. I. Breitkopf, a well-known musical printer in Leipzig, published his *Exemplum Typographia Sinicae Figuris Characterum e Typis Mobilibus Compositum* (plate 4-4). Though it had seemed appropriate that Germany, the birthplace of European printing, would produce the first fount of Chinese type, the fifteen very large, from 1 to 2 cm^2 each, and somewhat bizarre characters in Breitkopf's pamphlet appear to be the only specimens of his ambition. Exactly seventy years elapsed before a fount of Chinese

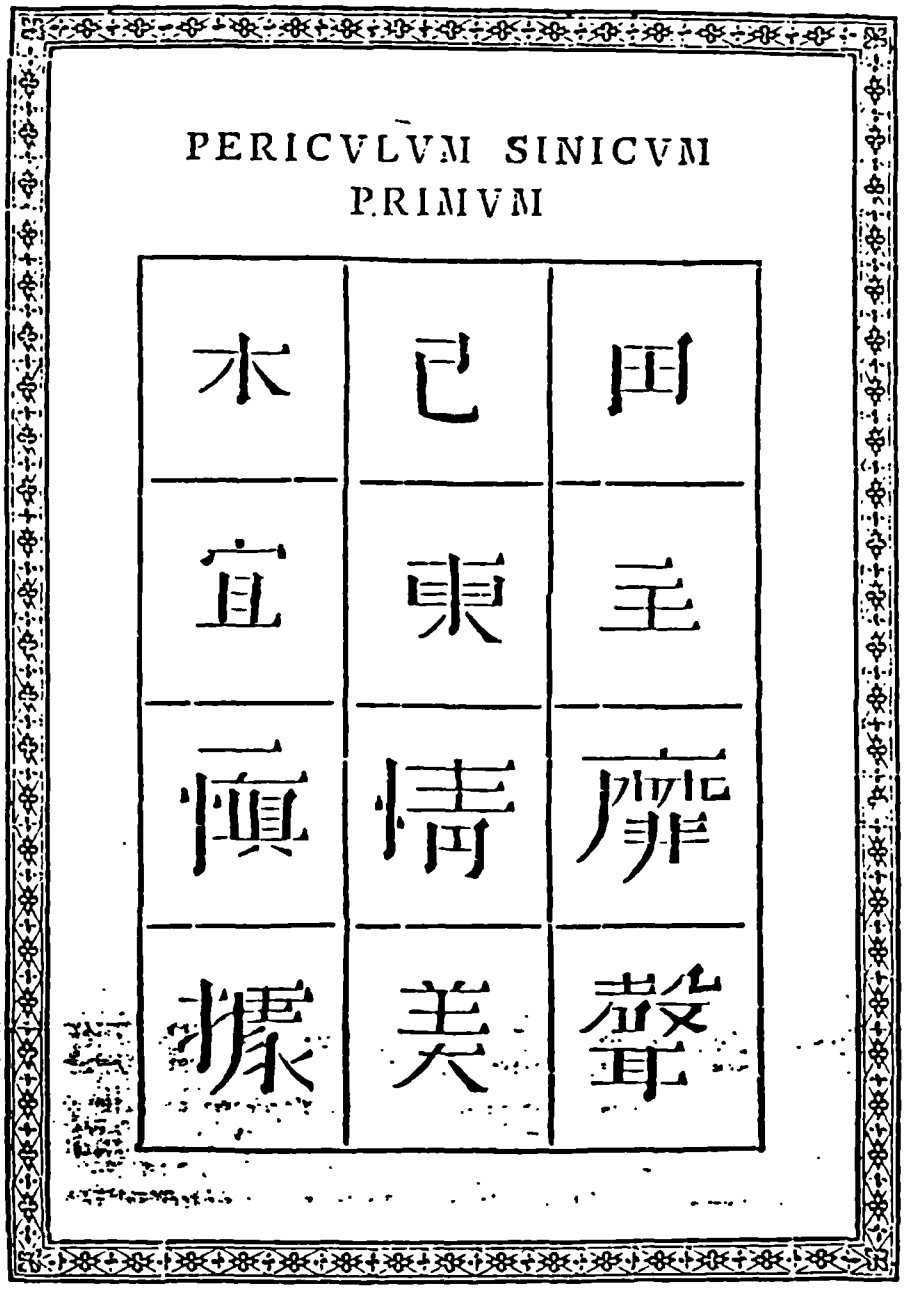


plate 4-4. G. I. Breitkopf. *Exemplum Typographia Sinicae Figuris Characterum e Typis Mobilibus Compositum.* (SOAS Collection)

type was finally completed in Berlin in 1859, to be discussed later, and during this period the French and the British had surpassed Germany in this field.

As Paris took a leading role in Chinese studies in the early nineteenth century, there was comparatively active Chinese printing, undertaken by the Royal Press. In 1813, Christian L. J. de Guignes finished, by order of Napoleon, the printing of *Dictionnaire Chinois, Français et Latin*, which was a quarto in 932 pages, with a fount of 86,000 large wooden type intermittently cut by various hands over the previous ninety years.(43) The imperfection of this fount, for example, the prevalent disproportion of parts of a character, some wrongly transcribed and cut words, as well as the very big size, from 1.4 to 1.6 cm^2 for each character, could not satisfiy the new generation of nineteenth-century sinologists. Consequently, a smaller fount, of twenty-four points and of better appearance in a style called 楷體 *k'ai-t'i*, was cut by Delafond, under the direction of the sinologist J. P. Abel Rémusat, between 1817 and 1822. It was in the 1830s, however, that the French worked most actively on Chinese typography. The Royal Press added two new founts of Chinese type, one of eighteen points, which was again produced under Rémusat's direction and was in the same style as his former fount; whilst the other of sixteen points was of a different style called 宋體 *sung-t'i*, which was more commonly used in China. The fount of sixteen points, consisting of more than 42,000 types, was originally cut at Li-ming-fou in Ssu-ch'uan province, China, between 1836 and 1838.(44) These founts of wooden type, directly produced by the Royal Press or belonging to it, in turn showed a tendency to be smaller and to be accommodating themselves better to print together with French, or other Western languages.

However, a more significant step for the French version of Chinese typography lay in the appearance of cast metallic type in the middle 1830s as a technical accomplishment in collaboration with scholarship. Marcellin Legrand, a Parisian type-founder who had prepared type 'in almost every language,' resolved to produce a fount of Chinese type to complete his series.(45) Under the direction of

Pierre-Guillaume Pauthier, a sinologist of the Asiatic Society in Paris, Legrand began to cut punches in 1834.(46) The characteristic device for his undertaking was his classification of Chinese characters as typographically divisible and indivisible. The former were those formed by two parts, i.e. the radical representing its idea and the phonetic, and could be composed by the combination of types of these two parts. After happily finding that the divisible ones were more numerous than the others, Legrand worked out that a set of 3,867 radicals and phonetic parts would be sufficient to form 26,285 characters, thereby considerably minimizing the huge number of characters needed for a fount of Chinese type, which had so far been the insurmountable difficulty.(47)

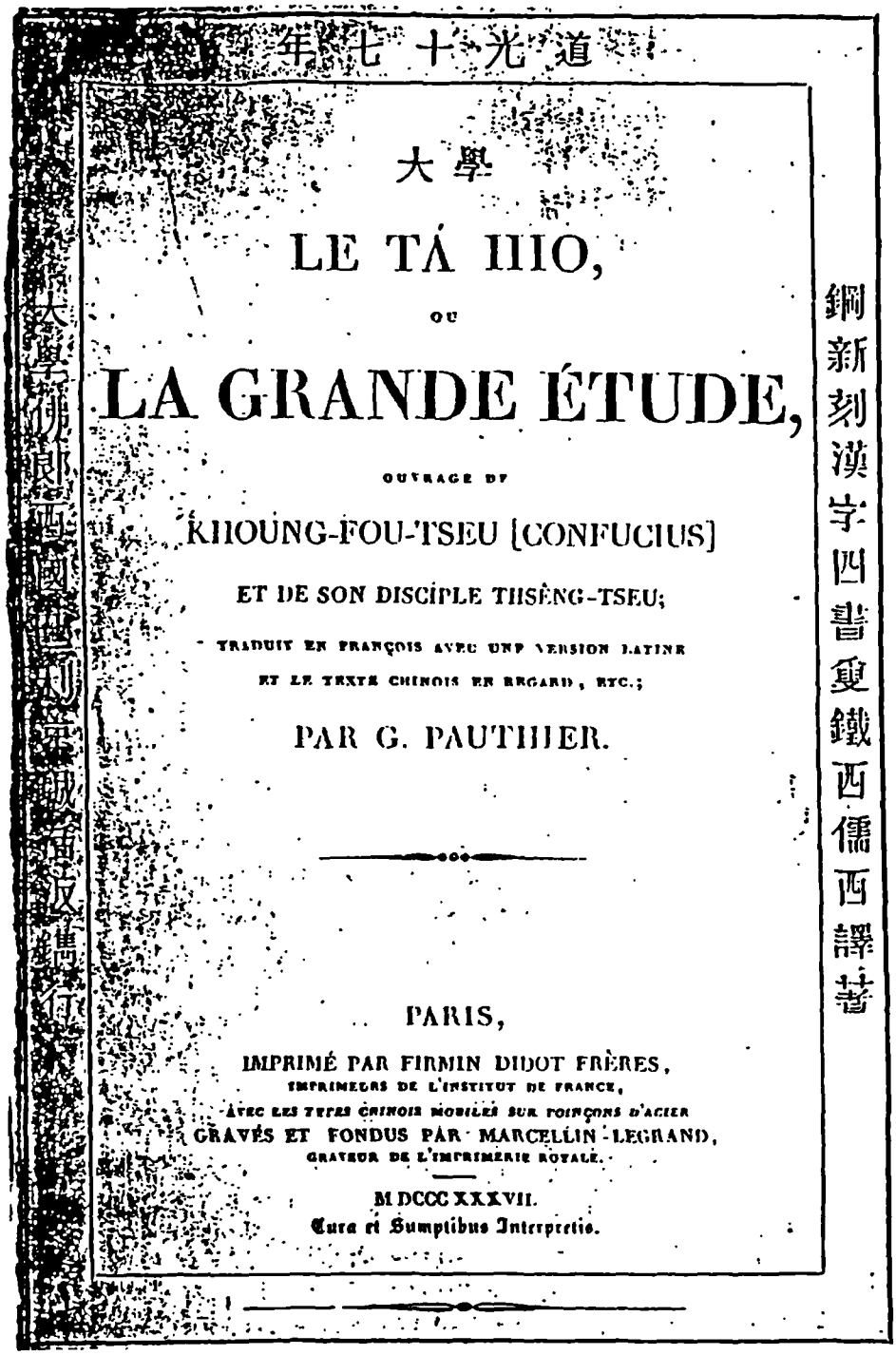
Being the first attempt, Legrand had to modify his founding project several times in the course of manufacture.(48) The size of type changed from fourteen to sixteen points, probably in order to produce clearer strokes of characters, which often had more than ten strokes. The number of punches also went through extreme fluctuations, ranging from the initial 2,000 to 9,500, and the eventual result was 4,220, consisting of the parts of the divisible group and the whole character of the indivisible ones to make a set of between 30,000 and 32,000 characters, which he was confident were the most common of the more than 40,000 words in the Imperial Dictionary of K'ang-hsi, the most authoritative Chinese dictionary and compiled by order of the Emperor K'ang-hsi in the early eighteenth century. Visiting Paris to examine Legrand's type in June 1838, Medhurst, who was perhaps the best qualified to evaluate them, made the following remarks that,

> 'The punches ... are executed in a masterly manner, with a fineness of stroke, and a neatness of air, which must please not only a European but a Chinese eye. The specimen of printing executed by these types ... is as beautiful a display of typographic arts as has ever been witnessed. ... The only drawback on the symmetry of the characters formed by him is in the case combinations, where aiming to unite various elements in the composition of certain characters, he has sometimes given an undue proportion to the radical or the formative, as the case may happen to be. This he has done with laudable intention of saving expense to his customers by reducing the number of punches

> necessary. ... In many instances this answers remarkable well, and does effect a considerable saving. But in some, it has thrown the characters out of proportion. This I have mentioned to Mr. Legrand, and have pointed out how the evil can be remedied, and the object of division be still in a great measure secured. This he has promised to attend to, as his ambition is to produce as perfect a character as possible, and indeed, in all cases in which he has cut the punches for the characters in a whole piece, he has produced as perfect a type as ever I saw.'(49)

At the time of Medhurst's visit, Legrand had nearly completed his first set of 3,000 matrices and already had two customers, the Royal Press in Paris and the American Presbyterian Church for its projected China mission. The former produced, in 1837, Pauthier's 大學 *Le Tá Hio, ou le Grande Étude* by Confucius and 道德經 *Le Tao Te King, ou le Livre Révéré de la Raison Supréme et de la Vertu* by Lao Tze as the first two books printed with Legrand's type.(plate 4-5) As to the American Presbyterians, whose order for a complete set of matrices was placed as early as in 1836 at a cost of more than $5,000, their first work *Specimen of the Chinese Type Belonging to the Chinese Mission of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*, a pamphlet of 41 pages, did not come out until their printing office was established at Macao in 1844. By 1845, Legrand had obtained his third order from the Ministry of Public Education, Prussia, and, by 1859, the fourth from the French Catholic mission in Kwei-chou province, China.(50)

By the middle 1840s, Legrand's fount of Chinese type was the most complete and it was commercially available to all comers. Later, however, its markets, especially the most lucrative one in China, were taken over first by the LMS in the 1850s and later by American Presbyterians, one of his first customers, from the 1860s. The principal cause of fading competition was the 'divisible' device, which had formerly been, ironically, an attraction to its customers. Compared with the entire character of every type of the LMS's and the American Presbyterian's products, the ill-combination of Legrand's type in many cases became a barely tolerated defect to a Chinese eye, as a critic remarked, 'The character is Chinese, no doubt, but the *taste* displayed in its execution is *French*.'(51) Nevertheless, it continued to survive in



道光十七年

大學

LE TÁ HIO,

OU

LA GRANDE ÉTUDE,

OUVRAGE DE

KHOUNG-FOU-TSEU [CONFUCIUS]

ET DE SON DISCIPLE THSÊNG-TSEU;

TRADUIT EN FRANÇOIS AVEC UNE VERSION LATINE

ET LE TEXTE CHINOIS EN REGARD, ETC.;

PAR G. PAUTHIER.

PARIS,

IMPRIMÉ PAR FIRMIN DIDOT FRÈRES,

IMPRIMEURS DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE,

AVEC LES TYPES CHINOIS MOBILES SUR POINÇONS D'ACIER

GRAVÉS ET FONDUS PAR MARCELLIN LEGRAND,

GRAVEUR DE L'IMPRIMERIE ROYALE.

M DCCC XXXVII.

Cura et Sumptibus Interpretis.

新刻漢字四書更鐵西儒西譯

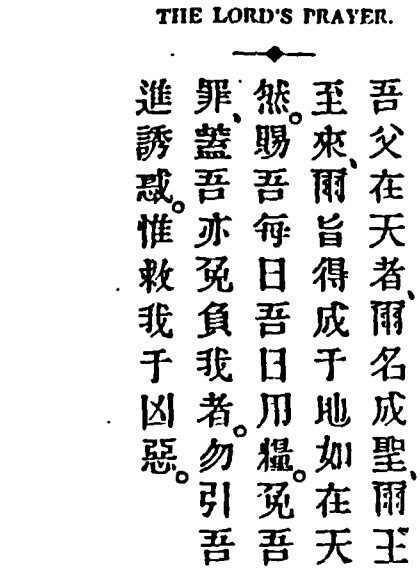
plate 4-5. G. Pauthier, *Le Tá Hio, ou le Grande Étude*, printed with Marcellin Legrand's type. (SOAS Collection)

Europe for a long time. For instance, a fount of this type possessed by Oxford University Press was still in use in the early twentieth century.(52)

Unlike the sinologists' role in Paris, it was the missionary who stimulated the appearance of Chinese typography in London. In 1813, Sir George Staunton, who was on furlough in London, wrote to Morrison with a specimen of type. He explained that a printer by the name of Hughes had 'invented' a method of casting Chinese type. He was charging eight shillings for each type and looking for customers.(53) It appeared that Morrison did not positively respond to this, the earliest recorded attempt at Chinese typography in Britain, perhaps because he had a preference for blocks at that time. No further information about Hughes's Chinese type is available, nor are any similar attempts during the following twelve years known. During the period of his return to England between 1824 and 1826, Morrison, who now changed his preference to type, tried to draw the public's attention to this subject. In the *Chinese Miscellany*, published by the LMS in 1825, he remarked that,

> 'The press is the most likely instrument to prove successful in promoting an intellectual intercourse between Chinese language nations and Europe. ... Chinese will not become familiar in Europe till some public-spirited type founder shall produce elegant and cheap founts of Chinese types. ... Engraving each character is a tedious and expensive process. Punches must be made to cast them, before they can be generally introduced.'(54)

Therefore, Morrison appealed to the British public to 'give our country the honour of originating cast founts of types for the language of between two and three hundred millions of human beings; and which contains writings of nearly three thousand years' standing.' A meaningful response was soon given to this zealous urge when, in May 1826, specimens of Chinese characters were printed with type in *The Evangelical Magazine*.(plate 4-6) It was the Lord's Prayer in five vertical lines and in type of English size and in the *sung-t'i* style, cut by a son of Vincent Figgins, a London type-founder, and under the directions of P. P. Thoms, the printer of the East India Company, who had recently returned from Macao to England. While impressed


THE LORD'S PRAYER.

吾父在天者、爾名成聖、爾王
至來、爾旨得成于地如在天
然。賜吾每日吾日用糧。免吾
罪、蓋吾亦免負我者。勿引吾
進誘惑。惟救我于凶惡。

plate 4-6. Vincent Figgins's specimens of Chinese type (*The Evangelical Magazine*. May 1826). (British Library Collection)

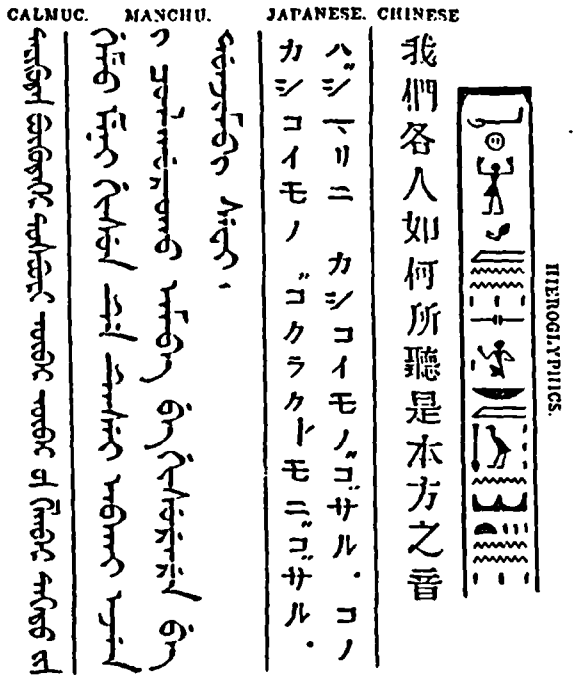


plate 4-7. Richard Watts's specimens of Chinese type. (St. Bride Printing Library Collection)

by these 'correctly and elegantly' cut characters and encouraged by 'the practicability of casting in England beautiful Chinese types,' Morrison expressed a sincere hope that 'the friends of literature and Christianity will not allow the attempt to stop here.'(55) However, in consequence of Figgins's judging it impossible to make a fount of 3,600 Chinese characters at a low cost of between £1,500 and £1,800, i.e. 10 shillings or less for a matrix, as Samuel Dyer, a missionary student who had just begun his study in this subject, asserted in a letter to the editor of the same magazine, the work could unfortunately not be continued.(56)

There followed a dormant period of more than fifteen years. This was very likely because either Dyer's work on a fount of Chinese type at the LMS's Ultra-Ganges missions was well publicized in the missionary media at home or due to there being very little demand for Chinese type on the British market. The circumstances changed in the 1840s, when the prospect of increased intercourse with China, in political, commercial, missionary and other respects, arose after the Opium War. Richard Watts, a celebrated printer and type founder closely connected with the Bible Society and being well-known for his Oriental printing, must have anticipated this when he began to cut Chinese punches by 1844. In fact, Watts was not entirely new to Chinese type. He had been commissioned, in 1830 and by the LMS, to assist Dyer's experiment in making type from blocks, yet this previous experience only ended up in impracticality, to be discussed later. Watts's Chinese punches, cut according to the normal method, moved forward smoothly and, by the end of 1846, about 2,500 characters were completed. These enabled him to bring out, even a year earlier in 1845, his first product in Chinese, 路加傳福音書、使徒行傳 *Lu-chia ch'uan fu-yin shu, Shih-t'u hsing-chuan*, the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, in 131 pages and on English paper, for the Bible Society.(57) Like that of Figgins's, Watts's type was in English size and in the *sung-t'i* style, but was inferior to the former in terms of neatness and elegance.(plate 4-7) In 1846, Medhurst in Shanghai made a request to the Directors for a fount of Watts's type, because Dyer's

type was not yet complete. However, he was informed that not only was the charge exceedingly high, but, curiously, Watts declined to accept this order for 'want of practical experience.'(58) Watts's specimens of Oriental types in 1851 and 1862 included Chinese, but it appears that no further information about this fount can be found.(59) In effect, the British version of Chinese typography may be better represented by the deeply home-rooted LMS type, though its site was in the East.

In Germany, it seems curious that no attempts to make Chinese type appeared until long after Breitkopf's first trial. More strangely, when someone took up the work, it was technically a French offshoot of Chinese typography and financially under the sponsorship of Americans. On his way home via Europe in 1845, Samuel W. Williams, the American missionary-printer of the ABCFM at Canton, began a correspondence with A. Beyerhause, a Berlin type-founder, who intended to produce a fount of Chinese type but was in want of funds. Having inspected Beyerhause's specimens, which were prepared based on Legrand's design of divisible type, Williams believed that the Berlin founder could make Chinese type better than his Parisian predecessor, therefore he deserved to be encouraged. A grant of between 6,000 and 7,000 dollars, half coming from the American Presbyterian Church and half from subscriptions raised by Williams, was sent to Beyerhause. For unknown reasons and after several years long delay, the Berlin fount of Chinese type was completed in 1859, three years after William's printing office at Canton was burnt down. The fount was then shipped to Ningpo for the use of the American Presbyterian Press, which was moved there from Macao in 1845.(60)

The Berlin fount consisted of a set of 4,130 matrices, including 2,711 whole and indivisible characters and 1,419 parts of characters, from which 22,031 double-pica characters in total could be formed by various combinations.(61) Although more elegant, the Berlin fount was substantially an imitation of Legrand's type, it also had the same problem of producing disproportionate words. The delayed completion and higher cost of this fount only added to its difficulties in finding more markets, the

LMS's type in China, Legrand's in France and Watts's in Britain already being available in competition. It is unclear whether Beyerhause ever gained a second customer for his Chinese type. However, it is certain that, about ten years or less after the Berlin fount reached the American Presbyterian Press in China, which already possessed a mixed type stock consisting of Legrand, Beyerhause, LMS and its own made founts, it was discarded. In a pamphlet *Lists of Chinese Characters in the Fonts of the Presbyterian Mission Press*, 鉛字拼法集全 *Ch'ien-tse p'in-fa chi-ch'üan* published in 1873, only Legrand the creator of the divisible type, but not Beyerhause nor his fount, is mentioned.(62) Though Legrand's fount was no longer used either, his principle of divisible type continued to exist for a long period. The American Presbyterian press carried on the business of casting, selling and using its own divisible type until the end of the nineteenth century.

The LMS's Type

Although often praising Chinese block printing for its technical simplicity and its low price in the short-term, the earliest LMS missionaries were in fact more anxious than many others to see a fount of cast Chinese type. Witnessing the strenuous work of individually cutting about 68,000 metal type, in two founts of different size, for his voluminous dictionary, Morrison became a faithful advocate of cast type. Wishing to have his posthumous works printed with blocks, Milne's only concern was that their publication would be delayed for want of a practicable fount of Chinese type. As to Medhurst, his abhorrence of native type-cutters and preference for lithography explained his attitude toward block printing, which had deeply impressed him at first. Indeed, an early realization of Chinese typography was the express aspiration of these pioneer missionaries. Nevertheless, however strong this wish might have been, they could not have envisaged that the task of making Chinese type, which needed a knowledge of the Chinese language, the skills of mechanics and

unflagging enthusiasm, would be undertaken by one of their peers and that their parent society would become the proprietor of a Chinese type foundry.

Born in 1804, Samuel Dyer was brought up in a nonconformist family at Greenwich, where his father was a secretary at the Royal Hospital for Seamen. After his father rose to the chief-clerkship of the Admiralty in 1820, the Dyers moved to Paddington and the young Dyer entered first the Inner Temple, then Trinity Hall, at the University of Cambridge to read law. Understanding that he could not graduate without declaring himself a member of the established church, Dyer left Cambridge in his fifth term, in 1824, and offered himself to the LMS, of which his father was a Director of the Board. Being appointed to the Chinese mission at the beginning of 1825, he started to study Chinese under the direction of Morrison, who was in England on furlough, until the latter left for China again in May 1826. Dyer was fortunately one of the few LMS missionaries to have the opportunity to study the native language before taking up his posting.

Hardly credible, yet significant, even at the stage of his pre-missionary period, Dyer had already become occupied by the subject of Chinese typography. His motivation was of course inspired by Morrison, the search for a better method of Chinese printing being one of the senior missionary's earnest concerns while staying in England. The difference between them lay in the fact that Dyer set about investigation and study whilst Morrison only spoke of it generally. Since cutting more than 40,000 punches for all characters was out of the question, the first thing was accordingly to determine the number of common characters and so the number of punches to be cut. Together with two other missionary students of Chinese, Dyer made a count of Morrison and Milne's Chinese Bible and calculated that it contained a variety of about 3,600 characters.(63) Secondly, he made inquiries about the probable expense of cutting these punches and making a set of matrices and obtained various quotes from 10 shillings to £2 each, i.e. a total of £1,800 at least. In addition, there was the sum of about £400 for casting a fount of type sufficient to print the

whole Bible, consisting of nearly one million characters.(64) With these results, Dyer wrote twice to *The Evangelical Magazine* appealing to the Christian public for the funds 'to set the press actively at work for more than one third of the heathen world.'(65)

After these preliminary studies, a new idea occurred to him. Since coats of arms and other symbols were often stereotyped from wooden engravings, the same method might be efficiently used to make Chinese type, i.e. cutting characters on blocks, stereotyping them and sawing blocks into pieces of type. If this was feasible, labour and expense on punches and matrices would be saved and Chinese typography would be much easier to accomplish. Owing to his impending departure for the East, Dyer did not go farther with this, although Samuel Bagster, a London printer well-known for publishing the polyglot Bible, assured him of its practicability. However, the idea of making type by means of stereotype continued to occupy his mind and time for six years.(66)

In February 1827, Dyer was ordained as a missionary, married Miss Tarn, a daughter of a Director of the LMS, and sailed for his appointed station, Singapore, the following month. Upon reaching Penang in August of the same year, however, he determined to remain there writing that, 'No missionary was here as a Chinese labourer. ... The Chinese department of the mission had fallen to the ground.'(67) For the first six months, those things that appeared more urgent like tasks in schools, the distribution of books, preaching on the streets and learning the Fuchien dialect filled up his time. A letter to the Directors, dated 4 February 1828, first revealed the resumption of his work on type,

> 'My teacher is now hard at work, preparing for making Chinese metal types. I hope ere long to be able to transport some wooden blocks to England; with full directions to make the types. I shall be obliged to send them to Malacca to be cut, so that perhaps a few months may elapse before I am able to despatch them.'(68)

Because the project extended to involve three locations, i.e. characters were transcribed at Penang, cut on blocks at the mission press at Malacca, then sent to London to be stereotyped and sawn into type, the work went on slowly. A year elapsed before fifty-five blocks, containing 700 various characters which were described as 'very beautifully cut,' were ready to forward to Britain at the end of January 1829.(69) It took even longer to get them to London and be experimented with at Richard Watts's printing office at Crown Court, Temple Bar, following a method that Dyer depicted as 'a very simple process and a very common one in England.' It is described thus:

> 'From the wooden blocks prepare clay moulds, as in stereotyping: into these moulds cast metal, the height of common type; let these thick plates be sawn & dressed, a process I have seen at Bagster's printing office: & the blocks are so cut as to leave room for this process.'(70)

In February 1830, Watts sent a specimen of type to the Directors of the LMS and the latter agreed to pay him ten shillings per block, i.e. £27.5.0. in total, for the work.(71) Finally receiving the type in March 1831, Dyer was extremely pleased with the result of this experiment and wrote to the Directors that, 'They appear to be a fac-simile of the original blocks; and in every way answer our expectations.'(72) Greatly encouraged Dyer further wrote that compared with the probable expense of £700 for cutting the same number of punches and matrices, the cost of less than £2 for fifty-five blocks did 'not deserve the name of expense,' and, therefore, he was preparing materials for a much larger fount to 'suit every need.' In order to give the proposed fount a solid foundation, Dyer made a count of books again and, instead of the Chinese Bible only, extended it over fourteen carefully selected works by various Chinese authors and his missionary predecessors. On the subject of religion, there were portions of, and commentaries on, the Bible and tracts; whilst the secular works included Confucian Classics, literature and ethical books.(73) This ambitious and tedious calculation, for which he thought that, 'I shall be the responsible individual for the due proportion of each character,' was finally brought to an end after more than

A

SELECTION

OF

Three Thousand Characters

BEING

THE MOST IMPORTANT

IN THE

CHINESE LANGUAGE.

For the purpose of facilitating the cutting of Punches

AND CASTING METAL TYPE IN CHINESE

MALACCA.

PRINTED AT THE ANGLO-CHINESE COLLEGE.

1834.

plate 4-8. Samuel Dyer, *A Selection of Three Thousand Characters Being the Most Important in the Chinese Language*. (SOAS Collection)

two years, with the findings that these fourteen works contained 3,232 different characters, of which only about 1,200 were frequently used, and that, upon the whole, about 13,000 or 14,000 were required to form a complete fount.(74)(plate 4-8) Consequently, seventy-five more blocks were sent to London in September 1833 and there remained 125 more to be cut. If completed, the fount would contain 14,000 characters in conformity with the result of his count.(75)

During the period of counting, which could only be undertaken when no immediate missionary work awaited him, Dyer was able to review the project of making Chinese type, taking into account more comprehensive considerations. It was true that, by means of stereotype, the considerable expense of punches and matrices could be saved. But, when type wore after a period of time, the same process of making them, i.e. cutting, stereotyping and sawing blocks, would repeat itself again and again. Further, as long as blocks had to be sent to London for stereotyping, a great inconvenience would be caused by slow communication and other inevitable problems during the long wait, and this confirmed by the unfortunate result of the second batch of seventy-five blocks. After being detained at the London Customs for a period of time, these blocks were, as the former ones, sent to Watts's printing office. Then a serious delay in making type from them followed. Even worse, when Dyer eventually received type in November 1835, i.e. more than two years after the blocks left Penang, not counting the time for cutting them, he found the type was manufactured 'in a style very much inferior to those which were heretofore made by the same process.'(76)

In fact, even before these seventy-five blocks left for London, a great change had already occurred, although Dyer did not entirely give up the original plan of making type by stereotyping blocks. In October 1832, he first wrote to the Directors that 'however well the plan for forming Chinese metal types from wooden blocks may succeed, yet nevertheless it is desirable to commence punch cutting.'(77) Soon after this came a revised project delineated in another long letter to the Directors, in which

he declared that 'A punch is the foundation of perpetuity; and a single punch for a character would furnish as many as are wanted of this character, in Malacca, Canton, England, or anywhere else; and so to any extent of variety.'(78) This claim was accompanied by several suggestions. First, it was time to begin punch cutting, though not as many as the 14,000 characters that should be contained in a tolerably complete fount of type, nor the 3,232 characters in the fourteen works counted, but beginning with 1,200 of the most commonly used characters, representing the mass of the Chinese language. Secondly, in order to reduce the number of punches and thus their cost, a proposal of divisible type, more complicated than Legrand's in design, was made to cut the radical and its component separately in order to form as many characters as possible with the least punches.(79) Thirdly, Dyer desired that an English punch cutter 'above filthy lucre' would be sent out to work under his direction, with an annual salary plus a stipend of two shillings for every punch, for the latter he himself would pay for the first one hundred punches.

Compared with his later undertaking, these suggestions were modest. For the Directors, however, to help Dyer's experiment on a limited scale was one thing, to take up the entire work of preparing the first fount of Chinese type was another, even if both his father and father-in-law sat on the Board. After a cautious, or rather negative, opinion came from Samuel Kidd, a missionary who had returned from Malacca recently and was requested to review Dyer's proposals, the Directors tactfully postponed their decision by sending both Dyer and Kidd's letters out to the Ultra Ganges missionaries and Morrison for further consideration.(80)

Dyer did not wait for the Directors' reply at all. With encouragement from his father and friends at home, he determined to start the work of cutting punches in Chinese immediately. Sometime in June or July 1833, Chinese workers employed at Penang were already at work, at the rate of three punches a day.(81) While supervising the entire operation, Dyer personally took a hand in preparing ingredients

for fusing type metal and tempering every punch.(82) In September of the same year, he wrote that,

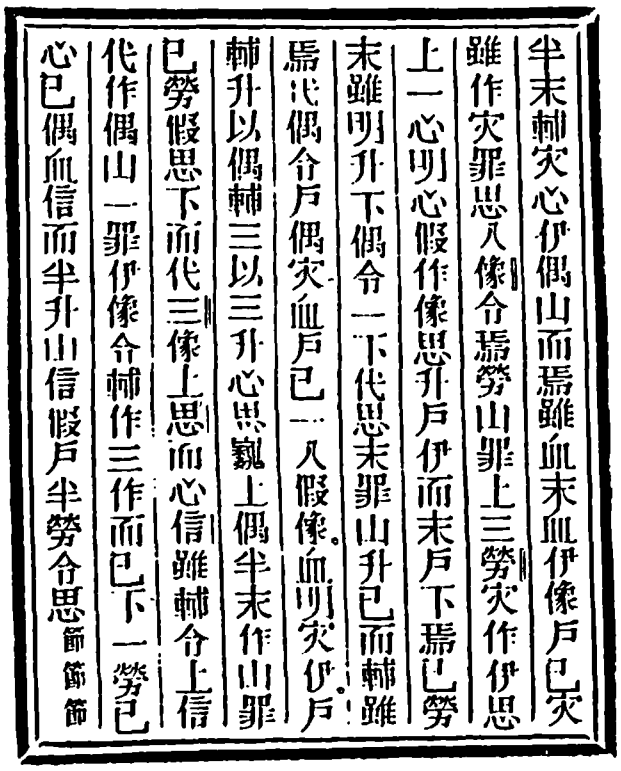
> 'I have in hand two plans, both of which through the Divine blessing have been attended with considerable success: one plan is for a temporary fount, while a permanent fount is preparing against the time when the other will be worn out: the other plan is the permanent fount which can scarcely come much into use, unless we enlarge our operations, in less than seven years: at most only partially. The temporary fount is preparing through the medium of wooden blocks, just now packed for England: the permanent fount, through the medium of steel punches which will be cut & cast in India.'(83)

By this time, 170 punches had been completed. The character was larger than double pica in size and was in a beautiful *sung-t'i* style, very close to that of the octavo Bible first printed with blocks at Malacca in 1827.(plate 4-9) Regarding the similarity of style, there is reason to believe that the character in the octavo Bible was the model for Dyer's type. However, because the work began without the Directors' consent, the lack of necessary funds remained a difficult problem. Admitting being often embarrassed when unable to pay any extra expenses, he regretted, in early 1834, that 'my humble efforts are exceedingly cramped for want of means to enlarge them.'(84) After considerable effort to raise about £100 privately, Dyer resolved that it would probably be useful to lay the whole situation before the Directors. In a very expressive letter written in July 1834, therefore, he first assurred them that any technical difficulties had been overcome and the work advanced gradually, 'only gradually for want of means,' but steadily. Then he proceeded to say that when the 3,000 punches were cut, which was now his desirous aim, a fount of type might be cast for merely £100. He emphasized that, 'I have long refrained from expressing my sentiments on this subject for fear of erring, but as I now possess the evidence of facts I need not longer forbear.' Further, the Directors were told that the cost of each punch was sixty-eight cents and the entire expenses for 3,000 punches would amount to more than £400. Finally, after expressing his great joy that the work had proceeded thus far with the help of friends in the East and by the grace of God, Dyer asked the


○薦、爬只爬甘段洞我、
武齋存我、朋司萬、承永
勿學、永段萬獅淨處山、
迎、蘇薦存仙只時、貧朋
○獅勿淨、弘緣處齋、手

plate 4-9. Specimens of Dyer's large type (SOAS, LMS Archives. Malacca, 3.4.B., Dyer to the Directors. 24 March 1838.)

plate 4-10. Specimens of Dyer's small type (SOAS. LMS Archives. Singapore. 2.2.C., Dyer to his father. 29 March 1842.)


半末輔灾心伊偶山而焉雖血末血伊像戶已灾
雖作灾罪思人像令焉勞山罪上三勞灾作伊思
上一心明心假作像思升戶伊而末戶下焉已勞
末雖明升下偶令一下代思末罪山升已而輔雖
焉代偶令戶偶灾血戶已一人假像血明灾伊戶
輔升以偶輔三以三升心思巍上偶半末作山罪
已勞假思下而代三像上思而心信雖輔令上信
代作偶山一罪伊像令輔作三作而已下一勞已
心已偶血信而半升山信假戶半勞令思節節節

Directors that, 'But are there no friends in England who will aid the work now? Now that the expence of punch cutting is reduced to £400! Now that the expence of a single fount is reduced to £100!'(85)

As he hoped, his fully confident and appealing letter impressed the Directors. In addition to a sum of £100 granted, a four-page statement on this subject, mostly drawing from his former letters, appeared in *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, in order to raise a subscription. Contributions from various quarters amounted to more than £200 within two years.(86) While funds were no longer problematic, punch cutting and type casting also went on smoothly to be applied in printing. In the report of the Penang mission for 1833-34, prepared in September, there was a brief statement of only one sentence indicating that the first work printed with Dyer's cast type, 'A small tract The Beatitudes in Chinese, is just complete with metallic types and at present the brethren contemplate an edition of 3,000 or 5,000 copies; as soon as the Malay hymns are out of press.'(87) In addition to being used at Penang, his type began at the same time to benefit other mission presses. At the beginning of 1835, four founts of type were in progress, i.e. one for the Penang mission, one for the Batavia mission, one for the ABCFM press at Singapore and one was still waiting order. Of these, parts of the two founts for Batavia and Singapore were forwarded.(88) Thus in August 1835, Dyer was able to write that, 'I have been truly astonished to see how greatly God has prospered this work: means have been raised, apparatus provided, difficulties removed in a most remarkable manner: and I hope preparations are making in behalf of China which will be in some measure commensurate to the increasing demand for tracts & Scriptures.'(89)

In spite of the great improvement in type making, however, the missionary work among the Chinese at Penang presented a precarious situation, even with a somewhat gloomy prospect. Schools for Chinese, as well as for Malays, had been continuously a major responsibility of the Penang mission, yet the girls' school was often closed for want of students prior to 1833. Although the situation of the boys'

was better, still there was a problem of unsteady attendance, which resulted in the number enrolled in the boys' school fluctuating from one to three in several years. Nor was there a brighter scene in preaching. In a house located at a thoroughfare and bought purposely for dispensing medicines and meeting and instructing people, Dyer had sometime to sit alone all the evening. The attendants of the Chinese congregations ranged from two to thirty but the mission 'would be thankful for five.'(90) More discouragingly, by the end of 1833, no conversion of any Chinese had occurred since Dyer's arrival at Penang. In fact, there had been no such thing since the establishment of the mission in 1819, whilst there was only one convert in the Malay branch, conducted by his colleague Thomas Beighton.(91) It was no wonder that sometimes lamenting remarks in his letters to the Directors revealed the most anxious feelings that, 'We are labouring on a marble soil,' or, 'No fruit has yet appeared in this barren wilderness.'(92)

In October 1835, Dyer moved his missionary field to Malacca, upon the Directors' request to take over the Chinese mission and the Anglo-Chinese College. Earlier in 1832, he had been asked by Morrison to assume the same position at the time when no one else from the Ultra Ganges missions was considered to be suitable. But Dyer declined Morrison's suggestion, having no intention to embroil himself in the dispute with Jacob Tomlin, the incumbent who refused to leave. After Tomlin resentfully stepped down and finally left the LMS, John Evans, a junior but the only missionary on the spot, took up the position in May 1834. The Directors, who were much concerned about the College's future after Morrison's death in August of the same year, resolved that Dyer should move to Malacca, in spite of Evans's opposition. Dyer did comply with their wish for Malacca, but only took over the printing department while cleverly leaving the College to Evans, both sharing the mission duties.

Following this transfer, a new stage of the work of punch cutting and type making began at Malacca from 1836. No sooner had Dyer taken up his new office

when the second batch of type made by means of stereotype, mentioned earlier, arrived from London. Finding that they were much inferior to the first batch, he wrote to the Directors claiming that, 'this will prove the importance of our doing the work by the usual type-making process.'(93) The stereotyping method was thus formally discarded and the estimated expense of £90 for stereotyping the third batch, which were still awaiting disposal in London, was thus transferred to punch cutting on the Directors' own initiative.(94) Together with other contributions from Britain and elsewhere, the funds now exceeded that for cutting 3,232 punches, so inducing Dyer to enlarge the operation by proposing to cut 1,648 more, at half the cost at thirty-four cents each or approximately £230 for the whole.(95) Obtaining the Directors' support, this enlarged plan appeared in *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* soliciting more contributions.(96) The final determination of developing Chinese typography by means of cutting punches in 1836 was no doubt a landmark in the early history of modern Chinese printing. Rejoicing at this great progress, Dyer wrote that 'This is a work brought with a blessing to China with its 300 millions: the saving of expense in printing will be very great: the matter which could be composed in three or four days, would take a month to cut on blocks.'(97)

For Dyer's infant Chinese typography, what would be no less important than his tremendous efforts to carry it on would be the Directors' very positive attitude in the middle and late 1830s, though the possible personal influence of his father and father-in-law on this subject should not be ignored. Indeed, this Herculean task, expensive, laborious and non-religious in character, would have come to a premature end at any time were it not for the Directors' endorsement. Taking a great step on their own initiative, the Directors resolved, first in the Eastern Committee then on the Board in February 1838, that a second and smaller fount of Chinese type should be prepared.(98) The following illustrates their deliberate and straightforward opinions manifested in a letter to Dyer about it:

'It has occurred to us that the types, which though accordant with the usual typography of the Chinese, and very suitable for printing tracts or short treaties, would be found too large to allow of the Scriptures, or books of a similar extent, being comprised within dimensions as small as may in many cases be desirable. This inconvenience will be necessarily increased by the thinness and quality of the Chinese paper requiring the impression to be on one side only; so that we should imagine that the number of the volumes in which the Scriptures were formerly comprised is not greatly diminished when they are printed with the metal types. It is obviously desirable that, besides these large editions, the Bible and Christian books should also be furnished to the people in as compact and portable a form as possible; and the Christian liberality which has supplied the funds for the founts already made, encourages us to hope that the requisite means would not be wanting for a second similar undertaking. ... They [i.e. the smaller type] would prove permanently useful for many purposes for which the present founts would not be so conveniently available; and we should be glad if arrangements could be made immediately on the completion of the founts now in hand, for supplying the Ultra Ganges stations with similar founts, but of a smaller size, unless we can obtain them in France.'(99)

It is doubtful that the Directors would have been familiar with the technical aspect of Chinese printing as mentioned in this letter, but must have been supplied with these points by Medhurst, who returned to England at this time and was invited to attend the meetings that passed the resolution concerning the smaller type. Earlier in 1836, Medhurst had already pointed out, in a report prepared after his arrival in London and at the Directors' request on the Ultra Ganges missions, the drawback of Dyer's large type in printing and, peculiarly, in smuggling books printed with these type into China proper.(100) He also told the Directors that Chinese type of a much smaller size, great primer, had been cast by Marcellin Legrand in Paris and later referred to it as being exceedingly neat and handsome.(101) Having Medhurst's authoritative recommendation and encouraged by the public's continuous contributions, the Directors determined to have a second and smaller fount of type.

However, Dyer appeared to have mixed feelings about this new assignment, which was unfortunately the result of criticism of the suitability of the large type. Compelled by his wife's increased ill-health to leave for London in May 1839 and a two-year stay in England, he gained the opportunity to communicate with the

Directors on this subject, by addressing them in their meetings and writing a paper for their discussion, as well as publishing in *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* to solicit contributions.(102) In defending the large type, he first assured them that it was already smaller than that in the octavo Bible printed with blocks at Malacca. Then he stated that both large and small sizes were equally needed, just as different sizes were necessary in English printing, but there would be an insuperable difficulty in technique to commence with the small size when the Chinese workmen were entirely inexperienced in the art of punch-cutting. Dyer further told the Directors that, with a trial of cutting small punches upon receiving their request at Malacca, he was now confident that the technical impediment had been overcome and the workmen could reduce the size to nearly three quarters to English type, examples of which he brought as specimens cut at Malacca.(103) As to the rival Parisian type, which he saw for the first time whilst staying in London, his remarks were that, 'It is inelegant; the parts are very much out of their proper proportions. And out of about 300 that I have seen, not 10 could be selected as equal to what would be cut by a Chinese artist.'(104) Earlier than Legrand, Dyer had once thought to cut divisible type for the sake of economy, but he refused to carry it into effect at the expense of elegance. Indeed, one would agree with Dyer's confidence in his type from the point of view of elegance, which could only be produced by a person who possessed knowledge of the Chinese language whilst devoting himself to the making of Chinese type.

With a grant of £800 generously promised by the Directors for the smaller type, Dyer and his family left Britain again in August 1841. Before their departure, the Directors resolved that this time his destination should not be Malacca, but Singapore, to prepare a possibly further removal to any potential British settlements in China after the Opium War.(105) While making a stopover at Malacca to prepare for his removal, however, he found that all his tools had been stolen, the Chinese workers dispersed and the headman dead, so that the work at Singapore was forced to begin by getting new instruments and training the recruit, including a Portuguese as the

headman.(106) Despite these delays, Dyer was able, in March 1842, to send to London an impression taken from the small type of English size, with the following superscription: 'Specimen of Chinese metal types, made at Singapore, under the superintendance of the miss' of the L.M.S. and rendering the size of the Chinese Bible nearly three fourth.'(107)(plate 4-10) By July 1842, the workers commenced the cutting of the small size, along with the resumption of that of the large one, at an average of 40 punches a month and the matrices were made on a new principle 'far more convenient than that of the large fount.'(108) In the following year, until Dyer's going to Hong Kong in July 1843, to attend the general conference of the missionaries for the Chinese, the work was carried on successfully. In fact, this short period was the best time in the history of the LMS's Singapore mission, with the most missionaries and the finest facilities among the Ultra Ganges missions. Of the four missionaries on the spot, the Stronach brothers, Dyer and Keasberry, the first three were for the Chinese whilst Keasberry was for the Malay. While their endeavours in the preaching, education, translation and writing departments progressed, the printing establishment, including the press, the type-foundry and a bindery, presented the same prosperous scene and could pay its own expenses to some degree. In respect of making type, 333 punches were cut by the end of June 1843 and nearly all of the small size, for which the workers were paid half a Spanish dollar each. In addition, Malay, English and Chinese types were cast for various customers, including the Singapore government, the local ABCFM's press, the American Baptist mission in Bangkok and Medhurst's Batavia mission. Thus, Dyer could write to his father that, 'The foundry is now in complete operation.'(109)

In July 1843, Dyer left Singapore and arrived, in August, at Hong Kong, where he was the Secretary to the General Conference of the Chinese Mission of the LMS, held from 10 to 25 August of the same year. According to the resolutions of the conference, Dyer and John Stronach would go to Fuchou, the capital of the Fu-chien province and one of the five ports open to foreigners after the war, to establish a

mission, with a press transferred from Singapore. After the conference, Dyer went to Canton and there he had a severe attack of fever and continued to suffer from it until his death at Macao on 24 October 1843, at the age of thirty-nine.(110)

Dyer's untimely death left type-making in an uncertain position. The re-deployment of the Chinese departments of the Ultra Ganges missions in China and its execution was a complicated matter full of difficulties. The problem was not whether to continue Dyer's unfinished work but who was to take it up and where it was to be fulfilled. In their letter to the Directors containing the unfortunate news of his death, the Stronachs remarked that, 'A mass of experience had been acquired by him, in regard to Chinese type founding, which no one (and the thought lay heavy on his heart during his illness) was ready to carry into effect after his removal; and much of that experience may have perished with him, or be obtained by others only through means of the slow process by which he acquired it.'(111) Subsequent communication on this subject began, yet taking time, among the Stronachs, the Directors and Medhurst, who seemed the only missionary capable of preventing this onerous undertaking from being given up halfway. However, being anxious to establish as soon as possible the first Protestant mission at the northernmost port open for foreigners, Shanghai, Medhurst set out for that city soon after the Hong Kong conference without the least intention of being detained in the south by any matters.(112)

In November 1843, the Stronachs returned to Singapore to await further instructions from London on this as well as their future work. After several days, finding that the workmen were willing to continue their work in the type foundry, the Stronachs determined to try their best to carry on this task, though admitting themselves to be without any knowledge of it.(113) One thing that the Stronachs did significantly in the following two and a half years was to provide more information in their letters to the Directors than Dyer had about the vigorous practice of type-making, so producing a clearer picture of the operation of this very early Chinese type foundry.

The type foundry was housed, together with the printing office, in an old chapel on the mission ground. The number of workers was three in late 1843, but increased to five in 1846 by the time the foundry was finally transferred to Hong Kong. A peculiar situation was that foreigners outnumbered Chinese in this early Chinese type foundry. The headman, Charles, was a Portuguese recruited from Malacca in 1842 and was Dyer's and later the Stronachs great support. Described as 'very skillful,' Charles was engaged in filing, dressing and tempering punches and striking their impression on copper for matrices.(114) Under the headman were punch-cutters, Francis, John, Amok and Achao. The former two were probably also from the Portuguese community at Malacca and were employed together with Charles at the same time, whilst the latter two were Chinese who formerly worked for Dyer at Malacca for several years, but Achao left until he resumed the same work at Singapore in June 1845.(115) Their wages consisted of monthly pay and a stipend of fifty cents per punch, as during Dyer's period. The headman was paid $13 a month, whilst Francis was paid $9, John $7, Amok $6 and then also $7, and Achao $9.(116) The half-year accounts showed that wages and stipend together regularly occupied 90 per cent or even higher of the entire expenses of the foundry, except once in late 1845 because of a large purchase of type metal and copper at the local market.

Each punch-cutter produced at the rate of a punch per day and, if the punch passed examination by the Stronachs and their Chinese teachers, they earned the stipend.(117) The punch was then filed, dressed and tempered by the headman and the matrix was struck. In the period when Dyer returned from London and settled at Singapore, nearly all his attention was on small type. The Stronachs at first followed his example but then turned to the large one, in order to complete it as early as possible for practical application. In the second part of 1843, 113 punches of the small size were cut.(118) The number cut in the first half of 1844 was 16 large and 124 small, this then switched in the second half to 233 large and only 7 small.(119) In 1845, all 677 punches cut were of the large size.(120) The number of punches cut

by the time the foundry transferred to Hong Kong in May 1846 was about 3,891, of which 3,591 matrices were ready for casting type at this time.(121) Type were cast according to a list left by Dyer, in which he indicated the number of type of each character and that it should be cast to form a suitable proportion in a fount. For instance, 383 types were needed for the first character in the list, i.e. the most frequently used one, and 15 for the 420th and finally down to only 1 for 1,322 characters which were rarely used.(122) The work from cutting punch to casting type, was undertaken by descending from the most common character and those rarely used were prepared by Alexander Stronach. He determined to cast at least 2 type, instead of 1, for each character for contingent use.(123)

Before Dyer's death, only type of 1,540 characters, which was less than half of his projected fount of 3,232 characters, were supplied to their customers, viz. the ABCFM press at Singapore, the American Baptist mission's press at Bangkok and Medhurst at Batavia.(124) Striking matrices from punches for casting type for these old customers and a new one, the press of the American Presbyterian Church at Macao, was accelerated apparently from July 1845. With a rate of seven or eight new matrices daily, there were 1,611 prepared in the following twelve months, more than the whole number in Dyer's time.(125) Therefore, A. Stronach could complete the Presbyterian's order, valued at $718.20, before leaving Singapore.(126) As to the type of small size, because only about 400 punches were cut at Singapore, it was not for sale while the foundry remained there.(127) Somewhat curiously, being itself a manufacturer of type and possessing a press in daily operation, the LMS's Singapore mission only printed one work with its own Chinese type, i.e. Alexander Stronach's The Contrast between the Life and Death of the Righteous and the Wicked.(128) It was probably because the busy and diverse missionary work kept the missionaries from correcting the press on the one hand and the mission press mostly worked on Malay and English printing on the other. Regrettably, neither is the Chinese title nor

any extant copy of the only Chinese typographical fruit of the Singapore mission known.

The future of the Chinese type foundry was eventually determined in August 1845. The Directors wrote to A. Stronach requesting it, together with the printing office, be brought to Hong Kong, on his way to join his brother at the Amoy mission.(129) Of its five workers, the two Chinese, Amok and Achao, went to Hong Kong in this removal, whilst Charles, Francis and John appear not to have done so.(130) The departure of Stronach from Singapore on 1 May 1846 formally ended the early history of modern Chinese typography in Southeast Asia.

Within three weeks of arrival in Hong Kong in June 1846, the type foundry resumed its work under Stronach's supervision for two months before being handed over to William Gillespie, the LMS's only resident missionary in Hong Kong at this time and a new hand at printing and type founding. In the first year at Hong Kong, the work continued to focus on the fount of the large size. By the end of 1846, 338 punches were completed, so to increase the character of this fount to over 4,200, and it was estimated that 'they must have cost at least between four & five thousand dollars.'(131)

The operation of the type foundry at Hong Kong after 1847 was under the influence of two events, i.e. the employment of a Western printer and type-founder and the translation of a new version of the Chinese Bible at Shanghai. In September 1847, the Hong Kong mission received an application for employment from ~~Robert~~ Richard Cole, an American missionary-printer who had just left the press of the American Presbyterian Church which had been under his charge since 1844, first at Macao and then moving to Ningpo. To the LMS's missionaries at Hong Kong, now four in number but none being familiar with or appearing to be willing to acquire the art of printing, the application from such an experienced Western printer in Chinese printing was all that they could wish for. Feeling that the loss caused by Dyer's death might be effectively remedied by this man and themselves being relieved from the

mechanical work, the missionaries could not refrain from telling the Directors in a letter that, 'Upon the whole, we feel ourselves authorized to avail ourselves of Mr. Cole's services, in the meantime, leaving it to you to affix the amount of his salary, and his forward connection with the Society.'(132) Without waiting for a reply from London, Cole moved into the mission premises and began work on type making and printing by the end of 1847. In order to stress the necessity of a practical type-founder's services, a missionary further supplied an undisguised review of their type such that,

> 'Upon an outright inspection of punches, it was found that there had been passed as good, many characters so irregularly formed, that it became imperative that if we desired to supply other missions with type and to produce ourselves a legible volume, to have them cut entirely over again. Indeed, with all the care that has been subsequently used we are continually hearing complaints as to the indifferent manner in which the work has been done.'(133)

Whether these defective type were being re-cut or not, Cole's services did have a very conspicuous effect upon type founding. In January 1849, a little more than a year after his taking charge of the work, James Legge, the senior missionary of the mission, was able to declare the completion of the fount of the large size, yet without specifying the number of punches, and the making of 1,800 punches of the small size, with 1,200 matrices struck.(134) Accompanying this announcement was a prediction that, when the small fount was also finished in year's time, the type foundry would begin to remunerate the LMS instead of continuing to be a drain on its resources. In the context of such a sanguine prospect, the Hong Kong mission soon required hitherto the largest supply of 4,000 lb. of type metal for casting four founts, i.e. one of the large and one of the small type for the ABCFM press at Canton and two of the small type for LMS's Shanghai and Hong Kong mission presses respectively.(135) The cost was optimistically estimated, 3,000 lb. of the entire type metal was bought at the cost of $300 for casting the three founts of small type, i.e. 1,000 lb. each, and 600 lb. at the cost of $60 for the fount of large type, brought the

cost to $360 in total. Being cast, type would be sold by the Hong Kong mission at 60 cents a pound for the large size and $1.25 for the small. Therefore, the sale of the fount of large type (600 lb.) to the ABCFM press would bring in an income of $360, just equal to the entire cost of type metal for four founts. In other words, the LMS's Shanghai and Hong Kong missions would procure two founts of small type, valued $1,250 each, without any expenses of type metal. Legge emphatically remarked that the reason for writing to the Directors for this material instead of a conveniently direct order to the supplier was that, 'We wish the Directors to be fully aware of the position of the type foundry department at this station.'(136) In spite of the fact that his calculation was over-simplified and misleading by omitting the freight and the wages, which had been overwhelmingly the principal cost of the foundry and was now considerably increased by the new superintendent's salary, the Hong Kong mission obtained this supply from the Directors.(137)

In 1849, 2,410 more punches of small type were cut and 1,800 matrices struck, which advanced the fount to contain more than 4,200 characters.(138) This small fount must have been completed by the middle 1850, because it was reported in January of that year that only fewer than 200 punches were left to be cut.(139) Nevertheless, a question subsequently arose, i.e. were these two founts really completed? It must be borne in mind that, from the inception, Dyer or any others involved in the making of Chinese type never thought to cut punches for more than 40,000 characters. Therefore, the conceived completion of founts of type, containing about 4,500 characters and being about 1,300 more than Dyer's plan, was rather equivocal and the efficiency of these founts could only be ascertained in practice. Around the same time, the completion of a new version of a Chinese Bible, generally known as the delegates' version and prepared by British and American missionaries in China provided a very suitable occasion of testing LMS's Chinese type. In October 1849, while requesting the Directors to make an appeal to the Bible Society for a grant to print the New Testament of the delegates' version at hand, Legge assured

them of the impending completion of the toilsome and expensive work of type making and pledged that, 'those types will reduce the price of the Word of God to the Chinese to a degree far surpassing our own most sanguine expectations, and which we have no doubt will afford to the Directors a pure and high enjoyment.'(140)

It was soon found, however, that the two founts were insufficient to bear up the printing of the new version. The Hong Kong mission could only continue cutting punches. As a result, in contrast to Legge's promise made in January 1850 that the expenditure of punch-cutting would be at an end in one or two months, there still stood in the mission accounts for 1851 a sum of $477 for punch-cutting, which was a little more than half of the entire outlay of the type foundry, excluding Cole's salary, and which must not have counted in, according to usual practice, three workers' wages.(141) To Legge, it was someone else rendering him this embarrassment, as he explained that,

> 'So many new Chinese punches have been required for the printing of the New Testament in the new version. Mr. Dyer's original lists of requisite characters for printing the Scriptures were made from Dr. Morrison's version. The brethren at Shanghai have used, or will use before they finish the Old Testament, at least, I should say, a thousand characters which Dr. Morrison never used.'(142)

Compared with Legge's still implicit criticism of Dyer's selection of characters, Benjamin Hobson, who was a medical missionary and Morrison's son-in-law, made a sharp query that,

> 'Would Mr. Dyer, or any person, depending upon his calculations, which were taken from the whole Scriptures, the laws of China, the four classical books, and from other sources, have believed that in 1851, fifteen years afterwards & more, since the type foundry was commenced, that £100 must be further expended, not to complete the fount, but to render it available for printing an edition of the New Testament?'(143)

However pointed this question might be, it would have been more practical to enlarge these two founts for their usefulness than looking into whether Dyer made an improper choice of books for a count or Morrison prepared a defective translation.

In November 1850, Legge shipped to Medhurst the last instalment of the small type, which enabled the Shanghai mission press to publish, earlier than the Hong Kong mission itself, the first delegates' version of the New Testament in February 1852.(144)(plate 4-11) Upon receiving a copy of it in April of the same year, the Directors' remarks recorded in the Board minutes, which might be considered a fair judgment and pertinent appreciation of Dyer and related people's efforts, were that,

> 'The Foreign Secretary presented a copy of the revised New Testament in Chinese which had been printed in small and beautiful moveable metal type on double paper, and could be sold for about 4 pence. He also stated that entire Scriptures will by the same means be comprised in a single octavo volume at about 2/-, a gratifying result of the genius and labours of the late Rev. Samuel Dyer, missionary of this Society. As an evidence of the improvement thus introduced the revised version was contrasted with Dr. Morrison's Chinese Bible in five thick volumes which was laid upon the table.'(145)

The publication of the New Testament in small type in 1852 was indeed a landmark in the history of Chinese typography. Twenty-six years after Dyer first appealed to the public for the cutting of punches for printing the Chinese Bible and nine years after his death, his wish was at last realized, with the publication of the Old Testament in 1855. The greatest significance of Dyer's, or rather the LMS's, type lies in its being the first Chinese type produced according to European methods and also the first to suit Chinese eyes, whilst earlier Serampore type and Legrand's concurrently produced type could only realize one aspect or the other. The history of early modern Chinese type tells us that, as long as the manufacture of type remained entirely a manual activity, no expedient could suffice other than to follow the standard methods in order to complete the massive fount of type required for an ideographic language like Chinese. The first undertaking was unavoidably onerous and slow. It extended to involve many people in various distant locations and was a great expense to the LMS, as well as to the Christian public. Certainly, religion was the prime goal, yet Dyer was soon able to expand the design of a fount of Chinese type for general purposes when he began to count words in secular works. His

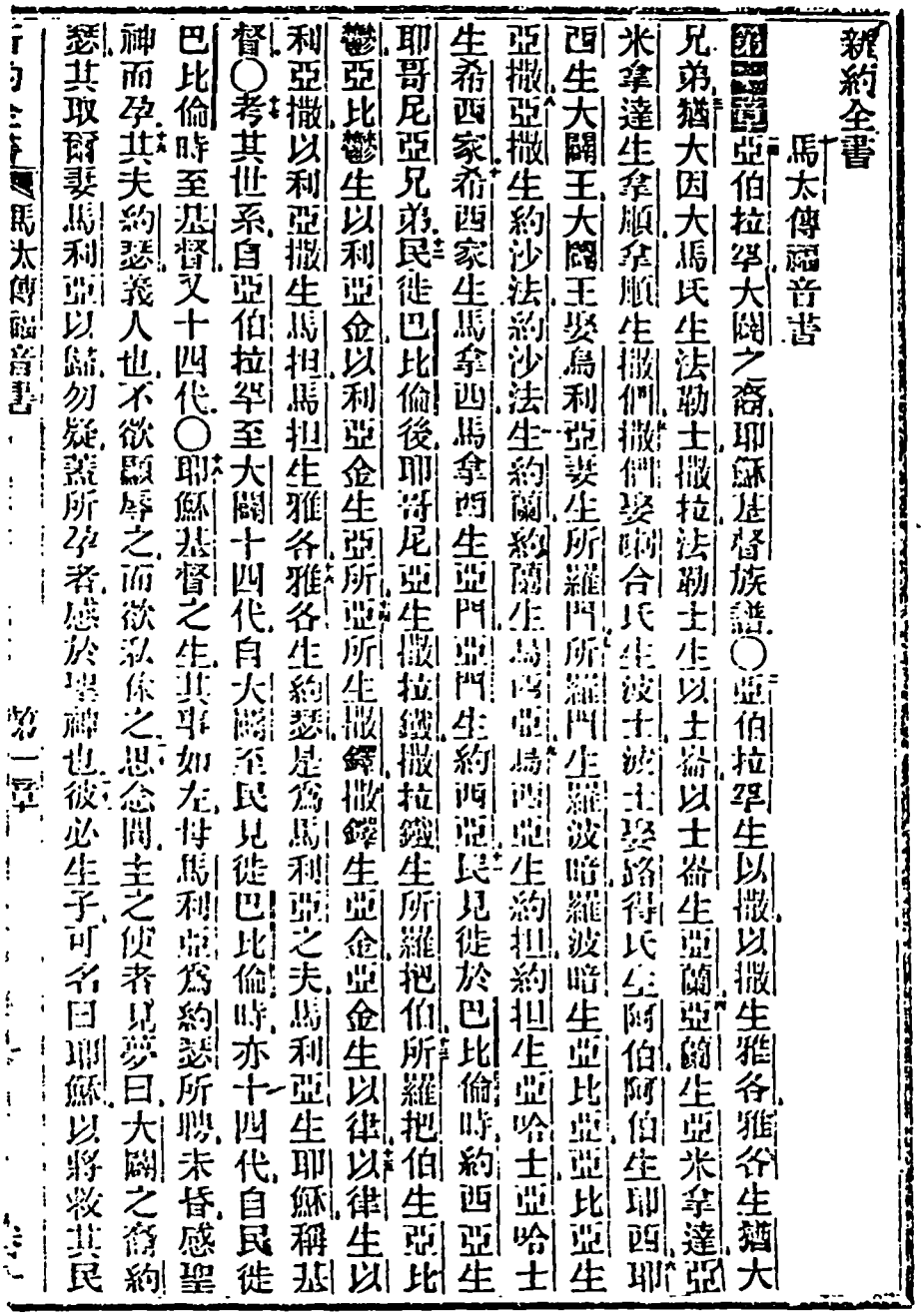

新約全書
馬太傳福音書
亞伯拉罕大闢之裔耶穌基督族譜○亞伯拉罕生以撒以撒生雅各雅各生猶大
兄弟猶大因大馬氏生法勒士撒拉法勒士生以士緘以士緘生亞蘭亞蘭生亞米拿達亞
米拿達生拿順拿順生撒門撒門娶喇合氏生波士波士娶路得氏生阿伯阿伯生耶西耶
西生大闢王大闢王娶烏利亞妻生所羅門所羅門生羅波罕羅波罕生亞比亞亞比亞生
亞撒亞撒生約沙法約沙法生約蘭約蘭生烏西亞烏西亞生約担約担生亞哈士亞哈士
生希西家希西家生馬拿西馬拿西生亞門亞門生約西亞民見徙於巴比倫時約西亞生
耶哥尼亞兄弟民徙巴比倫後耶哥尼亞生撒拉鐵撒拉鐵生所羅把伯所羅把伯生亞比
鬱亞比鬱生以利亞金以利亞金生亞所亞所生撒鐸撒鐸生亞金亞金生以律以律生以
利亞撒以利亞撒生馬担馬担生雅各雅各生約瑟是為馬利亞之夫馬利亞生耶穌稱基
督○考其世系自亞伯拉罕至大闢十四代自大闢至民見徙巴比倫時亦十四代自民徙
巴比倫時至基督又十四代○耶穌基督之生其事如左母馬利亞為約瑟所聘未昏感聖
神而孕其夫約瑟義人也不欲顯辱之而欲私休之思念間主之使者見夢曰大闢之裔約
瑟其取爾妻馬利亞以歸勿疑蓋所孕者感於聖神也彼必生子可名曰耶穌以將救其民
馬太傳福音書　第一章

plate 4-11. 新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üen-shu*, The New Testament, printed with Dyer's small type. (SOAS Collection)

remarkably catholic foresight, although incurring a further pecuniary burden and prolonging its manufacture, led to the wider use of the LMS's type in China once it became available. Thus, in the mid 1800s, the LMS was particularly instrumental in promoting the emergence of modern Chinese publishing enterprises, notably newspapers and magazines

Meanwhile, after the publication of the entire Bible, the Hong Kong mission continued to expand its two founts of Chinese type, which reached 5,584 characters in 1857, with a fount of only 328 Bourgeois type for marginal notes.(146) Both the large and the small founts further advanced to 6,000 by 1865, then remained there until they were sold in 1873.(147)

Different from the situation of direct missionary supervision at Singapore, the type foundry at Hong Kong was managed, together with the printing office, by lay superintendents. This measure resulted in the sparse mention of the workers and their working conditions in the mission reports. A rare exception was Cole's report of them made upon a missionaries' request when submitting his own resignation in 1852.(148) He spoke highly of all three native workers in the type foundry, i.e. two punch-cutters and a type founder and dresser of matrices and type. Of the punch-cutters, an older man was working on Roman type but just on leave at the Straits, whilst another one was a very 'superior and steady' man. The capabilities of the type founder and dresser required no further instruction that 'no another such man in China capable of doing this branch of work so well.' Cole added that this worker's only defect was his 'immoral habits,' but these did not interfere with his work. Because Cole did not specify their names, it is unclear whether they included Achao, yet definitely not Amok, who had by this time left the type foundry and become a colporteur. However, after Cole's resignation, Amok was recalled to take charge of the type foundry and continued in this work for twenty-one years until its closure.(149) Due to the undivided link between the type foundry and the printing office at the Hong Kong

mission, there will be further discussions of their management and problems in the next Chapter.

Chapter Five
The LMS at Shanghai and Hong Kong, 1843-1873

The Opium War, brought about by the opium dispute between China and Britain in 1839 and ending with the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, was not only a watershed in China's foreign relations, but a landmark in the general history of modern China. Unwilling and weakened, China entered the world order dominated by the western countries. With the treaty, and for the good as far as Christian missions were concerned, the island of Hong Kong was ceded to Britain, five ports were opened to foreigners for trade and residence, foreigners were permitted to study the Chinese language and extra territoriality was introduced. Although nothing about religion was mentioned, these provisions virtually opened China's doors for Protestant Christian missions. Nearly forty years after determining to commence its Chinese mission, the LMS was now preparing to enter 'the most unpromising field for missions on the globe.'(1) In December 1842, whilst requesting their missionaries to the Chinese to assemble at Hong Kong for the purpose of discussing future work in China, the Directors further resolved to send out ten or twelve additional missionaries to that country in the following two years.(2) To carry out this ambitious plan, special meetings of the members and friends of the LMS were subsequently held to arouse the interest of the British Christian public in China. More than £3,000 was collected on one such occasion and over four months the contributions received amounted to over £7,500.(3)

Detailed schemes for the LMS's 'new' Chinese mission were devised at the Hong Kong conference, held in August 1843 and attended by seven of eight missionaries in the field.(4) Three main interrelated subjects were discussed: the deployment of the missionaries at Hong Kong and the open ports, the future of the Anglo-Chinese College and the disposition of the presses. Hong Kong, the new

British colony, was to be occupied by Legge and Hobson. The former would supervise a theological seminary, the transformed College and for training native ministers, and the latter took charge of the local hospital founded by the Medical Missionary Society in China.(5) With regard to the five open ports, Canton was thought to be unsuitable to occupy, at least temporarily, due to fierce local anti-British sentiment resulting from the heavy destruction in the war. Then, considering the dialect the missionaries had studied, Fuchou, the capital of Fuchien province, was to be occupied by Dyer and J. Stronach, whilst A. Stronach, assisted by William Young, who was Medhurst's assistant at Batavia and was familiar with the dialect, would go to Amoy, also in Fuchien. As to Shanghai and Ningpo, both were thought proper to occupy yet would divide missionary strength too much. Accordingly, the two cities were left for Medhurst, William C. Milne, the eldest son of the late William Milne, and William Lockhart, a medical missionary, to visit in order to carry out an on-the-spot investigation before choosing a place to settle themselves. The presses, the three establishments in Southeast Asia, were to be re-located to China, i.e. the one at Penang going to Hong Kong, the one formerly at Malacca and recently moved to Singapore for Fuchou and the one at Batavia for Shanghai or Ningpo.(6) In short, the LMS's Chinese mission was to have four stations at Hong Kong, Amoy, Fuchou and Shanghai or Ningpo, and each station, except Amoy, was to possess a press.

As a consequence of several accidents that happened shortly after the conference, however, the entire enactment of these plans was disrupted. Dyer's unfortunate death first removed Fuchou from the list of projected stations and for a time left the future of type-making in a state of uncertainty. Then, Medhurst and Milne had a narrow escape when encountering a typhoon on their way to Ningpo and Shanghai and their ship was forced to put in at Manila, in the Philippines, for a period of time.(7) After this incident Milne returned to Britain, and so further reducing the strength of the mission. Moreover, the transfer of the Penang mission press to Hong Kong was resisted by Beighton, the missionary to the Malays, backed by local

European Christians who had contributed to its establishment, as discussed in a previous chapter. Consequently, Legge, who now took charge of the Hong Kong station, claimed the printing press which had formerly belonged to the Malacca station and which he himself had given up to Singapore when he was at Malacca.(8)

Nonetheless, and despite these unexpected turns, by the end of 1843 a clearer map of the LMS's Chinese mission showed that it comprised three stations: Shanghai, Hong Kong and Amoy. Among them, the Shanghai station possessed and the Hong Kong station would possess a printing office. The Directors in London subsequently agreed to these arrangements in early 1844.(9) During the following decades, the LMS expanded its activities in China and increased the number of its stations. However, this was not the case regarding its printing enterprises. Although there was occasional block or lithographic printing at other stations from time to time, the Shanghai and the Hong Kong mission presses continued to be the LMS's only two printing establishments in China until their respective closure in 1865 and sale in 1873.

Shanghai

A Walled City and Treaty Port

Shanghai, situated on the Huangp'u River, a tributary river of the Yangtse, China's longest river, was about twelve miles from the Yangtse and twenty miles from the Pacific ocean. Located at about the middle point of the Chinese coastline and at the gateway of the Yangtse delta, and one of the most affluent regions in China, due largely to sea transportation, Shanghai had been an important commercial port for nearly a thousand years, since the Sung dynasty. Paying his first visit to Shanghai in 1835, Medhurst wrote that the port resembled a 'forest of junks,' which amounted, as he was told by a customs officer, to 'a thousand in number.'(10) Inside the city walls, which were nearly three miles in circumference and were built in 1553, there were

government offices in the centre and surrounded by the city temple, academies, guildhalls, charity institutions, gardens, shops and numerous residences. Outside the walls there was a different scene of suburbs full of commercial activities represented by many shipyards, docks and warehouses, extending eastward and southward to the bank of the river.(11) Shanghai was already a densely populated city in the early nineteenth century. An official report in 1810 showed that the population of Shanghai county, including the walled city and its suburbs, was 484,202, which increased to 544,143 by 1852.(12)

In respect of administrative bureaucracy, there was a county magistrate residing at Shanghai. Two higher officials also located their offices in the same walled city. One was the sub-prefect of coastal defense and the other the Intendant of the Susungt'ai circuit, who was the highest-ranking official in the city and whose jurisdiction covered three prefectures, comprising fifteen counties. The choice of Shanghai as the seat of the circuit, which was one of four such offices in the Chiang-su province, indicated the importance of this city in regional politics. Besides civil and military duties, the circuit Intendant took charge of the Shanghai customs and, from 1843, the management of local foreign affairs.

In addition to its mercantile character and political position, Shanghai was characterized by two other factors. First, it was located within a region possessing extensive educational facilities and possessed a highly developed local culture with a distinctive appeal to the elite class. The most important feature of this culture was the strong scholar-official linkage. At least from the mid-seventeenth century in the Ch'ing dynasty, Chiang-su province produced more scholarly families and official-gentry families than any other province in China.(13) These intellectuals had traditionally exerted considerable influence on local society and, after Shanghai became a treaty port, they continued to play an important part in shaping people's attitude towards new matters, including Protestant Christianity.

Secondly, Christianity was not entirely new to people living in Shanghai and its vicinity. Zikawei, a village on the outskirts of Shanghai, was the birth place of Hsü Kuang-ch'i, the most well-known Chinese Catholic Christian who was a Great Minister in the Ming dynasty in the seventeenth century. Since Hsü's time Zikawei had been a noted Catholic community of native Christians. In 1841 or 1842, i.e. before the opening of Shanghai to foreigners and before the arrival of any Protestant missionaries, three Jesuits from Europe had reached Shanghai to revive their mission work.(14) A report of 1844 showed that there were 60,000 Chinese Catholics in three provinces under the charge of Count de Besi, the bishop residing near Shanghai, of which several thousand were in Shanghai, and that more than ten Catholic missionaries had entered the field in the first year after Shanghai's opening up.(15)

In November 1843, the British consul, George Balfour, arrived at Shanghai. After some negotiations with the circuit Intendant, an area of nearly 120 acres alongside the Huangp'u River and about three-quarters of a mile north of Shanghai city was designated as the British settlement, with separate anchorage from the original native one. Once the plan for this site was laid out, the port of Shanghai was officially opened for trade on 17 November 1843. Subsequently, three or four foreign ships entered the port within three days and about thirty in eight months.(16) By the end of the year, there were twenty-five British people residing at Shanghai. This number doubled in 1844, then grew to ninety in 1845 and reached 120 in 1846.(17) It appeared that all went well in the northernmost treaty port of Shanghai.

Commencing a Mission

Not everyone came to Shanghai for commercial purposes. Amongst the few people who accompanied Balfour arriving at the city in November 1843, there was Dr. William Lockhart, a LMS medical missionary who had for the past six months remained at Chusan, an island in the East China Sea and under British occupancy

during and after the war until 1846. However, as the other two brethren, Medhurst and Milne, were detained in the south by a typhoon, and he himself failed to find a house in the city at this early stage when affairs appeared not entirely settled, Lockhart returned to Chusan after two weeks. After Medhurst reached Chusan, he and Lockhart went together to Ningpo for the purpose of conducting an on-the-spot investigation. They then proceeded to Shanghai. Arriving at Shanghai several days before Christmas day 1843, they determined within a few days that this city was more suitable than Ningpo to be a mission station. This was because of its more advantageous location for communication, its larger population with a sizable community of Fuchien people, whose dialect Medhurst was fluent in, its cooler climate and healthier environment for Europeans.(18)

Once fixing upon Shanghai, the brethren had to find suitable houses for their mission. This was not an easy task inside the crowded city or outside the wall. After some vain attempts, due to their owners' apprehension about foreigners in some cases and because the houses were found lacking in others, the missionaries were forced to rent two houses in different quarters. One outside the east gate of the city was for preaching, worshipping, and a printing office, as well as for Medhurst's residence, whilst the other outside the south gate was for the hospital and Lockhart's dwelling. The Shanghai mission was thus conducted in two separate places for more than two years.

During the first months of the mission, the brethren were rather self-restrained in their activities. The two provinces of Chiang-su and Kuang-tung, in which Shanghai and Canton were respectively located, were the principal battle fields during the war. The treaty humiliating China was signed at Nanking, the most important city in Chiang-su province as well as in southern China. Shanghai merchants had to bear a part of the huge indemnity of twenty-one million dollars owed to Britain. Further, Shanghai was once occupied by British troops for five days in June 1842, though no real battle occurred there.(19) In consequence of these

circumstances, it was thought to be wise to watch for a while both the responses of local residents and the authorities toward British people. Mission activities were accordingly carried on cautiously on a trial basis. Tracts were given away only to those who came to the missionaries' houses, instead of distributing them openly in the streets. The doors of the mission house were closed when worship attended by missionaries and their few native domestics was held in order to avoid any possible suspicions. Whenever appearing in the streets, the missionaries were careful not to attract large crowds - such a measure would be strange to any missionary elsewhere but justifiable in the very early days of the Shanghai mission.(20)

Besides mission work, Medhurst could find time to act as interpreter and translator to the British consul in the absence of the official interpreter, his son the junior Medhurst, who had been forced to leave for Hong Kong due to his health. In helping with official business for more than six months, Medhurst believed that his voluntary services would also benefit the mission work. By attending all public conferences, he was acquainted with Chinese high officials, which gave the mission an opportunity of 'appealing to them in case of need', whilst the British authorities would show greater respect to the missionaries, their being 'too useful to be lightly driven away.'(21) It was always his principle to establish good relations with the authorities which might be helpful to his mission work in the future. He had done so at Batavia and now did likewise at Shanghai. In fact, amongst the LMS's missionaries to China in the early nineteenth century, Medhurst, like Milne to some degree in earlier times, was the only one who devoted attention to taking the initiative in order to court other sections in society.

However commendable the extra labour in public affairs might be, putting everything in the new mission in good train was the missionaries' principal duty, and this Medhurst unexpectedly found to be a Herculean task, viz. to re-arrange books, presses and type brought from Batavia for a new printing office. On their way to Shanghai, machines and apparatus were trans-shipped at Singapore, Hong Kong and

Chusan, and immersed in a flood for two days at the last place. Unpacked at Shanghai, it was found that, under a layer of mud, 'the boxes were many of them broken, the parts of the presses scattered about in all directions, and the types started from the cases in which they were placed and jumbled altogether into other boxes in the promiscuous state called by printers *pie*.'(22) Medhurst was himself the only person who could sort and restore the whole to a workable condition, which was eventually accomplished in about three months after onerous labour to sort out the confusion.

Meanwhile, the task to make up the deficiency of Chinese metal type was taken on. At this time, the Shanghai mission did not have any of the small type cast by Dyer. In hand was mostly the large type supplied by him before his death in October 1843, but only about 1,540 characters, i.e. less than half of the designed number.(23) In addition to these were some in the same size but much inferior both in elegance and manufacture, cast at Serampore for Gutzlaff, the Prussian missionary, in about 1833 and passed on to Batavia in 1842.(24) The problem was that Dyer's and Gutzlaff's type together were still insufficient for the printing of a single page of Chinese, unless greatly changing the wording and sometimes sacrificing the meaning to the deficiency of type. Because of the outstanding problem of type founding after Dyer's death, an expedient measure was taken to supply temporarily the impending demands at Shanghai. Chinese workers were employed to cut characters on cast blank shanks, at the cost of half a penny each. Whether or not this drew upon the experience of P. P. Thoms in printing Morrison's dictionary thirty years earlier, 1,500 characters in variety and 6,000 type in number were completed in several months. Having doubled the number of characters and restored the presses and type brought from Batavia, Medhurst was eventually able to report in early May 1844 that, 'We are about to commence printing forthwith.'(25)

Whilst everything at the mission was ready, it was also found that no agitation against foreigners in general or anti-Britain in particular existed among local

authorities and residents. Compared with the people at another treaty port Canton, where foreigners were debarred from entering the walled city for more than a decade after the war and numerous clashes occurred between the Chinese and the British, the people at Shanghai and of Chiang-su province appeared generally more accommodating to the new situation.(26) About three months after the Shanghai port opened, the Governor of the Liang-chiang region, including Chinag-su province, Ch'i Ying, reported to the Emperor that Shanghai residents had shaken off their initial apprehension and were accustomed to the appearance of foreigners without trouble.(27) As a matter of fact, Dr. Lockhart attended about 4,000 patients during this time without charge. Also, the doors of the mission house were now open for preaching and the increase of attendance, including many who were curious about the foreigners speaking Chinese, compelled Medhurst to enlarge the hall to hold upwards of one hundred people. In the streets, temples or public places elsewhere, the missionaries addressed crowds without worrying about blocking traffic or other possible troubles. Because people often tore up tracts while striving for them, street distribution had to be cancelled for a period of time and tracts were handed out at the mission house only to those who could read.(28)

For the Shanghai mission press, the three years from its beginning operation in the middle of 1844 until its procuring the first cylinder press in China in 1847, might be called the hand press period. The time of three years was a comparatively short one, yet under Medhurst's capable and tireless supervision, the Shanghai mission press showed itself to be a very active printing establishment, just like its predecessor at Batavia. Being the first Western style press in Shanghai and remaining the only one throughout this period, the mission press enjoyed the advantage of supplying its products to Chinese society, its intended market, as well as providing jobbing services to the local foreign community. Once in action, the press rapidly worked up to capacity. In the first year (May 1844 - April 1845), there were 717,600 pages printed in total.(29) The number rose to 2,225,600 pages in the second year (May 1845 -

April 1846) and again to 2,639,000 pages in the third year (May 1846 - April 1847).(30) More impressively, the Shanghai mission press produced numbers similar to its Batavian predecessor in its heyday, but with fewer hands than the latter. The account sheet of the Shanghai mission for 1845 showed that the press employed eight workers, i.e. one block printer, a Chinese and an English compositor, three pressmen and two folders.(31)

From its inception, the Shanghai mission press vested its principal method of production in type, which was a significant step in the progress of Chinese typography, especially as it was undertaken in China. Chinese type had once been tried at Batavia in 1839, but after one and a half works were brought out, it was discontinued, probably because of the deficiency of Dyer's type on the one hand and with lithography being more conveniently at hand on the other. Having now doubled the fount of the large type at Shanghai, Medhurst launched a special project of weekly typographical publication in connection with the Sabbath services. Good linguist as he was, Medhurst was a stranger to the local dialect when first arriving at Shanghai. It was, therefore, thought to be more effective to present something to the hearers' ears and eyes at the same time, and to have them take the same home for further perusal. A sermon of four leaves was thereby written every week and 1,000 copies printed mainly for Sunday preaching. Medhurst gave a vivid account of the effects produced by these works:

> 'At the commencement of the service a copy is put into the hand of each hearer, who looks attentively at it while the preacher goes on to read and explain. It is interesting to observe how carefully they follow the missionary, and when a leaf is turned over, there is a general rustling through the congregation, the only noise heard until close. The fact we do not remember to have witnessed a more attentive audience at home.'(32)

Having these weekly sermons ready every Sunday morning occupied most of Medhurst's attention and formed the major work at the mission press in its early days.

A series of seventy-four sermons, 344 leaves (or 688 pages) in total, were completed by the middle of 1846.(33)

During the hand press period of the mission, an apparent distinction between its typographical and block works was that the former were mostly over forty pages and new compositions, whilst the latter were largely shorter and reprints from blocks brought from Batavia or cut in Shanghai. Among the lengthy religious works printed with type were: 十條誡著明與祈禱眞法註解 *Shih-t'iao-chieh chu-ming yü ch'i-tao chen-fa ch'u-chieh*, a Commentary on the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, 300 pages, 3,000 copies printed in 1845; 耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lüeh*, a Condensed Statement of Christianity, 72 pages, 5,000 copies printed in 1846; 聖經史記 *Sheng-ching shih-chi*, Scripture History, 200 pages, 6,000 copies printed in 1846, and St. Paul's Epistles, 124 pages, 3,000 copies printed in 1846-47.(34) All were Medhurst's works, including the Lord's Prayer in the Commentary being a revision of Milne's former work. In fact, Medhurst's works formed an overwhelming part of the publications issued from the Shanghai mission press in its early period.

A group of religious works in the Shanghai dialect showed the missionaries' endeavours to carry out their work in the context of local society.(plate 5-1) Thus far it had been thought that written Chinese was entirely the same throughout the country and dialects existed in speech only. Yet the missionaries at Shanghai found that there were books written in the colloquial style of the dialect, by using characters to represent the sounds of local phrases but not having much sense, and that these books were very popular amongst the common people, especially the women. The local Chinese teachers at the mission, therefore, were requested to adapt the existing Christian books into the dialect. In 1845, the first work of this kind, 祈禱式文 *Ch'i-tao-shih wen*, the Forms of Prayer, in 64 pages, was printed with lithography, which was one of the few lithographic products of the Shanghai mission press.(35) Then, four of the weekly sermons were rendered into the dialect and printed, two in 1846 and two in 1847.(36) The year 1847 saw more labours to produce dialect editions at

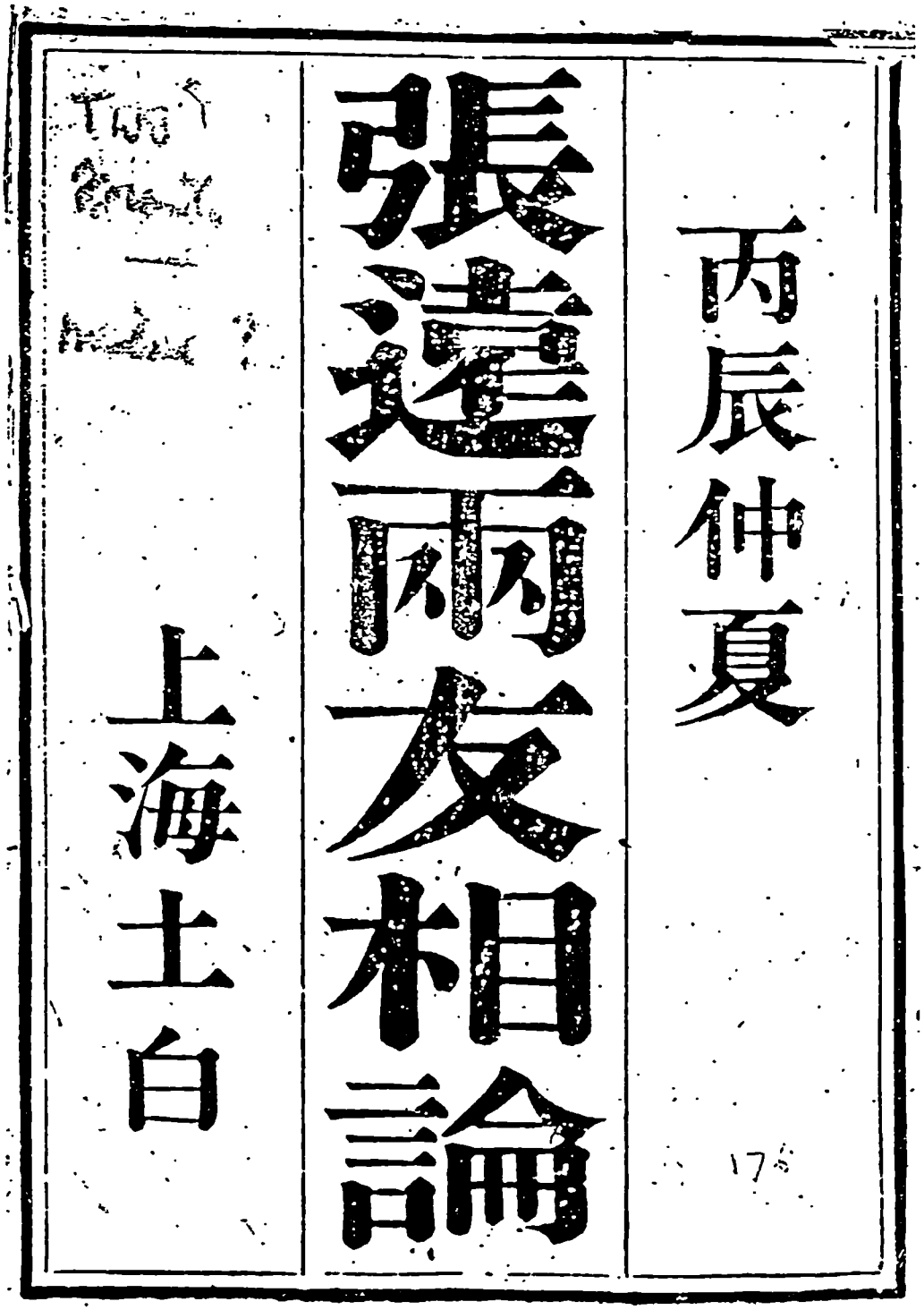


plate 5-1. The title-page of Milne's 張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen, in the Shanghai dialect, printed at the Shanghai mission press in 1856. (SOAS Collection)

the Shanghai mission. A project similar to but smaller than the weekly sermons was carried on in preparing 約翰傳福音書 *Yüeh-han ch'uan fu-yin shu*, St. John's Gospel, which was first printed chapter by chapter for the use of Sabbath services and eventually formed a volume of 182 pages. A report declared that the pages of this work were 'much sought after by the Chinese, on account of the ease with which they were understood.'(37) In addition to these, a dialect edition of 馬太傳福音書 *Ma-t'ai ch'uan fu-yin shu*, St. Matthew's Gospel, in 264 pages, and a tract translated from Milne's 上帝聖教公會門 *Shang-ti sheng-chiao kung-hui men*, the Gate of the Church, in 70 pages, were brought out at about the turn of 1847.(38) Afterwards work on the dialect was suspended, apparently due to the intensive work of Bible revision from the middle of 1847 and the subsequent controversy about it for several years, which required the entire time and attention of the missionaries and their Chinese teachers. It appears that the Shanghai mission resumed preparing works in the dialect in the middle 1850s, but on a much smaller scale.

In respect of secular works, it was surprising that the first one printed at the mission press was prepared with a view 'to promote commercial intercourse' and was hardly commensurate with the author's religious position.(39) This was Medhurst's *Chinese Dialogues*, published in 1844. As many as 250 topics, from numerals, weights, commercial regulations, tariffs, shop signs, conversations on various goods, to directions to servants and so on, were included. In the text, each Chinese character in cast or cut type was big enough to be accompanied by a Romanized pronunciation and a corresponding English word. In order to accommodate Roman type to the Chinese type, both the English and Chinese texts were vertically arranged, which must have been inconvenient for its intended English readers. In the preface the author apologized for the typographical quality of this first European work ever printed at Shanghai stating that, 'the native workmen having all to be taught *de novo*, symmetry and perfection will not be looked for. Towards the middle of the volume a few sheets appear rather indistinct, from the circumstance of our printing ink having

run short, but an effort to manufacture ink on the spot at length succeeded, and a clearer page was the result.'(40)

After the *Dialogue* was published, typography at the mission press took a step forward when, in addition to the large type already in possession, native workers were employed to cut a fount of small Chinese type on cast blank shanks. In October 1845, the missionaries reported that, 'the profits arising from occasional job printing has enabled us to provide about 25,000 Chinese metal types of the smaller size and 1,000 of the larger size, for the purpose of printing tracts, all of which belong to the Missionary Society.'(41) In April 1847, the fount of small type increased to 40,000 in number and 11,000 in variety, and eventually reached 100,000 types in 15,000 various characters by the end of that year.(42) Long before their completion, the small type had been used in printing Medhurst's further secular works, viz. the *English and Chinese Dictionary* and *Ancient China.* Although the small type, in English size, was described as being for printing tracts, the *English and Chinese Dictionary* appeared their real, or at least their first, goal. The compilation of this dictionary began as early as 1838 but gave way to its sister work the *Chinese and English Dictionary* and other works which Medhurst thought more urgent. Accordingly the manuscript was only finished after the compiler arrived at Shanghai. In consequence of the method of combining typography and lithography used to print the *Chinese and English Dictionary* at Batavia being unable to produce the pages as clearly as expected, it was determined that the *English and Chinese Dictionary* should be entirely a typographical product and hence required the cutting of small type. Being the largest work of the mission in its hand press period, the printing of 600 copies of the dictionary, 1,436 pages each, commenced about the turn of 1844 and was carried on during the following four years until its completion at the end of 1848. With regard to *Ancient China*, published in 1846, it was a translation of 書經 *Shu ching*, annals of the ancient Chinese empire between 2356 and 721 B.C. and supposedly compiled by Confucius. Throughout Medhurst's work of 413 pages, the Chinese text was

interspersed with English, word for word. This arrangement, though affording 'a pretty correct clue to the meaning of each particular character,' must have presented a great challenge to the compositor. As far as printing was concerned, a second feature of the work was the fifteen woodcuts, including twelve maps and three astronomical and zodiac illustrations, distinctively printed on Chinese papers. All these woodcuts were very crowded with signs and characters, yet very delicate, clear and graceful lines were presented as a result of excellent workmanship.

While the press was fully occupied by various works, the mission's other departments also carried on very progressively in the first three years. In the broader context, diplomats continued to improve the milieu for missionaries in China. Complying with requests from French envoy Théidise M. M. J. de Lagrené, the Chinese Emperor Tao-kuang granted, in 1844 and 1846, two edicts of toleration, in which foreigners were given more rights, such as the freedom to build churches, and natives were exempted from punishment for being converts. At the Shanghai mission, in contrast to Medhurst's nearly fruitless labours in Batavia during more than twenty years, he was joyful to hold the first baptism of two persons in November 1845, i.e. within two years of the mission's commencement, and again in May 1846 for two more persons.(43) The number of services increased from one at the mission house to eight every week at different places, with 200 to 500 attendants each.(44) Besides activities in the city of Shanghai, the missionaries undertook a weekly itinerary of preaching in the country, first travelling on foot and then buying a boat for excursions. The increase of mobility enabled them to declare, as early as in April 1846, that, 'The whole country for ten or twenty miles round has thus been furnished with tracts.'(45) Regarding the hospital, the number of patients had always been between 800 and 1,000 per month since it opened in February 1844.(46)

The prospects afforded by these positive developments induced the missionaries to consider a realistic matter: that the Shanghai mission deserved its own permanent and purpose-built base instead of housing the whole establishment in

separately rented houses. An inquiry was sent to the Directors in March 1845, for their opinion about this subject, with a suggestion to invest the sum of nearly $2,600 from the sale of the premises at Batavia in order to build at Shanghai.(47) Before the reply arrived from London, however, steps had been taken to draw up two building plans, one for a chapel in the walled city of Shanghai and another for a mission house and a hospital at the foreign settlement. For the chapel, because it was difficult for foreigners to obtain land within the city, a plot of two acres was purchased in a catechumen's name and let out to the mission. In August 1846, a chapel, 50 by 50 feet was completed, sufficient to accommodate 400 people. To fit in with the local setting, the chapel was entirely in the Chinese style, resembling the native halls of assembly in the city and cost more than $2,100, raised mostly by a subscription from amongst the local foreign community and partly by a sum appropriated by the Directors.(48) In the meantime, a greater project for a compound, including a mission house, a hospital, a printing office and outhouses, was under way. Two adjoining plots of ground, three and a half acres in total, at the west end of the foreign settlements and about a quarter of a mile outside the city's north gate were purchased. The site was carefully selected to make the mission, amongst all institutions in the foreign community, the one closest to Chinese society. Construction work began in early 1846 and was completed in October of the same year. The mission house was a long two-storey building, 80 by 40 feet, and was described as an airy, healthy and comfortable residence, costing more than $4,200.(49) The printing office, which stood at the back of the mission house, was 63 by 22 feet, had two floors and was well glazed, in order to afford plenty of light to the compositors. The expense of nearly $1,000 for the building of the press came entirely from the profits of work for the Bible and Tract Societies and some jobbing printing for local foreign companies.(50) The hospital, consisting of a very large hall for outpatients and six wards for thirty inpatients, was built with a sum of about $3,000 donated by local foreigners and afterwards, though staffed by the LMS's medical missionaries, it was continually

subscribed to and managed by a local committee. When reporting the completion of the entire construction, the missionaries could not refrain from great satisfaction that,

> 'The whole forming a very imposing pile of buildings, entirely devoted to the objects of the Society, towards which the funds of the Board have contributed only a small proportion. We flatter ourselves that on a review of the whole of these circumstances, the Board can scarcely be otherwise than satisfied with arrangements, which while they have cost us much thought and trouble, are in every way advantageous to the Society.'(51)

The completion of the compound meant that the Shanghai mission possessed a solid foundation for further developments. Several months later, in the middle of 1847, the beginning of the revision of the Chinese Bible and the arrival of a cylinder press symbolized the ending of the mission's first period and the coming of a new era.

Printing in an Eventful Period

The year 1847 saw great changes at the Shanghai mission. In addition to the completion of its impressive buildings, the number of missionaries was strengthened by the arrival of newcomers. W. C. Milne, who was first appointed to work with Medhurst and Lockhart and had gone back to Britain in 1843 before reaching Shanghai, returned to China and joined the mission at the end of 1846. Then, two new missionaries, William Muirhead and Benjamin Southwell, and a printer, Alexander Wylie, arrived together in Shanghai in August 1847. Now there were six brethren, instead of two.(52) Further, Wylie was accompanied by a cylinder press, which led the Shanghai mission, as far as printing was concerned, into the machine-press period. Even more influential on the mission in 1847 was the commencement of the revision of the Chinese Bible and the subsequent controversy, which continued to dominate the missionaries' minds for several years and considerably affected the entire Protestant missionary community in China for a much longer period.

Since the publication of Marshman's version at Serampore in 1822 and Morrison and Milne's version at Malacca in 1823, some missionaries, including

Morrison himself, expressed their desire to see a revision in the near future. In 1835, Medhurst, in collaboration with Gutzlaff, Bridgman and John R. Morrison, Morrison's son, did bring out a new version. Unfortunately, due to some missionaries' opposition, it failed to obtain recognition from the Board of the LMS and the Committee of the Bible Society and was thus suppressed. With more and more missionaries improving their abilities in the Chinese language, a consensus that a new version was required eventually formed amongst the missionary circle. Once China opened up, the necessity became urgent. In August and September 1843, after the conference of the LMS's brethren at Hong Kong, there were meetings attended by missionaries of various denominations from Britain and the United States devoted to this subject. Unanimous about the necessity of preparing a new version of the Chinese Bible, the brethren at these meetings resolved to take the following steps to implement this task: first, the work of revision was divided into five parts and each was assigned to a local committee consisting of all missionaries of various societies at the same place; secondly, copies of each revised part would be sent to other places for review; thirdly, when the New Testament was thus completed, each local committee would select one or more members to form a delegates' committee for final revision; and lastly, the new version would be sent to the British and the American Bible Societies for their acceptance.(53) In the meantime, Medhurst, who was the most senior amongst all brethren working amongst the Chinese and one of the earnest advocates of this task, was requested to take care of the whole project.

The places where missionaries took up assignments of revision were Shanghai, Amoy, Hong Kong, Canton and Bangkok in Siam. After some delay caused by the slowness of the Canton missionaries, each local committee finally completed the work and the delegates met at the LMS's Shanghai mission in June 1847. The delegates were: W. H. Medhurst and J. Stronach, of the LMS; William J. Boone, of the American Episcopalian Church; E. C. Bridgman, of the ABCFM; and Walter M. Lowrie, representing the American Presbyterian Church. After several

weeks, in consequence of Lowrie's unfortunate death at the hands of pirates on a trip back to his mission at Ningpo, W. C. Milne of the LMS was elected to fill the vacant seat. Therefore, the balance of the delegates committee shifted from three American missionaries and two British to the opposite.

Even before the revision began, the next step had been given consideration by the experienced and circumspect Medhurst, i.e. its printing. Given the recent experience of distributing Christian books without trouble and the vast size of the Chinese population, he asserted that the hand press at the Shanghai mission, which was already fully occupied, could not shoulder the burden of printing enough copies of a revised Bible for immense future consumption. The most important decision respecting printing in his missionary career was thus taken, that the Shanghai mission required a cylinder press. In a letter, dated 27 December 1845, Medhurst urged that,

> 'We would therefore request the Directors to send out ... a cylinder press of the best construction either Cowper's or Napier's printing machine, with double cylinders to be worked by two men by means of a winch, which we should prefer to one propelled by steam on account of the saving of expense and room, as well as for avoiding the difficulty of the steam engine getting out of order, where there is no one to put it in repair.'(54)

In the meantime, the Directors were recommended not to apply for support to the Bible Society but to purchase the machine themselves, because it was not good to mix property in one establishment, on the one hand, and the machine could easily recover the cost of its purchase from printing for the Bible Society, on the other. The Directors, however, were reluctant to engage in this expensive project and left the issue undecided for several months.(55) Upon receiving a further demand from Shanghai for a printer and under a misunderstanding that his salary would also come out of printing profits without extra burden to the LMS, the Directors resolved to comply with this request, should the Bible Society agree to bear the expense of a cylinder press.(56) In October 1846, the Bible Society handsomely granted a sum of £1,000 towards the cost of the machine, on condition that the printing of the Bible

should always have priority over other publications.(57) By the middle of January 1847, a cylinder press had been ordered from an unidentified party and Alexander Wylie, a young cabinet maker in London who was self-taught in his study of the Chinese language at this time and offered himself to the LMS, was employed as the superintendent of the Shanghai mission press.(58) After a short period of training in printing for several months, Wylie and the press, together with two other missionaries, left Britain in April 1847 and arrived at Shanghai in August of the same year.

At this time, the delegates' revision work had not got beyond a month when it became subject to serious disagreement amongst the members. The problem lay in the difficulty of finding Chinese terms agreeable to everyone for *God* and *Holy Spirit*. Whilst 上帝 *shang-ti* and 神 *shen* were deemed appropriate by British delegates for these two terms, the Americans preferred 神 *shen* and 靈 *ling*. The apparent division of the delegates by nationality worsened the situation and turned the problem of terms into an uncompromising controversy. So obvious was the deadlock that even Wylie was immediately affected by the atmosphere and wrote on the day after his arrival to the Directors, saying that, 'I find it is probable the New Testament will not be ready for the press for some time yet.'(59) At the beginning of 1848, the delegates determined to carry on the revision, but leaving the two terms blank temporarily. In the middle of March of the same year, it was reported that the first fifteen chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel had been revised.(60)

Of course, Wylie and the cylinder press could not sit back and await the uncertain completion of the new version, and by the middle of October, the machine was fixed and ready to set in operation. Especially interesting and probably unique was that fact that the machine was driven, neither by steam nor by manpower as first designed, but by means of bullocks in the adjoining wheel works.(61) The machine operated with the bullocks very well and as Wylie wrote in June 1846, 'it has been in operation for about six months with the most perfect success.'(62) In its first half year, the cylinder press, together with the original hand press, brought out a total of

3,383,700 printed pages, which was nearly three times the output in the previous period.(63) However, this turned out to be a transient accomplishment as, in contrast to the brethren and the Directors' expectation, the machine was embarrassingly forced to stand still from March 1848, due to want of funds.

There were four sources of income for the mission press: the local foreign community, the parent society, and the Bible and the Tract Societies. For local merchants, the hand press was sufficient to do jobbing work for them, whilst the parent society had been assured that there would be no extra burden. The crux of the problem, therefore, was the Bible and the Tract Societies. The former was actually as anxious as the missionaries, awaiting the completion of the seriously delayed new version of the Bible for printing. With regard to the Tract Society, it used to send funds directly to individual missionaries upon their request, but now they were asked to first submit their manuscripts to a newly formed committee at Hong Kong and obtain its approval. Strongly opposed to this change, the brethren at Shanghai wrote home to argue this matter but only delayed the funds from the Tract Society.(64) In April 1848, therefore, the brethren declared that, 'At present we have neither funds nor commands from either of the above societies and the machine, consequently, is not in operation.'(65) During the following twelve months, the hand press was amply sufficient for work in hand. This enabled Wylie to devote most of his time to the study of the Chinese language. In consequence of these vexed problems, the Shanghai mission requested, but in vain, that the parent society place a sum of £100 or £200 annually at the brethren's disposal to keep the press at work 'in case of failure of supplies from other sources.'(66) When eventually funds came again from the Tract Society in April 1849, the brethren were relieved, yet could not hold back their grievance and complained that, 'The Tract Society have not sent us a grant for the last fifteen months. ... which is the true cause of the machine's lying idle.'(67)

In addition to the troubles in revising the Bible and being desperate for printing funds, the brethren experienced an unfortunate incident. On 3 March 1848,

Medhurst, Lockhart and Muirhead went to Ch'ingp'u, a city nearly thirty miles west of Shanghai, on a preaching excursion. Whilst distributing tracts in the streets, they met a large crowd of unemployed boatmen temporarily staying there. Lockhart used his walking stick to keep the tumultuous crowd from striving forward for tracts and a boatman received a blow on his face. This accident immediately caused a fury and the missionaries were harassed, beaten up and injured and several articles were lost.(68) After they were rescued by the local magistrate and had returned to Shanghai, the British consul, Rutherford Alcock, demanded that the culprits be apprehended and punished. Dissatisfied with the Shanghai Intendant's manner in handling this case, the consul blockaded Shanghai's port with British warships until the offenders were tried and the Intendant removed, though according to the Chinese side, all was the result of the missionaries violating the stipulations of the treaty by going into the interior. Being the first of numerous disputes between missionaries and natives after the war, the Ch'ingp'u incident had enormous influence on later cases as it set a precedent for political and military interference in judicial matter. As a historian wrote, 'When a foreign consul did not get what he wanted, he could always call in the gunboats, ... and demand whatever he pleased.'(69)

The year 1849 continued to be eventful. The work of revision, after exactly two years, proceeded through the four Gospels and the Acts. Yet the 'term' controversy concerning the Chinese translation of God and the Holy Spirit produced more white-heat when both sides extended the arguments from their meetings to appeal to the wider missionary community in China as well as in Britain and America by means of related publications one after another.(70) The debate was bitter. As Medhurst complained in June 1849 in a letter to the Directors, 'We have not infrequently been assailed from other quarters by opprobrium and stigmatized as idolaters, guilty of breaking the chief commandment of God, and teaching men so.'(71)

In addition to their indomitable American opponents at Shanghai, the British brethren found a formidable German competitor at Hong Kong. Gutzlaff, now the

Chinese Secretary to the Hong Kong government, personally formed, in 1844, a Chinese Union for training and sending native converts into the interior to distribute Christian publications. The Bible Society, being eager to 'embrace every available means of spreading the scriptures in China' but weary with the recent term controversy, determined to help this private enterprise and provided the first grant of £100 in 1847-48.(72) When impressive accounts from Gutzlaff showed that his native assistants had travelled throughout China and distributed Bibles printed with blocks at a very low cost, much cheaper than the LMS's products printed with type, the Bible Society's grants increased to £300 in 1848-49 and £450 in 1849-50.(73) Flustered and discomfited by this situation, the Directors of the LMS, who had devoted considerable funds to Chinese typography during a decade and a half and had received a promise from the Bible Society to assist in the cost of Bible printing once the new version was ready, wrote to Shanghai for urgent clarification.

A very detailed reply was promptly written by Medhurst. First, Gutzlaff's version of the Bible was, except with some minor alterations, 'substantially' the one that they co-operatively brought out in 1835 but which was rejected by the Bible Society. Secondly, Gutzlaff's striking accounts were highly questionable, because he could not enter the interior to oversee all the work of printing, delivery and distribution undertaken there but left this to his assistants, where good intermingled with opium smokers and vagabonds.(74) Thirdly, the cheapness of Gutzlaff's version shown in his estimate to the Bible Society resulted from three factors, viz. his excluding the cost of blocks cut at the expense of sources other than the Bible Society, his having cut very small characters to reduce the expense of paper, and his printing the Bible on cheap yellowish paper. As cutting blocks and paper together were the overwhelming expense in block printing, it was natural that Gutzlaff could produce the Bible at a low cost nearly one-third of that of the LMS.(75) Nonetheless, the Directors were re-assured that things were not so bad that they could not compete with Gutzlaff in relation to cost. First of all, the small type now in progress of being

made at their Hong Kong mission would be the key to this problem as it would produce the New Testament in 120 pages, compared with Gutzlaff's 164 pages and the more than 300 pages in Dyer's large type. Then, the version in revision would have about one-eighth less characters than Gutzlaff's, thus further reducing the cost. Moreover, the use of cheaper paper with measures to bring down the price of composition, presswork and binding would lead in future to printing 1,500 pages for a dollar, instead of the then current 1,000 pages.(76)

The term problem, the want of funds, Gutzlaff's competition and the Ch'ingp'u incident were troubles from external sources. Surprising the LMS's brethren, there occurred an internal problem. In September 1849, Wylie wrote to the Directors requesting to be released from 'any immediate connexion with the Shanghai missionaries' and to be removed to another station, because of his never being entrusted to work as the superintendent of the press.(77) Having been notified about this by Wylie himself, the furious missionary brethren, six in number, signed and sent a joint letter to London, in which they not only admitted Wylie's accusation, but further announced that the 'short and simple' reason for withholding entire responsibility for the press from Wylie was 'his incompetency to take charge of it.'(78) He was at first left to manage the mission press as he liked, yet the results were that either a whole edition of a work was sub-standard, or 'slurred' to use Medhurst's description, or a considerable amount of paper spoiled, or parts of the cylinder press were damaged, because of 'his leaving so much to men never accustomed to machine-printing.' Further, it was found that Wylie, a former cabinet-maker having only several months training in printing before coming out, knew nothing about general printing such as composition, press work, correcting of proofs, of which the workers in the printing office knew more than he did. The brethren wrote that, 'He had not a printer's hand, nor a printer's eye, nor a printer's judgment.' Meanwhile, Wylie was accused of entirely stopping his former attendance at tract distributions and of having ceased to invite people to services after his marriage in early 1849. In conclusion, the

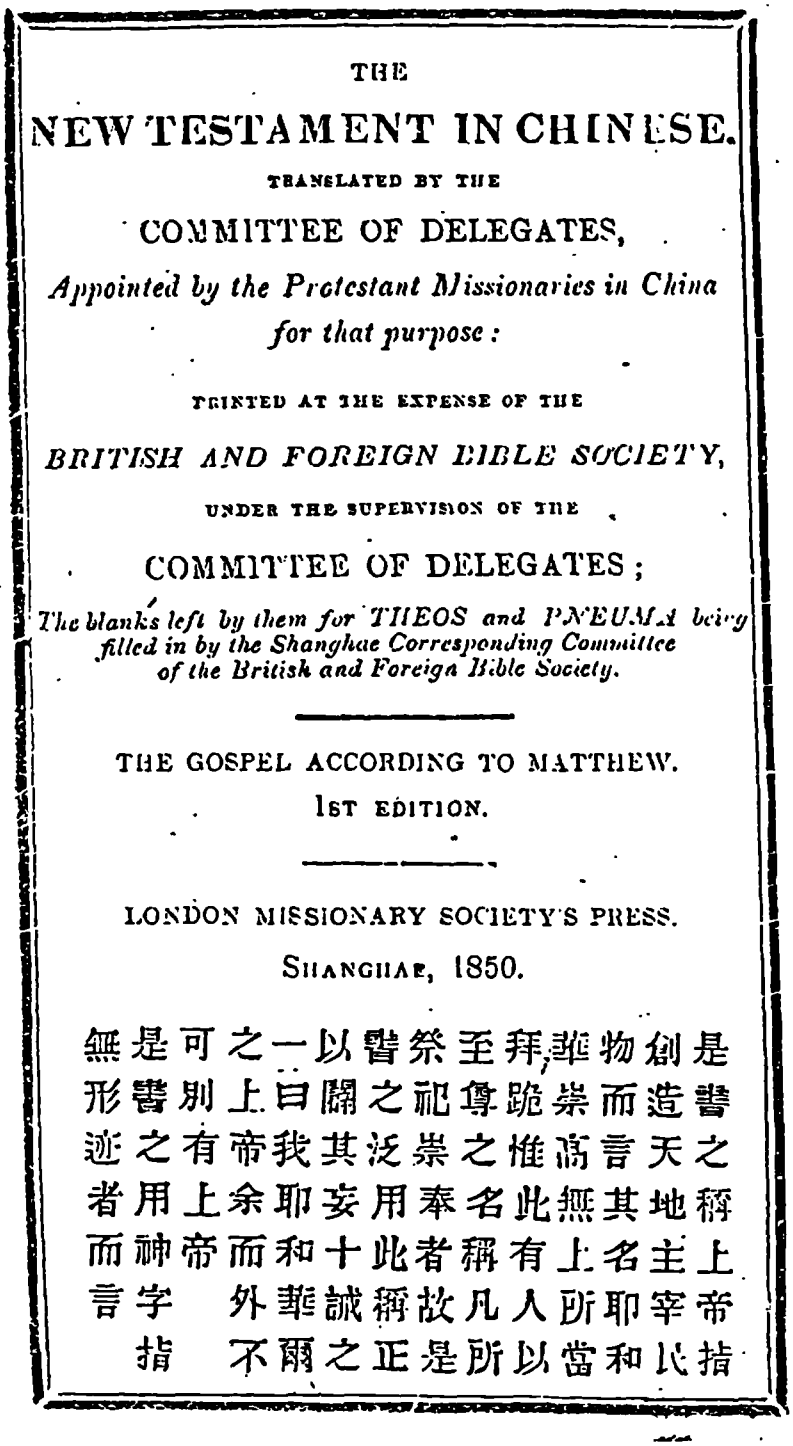
brethren presented a unanimous resolution asking the Directors to accept Wylie's request for removal and hoped that, when a substitute was sent out, he would be 'a thoroughly practical man.'

When this internal dissension arose, the mission press had already resumed its work for six months, because of a sum of £50 with a promise of more eventually received from the Tract Society in April 1849.(79) Three revised tracts, 10,000 copies of each, were printed by October of the same year. The number of pages printed that year amounted to 1,360,000 in total, a sharp fall but at least the presses were in motion again. The profits from these and other jobbing printing were sufficient to meet the workers' wages, the cost of a supply of large Chinese type and for repairs to the press buildings.(80) There is little doubt that the internal dispute subsequently interrupted the operation of printing again and this might suffice to explain why no mention of printing at the Shanghai mission press can be found in the missionaries' homeward letters during the six months in which the dispute remained unsettled. The death of Wylie's wife in late 1849 and advice from the Directors strongly recommending him to renew his relationship with the missionaries and to make himself 'master of the practical details of the press work' dispelled this unpleasant episode.(81) In March 1850, Wylie became compliant and wrote to the Directors that, 'I will not complain of my position as regards the press, should my brethren think that the present is the most advantageous arrangement.'(82) This meant that, as long as Medhurst continued to enjoy his authority over the mission press as its master, Wylie could at best only handle the routine work as a steward.

On 31 July 1850, the revision of the New Testament was finally brought to an end, leaving the terms for God and Holy Spirit undetermined. On the following day the divided delegates in this controversy resolved to offer their version, known as the delegates' version afterwards, to the public and allow anyone who printed it to fill up these two terms with any words he intended. Having a grant of £250 from the Bible Society in hand and being authorized to fill up the blanks with 上帝 *Shang-ti*

for God and 神 *shen* for Holy Spirit, the LMS missionaries at Shanghai began, in September of the same year, to print 5,500 copies of the entire New Testament in the small type and 5,000 copies of the Gospels and the Acts in the large.(83)(plate 5-2) Whilst the latter was completed in February 1851, the former was completed exactly a year later in February 1852.(84) As the New Testament was the first fruit of Dyer's small type, as well as the result of labours after so much disturbance over the term controversy, the Directors expressed their intense anxiety at the beginning of its printing that, 'the volume should be a specimen of the precision and beauty of Chinese typography.'(85) The final product did not fail to answer this expectation. In appearance, the New Testament, in 144 leaves, 18 x 24.4 cm. being the printed area of each leaf, was in the typical Chinese style and printed on one side of the paper in compact, beautiful and neat characters. After the title-page were two leaves of an account, in English, of the origin, progress and publication of the delegates' version. Immediately after the completion of the above edition, 4,500 copies of the New Testament in pocket size, in 351 leaves and with a printed area of 13.5 x 19 cm. for each leaf, were printed as a result of the Bible Society's grant of £150.

Earlier in December 1849, i.e. eight months before their revision of the New Testament finished, the delegates proposed to continue the same task on the Old Testament, in spite of the term controversy.(86) Apparently in order to avoid any further troubles, the Directors of the LMS passed a resolution in July 1850, hoping that their missionaries would carry this on alone.(87) However, when work on the Old Testament began in the following month, six delegates, three LMS missionaries and three Americans, attended the revision.(88) The reason for the LMS's brethren's preference for a non-exclusive committee was simply a desire to have a version adopted by all parties, as Medhurst admitted that, 'There is a prestige connected with the name of the "delegates' version," which the title of "London Missionaries' version" would not convey.'(89) Unfortunately, the work soon began to follow a similar disastrous course, as the British brethren complained, 'with a feeling of astonishment



THE

NEW TESTAMENT IN CHINESE.

TRANSLATED BY THE

COMMITTEE OF DELEGATES,

Appointed by the Protestant Missionaries in China for that purpose:

PRINTED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE

COMMITTEE OF DELEGATES;

The blanks left by them for THEOS and PNEUMA being filled in by the Shanghae Corresponding Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW.

1ST EDITION.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S PRESS.

SHANGHAE, 1850.

是書之稱上帝指
創造天地主宰民
物而言其名耶和
華崇高無上所當
拜跪惟此有人以
至尊之名稱凡所
祭祀崇奉者故是
書之泛用此稱正
以闢其妄十誡之
一曰我耶和華爾
之上帝余而外不
可別有上帝
是書之用神字指
無形迹者而言

plate 5-2. A label was used to indicate the Chinese terms for God and Holy Spirit in the LMS's edition of the delegates' version of the New Testament. (SOAS Collection)

which daily increases and often provokes to indignation,' about the 'utter inefficiency' of the American delegates.(90) In February 1851, coming to the end of their patience, the LMS's missionaries, announced their withdrawal from the delegates committee and themselves formed into another one to continue the revision work, thereby setting up a rivalry between the British and American missionaries.(91) The British version easily won the competition as it was finished in October 1852, whilst the American one was not completed until ten years later.(92) Nevertheless, the printing of the first edition of 5,000 copies of the Old Testament at the Shanghai mission press, in conformity with the New Testament in appearance, was not completed until three years later, in September 1855. This was due to the cylinder press being occupied by an urgent and larger project, the printing of an unprecedented number of copies of the New Testament, to be discussed later.(93)

Besides the Bible, the Shanghai mission press also brought out various tracts between 1850 and 1852, after the internal dispute between Wylie and the missionaries had been settled. Because three senior missionaries were busily occupied by the revision of the Bible, the works printed were mostly reprints or revisions of former tracts. It appeared that only four new works by two younger brethren not involved in revising the Bible were printed in this period, i.e. Muirhead's 行客經歷傳 *Hsing-k'o ching-li chuan*, an abridged translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and 格物窮理問答 *Ko-wu ch'iung-li wen-ta*, Catechism of Nature, Joseph Edkins's 華洋和合通書 *Hua-yang ho-ho t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac and 咸豐二年十一月初一日日蝕單 *Hsien-feng erh-nien shih-i-yüeh ch'u-i-jih jih-shih tan*, Elements of the Solar Eclipse on 11 December 1852, in a large sheet.

By the end of 1852, the Shanghai mission press had completed five years of its machine-press period, during which the Shanghai mission and its press were disturbed by unexpected events, one after another. Close to the end of this period, however, the situation improved in some degree, especially the mission press which was restored to normal functioning. Excluding the interrupting periods, the cylinder

press brought three conspicuous changes to printing operations at the Shanghai mission. First, printing capacity considerably increased from 2,639,000 pages in the year previous to the coming of the cylinder press (May 1846 - April 1847) to 8,960,000 pages in the last year of this period (April 1852 to March 1853).(94) Secondly, the number of copies of each edition also multiplied. In the hand-press period, 1,000 copies was the commonest quantity for each edition. Most works were printed at under 3,000 copies per edition and none was over 6,000 copies. In contrast, now the standard size for each edition was 10,000 copies and few were printed with less than 5,000 copies. Thirdly, the unit cost was brought down by a large margin. In October 1847, on the eve of the machine coming into use, the press charged the Bible Society about $1.23 for 1,000 leaves printed with large type, including paper. In April 1851, it dropped to a little more than half a dollar only.(95) Several months later with the small type available in printing the revised New Testament, the difference in cost between it and the large type was even more dramatic. The entire New Testament in small characters and in 144 leaves was produced at four pence per copy, compared with twenty-six pence for the concurrently printed Gospels and Acts in large type and in 178 leaves.(96) Though the charge dropped sharply, the mission press still made profits sufficient to pay its expenses, except Wylie's salary, and to defray the cost of two walls more than 400 feet long around the mission premises.(97) In July 1852, Wylie informed the Directors that, '... by means of our machinery, we have been enabled to reduce the cost of printing to a price unprecedentedly low, even in this land of proverbially cheap publication, and our hands have been tolerably well occupied for this year or two past.'(98)

A Million New Testaments for China

The year 1853 marked the tenth anniversary of the treaty port of Shanghai as well as of the LMS's Shanghai mission. In a decade the foreign settlement had

developed into a prosperous community with 250 residents, forty-five business houses in great mansions, a weekly English newspaper called *The North China Herald*, a municipal council, and seven foreign consulates, whilst the Chinese society in the crowded walled city remained in its former state with little change.(99) Among the foreigners, there were twenty-eight Protestant missionaries, a printer and school teachers, belonging to six British and American denominations, with five chapels in the city walls.(100) The LMS's mission was still the largest one at Shanghai with many facilities, including three chapels capable of seating 400 attendants each and of holding more than thirty services each week, a hospital that had relieved up to 100,000 patients in ten years, a press bringing out about 500,000 copies of various works in the same period, and a boarding school having eighteen native boys by 1852.(101) And, thankfully, the laborious and controversial revision of the Bible had at last completed at the end of 1852.

In early 1853, having just being relieved of their work on the Bible, the brethren were again affected by another event, which was to become a major issue in modern Chinese history and to greatly affect the mission work, as well as all Shanghai, and for more than ten years. This was the rebellion of 太平天國, the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo.

It was unexpected that Christian works would play a part in igniting the most large-scale rebellion in China in the nineteenth century. One day in the 1830s, 洪秀全, Hung Hsiu-chuan, a school teacher resident in his native village several tens of miles from Canton and later the chief of the T'ai-p'ings, accidentally received a copy of Liang Afa's 勸世良言 *Ch'üan-shih liang-yen*, Good Words Exhorting the Age, while attending the public literary examination at Canton. After a glance at the work, Hung saw visions in a sickness telling him that he was God's second son and commissioned to exterminate demons and to rescue people in the world.(102) For several months in 1847, Hung was under the instruction of I. J. Roberts, an American missionary at Canton, but the latter declined to baptise him. With fragmentary

knowledge of Christianity mixed up with his visions, however, Hung was able to convert some people and became the chief of the 拜上帝會 *Pai hang-ti hui*, the God-Worshipping Society, which was then the backbone of the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo. The insurrection broke out in 1851 and speedily spread from the south-west region of China toward the affluent central part along the Yangtse River. After Nanking, located further up the Yang-tse river from Shanghai, was taken over in March 1853 and became the capital of the T'ai-p'ings, the situation was not only critically threatening to the existing Ch'ing dynasty but also attracted widespread international attention. From the beginning, the T'ai-p'ings retained some outward Christian appearance, such as iconoclastic practice and observance of the Sabbath. They also destroyed images of other beliefs. After taking over Nanking, they published some reprints and revisions of Christian books, including Gutzlaff's edition of the Bible.(103) They thus raised concern throughout the whole Christian world. A prevailing opinion among missionaries in China and the public overseas was that, though blended with many preposterous and blasphemous doctrines, the T'ai-p'ings might be introduced to the true road to Christendom if they could obtain correct instruction from missionaries as well as be fully supplied with faithful texts. Considering the anti-foreign and anti-Christian character of the Ch'ing government, the T'ai-p'ings were in any case presenting much hope to the Christian world.

In anticipation of the need for missionaries and books for China, the British Christian communities reacted quickly. Compared with only six missionaries sent out by four societies in the previous four years (1850-53), eighteen in total were sent out by six societies, including four by the LMS, in the following four years (1854-57).(104) Other societies' eagerness to enlarge their evangelizing operations in China, after the T'ai-p'ing rebellion became rampant, overshadowed the LMS's plans. In October 1853, the LMS announced that ten new missionaries would be sent to China.(105) A subsequent appeal to the public for special contributions for this purpose raised more than £11,000 in six months.(106) Yet very likely because of

concurrent recruitment by other societies, the LMS could not find even half of the predetermined number of candidates for China. In a letter explaining their difficulty, the Directors asked their brethren in China to make every allowance for their 'embarrassing and trying position.'(107)

Regarding the supply of books, the spotlight was on the Bible Society's ambitious project of 'One Million New Testaments for China.' Prior to this, China together with some other countries, had been included in the scheme of the society's jubilee celebration in 1853-1854. Then the great prospect of disseminating the Gospel in China brought by the T'ai-p'ing rebellion induced the society's Committee to resolve, in September 1853, to undertake 'upon themselves all the measures necessary for printing, with the least practicable delay, one million copies of the Chinese New Testament.'(108) A special appeal requested British Christians' contributions, 'whether in sums of any amount, or in the exact value of a specified number of copies, estimated at four pence per copy.'(109) In spite of the simultaneous collection of the jubilee fund, the donations received from the enthusiastic public quickly exceeded the needed expenses and reached £30,000 in six months and, again, £35,636 in one year, sufficing for more than two million copies of the New Testament. The Bible Society's Corresponding Committee at Shanghai, consisting of local merchants and missionaries from the LMS and the Church Missionary Society, held a meeting in November 1853 to discuss this large and unprecedented project. Surely the massive million copies was exciting enough a goal, yet to produce them required practical measures. It was judiciously determined that the preliminary aim should be a quarter of a million copies, of which the LMS's Shanghai mission press would produce the largest quota of 115,000 copies, whilst its sister press at Hong Kong had a quota of 50,000 and the Bishop of Victoria, also at Hong Kong, had 85,000 printed with blocks. All of these were scheduled to be produced in eighteen months.(110)

Though only comprising little more than one-tenth of the entire project, the quota of 115,000 copies was already a great undertaking. At this time, the capacity of the cylinder press at the Shanghai mission was 5,000 impressions each day.(111) Therefore, it needed about a month, including working days and Sundays, to complete all 115,000 impressions of a forme. Then, because the Chinese New Testament consisted of 17 formes, the period of eighteen months would probably be just enough to carry out this large order. Medhurst soon set about some preparatory work deemed requisite: first of all, an order for small type worth $2,500 was placed with the Hong Kong mission; secondly, paper worth $1,500 was purchased locally and $500 more at Hong Kong; thirdly, a request was sent to the Bible Society for a supply of 500 lbs. of printing ink, the cost of which was to be deducted from the entire expenses due to that society; fourthly, a new printing office was erected at a cost of $700 and completed in April 1854; fifthly, Medhurst wrote to the Bible Society for an additional cylinder press and to the LMS for a second printer.(112) Alarmed by this series of expenditures, the Directors immediately expressed their concerns. To relieve their anxieties, Medhurst wrote home first claiming that, for the last ten years, 'the printing office has uniformly paid its way, and not occasioned to the [London] Missionary Society for work done the outlay of one penny.'(113) Meanwhile, the Directors were re-assured that all recent expenditure was within the cost which would be paid by the Bible Society, so that, 'The printing office at this moment is in as prosperous a state as ever, while the means and appliances provided in the shape of buildings and materials are sufficient to enable us to execute work to the value of £10,000 or more.' As to an additional cylinder press, however, though the Bible Society had complied with Medhurst's request to send one out, it was then cancelled because the Directors of the LMS declined, on the grounds of saving money, to employ a second printer to operate it at Shanghai.(114)

The printing of the 'million edition' of the New Testament commenced around April 1854. The cylinder press was at work from five o'clock in the morning

till two or three o'clock the following morning; the workers and the bullocks, which were the power source of the printing press, were arranged in several shifts; but Wylie had to be constant attendance, 'there being only one,' the Directors' having declined to supply a second printer.(115) Just within the scheduled eighteen months, the entire work was finished in September 1855, though remaining in sheets.(plate 5-3) Remarkably, the 'million edition' was not the only product of the mission press nor the only Chinese Bible printed during this period. For instance, printed at the same time there were the following three editions of the Chinese Bible:

First, the Old Testament, 5,000 copies and 505 leaves each in small type, the revision of which was finished in October 1852 and printing began in the middle of 1853, but slowed down when the printing of the 'million edition' began. In conformity with the New Testament, finished three years earlier, the completion of the Old in September 1855 meant that for the first time the entire Chinese Bible was uniform with a neat and compact typographical appearance. Having the great satisfaction of bringing about the dream of his predecessors, Medhurst could not refrain from declaring that, 'It is always a satisfaction to me to be able to say "This is done," and "That is done." Now the whole of the Scriptures have not only been translated in a correct and appropriate style, but printed and published. For this we ought to give thanks, and do give thanks.'(116) Secondly, a revised edition of the delegates' version of the New Testament, 5,000 copies and 349 leaves each in large type. Its printing began in early 1853 and was completed possibly in late 1855.(117) Thirdly, a colloquial Mandarin version of the New Testament, and 252 leaves in small type. It is true that the delegates' version was in a classical style of elegant language, which originated from the missionaries' desire to present a refined work to the Chinese to gain their respect and had been prepared elaborately under the assistance of prominent native scholars. Shortly after the delegates' version was put into circulation, however, there came complaints about its being too difficult to be understood by ordinary people. In October 1853, a resolution of the Bible Society's



plate 5-3: The title-page of the 'million edition' of the New Testament, printed at the Shanghai mission press in 1855. (SOAS Collection)

Corresponding Committee at Shanghai accordingly requested Medhurst to undertake the preparation of another version with a greater diffusiveness of style for the less educated classes.(118) Within eight months, this work was ready for the press. It was first determined to print a trial edition of 5,000 copies, which was then multiplied tenfold to 50,000 copies. Its printing commenced in early 1855 and finished in 1857.

Whilst the printing of various editions of the Bible principally occupied the cylinder press in the several years from 1852 to 1857, the Shanghai mission press was able to print tracts and other publications for the Religious Tract Society and others. The old hand press, together with blocks and stereotype plates occasionally, continued to bring out new or revised works or just reprints and printed mostly 10,000 or 5,000 copies of each, with several exceptions of 4,000 or fewer.(119) Altogether, the Shanghai mission press printed a massive number of about 14 million leaves in the year ending April 1855.(120) Then, in the following period until their 'million edition' was completed in September 1856, the number further rose to 18.6 million, despite an interruption caused, in June of the same year, by a fire, which destroyed a bindery adjacent to the printing office and consumed a large quantity of paper and the colloquial Mandarin version in sheets.(121) Considerable profits were consequently generated by these products. As the missionaries reported, in the year ending April 1855, all these activities led to a sum of $800 on the credit side, added a stock of Chinese type worth $2,500, a building costing $900 and a quantity of English type valued at $250, all besides the maintenance of the printing establishment.(122)

A very significant change in the output of the Shanghai mission press in the middle 1850s was represented by a multiplicity of authors and subjects of publication. Whilst Medhurst remained as a main contributor, other younger brethren, W. C. Milne, William Muirhead, Joseph Edkins and Wylie, had advanced their knowledge of the Chinese language and joined in the task of writing and publishing both religious tracts and secular works. In addition to three earlier revisions of his father's works, Milne brought out a tract called 警惡箴言 *Ching-o chen-yen*, The Sinner's

Friend, in 1854. Of the younger generation, Muirhead was the most prolific writer and his first work was 行客經歷傳, *Hsing-k'o ching-li chuan*, an abridged translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in 1851, being Bunyan's first work in Chinese. From then until 1857, Muirhead published as many as sixteen works, including one printed at Hong Kong. Edkins had written four books by 1857, including a broadside sheet on solar eclipses, two religious tracts and one reproaching Buddhism called 釋教正謬 *Shih-chiao cheng-miu*, Correction of Buddhist Errors. Wylie translated, in collaboration with Chinese scholars, two mathematical works and, from 1857, was the editor of a Chinese monthly called 六合叢談 *Liü-ho ts'ung-t'an*, the *Shanghai Serial*. In addition to Bibles and works by the LMS's brethren, the mission press could still manage to find time to print five books by other British missionaries, i.e. 天路歷程 *T'ien-lu li-ch'eng*, a complete translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* by William C. Burns, of the Presbyterian church, and four tracts by Robert H. Cobbold, of the Church Missionary Society.(123)

In all respects, the Shanghai mission press was in its heyday in the middle 1850s with production centred on the printing of various editions of the Bible. In 1855, Medhurst, then fifty-nine years old, wrote to the Directors and expressed a feeling of 'the infirmities of age creeping over me' and hoped to return to England for a short time for the recuperation of his health.(124) Shortly after the 'million edition' was finished, he left Shanghai and arrived in London on 22 January 1857. Unfortunately he died two days later. The founder's death ended an era at the Shanghai mission press.

The Secular Publications

Whilst the threat of the T'ai-p'ings loomed gradually, the sudden take over of the walled city of Shanghai by a secret society, 小刀會 *Hsiao Tao Hui*, in September 1853 entirely surprised both the Chinese and foreign communities. Siege warfare

between the rebellious group and the government army subsequently began and continued until the government resumed its control of the city in March 1855. Surprisingly the rebellion did little to disturb foreigners and the foreign settlement was hardly affected, except for the occasional involvement of the LMS's mission premises, being on the border close to the Chinese city, in the exchange of fire from both sides. During most of the year and half period, the missionaries were allowed to enter the walled city to carry on their work. As a matter of fact, the peculiar circumstance brought about by the siege led the chapels, all being owned by foreign missions, to become spiritual refuges and soup kitchens for the poor. The LMS's two chapels in the city attracted large audiences of up to 400 or 500 people daily, of which about 100 were regular attendants, whether there was rice or not.(125) In the meantime, the hospital on the mission premises outside the walls was filled with wounded soldiers and their companions from both camps, forming yet another odd group of hearers of the gospel. Among many applicants, eleven were baptized during the crisis.(126)

The siege was ended, yet the T'ai-p'ings were getting closer year by year. By the end of the 1850s, they had temporarily abandoned their plan to go northward to Peking and adopted an eastward policy aimed at taking the whole of the affluent Yangtse delta as their economic base. Following the seizure of a series of cities, Suchou, the capital of Chiang-su province about seventy miles west of Shanghai, fell into the insurgents' hands in 1860. The situation in the neighbouring Che-chiang province was similar, and its capital, Hangchou, and another treaty port, Ningpo, were occupied at the turn of 1861. The raging war everywhere produced a flood of refugees. Located at the east end of the delta, with an increasingly prosperous economy since opening to international commerce, Shanghai attracted a massive number of refugees. Amongst them were those who were traditionally the leaders of Chinese society and usually having close links with the government, such as the gentry and the literate. At this time, not only had the original British settlement been

enlarged, but the Americans and the French obtained their respective concessions as well. When the refugee surge occurred, the foreign settlements also began, in 1853, to accept Chinese residents, when formerly they had been limited to those with foreign employers. Very different from the dual but separate growth of Shanghai in its first ten years as a treaty port, a mixed Chinese-foreign society soon emerged, which was doubtless a very significant development in the early history of modern Shanghai. Whilst the great number of refugees helped to promote the city's prosperity, this mixing also brought more Chinese under Western influence, especially the refugees, many of whom would otherwise never have come to Shanghai.(127)

To many contemporary Chinese intellectuals, one of the interesting sights of Shanghai was 墨海書館, *Mo-hai shu-kuan*, i.e. the well-known Chinese name of the LMS's printing establishment. More specifically, it was the miraculous cylinder press and the novel secular works published by the mission press that attracted them. Regarding the cylinder press, in the diary of Medhurst's Chinese teacher 王韜 Wang T'ao, there are many references to him accompaning his friends to see the operation of that machine.(128) Two poems about these visits written by Wang's friends were also recorded. In addition to Wang's friends, who were mostly refugees looking for shelter at Shanghai, the LMS's mission press had visitors from the upper stratum of the society. In early 1856, 郭嵩燾 Kuo Sung-t'ao, a member of the Imperial Academy and later the first Chinese ambassador to Britain in 1876, came to visit foreign institutions at Shanghai, including several consulates, steamers, mechanical companies' show-rooms and the LMS's printing office. Deeply impressed by the cylinder press, Kuo wrote down details of the process of its operation in his diary and concluded that, 'Such is a specimen of Westerners' ingeniousness.'(129) In April 1857, another guest of higher-rank, 徐有壬 Hsü Yü-jen, who was the Director-General of Civil Affairs for Hu-nan province and shortly after became the Viceroy of Chiang-su province, paid a visit to LMS's mission press.(130) He appears to have been the

highest among the Chinese officials who came to see the cylinder press. Hsü's visit was quite unusual for officialdom during the 1850s.

In the meantime, the secular books emanating from the mission press attracted more Chinese intellectuals, a class thus far the missionaries had hoped to win over but with little success. Until 1850, the press's secular works had been for foreign readers. A significant change occurred after the younger brethren had advanced their knowledge in Chinese. Whilst the seniors were occupied by the revision and the controversy of the Bible, the juniors were preparing another approach hopefully to catch Chinese minds and, if possible, their souls. Despite the fact that no fewer than eleven secular works in English and other foreign languages were published by the mission press in the 1850s and 1860s, the missionaries' main concerns now shifted to those for Chinese readers.(131) The subject first appeared in April 1852 in a letter to the Directors by Joseph Edkins, a graduate of University College London, when he wrote that, 'While the instruction of religious truth is their first object, your missionaries do not overlook the importance of printing enlightened views or subjects of a scientific nature in this country.'(132) What he referred to here was the press's first secular work intended for Chinese readers, i.e. 華洋和合通書 *Hua-yang ho-ho t'ung-shu*, The Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac for 1852, and written by himself.(plate 5-4) In this work, some superstitious matters from the traditional Chinese almanac were omitted, but added were time zones of the world, eclipses, a comparative table of Chinese and English days based on the nautical almanac, a comparative chronology of China and other countries, an exhortation to improve oneself, three prayers and five short religious selections. Of Chinese style in appearance, 5,000 copies of this almanac were printed, with 30 leaves each, with large and small type except for the title being in very large character cut on a wooden strip. In spite of Christian features, this work found its way amongst the natives, such that double the number of copies were printed for the following issues. It continued to be the widest circulated of all secular works published by the Shanghai mission

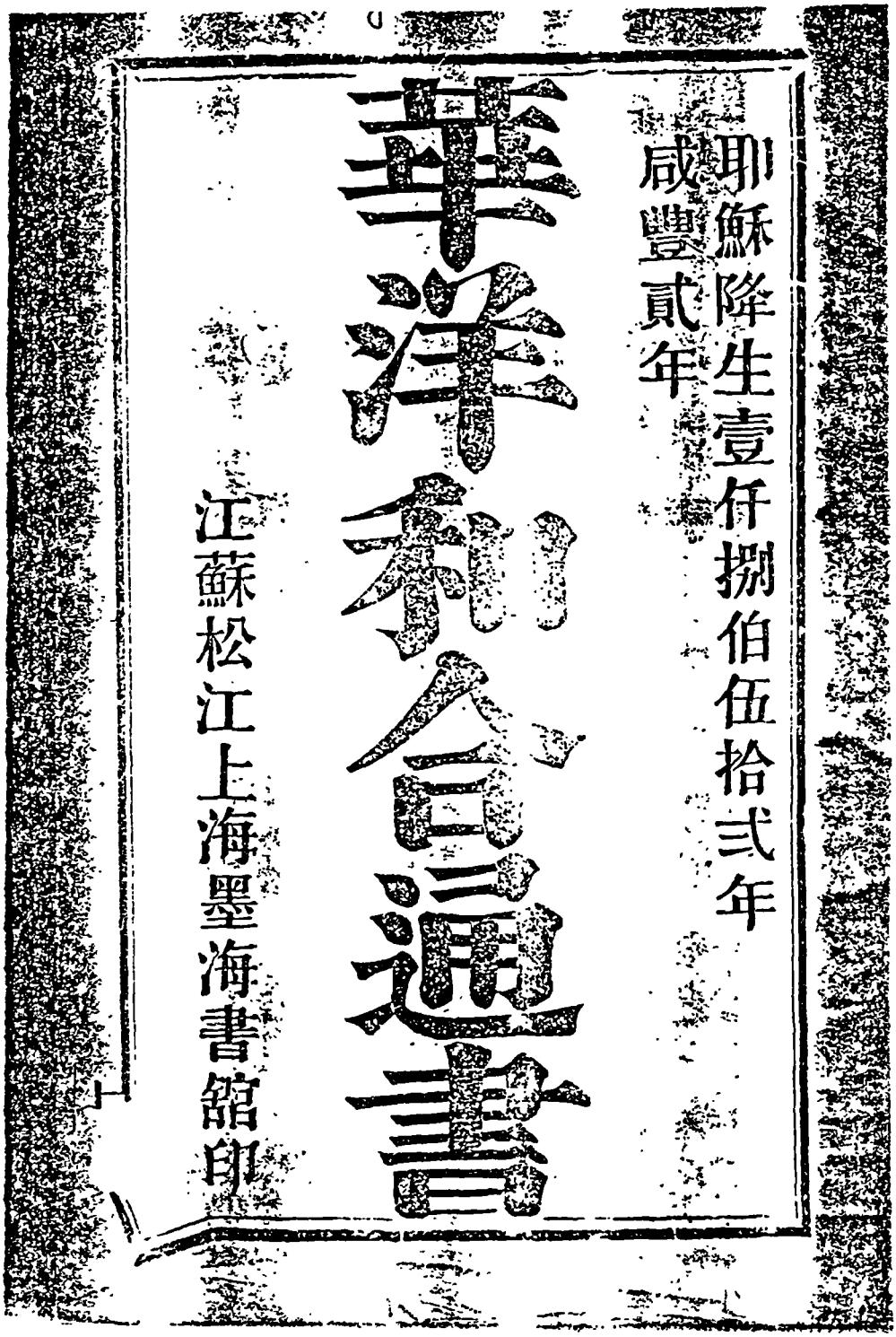


plate 5-4. The title-page of Joseph Edkins's 華洋和合通書 *Hua-yang ho-ho t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac, published in 1852. (SOAS Collection)

press until it followed Edkins' removal to T'ientsin and Peking in the north from 1862. Topics that appeared in the later issues varied from scientific subjects to an account of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the Treaty of T'ientsin between Britain and China, a memoir of Robert Morrison and many Christian articles.(133) One brethren praised this work writing that, 'Mr. Edkins' almanac is very highly valued for the scientific articles it contains. It has gained a place & a name of no small significance. It is sought for everywhere, & finds its way to the high places of the land.'(134)

Following the almanac came works on various subjects: geography, history, mathematics, mechanics, medicine, astronomy and botany. For example, there was 地理全志 *Ti-li ch'üan-chih*, the Universal Geography by William Muirhead, who held a M. A. degree from the University of Edinburgh. The author's intention to give the Chinese 'satisfactory' information about the globe and mankind extended the length of this work to two thick volumes in 365 leaves in total, with numerous woodcut illustrations.(135) The first volume, published in 1853, dealt with political geography and the second, in 1854, was devoted to physical, mathematical and historical geography. Whilst acknowledging his main sources were recent books both in English and Chinese, the author declared that the whole had been carefully revised and enlarged, with the assistance of a 'superior' native teacher, 蔣敦復 Chiang Tun-fu, who was a literary graduate of the first rank, in order to render it in a style to interest Chinese scholars.(136) The expense of printing this work was paid for by a local British merchant, Lancelot Dent, who died before its publication. For unknown reasons, however, its two volumes were printed by different methods, the first with type and the second with blocks, so to produce an incongruous effect in their appearance. Muirhead's next work was 大英國志 *Ta ying-kuo chih*, A History of England, 322 leaves in two volumes, printed in 1856 with blocks and paid for from the same source. It was mainly a translation, again with the help of Chiang Tun-fu, of Thomas Milner's work published by the Religious Tract Society in 1853, with an additional chapter on the constitution, resources and geography of the British empire

taken from *Chamber's Information for the People*. Since Morrison's time, geography and history had been the main topics of the missionaries' secular works next to philology. Compared with those very rudimentary ones by Morrison, Milne and Medhurst, however, Muirhead's works were much advanced in their systematic contents as well as in their refined writing and represented enormous progress in the knowledge of the young missionaries in the middle nineteenth century.

Science was another field in which their predecessors' abilities fell short of their wishes but the new generation were able to give fuller play to their talents. In 1855, Edkins compiled 重學 *Chung-hsüeh*, translated from William Whewell's *An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics*.(137) Because this was the first time that knowledge of mechanics was made available to the Chinese, its novelty induced a native intellectual 錢熙輔 Ch'ien Hsi-fu, who held the second rank of literary graduate, to offer to print it with blocks at his residence. Sadly after several copies were struck off, a fire destroyed the house. On the order of the Viceroy of Chiang-su province, 李鴻章 Li Hung-chang, blocks were re-cut finely and the work was reprinted on excellent Chinese paper in 1866. In respect of botany, a work entitled 植物學 *Chih-wu-hsüeh*, Treatise on Botany, was translated from John Lindley's works by Alexander Williamson, a graduate of the University of Glasgow where he had attended natural history, anatomy, physiology and chemistry classes before graduating in 1855.(138) After completing seven of the projected eight chapters, however, Williamson was forced to return to Britain due to his ill health and the last chapter was finished by Edkins. This work, in 101 leaves, was printed with blocks in 1858, with about 200 fine woodcut illustrations much superior in accuracy compared to those usually seen in Chinese books.

As to medicine, there was a series of works by Benjamin Hobson, a graduate of University College London and a member of the Royal College of Surgeons. Stationed at Canton, Hobson had for two periods in the 1850s been at the Shanghai mission, where was first printed, in 1855 and with blocks, 博物新編 *Po-wu hsin-pien*,

Natural Philosophy and Natural History, which was an introductory work with many illustrations. Then in 1857, the mission press brought out his 西醫略論 *Hsi-i lüeh lun*, Introduction to the Practice of Surgery in the West, designed as a handbook of surgical practice with some 400 illustrations. In the following year, the press published Hobson's four further works, i.e. 婦嬰新說 *Fu-ying hsin-shuo*, Treatise on Midwifery and Diseases of Children; 內科新說 *Nei-k'o hsin-shuo*, Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica; 全體新論 *Ch'üan-t'i hsin-lun*, Treatise on Physiology, which was a reprint of the lithographic edition from Canton of 1851; and 醫學英華字釋 *A Medical Vocabulary in English and Chinese*, in 74 pages, which was Hobson's only work printed with type at the Shanghai mission press. His assistant in translation at Shanghai was 管嗣復 Kuan Ssu-fu, who was also a literary graduate of the first rank.(139) Though not the first Protestant medical missionary in China, Hobson was the first to introduce modern medical science to the Chinese via the medium of the press. A native literate commented that his works were 'of the best quality in a pithy style to be read with admiration by people.'(140)

Amongst all the subjects of the secular publications of the mission press, mathematics and astronomy perhaps interested contemporary native intellectuals the most. Because celestial phenomena were always interpreted in relation to imperial authority and mathematics was of practical importance to agricultural life, these two subjects had their special value in traditional China. Western mathematics and astronomy had been previously introduced by the Jesuits, but in a way very incomplete as well as eclectic. The re-introduction of Western sciences to China in the mid-nineteenth century brought an opportunity to remedy this. Yet it was quite unexpected that this difficult task should not fall to any missionary, but to the printer Wylie, especially his being the only one without a college education among the brethren. What he received was that usually given to 'the sons of tradesmen,' consisting of writing, arithmetic, geography, book-keeping and the rudiments of Latin and French.(141) Since leaving school, however, he had applied himself 'a little' to

some of the higher branches of mathematics and physics, a matter he could not foresee would one day make a cabinet maker enjoy equal popularity with the erudite and the most celebrated Jesuit in China, Matteo Ricci. With a view to introducing mathematics to the Chinese as a continuous project, he first published 數學啓蒙 *Shu-hsüeh ch'i-mong*, Compendium of Arithmetic, with type in 1853. Then due to the intensive printing of the 'million edition' of the Bible, there was a gap of three years in which no further works appeared. After the 'million edition' finished, however, five scientific works and a monthly were brought out from 1857 to 1859 and, one after another, these really caught the interest of Chinese intellectuals. They were 續幾何原本 *Hsü chi-ho yüan-pen*, The Supplementary Elements of Geometry, 1857; 代數學 *Tai-shu hsüeh*, Treatise on Algebra, 1859; 代微積拾級 *Tai-wei-chi shih-chi*, Elements of Analytical Geometry and of the Differential and Integral Calculus, 1859; 談天 *T'an t'ien*, Outlines of Astronomy, 1859; 中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese Western Almanac, 1859; and 六合叢談 *Liü-ho ts'ung-t'an*, the *Shanghai Serial*, 1857-1858.

The Supplementary Elements of Geometry was a translation of the latter part (Book VII to XV) of Euclid's work. The former part, by Ricci and Hsü Kuang-ch'i, had appeared in Peking in 1607 and was much lamented by Chinese mathematicians as an incomplete work during the following two and a half centuries. When Wylie's first draft had merely proceeded half way, 韓應陛 Han Ying-pi, an intellectual who held the second rank of literary graduate, offered to print this work at his residence and at his own expense. Similarly to the situation of Edkins' Treatise on Mechanics, the blocks were destroyed by fire shortly after completion and were re-cut in 1864 together with blocks for the remainder of the text, under the order of the Governor-General of Liang-chiang provinces, 曾國藩 Tseng Kuo-fan. Not only did the Governor-General write the title page and a preface to this work, but he retained Wylie's prefaces in Chinese and English, including the parts designed to promote Christianity.(142) The Treatise on Algebra was a translation of Augustus De

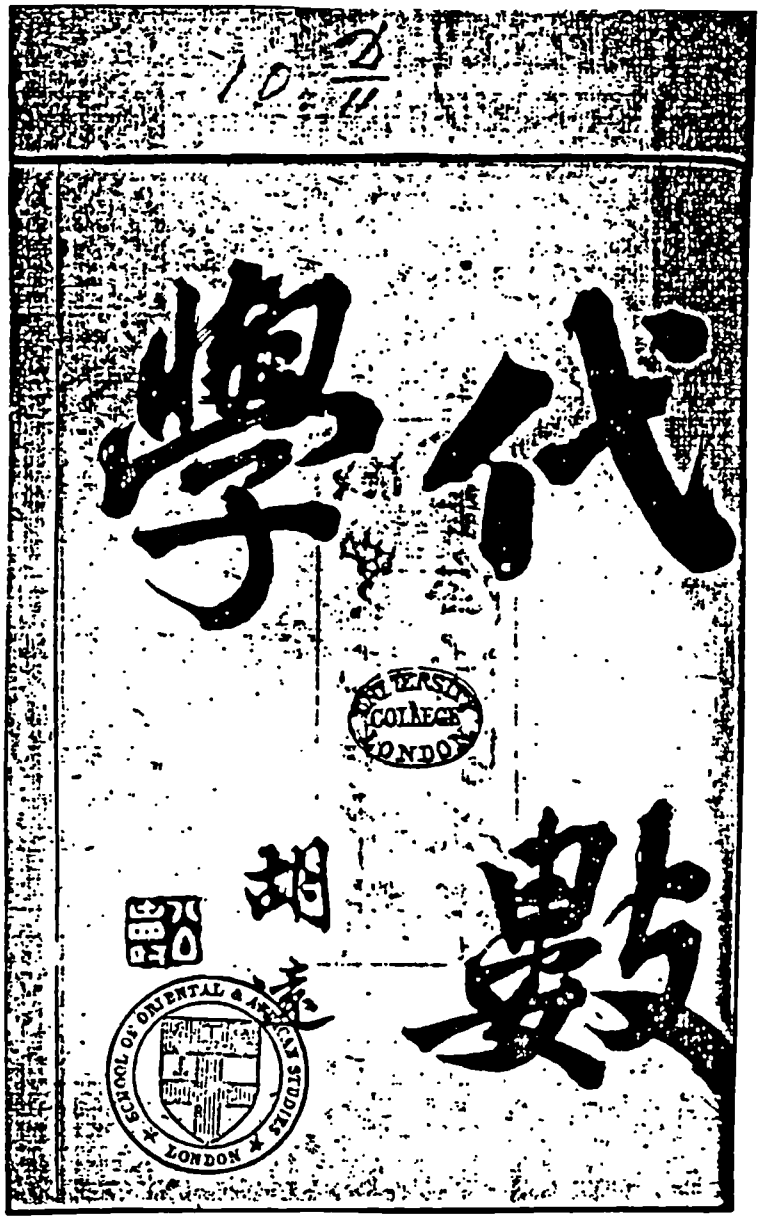


plate 5-5. The title-page of 代數學 *Tai-shu hsueh*. Treatise on Algebra. (SOAS Collection)

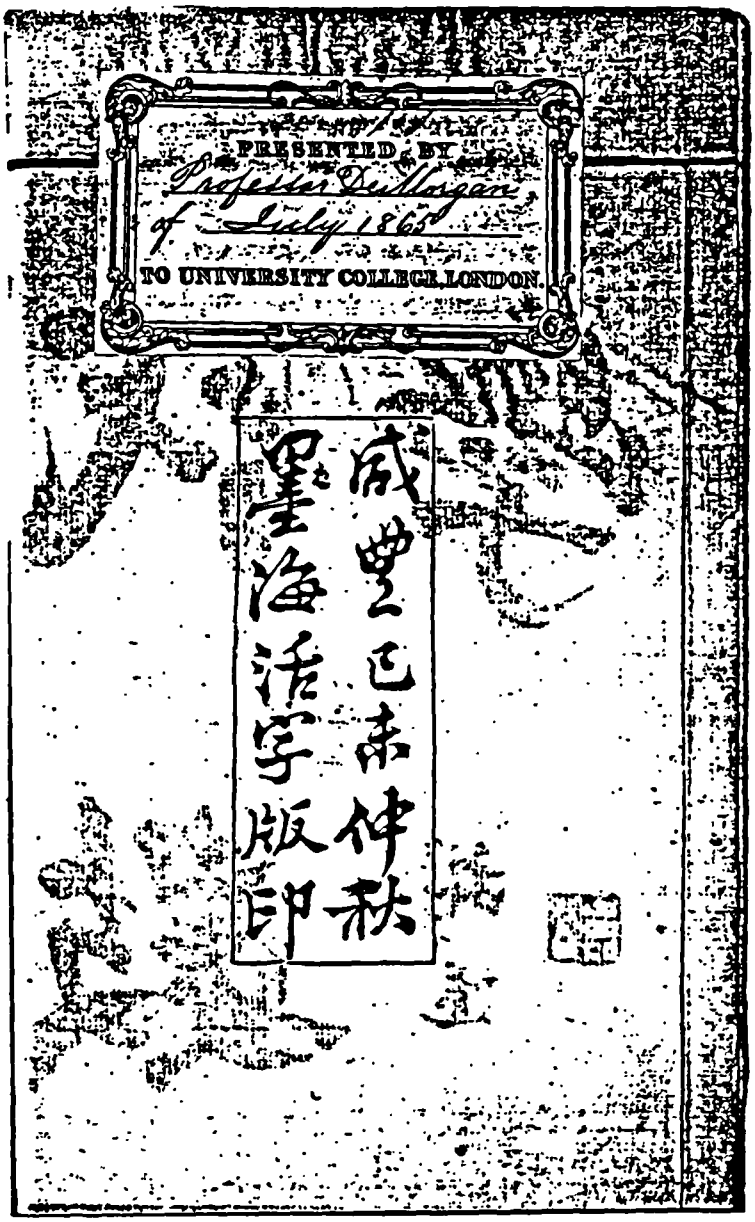


plate 5-6. The colophon of *Tai-shu hsüeh*. An attached label indicated that this copy originally belonged to Augustus De Morgan. the original author, to whom it was very likely presented by the translator. (SOAS Collection)

Morgan's text of 1835 and printed with type.(143)(plate 5-5 & 6) The Elements of Analytical Geometry was a translation from Elias Loomis' work of 1851 and it was for the first time that algebraic geometry as well as Western mathematical symbols were introduced into China.(144) The Outlines of Astronomy was translated from Sir John F. W. Herschel's work of 1851, with many woodcut illustrations and four engraved steel plates printed in England from the original text.(145) Because Chinese readers were for the first time systematically learning the theory of the solar system, there was given a word-by-word literal instruction of English letters and Arabic figures in the plates, as well as a bilingual glossary of technical terms. The publication of this work was considered a milestone in the history of Chinese astronomy.(146) An essential factor contributing to Wylie's accomplishments was his close collaboration with 李善蘭 Li Shan-lan, an eminent mathematician who took the initiative in working with Wylie in these translations, and with Edkins and Williamson in their works.(147) In the preface to The Supplementary Elements of Geometry, Wylie regarded Li's name as 'a guarantee for accuracy in detail,' and he acknowledged again in the preface to the Elements of Analytical Geometry that, ' ... whatever degree of perfection this version may have attained, is almost entirely due to his efforts and talents.'

In addition to the above works on various scientific subjects, the Shanghai mission press published two magazines in Chinese at different times. In November 1856, some missionaries and merchants considered bringing out a monthly, as a continuation of 遐邇貫珍 *Hsia-erh kuan-chen*, the *Chinese Serial*, a periodical published by the LMS's Hong Kong mission but one that had recently ceased publication. A committee of management was accordingly formed, chaired by John Hobson, the British chaplain, and consisting of six LMS and one Dutch missionaries and five foreign merchants at Shanghai, with Wylie as the editor. The magazine was entitled 六合叢談 *Liü-ho ts'ung-t'an*, the *Shanghai Serial*, with its object being the diffusion of knowledge 'calculated to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Chinese.'(148)(plate 5-7) It was also resolved that the magazine should contain



plate 5-7. The title-page of the first number of 六合叢談 *Liü-ho ts'ung-tàn*, the Shanghai Serial. (British Library Collection)

essays on religion, science, literature, as well as foreign and local news, celestial phenomena for the month, statistics of the port of Shanghai, prices current and advertisements. Under Wylie's editorship, the *Shanghai Serial* began publication in January 1857 and included varied contents throughout the entire thirteen issues, each being from 12 to 18 leaves. To each article was affixed the contributor's name, mostly LMS missionaries but with occasional essays by Chinese authors.(149) Whilst the religious and scientific subjects were mainly produced by Muirhead and Williamson, all those concerning literature came from Edkins's pen. Presenting this new subject to the Chinese, Edkins included Greek, Roman and other Latin literature, with accounts of Plato, Homer, Cicero and Western writing and printing materials, devoting to each of these an individual essay. A column, although not in the original plan, appeared in nine of the thirteen numbers and was devoted to book reviews. Thereby eighteen recent religious and secular works by missionaries or others were introduced, including two mathematical works respectively by 戴煦 Tai Hsü and 徐有壬 Hsü Yü-jen, the Director-General of the Civil Affairs of Hu-nan province, which appeared soon after his visit to the press.(150) In respect of news, it was sub-divided into European, and this part occupied the larger space and all pieces were extracted from recently arrived English newspapers, Indian, the Straits, Nanking, and Canton. Throughout the pages, whether articles or news, the writing was in a rather more classical style than the vernacular, which meant this magazine aimed at, and thus limited itself to, intellectuals as its readers.

Like other publications of the mission press, the *Shanghai Serial* appeared in Chinese book style, except for an extra table of contents in English. The headings and the texts were printed with small type, occasionally having cut type, larger or smaller, inserted in lines as headings or notes. From Milne's The Chinese Magazine in the 1810s until the 1850s, all Chinese periodicals were distributed gratis. Before its publication, however, the *Shanghai Serial* was intended to be self-supporting and attempted to sell at the price of twelve Chinese 'cashes' each issue, this being less than

a penny. From the third number on, a colophon appeared under the table of contents stating that the magazine was sold at its Hong Kong and Ningpo agents for twelve cashes per copy. However, the facts showed that the time for the Chinese to spend money on periodical literature had not yet come, so that the members of the management committee had to solicit native and foreign merchants for pecuniary support. Things first looked propitious, as subscriptions enabled 3,500 copies of the magazine to be circulated freely. Before long support dwindled, resulting in the number of copies printed falling from 5,200 for the first six issues each down to 4,000 for the next three, with a further reduction to 3,000 for the last four numbers. After the thirteenth number was brought out in February 1858, publication ceased, 'in consequence of the conflicting interests that exist among the foreign residents here, it has been found advisable to discontinue the publication, lest it might prove detrimental to the cause which we seek to advance.'(151) Besides this equivocal reason on the part of foreigners, the mixed religious and secular character of the magazine must have reduced Chinese intellectuals' interest in it, especially when the space for religious papers increased from the fifth number onwards.

Later in 1862, John Macgowan, a young missionary who graduated from University College London and had arrived at Shanghai in 1860, published 中外雜誌 *Chung-wai tsa-chih*, the *Shanghai Miscellany* in its English title. Intended to be similar to Wylie's magazine in its format, the *Shanghai Miscellany* begun publication in July 1862 and printed with blocks. Probably a private publication, this magazine appeared once only as a subject in Macgowan's correspondences to London before he moved to the Amoy station, the following year.(152) According to Wylie, this monthly consisted of about twelve or fifteen leaves each issue and appeared for about six months only.(153)

In general, these secular works did not fail to attract the interest of native intellectuals, of whom not a few were curious, or rather anxious, to know something about the outside world and with the hope of developing a sound strategy for their

country's future after its unprecedented defeat in the 1840s. Wang T'ao, the language teacher at the Shanghai mission, made use of these works as presents for those of high social position.(154) Some native scholars exchanged their own works with the missionaries and they became acquainted with each other.(155) In 1861, an influential scholar, 馮桂芬 Feng Kui-fen, who held the third and highest rank of literary graduate, published a work 校邠廬抗議 *Chiao-pin-lu k'ang-i*, Straightforward Words from Feng Kui-fen, containing forty reform strategies. Of these, one was called 采西學議 *Ts'ai hsi-hsüeh i*, Study Western Learning, in which he suggested that the government should establish translation institutions at Shanghai and Canton. Feng cited extracts from Muirhead's Universal Geography and other unidentified works to show the benefits gained from reading Western books and expressed the desire to learn more from those yet remaining untranslated.(156) Feng's suggestion was a direct cause of the founding of a school called 廣方言館 *Kuang-fang-yen-kuan*, The Institute for Studying Foreign Languages, at Shanghai in 1863 by Li Hung-chang, the Viceroy of Chiang-su province, to whom Feng was a private secretary.(157) Thus, secular works won meaningful recognition of the value of the LMS's Shanghai mission press from native intellectuals, though they did not achieve what the missionaries had expected in order to 'pave the way for religious truth.'(158)

Problems and Decline

From 1858 onwards, the situation in China was more favourable for the expansion of mission work. In that year an allied expedition by Britain and France, resulting from different incidents relating to the two countries two years earlier, had entered Peking and forced the Emperor Hsien-feng into exile in the countryside. China subsequently signed respective treaties with Britain, France, the United States and Russia in 1858. Together with those signed with the same countries in 1860, these treaties introduced a new age to mission work in China, not only because more

ports and inland cities were opened up to foreigners, but more importantly, the mission work gained complete freedom and protection.(159) Hence the 1860s saw rapid expansion and competition amongst different missionary societies in China. It was said that in 1858 there were 81 Protestant missionaries representing twenty societies in China, and the number increased to 189 agents from twenty-four societies by 1864.(160)

No sooner had the British government published the treaty with China in September 1858 than the Directors of the LMS began to discuss possible measures to further enlarge their Chinese mission. More than £13,000 was collected for this purpose in one year.(161) Meanwhile, by public recruitment, by individually searching for suitable candidates and by calling back retired agents, the Directors set a goal of trying to send out at least twenty new agents to China by the end of 1861.(162) Moreover, extensive discussions about where to establish new stations and the re-distribution of missionaries took place at Board meetings and in correspondence between them and the brethren in China. Whilst Amoy, Canton and Hong Kong, sites of the other LMS missions, were in the south, Shanghai was not only the gateway to the entire Yang-tse valley in central China, but was also the starting point for the vast north of the country. With its unique strategic position, the Shanghai mission had become the *de facto* headquarters in implementing the LMS's expansion plan. Seemingly hopeful prospects were presented to work among the T'ai-p'ings around 1860, when the LMS's missionaries developed a good relationship with one of their kings, 洪仁玕 Hung Jen-kan, a cousin of the T'ai-p'ings' chief and a former employee of the LMS's Hong Kong mission. At Hung's invitation, the missionaries went several times to Suchou and Nanking, the insurgents' capital, with a view to planting missions there. An edict of toleration of Christianity was issued by the chief to the missionaries and a residence promised. A sensation was accordingly stirred up in England, as the brethren's reports continuously occupied a lot of space in LMS's *The Missionary Magazine* during 1860 and 1861. Then, the brethren

eventually realized that it would be hazardous to venture their enterprises on a regime led by a chief with fantastic visions, with only destructive rather than constructive possibilities.(163) Soon after this episode, the Shanghai brethren proceeded to visit other recently opened cities and by 1862 had established three new missions at Hank'ou, on the upper reaches of the Yang-tse River; at T'ientsin, near the capital in the north; and finally at Peking.

Regarding the Shanghai station itself, there was an obvious difference before and after 1858. In 1857, the mission had a church, five native assistants, with twenty-four people baptized in that year.(164) Two years later in 1859, there were eight churches, fourteen native agents, with eight-nine people baptized that year.(165) In the early 1860s, the situation fluctuated precariously, due to the rampant civil war on the outskirts of Shanghai on the one hand and the transfer of most missionaries to new stations on the other. Yet mission work at the city of Shanghai continued its steady growth. In the middle of 1864, the devastating T'ai-p'ing rebellion was eventually put down. A year before this, the Shanghai mission had three foreign missionaries, one ordained native pastor, six assistants, three churches, ten out-stations, 160 converts and forty-six people baptized.(166) Then a missionary left for Suchou, the recently recovered capital of Chiang-su province, to open a new station there, so reducing the number of foreign brethren at Shanghai to two, one of them being fully occupied by medical work. Nevertheless, virtually single-handed William Muirhead was able to manage, by means of seven well-trained native assistants, an even more prosperous Shanghai mission, having six churches, ten out-stations, 230 converts and eighty-five people baptized in 1864.(167)

However, in contrast to the rapid multiplication of LMS stations in general and to the new prospects for the Shanghai mission after the rebellion in particular, the Shanghai mission press had surprisingly gone into decline from the late 1850s. Whilst the time for the unbound spread of the gospel came and called for more printed pages to accompany oral instruction, and whilst the secular publications had

roused the Chinese from their ignorance of modern Western knowledge, the decline of the Shanghai mission press, which had only several years earlier been the largest printing establishment in China, was aggravated further to lead its closure in 1865. There were causes, external and internal, contributing to this result.

The first and most vital blow was the death of Medhurst in 1857. With long-standing experience and indefatigable zeal, Medhurst founded this press upon its predecessor at Batavia, and brought it to its heyday in the middle 1850s. Being one of the most important concerns of his evangelistic work, printing and distributing God's word as well as secular publications had always occupied a lot of his time. In fact, in the history of the LMS's Chinese mission, Medhurst was the only missionary who was able to undertake printing work with an enterprising spirit and a shrewd talent sufficient to keep its business well-balanced, being non-commercial whilst self-supporting. Under his supervision, the Shanghai and the Batavia mission presses could always make both ends meet, with some profits for necessary improvement. Unlike the single-handed situation at Batavia, the Shanghai mission was run by a committee formed by all brethren. Because of his seniority and capability, however, Medhurst naturally took the lead in the printing department, as well as in other branches, except medical work. After his death, neither Wylie nor any of the missionaries could take his place in a job demanding a combination of technical knowledge and business talent. One thing sufficient to show the difference between Medhurst and other brethren was that, in contrast to the detailed and well-organized information about printing in his reports, this subject appeared less often in mission reports after 1857 and even dwindled to few words in the 1860s.

The mission press further suffered Wylie's resignation, with his transferring himself to represent the Bible Society in China. It was Muirhead, now the senior missionary, who made the suggestion to Wylie and to the Bible Society through the Directors of the LMS, and without insisting on a substitute printer as a prerequisite.(168) The problem of distributing the Bible in China occurred when the

printing of the first part of the 'million edition' was finished. Earlier in April 1855, the same Muirhead still reported that the supply of the Bible fell short of demand such that, 'The printing office can not produce work fast enough. All the editions of the New Testament formerly printed, amounting to 22,000 copies are entirely exhausted.'(169) The Shanghai mission was obliged to borrow from Ningpo and Hong Kong, and Muirhead placed hope in the several large editions still being printed.(170) However, exactly three years later in April 1858, without the able Medhurst, now deceased, the completion of the 'million edition,' together with other editions and the colloquial Mandarin version, appeared too difficult a task for the younger brethren to distribute. At that time Muirhead complained that their means of distribution were hampered, as missionaries were few and native colporteurs could not be entirely trusted.(171) At the same time, Wylie also reported that, 'With the exception of our mission, and the agents of the Chinese Evangelization Society, at Ningpo, there are none who distribute our version (and no other version is distributed in Shanghai to any great extent).'(172) A rather ironic report was made by Wylie in September 1859, when in a letter to the Directors he stated that, 'There is a complete stop to Bible distribution for the present, and our stock is continually accumulating. I am just about to begin [the printing of] another 100,000 New Testament.'(173) The Bible Society's project of a million New Testaments for China did not go further than 313,000 copies in total printed in various places.(174) However large a share the *Shanghai mission press had in this, printing was entirely suspended in about 1860* with nearly 200,000 copies piled up in the store-house at Shanghai.(175) Wylie returned to London in 1860 and, after negotiations between the Bible Society and the LMS, he returned in 1863 as the Bible Society's agent in China. The problem of Bible distribution could have been resolved in due course, yet the Shanghai mission press was not to have another superintendent.

As to other missionary brethren at Shanghai, they were first fascinated by their encounter with the T'ai-p'ings. They then left for their own new stations until

only a doctor remained with Muirhead, who took responsibility for the press after Wylie's departure. Although Muirhead himself had at least ten works printed at the mission press, he much preferred the occupation of an author to that of a printer. After three years in the printing business, he anxiously expected Wylie's return, stating that, 'I have too much to do with it and other secular affairs during his absence. My wish is to have as little to do with these things as possible, and to devote all my attention to the direct promotion of our great work.'(176)

Still, there were more factors related to the decline of the Shanghai mission press. The LMS's expansion in the 1860s required considerable funds to purchase land for the construction of buildings for new stations. For this purpose, as well as for new buildings at Shanghai itself, more than half of the land bought in 1845, now estimated to be worth 500 times its original value, was sold for about £6,000 in November 1861.(177) Muirhead suggested a further sale of a part of the land, on which the printing office, bindery and the Bible depository stood, for nearly £2,800. Then, with a view to rendering the Shanghai mission as self-supporting as possible in the long term, the sale plan was changed to one of leasing out some buildings, thereby the Bible depository was moved to the printing office, 'where there is safe and ample accommodation for the purpose,' and the type were transferred from the press to 'the upper large and empty rooms of the bindery.'(178) Nothing was mentioned about whether such an arrangement would hinder printing work, but it was happily reported that the total sum of rent was an amount equivalent to three missionaries' annual salaries and that, 'it is without any inconvenience to us.'(179)

It was under these circumstances that the LMS's Shanghai mission press faced a formidable local rival, viz. the American Presbyterian mission press. Founded at Macao in 1844 and moved to Ningpo in 1845, where the American Presbyterian press maintained a steady growth, its production of pages printed rising from 635,400 in 1846 to 6,175,460 in 1858.(180) Compared with the 15,942, 240 pages printed at the LMS's Shanghai press in 1859, the capacity of the American press was still rather

small.(181) But a new era was about to dawn for the American press. In late 1858, a professional printer, William Gamble, arrived from the United States with new types, matrices, and a type-casting machine. Taking charge as superintendent at Ningpo, Gamble contributed two important inventions to the modern history of Chinese printing: the making of matrices for Chinese type by the electrotype process and the Chinese type case.(182) Transferred to Shanghai at the end of 1860, with the new technology, its capable superintendent, four cylinder presses and one platen press, the American press soon replaced the LMS's declining mission press as the leading enterprise at Shanghai and in fact in the entire country.

In 1865, Joseph Mullens, the newly appointed Foreign Secretary of the LMS, was deputized to carry out an inspection of the various stations of the Chinese mission. During a three-month stay in China in the same year, he came away with a somewhat negative impression of the Shanghai mission, or rather the 'dictatorial spirit' in which Muirhead managed it and handled its properties, as he remarked that,

> 'It has been peculiarly offensive to me, when asking a question, to be told in reply: "I have sold all the English type and appropriated the money to press debts": "I am going to pull down the bindery": ... And my reply has several times been "Who gave you authority to do anything of the kind." But that has been the history of things in Shanghai; and it is that which excites my fears for the future. The Society has not lost in money; on the contrary great efforts have been successfully made to secure as large an income as the Society's property could be made to give. But the Society has greatly suffered in its men.'(183)

On the deficient state of the Shanghai mission press, the criticism was similarly severe when he wrote that,

> 'I am thoroughly dissatisfied with the state of the Shanghai press, I mean our mission press. There is no one to manage it: the English type is old: the Chinese type is bad: the Chinese paper is worse. And I frankly urged Mr. Wylie not to pay for several thousand Testaments, printed for the Bible Society at 8*d.* each. They are simply a disgrace to the establishment. I am sorry to say that the new edition of Morrison's Dictionary will also do the press no credit. Dr. Legge's press at Hong Kong and the American Presbyterian press at Shanghai under Mr. Gamble, have excellent type and are well managed. I send you

> specimens of our work and Mr. Gamble's, that you may judge for yourself. ... Meanwhile, the work of the press is practically at a standstill.'(184)

In November 1865, Mullens could not wait any longer to call a meeting of the Shanghai committee, in which it was unanimously resolved to entirely close the press, sell the type, whether as type or as scrap metal, and the whole of the press building, which was 'in a very tumble down condition.' This resolution was welcomed by Muirhead, who had been weary of printing affairs for five years, as he wrote, 'I try to decline taking charge of the printing establishment any longer. ... This work having ceased, it appears to be a wise thing to close our operations in this department, that I may be kept free to attend to my proper work.'(185) By August 1866, the English type and the press had been sold for $300, the large Chinese type was sold at less than half price for $500, but the small Chinese type was still trying to find a buyer, due to the huge number then amounting to between 400,000 and 500,000, which Muirhead offered to sell at 50 cents per pound, compared with the original cost of $1.20 per pound.(186) Whilst feeling it necessary to assert that the printing office had been self-supporting throughout its history of twenty-two years, Muirhead did not forget to make a further and somewhat satirical remark on what he was printing in the middle of 1866 when he wrote that, 'At present I am printing several tracts from Chinese blocks, and find them fully answering the purpose.'(187)

Hong Kong

A Newly Created British Colony

Hong Kong is an island of about thirty-two square miles area, situated at the mouth of the Pearl River off the south-east coast of China. Nearly two and a half years previous to its being formally declared a British colony in 1843, according to the Treaty of Nanking, Hong Kong had been occupied by British troops since January

1841, with a view to planting the headquarters of British trade with China. To attract the foreign merchants evacuated from Canton before the war and then staying at Macao looking on at the situation, the island was soon declared a free port and the first land sales was held within five months of occupation. However, not only was Hong Kong the concern of merchants, but also of missionaries. In 1840, there were already at Macao fourteen British and American missionaries anxiously watching the progress of war and more were prepared to come over from Southeast Asia. Two weeks after British occupation, eight excited brethren of various denominations, including W. C. Milne of the LMS, embarked from Macao on a two-day exploratory trip to Hong Kong. They found that this poor island, 'in itself considered, would certainly never have been selected for missionary purpose, nor indeed for commercial objects.'(188) Yet they still thought that, 'There is no question but that, in course of time, the island of Hong Kong will, if retained by the British, rise in importance and influence until it become the first insular emporium in these eastern waters.'

At this time, the number of Hong Kong inhabitants was variously estimated at between 2,500 and 5,650, mostly farmers and fishermen.(189) Then it rapidly attracted many labourers and artisans from the mainland looking for employment, despite this being in defiance of Chinese laws. By the end of the first year under British control, Hong Kong already had a population of over 12,000 Chinese, which rose to 19,009 in April 1844 and again to 23,254 in 1847.(190) Compared with 618 European residents at Hong Kong in 1847, there was an apparent influx of Chinese into this newly created British colony. A characteristic of the Chinese community in the colony's early days was its transient nature without a sense of belonging, this due to it being unlawful to go to the island on the one hand and the ease of coming and going resulting from geographical proximity to the mainland on the other. This led to the disproportionate and predominant number of males and a demoralizing tendency throughout the entire community. A census held in 1844 showed that there were only 315 families out of the 13,000 Chinese residents in Victoria, the capital town of the

colony, and that there were only thirteen private houses amongst 436 permanent brick houses occupied by Chinese.(191) George Smith, who visited Hong Kong and other treaty ports in China on behalf of the Church Missionary Society between 1844 and 1846 and became the colony's first Bishop in 1849, commenting on the discouraging moral and social situation of the local Chinese community remarked that,

> 'The lowest dregs of native society flock to the British settlement in the hope of gain or plunder. ... [T]he great majority of the new comers are of the lowest condition and character. The principal part of the Chinese population in the town consists of servants, coolies, stone-cutters, and masons engaged in temporary work. About one-third of the population live in boats on the water. The colony has been for some time also the resort of pirates and thieves, so protected by secret compact as to defy the ordinary regulations of police for detection or prevention. In short, there are but faint prospects at present of any other than either a migratory or a predatory race being attracted to Hong Kong, who, when their hopes of gain or pilfering vanish, without hesitation or difficulty remove elsewhere. ... These are nearly all illiterate, unable to read, and consequently shut out from an important channel of religious instruction.'(192)

In the conclusion to his observations of Chinese society at Hong Kong, Smith wrote that, '[T]he eye of the Christian philanthropist may be directed to far more promising fields of missionary labour. To concentrate our energies on a mere outpost on the enemy's frontiers is a course of manifest impolicy.'(193)

Though first considered as unpromising or as an uninviting field, Hong Kong in fact witnessed surprisingly animated, even competing, religious activities around 1843, the year in which the island was officially declared a crown colony.(194) Four Chinese temples already existed and the building of a city temple was under way. The Mohammedans completed a mosque on a hill, thence called Mosque Gardens, in 1843, whilst the Catholics also finished the erection of their own church, together with a seminary for training native priests. In respect of the Church of England, a navy chaplain conducted services at a temporary church from the middle of 1843 until the colonial chaplain arrived from London at the end of the year and subsequently took measures to construct a church with a training school for native ministers. As to

the Protestant missions, the American Baptists first came over from Macao in February 1842 and founded a congregation and a school in separate places in Hong Kong. Until August 1843, when missionaries of various societies gathered for the first time to discuss a new version of the Bible, there were agents of the American Baptists, the American Presbyterians, the ABCFM and the LMS, all presenting themselves to participate in this historic occasion. In addition to these, the Morrison Education Society, formed by public subscription at Canton in 1835 in memory of the first Protestant missionary to the Chinese, procured a plot of ground from the colonial government and moved its school from Macao to Hong Kong in November 1842. Furthermore, in June 1843, the Medical Missionary Society in China opened a hospital on a piece of land also granted by the government and devolved it upon Benjamin Hobson, the LMS's medical missionary. Lastly, there was the Chinese Union established in 1844 by Gutzlaff, the Prussian missionary who was now the Chinese Secretary to the colonial government, joining the competition with a mixed reception from amongst the mission circle. It was under these circumstances that the LMS began its mission work at Hong Kong in 1843.

The First Two Years of the Mission

In July 1843, James Legge, the missionary formerly in charge of the LMS's Malacca mission, arrived at Hong Kong with his family and nine native converts. In the conference held in August and attended by LMS missionaries, Legge and Hobson were formally designated to run the station at Hong Kong.(195) Because the latter was in fact fully occupied by medical work in connection with the Medical Missionary Society, Legge virtually became the person taking charge of the LMS's Hong Kong mission. The main tasks at this very early stage were to establish the mission and to re-open the Anglo-Chinese College, previously at Malacca. However, Legge immediately discovered, even before the conference closed, that he was in a

very difficult situation. Sir Henry Pottinger, the Governor of Hong Kong, not only refused to grant land for the LMS's mission, different from the stance he had taken towards the Morrison and the Medical Societies a year earlier, but he had also already transferred the annual allowance of $1,200, formerly for the Anglo-Chinese College, to the Morrison Education Society as from 1842 and without any notice to Legge.(196) The causes for these embarrassments were, as stated in the Governor's reply to the missionaries' application, an order from the home government prohibiting any more grant of land and Sir Henry's dissatisfaction with the College's inability to supply any interpreters during the late war with China.(197)

In spite of these very unfavourable circumstances, the mission work began by September 1843, after Legge temporarily housed his family and some assistants in a rented house and others in a house bought at the Chinese bazaar. The major work of the Hong Kong mission in the following period until the middle 1845, were preaching and education, if medical work at the Medical Missionary Society's hospital was excluded. Compared with other missions at Shanghai and Amoy, the Hong Kong mission had at least a great advantage in its first days, i.e. three very helpful native assistants: Liang Afa, Keu Agang and Ho Chin-seen. Returning from Singapore to Canton in 1839, having stayed there during the war, Afa came down to join the Hong Kong mission in the winter of 1843. In addition to preaching at the chapel, Afa composed a tract, 'God's Gracious Edict Pardoning Sins,' and printed it with blocks at his own expense in the same year.(198) For this first publication of the Hong Kong mission, and it must have been in the meantime the first one of the LMS's entire Chinese missions after the war, 1,800 copies were printed and distributed at Hong Kong as well as at other stations. In sending some specimens to the Directors to solicit their help for further printing, Afa wrote that every 10,000 copies cost about $250 or $260, yet no response came from London.(199) Agang, formerly Afa's assistant in printing and distribution, was now residing at Hobson's hospital as a preacher. Describing himself as a constant attendant at Agang's religious services,

Hobson reported that Agang, though being sixty years old, was 'full of activity and warmth' and his preaching was very 'graphic.'(200) Chin-seen, a son of a printer at Malacca and Legge's 'faithful friend and assistant,' was mainly preaching at the chapel, teaching boys brought from Malacca and was then ordained as the first Chinese minister later in 1846.(201) Having these three valuable assistants, the preaching work of the mission was carried on smoothly and the hearers were usually crowded at the bazaar chapel, at the hospital and at a second chapel in a village called Won-nei-chung. The missionaries reported in early 1845 that, 'A hundred is no more than a fair average, and when we take into account the migratory nature of the population of the colony, we may conclude that ten thousand different individuals have had the gospel thus pressed on their acceptance within the last twelve months.'(202)

Regarding the educational department, it was not so successful as preaching, mainly due to the difficulties resulting from the Governor's adverse attitude. Realizing this, the LMS's brethren resolved, before their conference closed, to change the secular character of the College into a completely religious one and renamed it 'The Theological Seminary of the London Missionary Society's Missions in China,' for training native preachers. However, the transformation did not improve Legge's embarrassment much, as it was found that he was thrown into another difficulty about where to find suitable Christian students for his theological seminary in this new mission field but in a culturally backward Chinese community. No wonder it was a great blessing to him when two students of the former Anglo-Chinese College arrived from Singapore in February 1845.(203) These two youths and another having come to Hong Kong earlier with Legge thus formed the seminary's first class. In addition, the Hong Kong mission had, in June 1845, a mission school with a class of thirty boys and a female one with nine girls, both were reported to be in a flourishing state.(204)

Beside preaching and education, to found a physical centre to establish the entire mission was an urgent necessity. In January 1844, Legge purchased from the government two adjoining plots of land, comprising 38,247 square feet altogether,

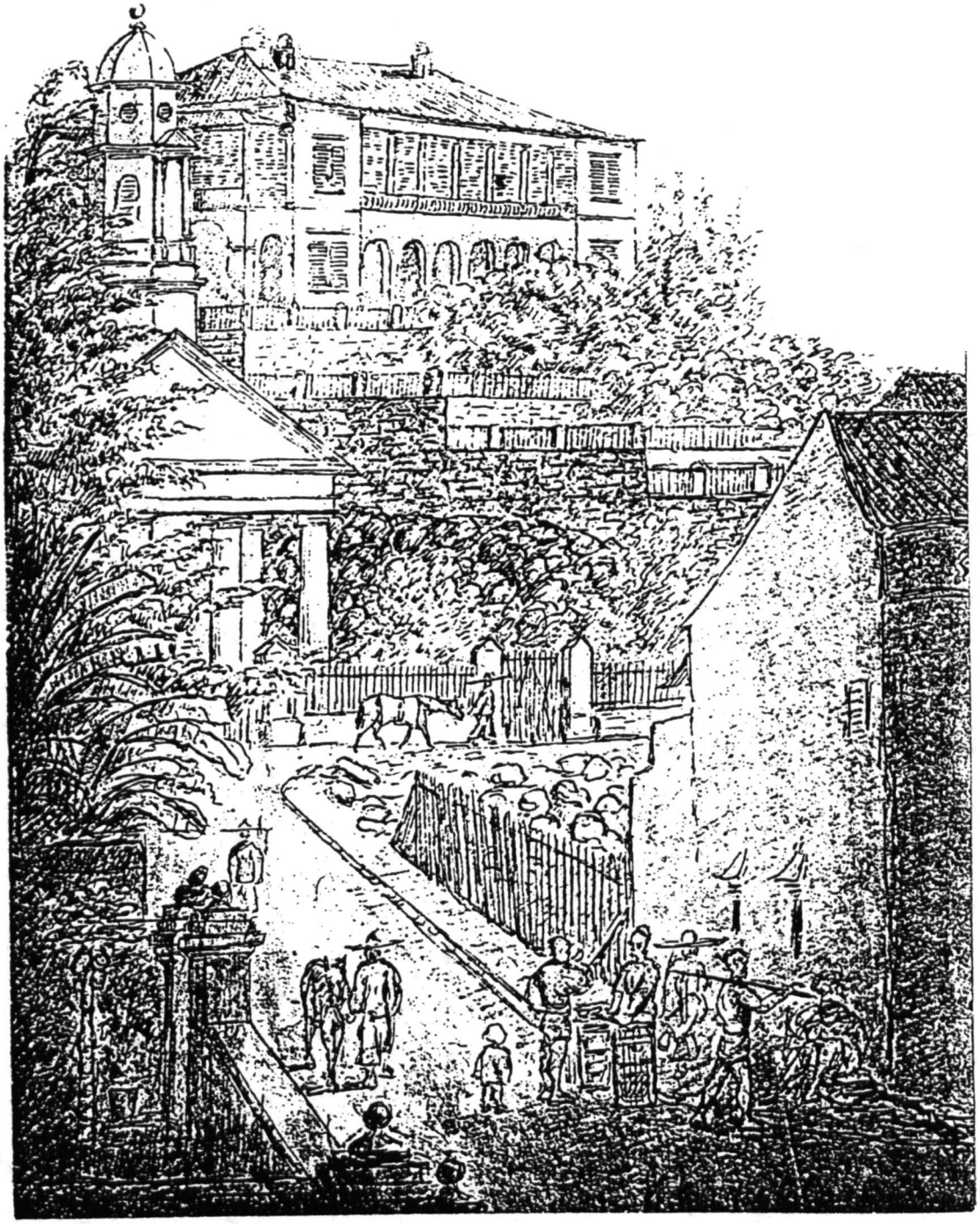


plate 5-8. A sketch of the Hong Kong mission house. (SOAS Collection)

and situated in 'the healthiest part of the town' and 'sufficiently removed from the principal road to command all the advantages of quiet and yet ... within five minutes' walk of the very centre of the Chinese population.'(205) In the latter part of 1844, the construction of the mission premises was completed, including houses for missionary residence, a theological seminary, a mission school, a printing office, and rooms for a library, a tracts depository and out-houses for native assistants.(plate 5-8) In addition to these, a third chapel located opposite the mission premises and designed for the use of both Western and Chinese congregations, whence the name 'The Union Chapel,' was built by means of public subscription in 1845. Thus, within two years of its unfavourable commencement, the Hong Kong mission eventually possessed a solid foundation. Sadly, however, Legge was seized by dysentery in the middle of 1845 and was forced to return to Britain in November of the same year, whilst Hobson, who had accompanied his sick wife, left for home several months earlier. Their leaving meant the end of the first period of the Hong Kong mission.

Stress on Type-Founding

When discussing the re-deployment of LMS printing establishments in China at the conference in 1843, the brethren resolved that the Penang mission press should be moved to Hong Kong. Yet this proved to be impractical, because there was formidable resistance to carrying this out. The Penang mission press was founded by local subscriptions and was under Thomas Beighton's control for the almost exclusive purpose of Malay printing. Due to Beighton's express opposition to its removal from Penang and, after his death in 1844, the original contributors' decided aversion to its being taken away from the Straits, it was hopeless for Hong Kong to obtain it. Legge could not but turn to claim the printing press at the Singapore mission, which was one and the same that he had been pleased to be rid of and had sent to Singapore in 1842. Now 'impressed with the importance of having an efficient printing establishment at

this station,' Legge further requested the Directors to send an English printer to Hong Kong, acquainted in the mean time with type founding.(206) Also, a building in the new mission premises was prepared to house the contemplated printing office.

In June 1846, Alexander Stronach brought the printing office and type foundry from Singapore and, on his way to Amoy, arrived at Hong Kong. Legge had returned home and left the mission in the charge of a young missionary, William Gillespie. Taking over the printing establishment, Gillespie reported at the end of that year that the fount of large type amounted to over 4,200 characters and the small one but 400 only. In the meantime, the workmen were busy completing orders from Medhurst, the ABCFM at Canton and the American Presbyterians at Ningpo, whilst for the fount of small type only 400 punches were cut.(207) Then, in the first nine months of 1847, the subject of type-founding ceased to be mentioned in the Hong Kong mission's reports, until there was an unexpected arrival.

Coinciding with the beginning of Wylie's work at the Shanghai mission in 1847, the Hong Kong mission accepted an offer of service from Richard Cole, an American printer and type-founder who had recently resigned his post as the superintendent of the American Presbyterian press at Ningpo, where he had worked for nearly four years.(208) Cole's employment without advance consent from London as well as his not being from Britain made him something of an exception in the history of the LMS's Chinese printing. The Directors were unlikely to have agreed to such an engagement, even with strong representations from the brethren on the spot for the necessity of an experienced printer to manage the whole printing establishment, especially the type foundry. In fact, about this time the Directors eventually consented to Legge's previous request for an English printer and appointed Thomas Gilfillan, a new missionary who was once apprenticed to a compositor before studying at the University of Glasgow, to the Hong Kong mission. Part of his time would be used in taking care of printing affairs there.(209) Accompanying the recovered Legge, Gilfillan arrived at Hong Kong in the middle of 1848 to discover

that Cole had been at work for about six months. After an inspection of the printing department and finding Cole to be 'a skillful, hard-working and practical person,' Gilfillan wrote to London that, 'Had I ... at once undertaken the superintendence, I think I should have done injury to this mission and to Chinese missions in general. I could not pretend to be so well acquainted with the work in progress as Mr. Cole.'(210) In consequence of his and other brethren's unanimous testimony regarding Cole's abilities, the Directors agreed to both relieve Gilfillan of his printing responsibilities and employ the American.(211)

Cole's joining the Hong Kong mission greatly expedited the making of the LMS's two founts of Chinese type, which is detailed in the preceding chapter. Indeed, without his efforts, it is very doubtful that the 4,500 punches of the fount of small type, being more difficult to manufacture than the large ones, could have been completed within a comparatively short period of two and a half years, so to be readily available for the printing of the Delegates' version of the Chinese Bible. The missionaries at Hong Kong knew the situation well and thought that in the production of metal types and presses, 'no man in China does that so well as Mr. Cole.'(212) In August 1849, a resolution of the Hong Kong mission committee proposed that Cole should be given full standing as a missionary for the purpose of raising his annual salary from £200 to £250, i.e. an amount equivalent to that of a missionary.(213) This was rejected by the Directors, who by no means deemed it proper to treat both secular staff and missionaries equally. The brethren at Hong Kong further spoke for him and argued that, 'Mr. Cole, in order to make ends meet on his allowance of $75 a month, was obliged ... to pinch his back and his belly. It was hard that this should be the case, and unjust moreover considering the services that Mr. Cole was rendering the Society.'(214) Nevertheless, no response came at all. In February 1851, the two founts of type having been completed some months earlier, Cole himself launched a campaign to better his position. The choices for the Directors were, first, to give him the status of a missionary with an annual salary of £250; or secondly, to engage him

as the superintendent of the printing establishment with this salary for a period of one to five years, as they should think fit, and during which time he would teach some Chinese youth the art of typography; or thirdly, if neither of the two alternatives was preferred, to terminate his services. Whichever the Directors chose, there was a proviso that they should pay the passage expenses to the United States for him and his family.(215) Not feeling themselves called upon to 'weigh the respective merits' of these options but thinking the salary the real problem, the Directors simply responded by giving him £250 per annum.(216) However, the missionaries at Hong Kong wrote again, whether at Cole's request or not, for a clear answer about the proviso. This was most unpleasant to the Directors and consequently precipitated the situation into one of unexpected bitterness between them, Cole and the missionaries during the following year and half. At the Directors' request, Cole left the Hong Kong mission in September 1852, a year earlier than originally planned, with a gratuity of $200.(217)

Chinese Printers at Work

During the disturbing time caused by Cole's campaign to improve his own benefits, there were continuous intra-mission discussions and sometimes debates on the suitability of Chinese typography and the appropriateness of a Western superintendent for a printing establishment mainly devoted to Chinese publications. A very interesting interlude occurred in April 1851, when a trivial order regarding a dozen brushes appeared in Legge's letter to London, with the explanation of an intention to try these brushes along with Chinese ink to take impressions from the formes of metal type, as Chinese printers usually did in block printing, instead of using the printing press.(218) It was at the same time reported that an experiment had already been conducted by means of native brushes and, despite its being a failure according to other brethren, Legge asserted that, 'This we can now do, but the native brush needs to be a little modified.'(219) No details of further trials with British

brushes were directly reported in his subsequent correspondence, yet the consequences were but too obvious, as Legge wrote a year later that, 'Some experience has made me little sanguine of doing anything with our types and Chinese methods of printing. ... I do not think we shall accomplish much by mixing up the two methods. Our whole plan requires the foreign press to work it. And only that can do justice to the Society's types.'(220)

The appropriateness and necessity of typography in Chinese printing was especially called into question by B. Hobson, the medical missionary, who branched out at Canton from the late 1840s and undertook some block as well as lithographic printing.(221) In a report of great length, prepared in February 1852, Hobson cast strong doubt on the suitability of Chinese typography, a subject which had so long continued to be 'a source of trouble, vexation and expense' to the LMS.(222) The report began with criticism of Dyer's under-estimate of the minimum number of characters for a fount, which proved to be the key misleading factor in the LMS's decision to take up this work and was accordingly the cause of all difficulties thereafter. Then, a comparison was made by Hobson between typography and xylography, whereby the lack of European presses and printers were pointed out to be the greatest obstacle to Chinese typography. Hobson's points were that, 'so long as block cutting can be executed on such moderate and convenient terms ... and without the need and expense of a foreign printer and printing office, ... I cannot see any reason to agree with the opinion ..., that the Chinese were very probably altogether to give up the use of engraved plates of wood in the course of another generation.' As to type, moreover, in contrast to Dyer's expectation, Hobson wrote that, 'there is no immediate or certain prospect of being able to dispose of the fount now ready for sale,' and 'at present not one definite order has been given for a fount of both large and small size, except by Dr. Medhurst of our own mission.'

Because it was entirely impractical now to suggest a reversal in the LMS's Chinese typographical policy, Hobson's recommendation was to 'learn a practical

lesson from the Chinese' for a trial of using native brush and ink, in spite of the failure of Legge's earlier experiment having been noted in the same report. What he referred to was a successful experiment recently carried out by a native bookseller, surnamed Tong at a nearby town, Foshan. With his own type, along with brush and improved water-based ink, Tong was able to print periodic lottery tickets, 30,000 sheets from one forme, and a voluminous work 文獻通考 *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, The Antiquarian Research, containing 9,674 leaves bound in 120 volumes. In enclosing specimens of Tong's products in his report, Hobson made the comment that, 'It is really got up in a very superior style.'

Originally Hobson was commissioned to prepare a report on behalf of the Hong Kong mission press for another Western printer, the replacement for Cole. Surprised by his undisguised counter-arguments, the other two brethren of the mission could not but write separately to London. Henry J. Hirschberg, another medical missionary, remarked that, as Cole had already submitted his resignation and his leaving the mission was imminent, it was unlikely that any natives would learn much about both the art of printing and type-founding, under his care, in a short period. Therefore, his straight-forward opinion was that a European printer ought to be sent out for the Hong Kong mission press, otherwise the LMS would 'lose money,' as he estimated the press to be valued at $20,000.(223) In his own letter, Legge first criticized Hobson's observations on native type and regarding the LMS being in 'want of practical knowledge,' he added that, 'Some men, Dr. Hobson for instance, may have knack for mechanical manipulation (I have less than none.), but printing and founding can only be done to purpose by printers and founders.'(224) Then, Legge proceeded to illustrate the necessity of a Western printer in a much wider context,

> 'The real difficulty arises from our operations being in advance of the immediate requisitions of China. We have created a system of printing which in order to its being supported without grudging would require the masses of the people to be spiritually awakened. Our mechanical operations have been more successful than our spiritual labours. But where is it not so throughout the missionary field? The remedy for it is not to cease from any

of our labours, but to go forward in the great work with more faith, and prayer, and force.'(225)

Though the greatest wish of the brethren was a European printer, there seemed little hope of obtaining the Directors' consent to this after the unpleasant Cole affair. It appeared better to make the second but practical and local choice mentioned by Cole, i.e. the placing of one or more native youth under his supervision to learn the art of printing and type-founding. Accordingly, from November 1851, a native assistant, Li Kim-lin, was in the printing office every afternoon, and had been there for four months by the time of the intense intra-mission discussions in February 1852. The son of a Chinese father and Malay mother and a former student of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, Kim-lin arrived at Hong Kong in early 1845 as one of the first students at Legge's theological seminary. After several months of study, he and the other two students accompanied Legge to Britain. There they entered school and were baptized in 1847. Returning to Hong Kong in 1848, Kim-lin continued his study at the seminary and taught at the mission school until being called to the printing office. The reason for his being chosen is unclear, but it was very likely because of his delicate frame, weak voice and nervous temperament, 'unfitting to be a preacher,' as Legges said.(226) Unfortunately, from the beginning of his time as a student of printing, Kim-lin and Cole did not develop an encouraging relationship. Whilst Cole criticized Kim-lin's lack of energy and determination and his showing no interest in this department, the latter also complained that Cole took no care to teach him, but often employed him as an interpreter and sent him out with parcels and messages.(227) During a period of ten months, Kim-lin continued his teaching work in the morning and spent three hours each afternoon in the printing office, until Cole's approaching departure from the Hong Kong mission in September 1852. The fact that Kim-lin had not yet acquired enough knowledge of the art of printing presented a problem. The final solution, suggested by Ho Chin-seen, accepted by the missionaries and approved by the Directors, was that the work should be divided into two and put into the hands of two individuals: the printing office for Kim-lin and the type-foundry

for Amok, a former punch-cutter at Malacca, Singapore who came to Hong Kong with Stronach in 1846 but who had then changed his work in the mission to that of colporteur.(228) Meanwhile, Legge passed responsibility for supervising printing affairs over to John Chalmers, a new missionary who did not have any knowledge of printing and had arrived just two months earlier. This unexpected assignment Chalmers accepted only with reluctance and declared that Kim-lin and Amok would have to be responsible for many things, of which 'I can take no charge.'(229)

To the missionaries, such a reshuffle of personnel was the best they could hope for in the absence of any available Western printers. From the point of view of the Chinese, however, it was a significant step in the early development of modern Chinese printing. Thus far, in all printing offices of Western style and principally or partly devoted to Chinese works, from the earliest Baptist mission press at Serampore, the East India Company's press at Macao, the LMS presses in Southeast Asia and Shanghai, to the ABCFM and the American Presbyterian presses elsewhere, never had Chinese been given the opportunity to take part in their management, rather than be labourers. Now, although the inexperience necessitated dividing the work and devolving it upon two individuals, it was for the first time, more than four decades after the Serampore press began its Chinese work, that the Chinese themselves took the greater responsibility for typography in printing their own language.

Both the business of printing and type-founding were carried on smoothly after the take-over. By January 1853, with an order of 10,000 copies of the New Testament from the Bible Society, more hands were employed to work double time. Reporting that the whole printing establishment was in a satisfactory state under Chinese superintendence for the first several months, the missionaries were in the meantime rejoicing at the considerable reduction of expenditure, saved by not having to fund the salary of a Western printer.(230) Before long, however, a serious problem occurred. Kim-lin, great hope of the Hong Kong mission, very unfortunately developed a lung disease and, taking medical advice suggesting that the only chance

of his remaining alive would be to leave Hong Kong for his native place, Malacca, he returned there in October 1854, only a year after assuming his post. Very different from the treatment received by Cole, the missionaries took the initiative, before obtaining consent from London, in bearing Kim-lin and his family's passage expenses and also gave him half pay for one year. As one of the first two Chinese superintendents in the printing business, Kim-lin tragically died at the end of 1855 in his middle twenties.(231)

Fortunately, the loss of Kim-lin was quickly made up by another Chinese youth, who, though not cultivated by the mission, was to bring greater service not only to the mission, but to the colony and his native country in the following decades. 黃勝 Huang Sheng, known as Wong Shing in the Canton dialect, was born in Hsiang-shan county, near Macao, in 1825.(232) He was educated at the school established by the Morrison Educational Society from 1841, first at Macao and at Hong Kong after the war. Together with two classmates, Huang was taken to the United States in 1846 and entered the Monson Academy in Massachusetts, but was forced by ill health to return to Hong Kong after one year. He first found a job at the printing office of the English *China Mail*, a newspaper started in 1845 and thereafter 'the best known of the newspapers in the colony,' and where he worked for a year and half.(233) At the end of 1849, he became an interpreter at the chief magistrate's court and joined the LMS's congregation. Shortly before Kim-lin's departure, Chalmers wrote that, 'A young man, A Shing ... is the only person we have to look to now.'(234) Huang subsequently agreed, in October 1853, to resign from the court and assume the position of superintendent of the entire printing establishment, with Amok as his assistant.

After a period of nearly three years and since Cole had requested the increase to his salary, the unsettled state of the Hong Kong mission press was eventually brought to order. Huang Sheng's abilities were praised in the mission report for 1854, to the effect that, 'While more work has been done than in any former year, the attention of Chalmers has been perhaps less required than before. ... We think he

[Huang] might be gradually entrusted with the entire management of the printing and type founding and thus supersede the necessity for a European superintendent.'(235) Yet circumstances were not advantageous for Huang Sheng, nor persuasive for the Directors, who had been extremely discouraged in succession by both Cole's unpleasant arguments and by Kim-lin's disappointing results. Neither had been practical printers as Cole was, and neither nurtured nor trained by the mission like Kim-lin, Huang Sheng's similarities with his predecessors remained only his being a Christian and his appointment having been made without advance agreement from London. Several months into his employment, the mission press began to work on its share of 50,000 copies of the million New Testaments for China, with 'three sets of workmen to keep it going night and day.'(236)(plate 5-9) In consequence of this greatly increased burden, the missionaries made an appeal for the erection of a new printing office and for a new press. In spite of the urgency of their appeal and the fact that the sister press at Shanghai was in the meantime building a new printing office for the same reason, the Hong Kong mission's application was rejected.(237) Moreover, the Directors sent very strict remarks about printing affairs at Hong Kong as their reply:

> 'We are by no means convinced that there is any valid reason for continuing the operation of the press at Hong Kong even upon the present footing, when all the work to be accomplished by it would be done with equal effect and more economy at Shanghai. ...
> 'For these and other reasons that might be adduced, we consider that, upon the whole, instead of incurring an increased outlay, with a view to extending the operations of the press at Hong Kong, it may be deserving of consideration whether, at some future period, all the work now carried on at Hong Kong may not be advantageously transferred to Shanghai, by which measure yourself and Legge would be able to give your undivided attention to the more immediate objects of the mission.'(238)

With regard to the comparison of effect and economy in printing in Hong Kong or Shanghai, Legge and Chalmers first admitted that insufficient information was at hand to clarify the question of economy, however, they much doubted the


馬太福音傳

亞伯拉罕大闢之裔耶穌基督族譜○亞伯拉罕生以撒以撒生雅各雅各生猶大兄弟猶大因大馬氏生法勒士撒拉法勒士生以士崙以士崙生亞蘭亞蘭生亞米拿達亞米拿達生拿順拿順生撒們撒們娶喇合氏生波士波士娶路得氏生阿伯阿伯生耶西耶西生大闢王大闢王娶烏利亞妻生所羅門所羅門生羅波暗羅波暗生亞比亞亞比亞生亞撒亞撒生約沙法約沙法生約蘭約蘭生烏西亞烏西亞生約担約担生亞哈士亞哈士生希西家希西家生馬拿西馬拿西生亞門亞門生約西亞民見徙於巴比倫時約西亞生耶哥尼亞兄弟民徙巴比倫後耶哥尼亞生撒拉鐵撒拉鐵生所羅把伯所羅把伯生亞比鬱亞比鬱生以利亞金以利亞金生亞所亞所生撒鐸撒鐸生亞金亞金生以律以律生以利亞撒以利亞撒生馬担馬担生雅各雅各生約瑟是爲馬利亞之夫馬利亞生耶穌稱基督○考其世系自亞伯拉罕至大闢十四代自大闢至民見徙巴比倫時亦十四代自民徙巴比倫時至基督又十四代耶穌基督之生其事如左母馬利亞爲約瑟所聘未昏感聖神而孕其夫約瑟義人也不欲顯辱之而欲私休之思念間主之使者見夢曰大闢之裔約瑟其取爾妻馬利亞以歸勿疑蓋所孕者感於聖神也彼必生子可名曰耶穌以將救其民於罪愆中如是主托先知所言應矣曰處女孕而生子人稱其名以馬內利譯即上帝偕我焉約瑟寤遵主使者命取之以歸未與同室及生豪子則名曰耶穌

plate 5-9. The first page of the 'million edition' of the New Testament, printed at the Hong Kong mission press in 1855. (British Library Collection)

soundness of the Directors' remarks. As to printing quality, they declared that, '[T]he superiority of the printing at this office is an acknowledged matter.' A recent letter from Medhurst was then cited to testify to this conviction, he having written that, 'Your octavo edition of the New Testament with the lines between makes me weep every time I look at it. I return the specimens from our office, sometimes crying out "abomination of desolation."'(23) However, there is no evidence to show that Medhurst's views ever swayed the Directors' attitude toward the Hong Kong mission press. Though finding no countenance from the Directors, printing affairs continued to be carried on under the superintendence of Huang Sheng and before long he was recognized by the local Western community as 'a man of good education and high principle.'(240) Sir John Bowring, the Governor, put his name on the jury list of the colony from 1858, which, according to Legge, was 'a mark of confidence previously extended by the government to no Chinese.'(241) About the same time, the chief justice of the Hong Kong supreme court, J. W. Hulme, offered him the position of interpreter at that institution with a minimum salary of $120 per month, compared with the $30 he received from the LMS.(242) Informed of this offer by Legge, Huang replied, 'I hope that the government will get a good interpreter, but I don't mean to leave my present situation.'(243) Except an interval from 1864 to 1866, in which he went to Shanghai to be the English teacher at the Institute for Studying Foreign Language that had been newly formed by the Chinese government, Huang worked at the Hong Kong mission press until he resigned at the beginning of 1873, this to take up the new post to which he had been appointed by the Chinese government, to manage Chinese student affairs in the United States. Only one month after his resignation, the mission press was sold.

Printing in the 1850s and 1860s

In consequence of its concentration on type-founding, the Hong Kong mission did not work much at printing for several years after it gained possession of the facilities in 1846. Instead, the brethren depended upon others for tracts to a degree. For instance, at Hong Kong Stronach left several thousand copies of various publications brought from Singapore and the American missionaries once supplied the mission with about 10,000 copies.(244) Besides, the mission ordered at least on one occasion 400 copies of Watts' psalms and hymns in English from London for the use of its Western congregation.(245) According to Legge, the cause of these inconveniences could be imputed to the old press re-claimed from Singapore, as he complained in 1848 that, 'It never was a good press but now that it is nearly worn out, it is difficult to bring work from it which is even legible. For want of a good press we lose much of the benefit of our beautiful new type.'(246) Now he wanted a new printing press and a standing press and emphasized that what he urgently desired was to be 'the only English mission press in the south of China.'(247) Though having a promise from the Directors, the Hong Kong mission did not receive the new presses until August 1851.(248) During the period of waiting, the old one continued to play its part in bringing out several works, but broke down constantly. Two works, one by a local American missionary and another by a German respectively, were printed at the LMS's Hong Kong mission press in 1851. Hailing the cost of these two works as 'highly gratifying to them' and 'get[ting] remuneration to us,' Legge announced in sanguine anticipation that, 'We shall ere long engross all the tract printing in the south of China.'(249)

The principal products of the Hong Kong mission press in the early 1850s were octavo and duodecimo editions of the Delegates' version of the New Testament printed from 1851 to 1852. When requesting the Directors to make application to the Bible Society for funds to print it, Legge enclosed a statement of the cost of 10,000

copies at the rate of four cents, or around three pence, a copy.(250) Compared with Gutzlaff's block edition, which Legge estimated at eight cents a copy, this reduction of the cost by nearly half was impressive enough to the Directors, who had been worried by Gutzlaff's low price and the continuous support from the Bible Society he had received to print his edition, and mentioned earlier. A sum of £100 was thus granted by the Bible Society and, while joyfully informing Legge about this grant for an expected edition of between 6,000 and 7,000 copies, the Directors also asked for accurate returns, especially with the hope that many copies might be sold even if at a very low price.(251) Despite both expectations, however, the Directors were disappointed by Legge's report, even though he asserted that their products were 'the handsomest copies of the Scriptures which had yet been printed in Chinese.'(252) First, only 5,000 copies were printed, 3,000 in octavo and 2,000 in duodecimo, with an overspend of nearly £20, thus considerably increasing the unit cost to over five and a half pence, whilst the Shanghai mission press could produce at four pence per copy with the same type. The causes of the rise in cost were, according to Legge, mainly the double price of paper due to the T'ai-p'ing rebellion and the different kinds of paper, both in size and in quality, used for making estimates and for practical printing.(253) Disappointed by his erroneous calculation of cost, the Directors had to explain the situation to the Bible Society, and this must have been the main reason for their later dissatisfaction with the Hong Kong mission press when commenting on the effect and, especially, the economy of printing, comparing Shanghai and Hong Kong.(254) Secondly, regarding the sale of the Bible, Legge replied that the most he could sell was thirty copies to members of their Chinese congregation, but beyond that, 'we cannot reckon on a single copy being paid for by a Chinese.'(255) He further stressed that,

> 'I may safely say that a single dollar has never yet been paid by the Chinese people for copies of the sacred scriptures. They will purchase (to a small extent) almanacs, with which Christian treatises are incorporated, and works of a popular and scientific character such as

> Dr. Hobson's sketches of astronomy and physiology, but the scriptures and purely religious treatises have been hitherto altogether undesired and uncalled for. It may be disappointing to you and the friends of Bible circulation in China to have *the truth* thus broadly stated. But the truth is always salutary.'(256)

With this observation of Chinese attitudes towards the mission publications, the missionaries in Hong Kong unanimously proposed to publish a periodical, in which various secular topics hopefully interesting the Chinese mind would be 'interspersed with anecdotes illustrating the doctrines and deities of Christianity.'(257) Hoping the Chinese would pay for such a magazine, the brethren solicited the Directors for a sum of £50 for a trial of six months to print 5,000 copies of each issue, monthly or bi-monthly. The proposal was declined first by the Directors and second by the Tract Society, before eventually finding a local patron, the Morrison Education Society. In August 1853, the first number of 遐邇貫珍*Hsia-erh kuan-chen*, or the *Chinese Serial* in English, appeared.(plate 5-10) Each issue consisted of from eleven to twenty leaves and had 3,000 copies printed. Although the price of fifteen Chinese 'cashes' per copy was printed on the title page, it was doubtful that any Chinese ever paid for it.(258)

Coming out as an idea of the brethren and printed at the mission press, the first Chinese periodical published by foreigners after the Anglo-Chinese War was not edited by a missionary but by an official, the junior W. H. Medhurst, who was at that time the general secretary to the Superintendent of British Trade in China, another office of the Hong Kong Governor. In consequence of this editorship, the *Chinese Serial* was very different in content from former missionary magazines, in which secular subjects always played a supporting role to serve religion. However, one amongst others in the *Chinese Serial*, Christianity was but a minor topic, appearing in only three essays in the entire set of thirty-three issues.(259) The editor even felt it necessary to add a note after one of the three, appearing in the number for February 1855, explaining that the occasion of publishing it was by no means to evangelize but merely to show the Chinese an example of the curiosities of Western civilization.

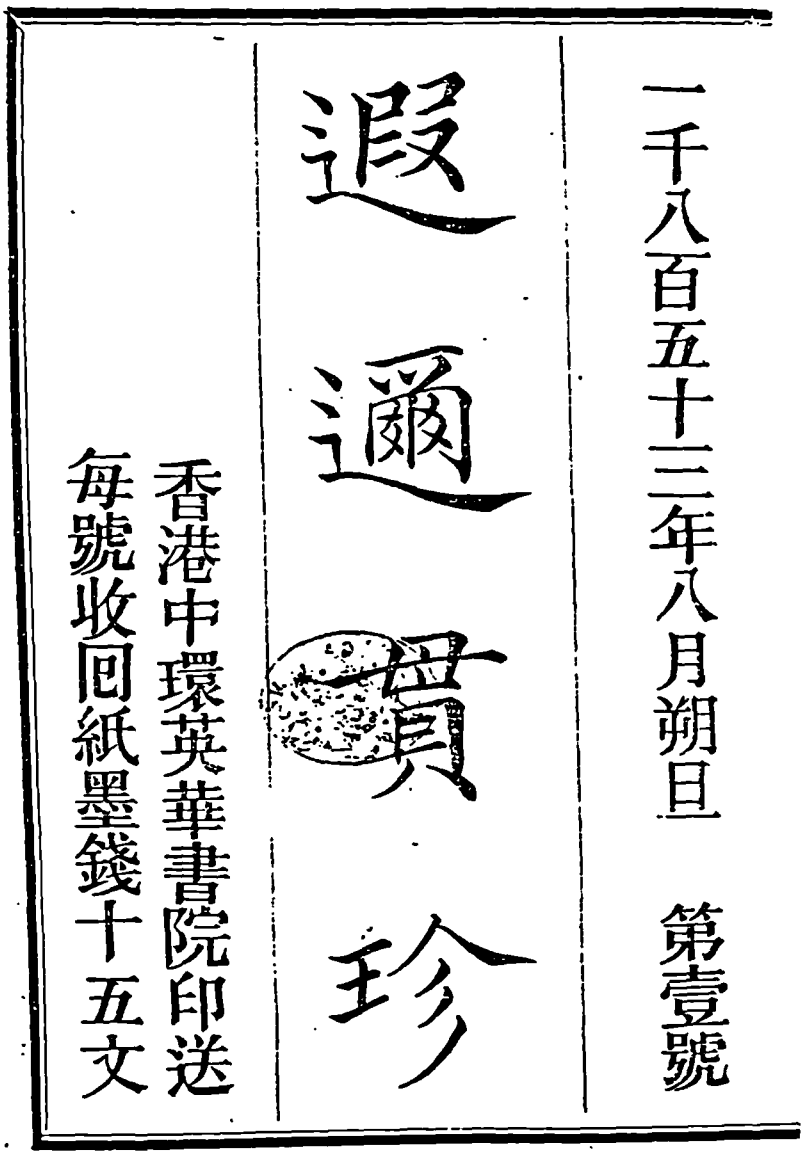


plate 5-10. The title-page of the first number of 遐邇貫珍 *Hsia-erh kuan-chen*, the Chinese Serial. (British Library Collection)

The advantages of newspapers having been advocated by the editor in the introduction to the first issue of this periodical, news and commentaries were the principal contents of the *Chinese Serial*. In many issues, news, including world, Chinese and local varieties, occupied more than half of the entire space, so to make it not just a general magazine, but a journal. Sometimes news reports were accompanied by maps to help readers. Illustrations, mostly woodcuts and several lithographic ones, were a feature of the *Chinese Serial*. Amongst others, serialization of Hobson's 全體新論 *Ch'üan-t'i hsin-lun*, Treatise on Physiology, appearing from January to November 1855, had the illustrations printed separately with blocks and bound together with the texts.

After Medhurst was appointed as consul at Fu-chow and left Hong Kong in November 1854, his brother-in-law and the chief magistrate of the colony, C. B. Hillier, succeeded to the position of editor. A new feature introduced by Hillier was the advertisement, which was totally new to Chinese magazines. A notice, first appearing in the number for February 1855, showed that the rate was one dollar for the first fifty characters and one cent per character thereafter. A repeat advertisement cost half of the original price. From the number for March 1855 onwards, various advertisements for shipping, medicine, dentists and schools, began to appear in a special section at the end of each issue. Several months later, a list of the current prices of various common goods was added. In early 1856, Hillier was appointed consul at Bangkok and Legge, who was concurrently the secretary of the Morrison Education Society, succeeded to the editorship. He soon felt that it was 'impossible' to find the time to manage it, hence he announced the closure of the magazine after the number for May 1856, in spite of the fact described by himself in an announcement that there were many subscriptions from Western merchants supporting its publication on the one hand and there were numerous Chinese readers, including 'all ranks in different provinces,' on the other.(260)

Besides mission work, Legge took a very active part in the educational affairs of the colony from 1853 when he was appointed by the Governor as a member of the Educational Committee. In a short time Legge was busy in bringing about 'a complete revolution' of the Committee's policy, by strongly opposing Episcopalian control over the government education and by advocating combined Anglo-Chinese teaching.(261) A colleague described Legge's vigour in this matter such that, 'what little he could do he did at once and by persistent effort he started a movement which eventually succeeded in permanently secularizing the education given in government schools.'(262) Therefore, it might not be surprising that, despite being unable to carry on the *Chinese Serial*, he still managed to find time to publish a school book called 智環啓蒙塾課初步, *Chih-hüan ch'i-meng shu-k'o ch'u-pu*, Graduated Reading; Comprising a Circle of Knowledge in 200 Lessons, which was a translation from the first of Charles Baker's three gradations published by him in 1855. Printed at the mission press, this work consisted of 51 leaves, or 102 pages. On each page the English text was at the top and the Chinese below. However, when this work was published at the end of 1856, the same year in which the *Chinese Serial* ceased publication, the LMS's boarding school was also closed, or rather replaced by a day school. This was because Legge doubted that the amount of time and energy it demanded, as well as the funds the mission spent on it as a boarding school, could justify its continuance.(263) The hope expressed, in Legge's preface to the Graduated Reading, to continue the publication of the second and the third gradations of Baker's work was never realized.

One may wonder, if neither the continuance of the *Chinese Serial* nor the *Graduated Reading*, both for the Chinese, weighed sufficiently with Legge to induce him to continue their publications, what was of importance to him? The answer lay in a work produced for Western readers, of a non-religious character and important enough to rank him amongst the most distinguished of sinologists, viz. *The Chinese Classics*. The seeds of this work may be traced back to the very early 1840s when his

missionary career began at Malacca, where he began a study of the works of Chinese sages. Regretting the absence of works on the Chinese classics that were 'more critical, more full and exact' than those he had read and not hearing any such works by 'Chinese' scholars themselves were in preparation, Legge determined to produce such a work himself.(264) The task of studying, translation and making notes was then carried on with his mission duties of preaching and teaching for more than ten years. When in 1856 the project had advanced to a stage to consider its publication, estimated to be ten or twelve volumes of royal octavo and about 700 pages each, one of the wealthiest merchants in Hong Kong, Joseph Jardine, a founder of Jardine, Matheson & Co., promised the considerable sum of $15,000 or thereabouts for its printing.(265) This generous support expedited the preparation of Legge's ambitious work and appeares to be the real cause of both the discontinuance of the *Chinese Serial* and the *Graduated Reading*, as well as the closure of the LMS boarding school.

Somewhat curiously, Legge seemed at first not to have the intention of printing *The Chinese Classics* at the mission press, but made an inquiry about the cost at Andrew Dixson's printing office, one who was considered 'the only printer in Hong Kong or China capable of undertaking such a work.'(266) The estimate was $3,000 for 1,000 copies of each volume, but that printer also told him that printing could be undertaken at his own mission press, if there were English type. The Hong Kong mission press did have three founts of English type, i.e. long primer, small pica and brevier, and their production had been arranged by Legge himself at the cost of £200 in 1848, and had been cut, struck and cast by Cole in succeeding years.(267) The specimens of these types had been sent to the Directors along with Legge's praises that, 'if you would get the judgment of a type-founder in London upon the printer here you will be satisfied with it, and there are more orders for quantity of it than we can execute.'(268) Yet, within ten years, these types were declared to be but an unsuccessful attempt. Thus it was necessary for him to return to Britain to purchase

English type from Marr & Co., of Edinburgh, as well as paper and ink, for *The Chinese Classics*.(269)

During his stay in Britain in the middle of 1858, the project was laid before the Directors, together with the specimens printed at Dixson's office, to solicit approval of it, because although no expenses would be incurred by the LMS, the work would inevitably occupy much of his time. In consequence of his cogent and clever arguments, addressing the Directors in person and in writing about the necessity of all missionaries possessing Chinese classical knowledge, Legge obtained permission to undertake this task.(270) An additional achievement of this journey was the Directors' assent to build a new printing office at the Hong Kong mission, which was completed in early 1859.(271) The printing of *The Chinese Classics* began in 1860 and the first two volumes, containing Confucius' and Mencius' works respectively, were published in the following year.(plate 5-11 & 12) Writing to the Directors about their publication, Legge added that, 'At times I have grudged my labour on it, when the spiritual destitution of the multitudes around has risen up powerfully before my soul.'(272) Perhaps instead, the Chinese compositors at the mission press were the men who really had cause to have a grudge against this, the most difficult work they had ever encountered. On the upper part of the pages were the original texts in large Chinese type, with small type of brevier size providing sectional sequence and punctuation between vertical lines. Below the texts were the English translations and further down were the English commentaries in two columns and in brevier type, interspersed with Chinese characters in small type of English size. The first volume was dedicated to Joseph Jardine, who unfortunately died before it came out; but his brother Robert continued to support its printing until the completion of the fourth volume in 1865 and covered some other expenses until 1869, likely amounting to about $15,000 as previously promised.(273) The sale of *The Chinese Classics* appeared better than expected, which enabled Legge to pay for the next four volumes until the eighth and last was published in 1872.(274) Legge was confident that he

THE

CHINESE CLASSICS:

WITH

A TRANSLATION, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES,
PROLEGOMENA, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

BY

JAMES LEGGE, D.D.,
OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL & AFRICAN STUDIES
LONDON

VOL. I.,

CONTAINING

CONFUCIAN ANALECTS, THE GREAT LEARNING, AND
THE DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN.

HONGKONG: AT THE AUTHOR'S.
LONDON: TRÜBNER & CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1861.

plate 5-11. The title-page of Legge's *The Chinese Classics*. (SOAS Collection)

論語

學而第一

子曰、學而時習之、不亦說乎。有朋自遠方來、不亦樂乎。人不知而不慍、不亦君子乎。

CHAPTER I. 1. The Master said, "Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?

2. "Is it not pleasant to have friends coming from distant quarters?

3. "Is he not a man of complete virtue, who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?"

TITLE OF THE WORK.—論語, 'Discourses and Dialogues;' that is, the discourses or discussions of Confucius with his disciples and others on various topics, and his replies to their inquiries. Many chapters, however, and one whole book, are the sayings, not of the sage himself, but of some of his disciples. The characters may also be rendered 'Digested Conversations,' and this appears to be the more ancient signification attached to them, the account being, that, after the death of Confucius, his disciples collected together and compared the memoranda of his conversations which they had severally preserved, digesting them into the twenty books which compose the work. Hence the title—論語, 'Discussed Sayings,' or 'Digested Conversations.' See 論語註疏解經序. I have styled the work 'Confucian Analects,' as being more descriptive of its character than any other name I could think of.

HEADING OF THIS BOOK.—學而第一. The two first characters in the book, after the introductory—'The Master said,' are adopted as its heading. This is similar to the custom of the Jews, who name many books in the Bible from the first word in them. 第一, 'The first;' that is, of the twenty books composing the whole work. In some of the books we find a unity or analogy of subjects, which evidently guided the compilers in grouping the chapters together. Others seem devoid of any such principle of combination. The sixteen chapters of this book are occupied, it is said, with the fundamental subjects which ought to engage the attention of the learner, and the great matters of human practice. The word 學, *'learn,'* rightly occupies the forefront in the studies of a nation, of which its educational system has so long been the distinction and glory.

1. THE WHOLE WORK AND ACHIEVEMENT OF THE LEARNER, FIRST PERFECTING HIS KNOWLEDGE, THEN ATTRACTING BY HIS FAME LIKE-MINDED INDIVIDUALS, AND FINALLY COMPLETE IN HIMSELF. 1. 子, at the commencement, indicates Confucius. 子, 'a son,' is also the common designation of males,—especially of virtuous men. We find it, in conversations, used in the same way as our 'Sir.' When it *follows* the surname, it is equivalent to our 'Mr.,' or may be rendered 'the philosopher,' 'the scholar,' 'the officer,' &c. Often, however, it is better to leave it untranslated. When it *precedes* the surname, it indicates that the person spoken of was the master of the writer, as 子沈子, 'my master, the philosopher 沈.' Standing single and alone, as in the text, it denotes Confucius, *the philosopher*, or, rather, *the master*. If we render the term by Confucius, as all preceding translators have done, we miss the indication which it gives of the handiwork of his disciples, and the reverence

plate 5-12. The first page of Legge's *The Chinese Classics*. (SOAS Collection)

could 'make the whole book of permanent value, something that will be referred to hundreds of years hence,' *The Chinese Classics* is considered 'a basically sound corpus of work remarkable in its own time and still useful today.'(275)

Amounting to more than 4,000 pages, *The Chinese Classics* was surely the most voluminous work printed at the Hong Kong mission press, whilst there were other smaller publications throughout the 1860s. Chalmers had his *An English and Cantonese Pocket-Dictionary*, 英粵字典, printed first in 1859 and two further editions in 1862 and 1870. Regarding the Chinese works brought out by the mission press, an edition of 20,000 copies of the New Testament was printed with small type in 1865 and another edition of the entire Bible, of which the number of copies is unknown, was printed with large type in 1866.(276) In respect of tracts, a catalogue printed in 1866 or 1867 listed forty-four available titles, including the Bible and a Commentary on Matthew in two volumes.(277) Of the forty-two tracts, twenty-eight were in duodecimo and sold at $3.50 per 10,000 pages, eleven were in eighteenmo and sold at $2.60 per 10,000 pages and three were printed with blocks and sold at $3.50 per 10,000 pages. A noticeable distinction between the Shanghai and the Hong Kong mission presses was their range of authorship. Whilst the former was limited almost exclusively to the brethren at the Shanghai mission, the latter largely extended its services to the LMS's brethren at other stations as well as to missionaries of other societies. Of the forty-two tracts in the above-mentioned catalogue, only fifteen titles were by the missionaries at the Hong Kong mission, mostly by Legge, whilst another fifteen titles belonged to the brethren at Amoy and Shanghai. The remaining twelve tracts were by six authors belonging to other missionary societies, including two British and four German.

Selling Type to the Chinese and Others

By all accounts, it was type-founding rather than printing that formed the main business of the Hong Kong mission press throughout its history. In the first years (1846-1852), however, large and continuous expenditure on the type foundry without corresponding remuneration much dissatisfied the Directors. Yet, typography was an expensive business and Chinese typography more so, due to the necessity of it consisting of at least several thousand characters in a workable fount of type. In the middle 1840s, George Smith, the agent of the Church Missionary Society and later the first Bishop of Hong Kong, wrote as follows: 'Printing establishments are an unnecessary expense to any missionary society just entering on a mission in China. Except for the purposes of ephemeral publication, and the intermixture of English type with Chinese, no advantage is gained by a European printing press.'(278) Nor was it an easy option for a society long in the field, unless possessing some talented missionaries like Medhurst. With regard to the Hong Kong mission press, the expense of its first half-year (June - December 1846) was $570, including $70 of workers' passage money from Singapore.(279) Then, following the employment of Cole, annual expenses including his salary easily exceeded $2,000, or £500, in the two years 1848 and 1849. Of the mission's entire expenditure, the part for the press was only second to missionaries' salaries, and was about twice that of the educational department. Accordingly, the Directors warned the brethren that, 'Now this is really a burden which the funds of the Society are unable to bear.'(280) To be fair, the LMS's type had regular customers from Dyer's time. If the business with the Batavia, later Shanghai, mission was merely the transfer of the LMS's funds from one pocket to another, still there were other orders from the ABCFM, American Presbyterians and Baptists, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. In fact, only four months after the Hong Kong mission began the business of type-founding in 1846, a sum of $718.20, received from the American Presbyterian press at Ningpo, paid for a former order for

type carried out at Singapore.(281) Therefore, the key to the type foundry having a sound financial footing was, first, to reduce its expenses; and secondly, to increase income either from printing work or from the sale of type.

The dismissal of Cole in the latter part of 1852 already substantially reduced the expenses of the type foundry. After making a small increase to Kim-lin and Amok's salaries, the missionaries were happy to save more than $60 monthly, Cole's original salary of $75 being formerly between 40-45% of the entire expenditure of the type foundry.(282) With this saving and an order for type from the Shanghai mission valued at $2,000, the accounts of the printing office for 1853 showed for the first time a balance of $502.50 on the credit side.(283) Yet, it was also clear enough that simply reducing expense could not turn the type foundry into a self-supporting or profitable business, unless there was income from printing work or type sales. The missionaries preferred the latter, selling type by weight was, after all, simpler than by making a printing estimate, which necessarily involved various factors. As mentioned earlier, in 1851 the first principal transaction of the Hong Kong mission press with the Bible Society for an edition of 6,000 or 7,000 copies of the New Testament turned out to be an embarrassment to the Directors, due to Legge's erroneous calculation. Then, in spite of the Directors' explicit instruction that the brethren's time given to the press on the Bible and the Tract Societies' work was 'in effect an item of expense properly chargeable to that department of labour,' the missionaries at Hong Kong did not comply with this at all.(284) Whilst having no intention of raking in money from printing, the missionaries preferred to place great hope on type sales.

It was opportune that the circumstances of Hong Kong and China from the 1850s on were increasingly favourable for the Chinese type business. After more than a decade under the control of Britain, Hong Kong appeared very different from what it had been in the 1840s. The population grew from little more than 20,000 in 1848 to over 55,000 in 1854, and further grew to 85,000 by 1859, which greatly increased commercial prosperity.(285) Amongst this rapidly expanded population, many were

of the better classes and with their families, having fled the T'ai-p'ing rebellion from the mainland to the British colony. Meanwhile, there gradually emerged a class of English-educated Chinese from the mission and government schools. The unsatisfactory character of the society observed by George Smith in the former decade had greatly improved. Further, the 1850s witnessed Hong Kong become a port of transit for Chinese emigration after the gold-rush to California in 1849 and to Australia two years later. Not only did all of these factors contribute to the continuing economic prosperity of Hong Kong, they created a better environment for the emergence of publishing enterprises, especially the newspaper. In other treaty ports, Western influence upon Chinese society was also mounting. Calls for reformation, particularly with regard to learning foreign languages, modern science and technology, increased gradually first but rose sharply in the crisis of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion and the war with the Anglo-French allied forces in the late 1850s, mentioned earlier. When there was a demand for faster information and its wider spread, typography eventually found its way into China, though still unable to go beyond the coastal cities. Beyond its originally limited market in the mission field, the Hong Kong mission press took advantage of the times, becoming a general type supplier to newspaper publishers, Chinese local and central governments, the T'ai-p'ing insurgents and foreign countries.

Newspaper printers were the first secular customers for the LMS's type, since even English papers at Hong Kong and Shanghai could not entirely avoid Chinese characters. The *China Mail*, founded in February 1845 and which became the most well-known paper in Hong Kong, provided the earliest and most interesting example. From May 1845, Chinese characters cut in wood intermittently appeared in its pages. In the number for 2 November 1848, a Chinese proclamation by the Governor about the harbour regulations appeared for the first time in the LMS's large type. The proclamation was composed at the mission press and sent to the *China Mail* office for imposition and printing. In the latter two processes, two characters were misplaced

and the publisher, Andrew Shortrede, had to write a statement explaining this typographical error.(286) This mistake in their first trial use of Chinese type did not prevent the *China Mail* from using type afterwards. At the end of 1850, the LMS's missionaries reported that a local paper bought 'a good many small type.'(28) This unidentified customer must have been the *China Mail*, because from 1851, the Chinese characters in small type replaced those that appeared in this paper formerly cut in wood. The local English presses further made use of Chinese type by the publication of regular Chinese supplements, with the stress on shipping and current prices. The first of such supplements, 香港船頭貨紙 *Hsiang-kang ch'uan-t'ou huo-chih*, the Hong Kong Shipping and Market Sheet, was published by the *Daily Press* in 1858.(288) The *China Mail* also published, in 1861, its Chinese supplement 香港新聞 *Hsiang-kang hsin-wen*, the Hong Kong News. The LMS's type benefited when, as Legge remarked, a Chinese sheet became a necessary adjunct to an English newspaper.(289) The appearance of more Chinese newspapers in the 1860s and early 1870s further encouraged the sales of the LMS's type.(290) Noticeably, though edited principally by Chinese, all these Chinese newspapers belonged to English proprietors or at least were printed at the offices of English papers. In fact, the first independent Chinese press did not come into being until a Chinese company took over the mission press in 1873.

In addition to foreigners in Hong Kong and China, the LMS's type found its second category of customers overseas. In 1857, the Secretary of the Asiatic Society in Paris, Jules Mohl, wrote to the Directors expressing a strong desire to procure their type for the Royal Press in that city and thereby opened up a communication with the LMS's missionaries at Hong Kong.(291) By the end of 1858, a parcel of some type ordered by Mohl was sent to Paris via London as specimens to persuade the Royal Press to invest in it further. Unfortunately, because of some mistakes in transit, the parcel travelled around England and Scotland and returned to Hong Kong two years later. A new parcel was sent in early 1862, yet no further information about it

appeared in the missionaries' later correspondence.(292) Then, Russia became the first foreign government possessing the LMS's matrices. In early 1858, the plenipotentiary of the Czar Alexander II, the Vice-Admiral Count E. V. Putiatin, visited Hong Kong on his way to negotiate a new treaty with the Peking government. The purpose of his visits was to obtain a set of matrices from the LMS's mission press, for the use of compiling and printing a Chinese and Russian dictionary at St. Petersburg.(293) In accordance with Putiatin's urgent demand to complete this order, valued at $2,000, a large number of the mission's original matrices were included in those given to the Russians, leaving the type foundry to strike new ones for itself later.(294) The third overseas order came from the Singapore colonial government at the end of 1872. It was first placed with Noronha & Co., the government printer at Hong Kong. The firm had no matrices to cast the type ordered, but attempted to secretly use those of the mission press through the offices of its workers. The scheme was found out and the mission press won the order, making an estimated profit of $800.(295) Nevertheless, the mission press did not retain the proceeds, in consequence of its sale about one month later, proceeds from the transaction went to its new owner.

The third, doubtless also the most significant, category of customers of the LMS's type was the Chinese. Very surprisingly, the first order came in early 1861 from Hung Jen-kan, a king of the T'ai-p'ing insurgents who had been in the employ of the Hong Kong mission as a preaching assistant for several years until he went to Nanking at the mission's expense in 1858 to join the T'ai-p'ing chief, his cousin, and became a king.(296) For the use of his new office for literary affairs, civil service examinations, diplomacy and so on, Hung placed an order for a printing press and two founts of type with his former employer.(297) The missionaries were happy to supply this, as Legge wrote, 'Others furnish the rebels with guns and powder. I shall be glad to supply those other articles.'(298) Yet difficulties arose with the conditions attached to Hung's order, the type was to be paid for on delivery at Su-chou, a city near

Shanghai and under the insurgents' control. In reply, the missionaries explained that the customer had to pay before the type left Hong Kong and also bear the expense and risk of the delivery. By the end of January 1862, the founts for this order were more than half completed, though the missionaries had not heard from Hung again about the payment. It is unclear whether the transaction was completed, as no further information about it appeared in the missionaries' reports in the following two years before the end of the T'ai-p'ings in 1864.

The increasing strength of reform, which grew to be a movement within the officialdom in China from the 1860s onward, brought a better prospect of the sale of the LMS's type. In 1863, a son of the Governor of the Kuang-tung province paid a visit to the Hong Kong mission. After observing the operation of the press for several days, he bought a fount of large type and told Legge that it would be used for printing official publications with Chinese ink and brushes, just as the missionary had tried in 1851.(299) In spite of Legge's advice on the necessity of a printing press, the man insisted on the feasibility of this method, which led the missionary to worry that the foreseeable result might damage emergent Chinese interest in type. Shortly after this transaction, a member of the Imperial Academy made an inquiry about buying a complete set of the matrices.(300) Again, no follow-up information about this was available. But, rejoicing at these encouraging signs, Legge wrote that,

> '[I]t shows how the Chinese are yielding to the pressure of foreign ideas and practices upon them. It testifies to an influence which our mission is exerting, of an indirect character indeed, but whose effects will be more beneficial and extensive. In the future of China the press, worked in our western fashion, will play an important part and it will be the enterprise of Mr. Dyer which called it into the field.'(301)

With a view to the promotion of typography among Chinese officials, Legge once played the part of a type salesman. In September 1865, visiting Shanghai on the way back from a journey to Japan, he made acquaintance with the Intendant of that place, 丁日昌 Ting Jih-ch'ang, a main character of the reform movement and later the Viceroy of the Chinag-su province. The missionary entered a contract with this

mandarin to sell a complete set of matrices of both large and small type. Realizing that this transaction was commercially bad policy on the mission's part, as it might diminish the sale of the LMS's type in the future, Legge was still pleased to conclude this agreement, by viewing this purchase as 'one indication of a movement in the minds of Chinese officers towards Western ideas and usages.'(302)

Finally, the Peking government became a purchaser of Chinese typography. In May 1872, the Hong Kong mission received a large order for two founts of type from Robert Hart, the Inspector General of the Imperial Customs, on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.(303) The casting of type was completed and it was delivered, in January 1873, by Huang Sheng himself to Peking, whence he entered the service of the Chinese government by leading a company of thirty boys to the United States, for their education there. In fact, the type order was only a part of a plan by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to establish a printing office at 同文館 *T'ung-wen-kuan,* a governmental institution for learning foreign languages. The LMS's missionaries at Hong Kong were further requested to help in this matter by providing a consignment comprising everything necessary to establish a printing office. Accepting this extra work as 'an act of kindness' in return for the large order for type, E. J. Eitel, the brethren in charge of printing affairs at the Hong Kong mission, wrote to Austin Wood & Co. at Islington, London, for two improved Albion presses and other apparatus. The estimated cost for these amounted to £187, which the Directors were requested to advance on behalf of the Chinese government and expected to be paid back later.(304) After two and a half years, the whole set of equipment eventually arrived at Peking, in November 1874, and relieved the Chinese ministers of anxious waiting.(305) When the arrangement of this consignment was still in progress, the Hong Kong mission press was sold. Thus, it might be considered significant that, whilst concluding its own printing enterprise in China, the LMS was still able to help the progress of Chinese typography.

In consequence of these type sales, together with those sold to various mission presses, the Hong Kong mission press was no longer a financial burden to the LMS after the year 1853. By the end of that decade, the mission could close its annual accounts with a profit of between $400 and $800, and, as the missionaries declared, 'Whatever is realized by it is all from the Chinese types.'(306) After five successive years, profits amounted to $2,716 in 1858 and formed a persuasive basis upon which to win the Directors' consent to appropriate £100 for a new printing press and £600 for building a new printing office at Hong Kong, for which a similar request had been rejected in 1854.(307) As the early 1860s saw a more prosperous type business resulting from the increasing number of Chinese newspapers and a better reception of typography among the Chinese, the annual proceeds of the mission press increased to between $1,000 and $2,000 from 1861 to 1866, with the exception of $500 in 1863. These profits enabled the missionaries to reduce considerably their drawing upon the Directors for mission expenses and were even sufficient to cover the entire expenditure of the mission for 1862.(308) When Joseph Mullens, the LMS's new Foreign Secretary, came over to China for a field inspection of various stations in 1865, he was much satisfied by the efficiency of the Hong Kong mission press. In contrast to the very poor condition of its sister press at Shanghai, the press at Hong Kong was presented as in a very bright state of affairs in Mullens's report as follows:

> 'The establishment in Hong Kong has been maintained for many years in a thoroughly efficient condition, and is still a valuable property. Dr. Legge has been aided in his care of it by two excellent Christian superintendents. A type-foundry has been kept at work, receiving the type and adding to it as occasion required. And now the press possesses two excellent founts of Chinese type, each of six thousand characters, with punches, matrices, and casting apparatus complete. The larger fount is a beautiful type, and may compare without disparagement with the type prepared in Paris and Berlin. The four presses are in excellent working order, and the buildings are solid and in good repair. ... Last year, after paying all expenses, including its insurance-premium, the Hong Kong press gave to the Society two thousand dollars, or a little over four hundred pounds sterling.'(309)

Certainly, the Hong Kong mission press was in its heyday in the first half of the 1860s.

Problems and Disposal

It would surprise Mullens greatly that, only one year after receiving his compliments as a valuable asset to the LMS, the Hong Kong mission press unexpectedly found itself to be nearly $300 in debt, in 1867.(310) Then, things fluctuated in the following five years, with losses in two years ($550 for 1869 and $208 for 1871), profits in another two ($201 for 1868 and $2,982 for 1872), and an unclear result for 1870.(311) Alarmed by sudden decline and the irregularity of business, the brethren and the Directors looked for the causes and tried to get the press back on to the right track. Yet their efforts did not prevent the press from being sold when an opportunity appeared in 1873.

A vital factor causing the decline of the LMS's Hong Kong mission press was the rapid rise of the American Presbyterian press at Shanghai, a formidable competitor which had already been a principal reason for the closure of the LMS's Shanghai press. By 1860, the American press possessed the new technique of producing cheaper type by the electrotype process. Its specimen book of 1867 presented remarkable achievements made in the previous few years, displaying type in three languages, i.e. Chinese (six sizes), Manchu (double small pica) and Japanese (two styles in six sizes).(312) In respect of Chinese type, the Americans had six founts from double pica down to ruby, compared with the LMS's three, including a small fount of burgeois. The LMS's brethren could only admit that, 'we are now considerably surpassed by our younger competitor in the art of type-making for China.'(313) Moreover, the fact that the Americans sold types and matrices at a far cheaper price meant the LMS's inevitable loss of markets, especially in Shanghai, where the recent closure of the LMS's Shanghai mission press, one of its largest customers for type, was a severe blow to its sister press at Hong Kong.(314) The last

big transaction that the Hong Kong mission press dealt with for customers at Shanghai appeared to be the sale of matrices to the Intendant in 1865.

As there seemed no better prospect for the type business, the missionaries turned their hope to printing work. In the middle 1860s, work for the Bible Society occupied more than three quarters of the entire business, whilst the remaining small part was shared by the Tract Society, the LMS itself and occasional jobbing printing for other mission societies. So far the price for printing adopted by Legge and Chalmers since the early 1850s was to charge the Bible Society the cost of materials and labour with ten per cent added for the wear and tear of the press, which, according to Huang Sheng, paid no profit to the LMS.(315) Now, Legge once again returned to England in 1867 and Chalmers moved to Canton for several years. F. S. Turner, the missionary who then had oversight of printing affairs at Hong Kong, was blamed for giving 'no credit for press profits but asked instead for $300 outlay for a new roof.'(316) Several suggestions for improvement were then put forward for the Directors' consideration. Before his leaving, Legge requested, but belatedly, that either the LMS or the Bible Society must keep a practical English printer to superintend it.(317) Turner recommended, based on Huang Sheng's proposal, to move the printing establishment to the Canton station on the grounds that the lower wages and rent there would save about $1,000 annually. After consulting Legge, however, the Directors resolved that the suggested move was 'inexpedient,' but without explanation.(318) Two additional proposals from Turner were to inquire into the possibility of the Bible Society taking over the printing office and, similar to Legge's suggestion, to send out from England a practical printer, yet no responses came from the Directors. Then, Turner wrote in January 1868 that, 'I see no other resource than to increase the charges for printing to the Bible and Tract Societies.'(319) The accounts of the press for 1868 accordingly showed a favourable balance of $200, after deducting the expense of nearly $1,100 for repairing the

printing office.(320) Unfortunately, the business tumbled again in 1869 ending the year $550 in the red.(321)

A short revival of the business occurred in 1872 in a last attempt to rally the Hong Kong mission press. E. J. Eitel, who took charge of the press from the beginning of that year, was the first one among the brethren at Hong Kong to declare that, 'I take a delight in managing the printing office.'(322) In March, Huang Sheng, being appointed by the Chinese government to go to the United States, gave notice of his resignation with effect from the following year. Eitel determined to use all his leisure time to learn the details of printing affairs and to manage the press directly. Under his sharp supervision, the workers' wages were raised, whilst a pressman was brought to the Magistrate on a fraud charge for using the mission press for his private business at night, two compositors were dismissed for laziness, and a new rule for deterring jobbery was introduced in that any sheet without the missionary's stamp on it should not be printed.(323) The result of this shake-up was a profit of $550 for 1872, besides the large gains from the type sold to the Peking government. The Directors' compliments even came before the end of the year.

In reply to an inquiry made in the middle of 1872 from an unidentified source at Shanghai about the sale price of the press, Legge, who had returned to Hong Kong again, and Eitel asked for the sum of $10,000, including two founts of punches and matrices for $5,000, two founts of type with additional stock of ready made type for $4,000, and printing materials and type foundry tools for $1,000.(324) The Directors quickly resolved to dispose of it at this price, in spite of the advice of Wylie, now the agent of the Bible Society in China, that the Hong Kong mission press was the only press belonging to an English society in China and that there was the possibility of inconvenience in being entirely dependent upon the American press, considering the past unpleasantness of the terms controversy.(325) The inquiry from Shanghai did not go forward, yet another unexpectedly from the local Chinese community came forth.

In early January 1873, the editor of the Chinese supplement to the *China Mail*, 陳言 Chun A-yin, or better known as 陳藹亭 Chan Oi-t'ing, who now on behalf of 中華印務總局, or The Chinese Printing and Publishing Company, a newly formed enterprise intending to publish an independent Chinese newspaper, met Legge and Eitel to discuss the purchase of the press.(326) The price of $10,000 was agreed and Chun further proposed to rent or buy the buildings in which the printing office and the type foundry were housed on mission premises. The missionaries agreed to lease the buildings on two conditions, viz. there would be no work on Sundays and there would be no un-Christian or anti-Christian articles in the projected newspaper. Chun preferred to look for other buildings to house the company. Still, two problems remained to be solved. First, being a commercial enterprise, the company had no intention to print for the Bible and Tract Societies at the same cheap rate offered previously by the LMS. After much haggling both sides reached a compromise to write into the contract conditions regarding the mininum quantity of each edition, the cost of paper and method of delivery, to guarantee the company's interests in future transactions with those two societies. Secondly, during the negotiations it was found that Huang Sheng had in his possession a whole set of matrices struck from the LMS's punches. Their existence definitely depreciated the value of the original matrices in the sale and accordingly Chun asked for a lower price for the whole deal. In an urgent investigation, Huang asserted that when these matrices were made in 1867 and 1868, permission had been given by F. S. Turner and he had paid the mission $200 for use of the punches. If the mission wanted these matrices back, he would request compensation of $1,700, including $1,500 for the cost of the workmen's wages and materials. The investigation was still in progress when the contract for the transaction was signed on 31 January 1873.(327) Chun A-yin agreed to incorporate the extra payment of $1,700 to Huang Sheng in the deal, but the missionaries had written to Turner, who was now back in England and, in reply, denied that permission had been granted. However, the office records, which Turner had inspected, supported Huang's

claim. A private appeal was then made jointly by Eitel and Huang to John Smale, the Chief Justice of the colony. The judge's opinion, which was taken by both sides, was that this was not a case to go to law and that it would be fair and equitable if Huang agreed to 'give up' $700, of the $1700 to the mission.(328)

On 1 February 1873, the mission press was formally taken over by The Chinese Printing and Publishing Company and moved to other premises two months after. The building for the press on the mission premises was subsequently pulled down and the materials sold, making its last contribution to the LMS. In the report of the mission for 1873, Eitel made a short remark on the sold press,

> 'The closing of our printing office which occurred early last year, after it had established and worked by the missionaries of our Society for nearly forty years, is also an event deserving record. The indefatigable industry and skill which enabled the late Mr. Dyer to prepare the first founts of moveable Chinese metallic type ever made, and the perfection to which both the printing and type-founding branches were brought under Dr. Legge's superintendence have borne rich fruit in the dissemination of numberless neatly printed Chinese Bibles and tracts which issued from the London Mission Press in Hong Kong during the last thirty years.'(329)

After the sale of the Hong Kong mission press, the LMS continued to carry on its mission in China without its own printing facilities. From a realistic point of view, the disposal of this press at a time in which the LMS could not afford a practical English printer or spare a missionary for its competitive business was a wise decision. Furthermore, in the development of modern Chinese printing, the take-over of this press by Chinese was a special landmark signifying the transmission of typography from foreigners to natives and the beginning of its indigenization.

Conclusion

In 1810, Robert Morrison printed the first LMS work in Chinese with blocks and, in 1873, the LMS sold its last printing press in China. The sixty-three years in between was a crucial period in the history of modern Chinese printing in the sense that the search for a more efficient method of printing to replace traditional xylography had proved to be typography with the production of the first workable fount of Chinese type. During this period, the LMS's printing and type-making enterprises coincided with the development of relations between China and the West, especially Britain. Its work originated in the necessity of spreading the Gospel to a closed society through printed words. Then, it was carried on in Southeast Asia, in intermediate places that afforded protection to missionaries and access to the Chinese. When China opened up, this work accompanied the missionaries' entry to the empire and its impact on her people and society increased accordingly. Finally, the Chinese were able to recognize the significance of typography for their changing society and determined to take it over, thus signifying the advent of an indigenous and developmental period in the history of modern Chinese printing.

An Unsuccessful Preacher

The effect of the LMS's printing presses can be reviewed in its religious, secular and printing aspects. First, considering its intended purpose, what effect did the printing of Christian works have on the mission work? Before the Opium War, all five stations of the LMS's Chinese mission carried on printing at local presses belonging to the society or to individual missionaries. Amongst these, the stations at Canton, Malacca and Batavia carried on extensive Chinese printing activities, whilst the Penang and the Singapore stations laid stress on Malay. With regard to the post-war stations in China, printing with type centred upon Shanghai and Hong Kong with

a combined annual capacity of between 25 and 30 million pages during several years, whilst there was occasional block printing at five other stations at Amoy, Canton, Hankou, Tientsin and Peking. During the period of sixty-three years, the LMS missionaries printed at least 751 Chinese works and editions, some religious and some secular. Later in 1877, in a paper presented to the conference commemorating seventy years of Protestant Christianity in China, S. L. Baldwin, an American missionary at Fuchou, estimated that the combined efforts of all missionaries up until that time had resulted in the circulation of about 62.5 million copies of 1,036 Christian works in Chinese, containing 1,000 million pages in total.(1) Probably about half of this enormous quantity or even more came out of the LMS's presses, because they were the only mission printers in Chinese in the first third of the period and they remained the largest for the remaining period, except for the last ten years of their existence.

However, it was much easier to write and print publications than to convert people. Protestantism had long exploited the printing press as a mass medium for the propagation of the faith. The missionaries in China were no exception to this, yet the result disappointed many in the mission circle. Questions often arose concerning the incommensurate comparison between the sparse converts made and the vast number of publications produced at great financial cost.(2) For example, by 1836, the LMS's printing presses had brought out about 8 million printed pages, but there were only about 100 converts, including not a few 'rice' Christians who embraced the Gospel solely for relief grain.(3) Yet this was not exclusively the LMS's problem. In 1876, compared with the estimated 1,000 million pages circulated by all societies by that time, the total number of Chinese baptized by all Protestant missionaries was only around 13,000.(4) Missionaries had enjoyed the freedom to carry on their work in the empire for several decades, yet despite this the proportion of printed pages to converts in 1876 was about the same as that prevailing during the LMS's situation in 1836. This was perhaps a reason for disappointment. But quantity of output alone could

hardly explain the real situation. In a wider context, spreading the Gospel under the aegis of gunboat diplomacy brought a mixed result. Christianity could not rid itself of the negative image it acquired since it was viewed as an element of Western aggression by the Chinese mind. The situation was worsened by the Christian factor in the disastrous T'ai-p'ing rebellion. Moreover, the missionaries' uncompromising attitude toward Chinese culture, e.g. they criticised Confucianism and other religions to give prominence to monotheistic Christianity, roused great resistance amongst the natives, especially the gentry and the scholars, two influential groups in Chinese society. A good example can be found in Wang T'ao, who made a major contribution to the literary elegance of the delegates' version of the Bible. He was a valuable assistant to Legge in his translation of the Chinese classics and later on became a principal reform advocate in China. In his application for baptism in 1853, Wang urged the missionaries to change their offensive policy regarding Confucius.(5) Wang was baptized, but his appeal was ignored. Though he continued to make a living by working for the missionaries, Wang gradually became estranged from Christianity during the period of his service and repeatedly criticised the missionaries in letters to his friends. As late as the 1870s, Wang maintained his criticisms in the editorials of his own newspaper.

It would be more accurate to identify the quality of writing as the problem rather than its printing. From Morrison's time, want of intelligibility in Christian works continued to be a subject of criticism, not only by early converts like Liang Afa before the war or later by Wang T'ao, but also by the missionaries themselves. W. H. Medhurst had publicly pointed out this problem in a published work in 1838.(6) In an investigative report published in the following year, Howard Malcom, who was appointed by an American missionary society to conduct a survey during a three-year sojourn in India, Malaya, Siam and China, also pointed out that many Chinese tracts were found to be erroneous, useless and wholly unworthy of circulation and that anxiety for the immediate production of books had been the cause.(7) However, this

criticism did not prevent the missionaries from eagerly writing and publishing. Later in 1877, these defects were still common in Christian works and Griffith John, a LMS missionary, made the following remarks, 'One of the most difficult things in China is *not* to write a book. Every missionary on his arrival in this land seems to hear a mystic voice bidding him take up his pen and write, ... [F]ew have the ability to prepare such books as the Chinese require, very few can translate well, and fewer still have the ability to compose original works.'(8) Even as late as 1907, an author of a paper presented to the centenary missionary conference in China once again urged his brethren to improve the inferior quality of Christian books.(9)

As mission work consisted of four interlocking and overlapping branches, namely, preaching, printing, education and medical work, it seems impossible to tell what contribution printing made to the less than satisfactiory results of the LMS's work as well as that of all Protestant mission societies labouring in China. In fact, the importance of printing in missionaries' minds changed at different periods. The distinctively difficult relations between China and the West before the war made for the urgent necessity of the printing press as a powerful engine and of the printed page as a silent preacher. Therefore, each station carried on its printing business and most missionaries had more or less to engage themselves in it. Once the right to preach and instruct was granted after the war, however, printing and book distribution were still desirable but no longer indispensable. Whilst printing capacity multiplied because of improved machinery, fewer brethren were involved in the affairs of the printing offices. After Medhurst's death in 1856, hardly any LMS missionaries were interested in this mechanical work. In consequence of the character of Protestantism in China, the slow improvements in the missionaries' writings in Chinese and their changed attitude to printing, it should not be surprising that printing did not produce too much in the way of conversions, a result contrary to their expectations.

Whilst Christian doctrines failed to conquer the Chinese soul, secular knowledge brought out from the same printing presses and type won the natives' minds. From the beginning, the LMS missionaries paid attention to work on the dissemination of Western arts and sciences. Their efforts were embodied in the essays in the periodicals, in several works on history and geography and especially in the founding of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca. Morrison's bold plan to establish the College as an institute for general education rather than a religious seminary was extraordinarily ahead of his time. Unfortunately, these early endeavours did not yield notable results. The College unexpectedly became a subject of controversy within the LMS and remained, as many thought, no more than a local elementary school and without any influence upon China. Nor could those pre-war secular works have great effect. Their numbers were few and their contents simple or even poor, because the earliest missionaries were much occupied in translating the Bible and preparing study tools for the language and they received comparatively limited formal education. Meanwhile, the lower standards of literacy amongst the overseas Chinese also unavoidably reduced the possible effect that might have been produced by these secular works. Above all, as long as China proper was closed, any attempts to enlighten the people in the marginal areas would be beset with difficulties. The impact of the missionaries' Chinese secular works upon China during the pre-war years doubtless paled beside the influence of English works concerning China upon the West in the same period.

In contrast to the above circumstances, there were much better opportunities for work on the spread of secular knowledge after the war. The opening of the treaty ports exposed many Chinese to Western influence. From their experiences in dealing with foreign affairs, some officials already recognized the necessity of possessing modern technology and studying foreign languages. The T'ai-

p'ing rebellion forced numerous Chinese to find a refuge in the treaty ports, thus bringing more people into direct contact with the outside world. Amongst these refugees were scholars and gentry who were willing to study Western arts and sciences, to attend to the preparation of works in these subjects and to shoulder the expense of their publication. Although few in number, these particular liberal officials, scholars and gentry formed the main force for the trend in Western studies. On the other hand, most missionaries of the new generation had received a college education, which enabled them to write or translate advanced works, especially concerning new developments in technology and sciences. Regarding language study and Bible translation, the young brethren benefited from earlier missionaries' labours in paving an easier way for them and they could now devote some time and energy to secular works. Furthermore, some foreign merchants in the treaty ports were willing to support the transmission of secular knowledge in China. In general, access to Chinese society, the exposure of more Chinese to foreign influences, the improved abilities of the missionaries, together with native gentry and foreign merchants' readiness to support the work, all gave rise to the introduction of secular knowledge on a larger scale.

From 1851 to 1873, the LMS missionaries altogether brought out nearly thirty Chinese secular books and periodicals, with the size of each edition varying from several hundreds to thousands of copies. Compared with the Chinese Bibles and tracts, these were but a small number of titles and copies, but they had great impact on contemporary Chinese elites. At a time when Bibles and tracts had universally to be handed out gratis in China, the missionaries sold their secular books easily, exchanged them for native scholars' works, presented them to Chinese officials as welcome gifts, and found them being reprinted by the Chinese authorities and the Japanese government. It was these secular works that made the Chinese names of the LMS's Shanghai and Hong Kong mission presses, i.e. 墨海書館 *Mo-hai shu-kuan* and 英華書院 *Ying-hua shu-yüan*, well-known amongst the Chinese. During the 1850s

and 1860s when a reform movement focused on the study of Western technology began to gather strength, very few avenues were open to the Chinese to obtain necessary learning. China had not established embassies in foreign countries as yet. Neighbouring Japan was still in a condition similar to China. The foreign institutions in China were mainly for commercial purposes and absorbed the few natives who knew foreign languages. These circumstances made missionaries the principal channel for Western learning, even if their purpose in spreading secular knowledge was to further the aims of the mission. Accordingly, the LMS's two presses, which were the largest of their kind in contemporary China, came to be important resources of modern knowledge for Chinese officials and scholars. The cylinder press and type at the Shanghai mission also became a miraculous sight for them.

In addition to their timing, these secular works gained in popularity amongst a particular indigenous element, i.e. Chinese scholars openly collaborated in their preparation. In the case of the Bibles and tracts, the names of the authors' Chinese language teachers never appeared in print. This was perhaps a measure designed to protect them from persecution in the pre-war period and from disrepute after the war. In contrast, secular works from the 1850s onwards usually bore two names, i.e. that of the foreigner who dictated the contents and the other of the native who penned the text. To make the texts as clear and the information as accurate as possible, the writing or translation required a lot of interaction and co-operation between the two men. The value of Chinese participation in these works showed in idiomatic expressions and a refined style, which were seldom seen in the tracts, and in the assured acceptance of them by the natives. From the 1860s on, there was a surge in translation of Western books as a part of the reform movement. By 1896, about 300 titles in total had been translated into Chinese.(10) About half of these were produced by 江南製造局翻譯館 *Chiang-nan-chih-tsao-chü fan-yi-kuan*, the Department for Translation at the Kiangnan Arsenal, Shanghai, which was a government-sponsored project founded in 1867. The establishment of this

department, and of 廣方言館 *Kuang-fang-yen-kuan*, the Institute for Studying Foreign Languages, was directly the result of the influence of the Shanghai mission press and its publications on Chinese officials and scholars.(11) The method of translation adopted in the department was just the same as that of the LMS missionaries, including setting side-by-side the names of the foreign translators and their Chinese collaborators. Historians are used to referring to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the first period of the introduction of Western learning into China and to the nineteenth century as the second period. Headed by the LMS brethren, Protestant missionaries played the main part in the latter period and produced an overwhelming number of translated works to help the transformation of Chinese society.

A Formidable Printer

As far as printing was concerned, the spread of typography in China was not without difficulties, where block printing had been developed over a period of a thousand years. If typography took about half a century after its invention to become established in Europe, it could hardly be expected to move at a faster pace to conquer a nation, as large as Europe, where the ideographic language was used and where block printing was available at low cost. Even the LMS's Shanghai and Hong Kong mission presses did not entirely set blocks aside during the periods of their existence. The Department for Translation at the Kiangnan Arsenal, which was a leading institution for Western studies and the largest publisher of science and technology in China in the later nineteenth century, provided a good example of the difficult position of Chinese typography in the transition period. Possessing a good cylinder press and a complete fount of Chinese type from the 1860s, the Department continued in addition to print works with blocks for many years. In 1880, John Fryer, a former missionary of the Church Missionary Society who became the principal translator at

this institute at its foundation, still praised and preferred the use of blocks in printing for their economy and convenience.(12) In contrast, the cost of more than $1,000 for a fount of Chinese type, the necessary import of a printing press and the technique to operate the process imposed three restrictions on the expansion of Chinese typography in its early development. The situation was that, when the LMS's last press was sold in 1873, typography was still hardly found beyond the treaty ports and Hong Kong and xylography remained the dominant method of printing in the country. As a foreign observer in China remarked in 1885, '... the [typographical] industry cannot be said to have brought about any serious change in the native book trade.'(13)

Although no overnight revolution occurred, typography gradually and steadily gained the field and took Chinese printing in an irreversible direction. Regarding type-making, the completion of the LMS's fount of Chinese type in the early 1850s was certainly the great beginning. It was followed by the type of the American Presbyterian Mission produced in the 1860s. The third fount of type made in China was that of the 申報 *Shen Pao*, the Shanghai Press, owned by Ernest Major, a local British merchant. He first launched his paper using American type in 1872, then began to make a fount of type with squat-shaped characters several years later. The Chinese type market in the period between the 1870s and 1900s was shared by the following four types: first, the LMS's type taken over by the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company; secondly, the American type, which was the largest type supplier; thirdly, the Shen Pao type; and, fourthly, the type produced by the Japanese which entered the market after the middle of the 1880s. There were some attempts to make type by the Chinese themselves appeared during this time, but it was not until 1909 that a completely indigenous fount of type was produced by 商務印書館 *Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan*, the Commercial Press, which was established at Shanghai in 1897 and grew to be the largest printing and publishing company in China in the early twentieth century. By 1920, no fewer than ten founts of indigenous type had been

made by the Commercial Press and other native enterprises and had replaced the foreign Chinese type on the market.

In respect of publishing, the foreign mission presses were the only book publishers in China using type before 1873. In addition, the LMS's and the American types found some customers in the form of newspapers and magazines, in Chinese or English, published by the missionaries or by foreign merchants. Although the Hong Kong mission press, as we have seen, had several times sold type and matrices to the Chinese, whether these types were ever used in printing remains to be proved. Therefore, the takeover of the LMS's Hong Kong mission press by The Chinese Printing and Publishing Company in 1873 can be seen as the starting point of native publishing enterprises using type. Of this new company, Wang T'ao was the editor-in-chief and Chun A-yin, who represented the company in negotiating the takeover deal with the missionaries, was the general manager. Six months after the buy-out, the company published its first book, Wang's 普法戰記 *P'u-fa chan-chi*, An Account of the Franco-Prussian War, which immediately brought him fame as an expert in foreign affairs. The company's catalogue of February 1874 listed forty-five works published by itself or others. In addition to books, the company launched in early 1874 a daily paper 循環日報 *Hsün-huan jih-pao*, the Universal Circulating Herald, which was declared to be 'the first daily Chinese newspaper ever issued under purely native auspices.'(14) As the publisher and editor-in-chief of this paper, Wang further made his reputation as a prominent journalist and reformer. Following this paper was a burgeoning of Chinese newspapers and magazines. A recent survey shows that there were 1,753 Chinese newspapers and magazines published during the period from 1815, the year William Milne brought out the Chinese Magazine at Malacca, to 1911, the year China ended her imperial history.(15) Unfortunately, this survey gives very incomplete information about the printing method used for these publications. Of the 1,714 titles that appeared after 1873, only 180 provide this information. Amongst these, however, 121 (67.2 per cent) were printed with type, 41 (22.8 per cent)

with a lithographic method, 13 (7.2 per cent) with blocks and 5 (2.8 per cent) with the mimeographic method. This distribution of methods reveals the obvious tendency to use typography.

The LMS's Chinese mission did not stop printing after 1873, but only carried out the work with blocks or contracted with any typographical printing offices that it could find. The pioneer missionaries had completed their formidable tasks in implementing Chinese typography and have passed into history. The printing press did not achieve as much as expected in helping the transmission of Christianity in China. The great significance of their work lay in producing the first fount of Chinese type and in raising Chinese awareness of its greater efficiency, compared with their thousand-year-old blocks, as an agent for the introduction of modern knowledge and as a means to transform their old society.

Appendix

A List of Chinese Works Printed by the LMS Missionaries, 1810-1873.

Abbreviations:
A The British Library
B Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
C Bible Society's Library, Cambridge University Library
D School of Oriental and African Studies Library, University of London
E Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University
a A. Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (1867)
b A. Wylie, *Catalogue of Publications by Protestant Missionaries in China* (1876)
c T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Holy Scripture* (1903)
d W. Milne, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (1820)
e List of Tracts, London Missionary Society's Printing Office, Hong Kong (186?)
lmsba LMS Archives, Batavia
lmscc LMS Archives, Central China
lmscp LMS Archives, China, Personal
lmsuj LMS Archives, Ultra-Ganges, Journal
lmsma LMS Archives, Malacca
lmspe LMS Archives, Penang
lmssc LMS Archives, South China
lmssc LMS Archives, South China, Journal
lmssi LMS Archives, Singapore
l lithographic printing
s stereotype
t type
tt cut type
x blocks

Canton and Macao

Year	Author	Title		Location / Source
1810	R. Morrison	耶穌救世使徒行傳眞本 *Yeh-su chiu-shih shih-t'u hsing-chuan chen-pen*, The Acts of the Apostles.	*x*	C
1812	R. Morrison	聖路加氏傳福音書 *Sheng-lu-chia-shih ch'uan fu-yin shu*, St. Luke's Gospel.	*x*	C
1812	R. Morrison	神道論贖救世總說眞本 *Shen-tao lun-shu chiu-shih tsung-shuo chen pen*, A Tract on the Redemption of the World.	*x*	A, E
1812	R. Morrison	問答淺註耶穌教法 *Wen-ta ch'ien-chu yeh-su-chiao fa*, A Catechism.	*x*	A, B, D, E
1813	R. Morrison	厄拉氐亞與者米士及彼多羅之書 *O-la-ti-ya yü che-mi-shih chi pi-tuo-luo chih shu*, Galatians, St. James' Epistle and St. Peter's Epistles.	*x*	A, C
1813	R. Morrison	問答淺註耶穌教法 *Wen-ta ch'ien-chu yeh-su-chiao fa*, A Catechism.	*x*	E
1813	R. Morrison	神道論贖救世總說眞本 *Shen-tao lun-shu chiu-shih tsung-shuo chen pen*, A Tract on the Redemption of the World.	*x*	B, E

1813	R. Morrison	耶穌基利士督我主救者新遺詔書 *Yeh-su chi-li-shih-tu wuo-chu chiu che hsin-yi-chao-shu*, New Testament. (8vo)	*x*	A, B, C, E
1814	R. Morrison	耶穌基利士督我主救者新遺詔書 *Yeh-su chi-li-shih-tu wuo-chu chiu che hsin-yi-chao-shu*, New Testament. (12mo)	*x*	A, B, C
1814	R. Morrison	古時如氏亞國歷代略傳 *Ku-shih ju-ti-ya-kuo li-tai lueh-chuan*, Outline of Old Testament History.	*x*	A, D, E
1814	R. Morrison	養心神詩 *Yang-hsin shen-shih*, Hymn-book.	*x*	lmssc, Morrison's letter, 17/12/1814.
1814	R. Morrison	創世歷代傳 *Ch'uang-shih li-tai chuan*, Genesis.	*x*	*ibid.*
1815	W. Milne	救世者言行眞史記 *Chiu-shih-che yen-hsing chen shih-chi*, Life of Christ.	*x*	A, B
1818	R. Morrison	養心神詩 *Yang-hsin shen-shih*, Hymn-book.	*x*	A
1819	R. Morrison	西遊地球聞見略傳 *Hsi-yü ti-ch'iu wen-chien lüeh-chuan*, A Voyage round the World.	*x*	A, D
1819	梁發 Liang Afa	救世錄撮要略解 *Chiu-shih-lu ts'uo-yao lüeh-chieh*, Miscellaneous Exhortations.	*x*	lmssc, Morrison's letter, 14/11/1819.
1826	R. Morrison	a sheet tract	*l*	lmscp, T. Fisher's letter, 15/4/1827.
1828	Liang Afa	熟學聖理略論 *Shou-shüeh sheng-li lueh-lun*, Perfect Acquaintance with the Holy Doctrine.	*x*	A
1831	Liang Afa	聖書日課初學便用 *Sheng-shu jih-k'o ch'u-hsüeh pien-yung*, Scripture Lessons.	*x*	A, E
1831	Liang Afa and 屈昂 Keu Agang	西域古經格言, 功過格之謬, 眞福之由 *Hsi-yü ku-ching ko-yen, Kung-kuo-ko chi miu, Chen-fu chih yü*, Three sheet tracts.	*l*	D
1831	Keu Agang	Three sheet tracts: A Collection of Scriptures on the Being and Perfections of the Great Creator, in opposition to Idols, The Beatitudes, and Paul's Speech on Mars Hill.	*l*	D
1831	Liang Afa (?)	a sheet tract in Chinese and Korean	*l*	D
1832	R Morrison	a tract	*l*	lmscp, Morrison's letter, 18/10/1832.
1833	R. Morrison	雜聞篇 *Tsa wen p'ien*, A Miscellaneous Paper.	*tt*	D
1833	R. Morrison and Liang Afa	祈禱文讚神詩 *Ch'i-tao-wen tsan-shen-shih*, Prayers and Hymns.	*tt*	B, D
1833	R. Morrison	a handbill of the first Psalm and other Scripture extracts	*tt*	lmssc, Morrison's letter, 4/12/1833.

Malacca

1815-22	W. Milne	察世俗每月統記傳 *Ch'a-shih-su mei-yüeh t'ung-chi-chuan*, the Chinese Magazine.	*x*	A, E
1815	G. T. Staunton	英吉利國新出種痘奇書 *Ying-chi-li-kuo hsin-ch'u chung-tou ch'i-shu*, A Treatise on Vaccination.	*x*	d, p. 269
1816	W. Milne	進小門走窄路解論 *Chin hsiao-men tsou chai-lu chieh-lun*, Tract on the Strait Gate.	*x*	A, D
1816	W. Milne	崇眞實棄假謊略說 *Ch'ung chen-shih ch'i chia-huang lueh-shuo*, Tract on the Sin of Lying.	*x*	A, B, E
1817	W. Milne	幼學淺解問答 *Yü-hsüeh ch'ien-chieh wen-ta*, A Catechism for Youth.	*x*	B, D, E

1817	R Morrison	耶穌基利士督我主救者新遺詔書 *Yeh-su chi-li-shih-tu wuo-chu chiu che hsin-yi-chao-shu*, New Testament. (12mo)	*x*	A
1818	W. Milne	祈禱眞法註解 *Ch'i-tao chen-fa chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.	*x*	A
1818	W. Milne	諸國異神論 *Chu-kuo yi-shen lun*, Tract on Idolatry.	*x*	a, p. 15
1818	W. Milne	生意公平聚益法 *Sheng-yi kung-p'ing chu-yi fa*, On Justice Between Man and Man.	*x*	A
1818	W. Milne	聖書節註十二訓 *Sheng-shu chieh-chu shih-erh hsün*, Twelve Short Sermons.	*x*	A
1818	R. Morrison	年中每日早晚祈禱敘式 *Nien-chung mei-jih tsao-wan ch'i-tao hsü-shih*, Daily Morning and Evening Prayers of the Church of England.	*x*	A, E
1818	R. Morrison	神天道碎集傳 *Shen-t'ien tao-sui chi-chuan*, Miscellaneous Essays.	*x*	A
1818		三字經 *San-tse-ching*, A Chinese Primer.	*x*	d, p. 269
1818 - 19	R. Morrison	耶穌基利士督我主救者新遺詔書 *Yeh-su chi-li-shih-tu wuo-chu chiu che hsin-yi-chao-shu*, New Testament. (8vo)	*x*	lmssc, Morrison's letter, 13/1/1817; lmsma, Milne's letter, 10/8/1818.
1819	R. Morrison and W. Milne	創世歷代傳、後備律法傳、若書亞傳、神詩傳 *Ch'uang-shih li-tai chuan, Hou-pei lu-fa chuan, Juo-sho-ya chuan, Shen-shih chuan*, Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua and Psalms.	*x*	lmsma, Medhurst's letter, 10/1/1820.
1819	W. Milne	幼學淺解問答 *Yü-hsüeh ch'ien-chieh wen-ta*, A Catechism for Youth.	*x*	*ibid.*
1819	R. Morrison	古時如氐亞國歷代略傳 *Ku-shih ju-ti-ya-kuo li-tai lüeh-chuan*, Outline of Old Testament History.	*x*	*ibid.*
1819	W. Milne	救世者言行眞史記 *Chiu-shih-che yen-hsing chen shih-chi*, Life of Christ.	*x*	*ibid.*
1819	W. Milne	進小門走窄路解論 *Chin hsiao-men tsou chai-lu chieh-lun*, Tract on the Strait Gate.	*x*	*ibid.*
1819	W. Milne	崇眞實棄假謊略說 *Ch'ung chen-shih ch'i chia-huang lüeh-shuo*, Tract on the Sin of Lying.	*x*	*ibid.*
1819	W. Milne	祈禱眞法註解 *Ch'i-tao chen-fa chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.	*x*	*ibid.*
1819	W. Milne	生意公平聚益法 *Sheng-yi kung-p'ing chu-yi fa*, On Justice Between Man and Man.	*x*	*ibid.*
1819	W. Milne	諸國異神論 *Chu-kuo yi-shen lun*, Tract on Idolatry.	*x*	*ibid.*
1819	R. Morrison	神天道碎集傳 *Shen-t'ien tao-sui chi-chuan*, Miscellaneous Essays.	*x*	*ibid.*
1819	W. Milne	聖書節註十二訓 *Sheng-shu chieh-chu shih-erh hsüen*, Twelve Short Sermons.	*x*	*ibid.*
1819	W. Milne	賭博明論略講 *Tu-po ming-lun lüeh-chiang*, The Evils of Gambling.	*x*	A, B
1819	W. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.	*x*	A
1819	W. Milne	古今聖史記集 *Ku-chin sheng shih-chi chi*, Sacred History.	*x*	A, B
1819	W. Milne	受災學義論說 *Shou-tsai hsüeh-yi lun-shuo*, Duty of Men in Times of Public Calamity.	*x*	A, B
1819	W. H. Medhurst	地理便童略傳 *Ti-li pien-t'ung lüeh-chuan*, A Geographical Catechism.	*x*	A, B

1819	R. Morrison	勸讀聖錄熟知文 *Ch'uan tu sheng-lu shou-chih wen*, Homily of the Church of England.	*x*	A, B
1820	R. Morrison	以賽亞傳*I-sai-ya chuan*, Isaiah, 出以至比多地傳 *Ch'u-i-chih-pi-tuo-ti chuan*, Exodus, 先知者書 *Hsien-chih-che shu*, the Minor Prophets, 宜道書傳 *Hsüan-tao-shu chuan*, Ecclesiastes.	*x*	lmsma, Milne's letters, 5/2/1820; 15/8/1820; 14/4/1821.
1821	R. Morrison	依西其理書傳*I-hsi-ch'i-li shu chuan*, Ezekiel, 耶利米亞傳 *Ye-li-mi-ya chuan*, Jeremiah.	*x*	lmsma, Milne's letters, 23/8/1821
1821	W. Milne	三寶仁會論 *San-pao-jen-hui lun*, Three Benevolent Societies.	*tt*	A, E
1821	W. Milne	新增養心神詩 *Hsin-tseng yang-hsin shen-shih*, An Enlarged Hymn-Book.	*tt*	A
1821	W. Milne	上帝聖教公會門 *Shang-ti sheng-chiao kung-hui men*, The Gate of the Church.	*tt*	A, E
1821	W. Milne	全地萬國紀略 *Ch'üan-ti wan-kuo chi-lüeh*, Sketch of the World.	*x*	lmsma, Milne's letter, 23/8/1821.
1821	R Morrison	勸讀聖錄熟知文 *Ch'uan tu sheng-lu shou-chih wen*, Homily of the Church of England	*x*	*ibid.*
1822	W Milne (?)	續纂省身神詩 *Hsü-tsuan hsing-shen shen-shih*, A Supplementary Hymn-Book.	*tt*	A
1822	J Ince	聖錄名人問答 *Sheng-lu ming-jen wen-ta*, A Catechism	*tt*	A
1823	R. Morrison & W. Milne	神天聖書 *Shen-t'ien sheng-shu*, The Holy Bible. (12mo)	*x*	A, B, C, D, E
1823	J. Ince	聖書教問答 *Sheng-shu-chiao wen-ta*, Scripture Catechism.	*x*	D
1823	J. Humphreys	敬信洗心篇 *Ching-hsin hsi-hsin p'ien*, On Regeneration by Faith.	*tt*	A
1823	W. H. Medhurst	Sayings of Jesus	?	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 30/5/1823
1823	R. Morrison	weekly sheet tracts	*tt*	lmsma, Morrison's letter, n.d./3/1823.
1824	Students of the Anglo-Chinese College	節錄成章幼學問答 *Chieh-lu ch'eng-chang yu-hsüeh wen-ta*, A Translation of Brown's Catechism for Youth.	*tt*	A
1824	W. Milne	鄉訓五十二則 *Hsiang-hsün wu-shih-erh tse*, Fifty-Two Villiage Sermons.	*x*	A, B, D
1824	W. Milne	靈魂篇大全 *Ling-hun-p'ien ta-ch'üan*, An Essay on the Soul.	*x*	A
1824	D. Collie	sheet tracts	?	a, p. 46
1824	D. Collie	On Regeneration	?	a, p. 46
1825	W. Milne	新增聖書節解 *Hsin-tseng sheng-shu chieh-chieh*, A Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians.	*x*	A, B, E
1825	D. Collie	聖經釋義 *Sheng-ching shih-i*, Help to the Scriptures.	?	a, p. 46
1825	D. Collie	新纂聖道備全 *Hsin-tsuan sheng-tao pei-ch'üan*, A Scripture Help.	*x*	A, E
1825	D. Collie	Astronomical Catechism	?	a, p. 46
1825	D. Collie	Commentary on Philippians	?	a, p. 46
1825	R. Morrison and W. Milne	The Gospels	*x*	c, p. 186
1826	D. Collie	耶穌言行總論 *Yeh-ssu yen-hsing tsung-lun*, Life of Christ.	*x*	A, B
1826	D. Collie	天鏡明鑑 *T'ien-ching ming-chien*, Celestial Mirror.	*x*	A, B, D, E

1826	S. Kidd	sheet tracts	?	a, p 48
1826	S. Kidd	On the End of Times	?	a, p 48
1827	R. Morrison and W. Milne	神天聖書 *Shen-t'ien sheng-shu*, The Holy Bible. (8vo)	x	D
1827	D. Collie	聖書憑據總論 *Sheng-shu p'ing-chü tsung-lun*, Essay on the Evidences of Christianity.	x	B, D, E
1828	M. Newell	an abstract of geography	?	lmsma, Newell's letter, 18/10/1828.
1828	M. Newell	twelve sheet sermons	?	*ibid*
1828	S. Kidd	人心本惡總論 *Jen-hsin pen-o tsung-lun*, The Fallen State of Man.	?	lmsma, Kidd's letter, 6/2/1829.
1828-29	S. Kidd	天下新聞 *T'ien-hsia hsin-wen*, the Universal News.	x	*ibid.*
1828	S. Kidd	始祖本善總論 *Shih-tsu pen-shan tsung-lun*, A Discussion of the Goodness of the Original Ancestors	x	E
1829	S. Kidd	時鐘表匠言行略論 *Shih-chung piao-chiang yen-hsing lüeh-lun*, Narrative of a Watchmaker.	?	a, p. 49
1829	W. H. Medhurst	東西史記和合 *Tung-hsi shih-chi ho-ho*, Comparative Chronology.	x	A, B
1829	W. H. Medhurst	論善惡人死 *Lun shan-o-jen ssu*, Death of the Good and Bad.	x	E
1829	R Morrison	英吉利國神會祈禱文大概翻譯漢學 *Ying-chi-li-kuo shen-hui ch'i-tao-wen ta-kai van-i han-hsüeh*, The United Prayers and Supplications to the God of the English Nation	x	A, B, D
1829	Liang Afa	眞道問答淺解 *Chen-tao wen-ta ch'ien-chieh*, A Catechism on the Ten Commandments and the duties of Christianity.	x	E
1830	D Collie	聖經釋義 *Sheng-ching shih-i*, Help to the Scriptures.	x	B, E
1830	S. Kidd	論神風感化新心 *Lun shen-feng kan-hua hsin-hsin*, Regeneration by the Holy Spirit.	?	a, p. 49
1831	Liang Afa	勸世良言 *Ch'üan-shih liang-yen*, Good Words Exhorting the Age.	x	A, B, D
1831	W. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen	x	A, B
1832	W. Milne	幼學淺解問答 *Yü-hsüeh ch'ien-chieh wen-ta*, A Catechism for Youth.	?	a, p. 15
1832	W. Milne	生意公平聚益法 *Sheng-yi kung-p'ing chü-i fa*, On Justice Between Man and Man.	?	a, p. 16
1832	R. Morrison	我等救主耶穌基督新遺詔書 *Wuo teng chiu-chu yeh-su chi-tu hsin-yi-chao-shu*, New Testament. (12mo)	x	B
1832	R. Morrison	大英國人事略說 *Ta-ying-kuo jen-shih lüeh-shuo*, A Brief Account of British Character.	x	A, B, E
1832	R. Morrison	古聖奉神天啓示道家訓 *Ku-sheng feng shen-t'ien ch'i-shih tao-chia-hsün*, Domestic Instruction Derived from Divine Revelation.	x	a, p. 6
1832	W. Milne	勸世文 *Ch'üan-shih-wen*, Admonitions for the Age.	?	a, p. 16
1832	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	x	B
1832	W. H. Medhurst	神天十條聖誡註明 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh chu-ming*, Exposition of the Moral Law.	x	D, E
1832	D Collie	聖書袖珍 *Sheng-shu hsiu-chen*, Scripture Extracts.	x	E

1832	W. Milne	進小門走窄路解論 *Chin hsiao-men tsou chai-lu chieh-lun*, Tract on the Strait Gate.	*x*	E
1833	W. H. Medhurst	神理總論 *Shen-li tsung-lun*, Discourse on Theology.	*x*	A, B
1833	W. Milne	four tracts	?	lmsma, J. Hughes and J. Evans's letter, 4/1/1834.
1833		Commentary on the Ten Commandments	?	*ibid.*
1833	D. Collie	聖書袖珍 *Sheng-shu hsiu-chen*, Scripture Extracts.	?	*ibid.*
1833	D. Collie	聖書袖珍 *Sheng-shu hsiu-chen*, Scripture Extracts. (another edition)	?	*ibid.*
1833	D. Collie	耶穌言行總論 *Yeh-ssu yen-hsing tsung-lun*, Life of Christ.	?	*ibid.*
1833	W. Milne	進小門走窄路解論 *Chin hsiao-men tsou chai-lu chieh-lun*, Tract on the Strait Gate.	?	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	?	*ibid.*
1833	W. Milne	祈禱眞法註解 *Ch'i-tao chen-fa chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.	?	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	東西史記和合 *Tung-hsi shih-chi ho-ho*, Comparative Chronology.	?	*ibid.*
1833	?	a catechism	?	*ibid.*
1834	S. Dyer	重校幾書作印集字 *Ch'ung-chiao chi-shu tsuo-yin chi-tse*, A Selection of Three Thousand Characters.	*x*	A, B, D
1835	R. Morrison and W. Milne	神天聖書 *Shen-t'ien sheng-shu*, The Holy Bible.	*x*	lmsma, Evans & Dyer's letter, 6/4/1836.
1835	?	續纂省身神詩 *Hsü-tsuan hsing-shen shen-shih*, A Supplementary Hymn-Book.	*x*	B, E
1835	W. H Medhurst	福音調合 *Fu-yin t'iao-ho*, Harmony of the Gospels.	*x*	A
1835	W. H. Medhurst	論善惡人死 *Lun shan-o-jen ssu*, Death of the Good and Bad.	*x*	a, p. 31
1835	W. Milne	天皇上帝聖教公會門 *T'ien-huang shang-ti sheng-chiao kung-hui men*, The Gate of the Church.	*x*	B
1835	K. Gutzlaff	是非略論 *Shih-fei lüeh-lun*, Correction of Erroneous Impressions.	?	a, p. 56
1840	W. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.	*x*	A
1841	J. Legge	Letter Addressed to the Chinese Residents at Malacca, on the Subject of Cholera.	?	a, p. 119
1842	J. Legge	養心神詩 *Yang-hsin shen-shih*, Hymn Book.	*x*	A
?	W. H. Medhurst	嬰兒書課 *Ying-erh shu-k'o*, Child's Primer.	*x*	E

Singapore

1822	?	a Chinese periodical	*x*	lmssi, S. Milton's Letter, 23/9/1822.
1822	?	Exposition of the Book of Genesis	*x*	*ibid.*
1825	W. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.	*x*	lmssi, Milton's letter, 30/6/1825.
1825	W. Milne	諸國異神論 *Chu-kuo i-shen lun*, Tract on Idolatry.	*x*	*ibid.*

1825	W. Milne	幼學淺解問答 *Yü-hsüeh ch'ien-chieh wen-ta*, A Catechism for Youth.	*x*	*ibid.*
1825	W. Milne	賭博明論略講 *Tu-po ming-lun lüeh-chiang*, The Evils of Gambling.	*x*	*ibid.*
1832	S. Martin	* 訓女三字經 *Hsün-nü san-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic for the Instruction of Females.	*x*	A, E
1842	W. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.Two Friends.	*x*	lmssi, Dyer's letter, 15/10/1842
1842	W. H. Medhurst	神天十條聖誡註解 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Moral Law.	*x*	*ibid.*
1842	K Gutzlaff	耶穌神蹟之傳 *Yeh-su shen-chi chih chuan*, Miracles of Christ	*x*	*ibid.*
1843	?	a tract	?	lmssi, J. Stronach & Dyer's letter, 10/3/1843.
1844	J. Stronach	A History of the Sayings and Doings of Christ	*l*	lmssi, J. Stronach's letter, 2/1/1844
1845	A. Stronach	The Contrast between the Life and Death of the Righteous and the Wicked	*t*	lmssi, A. Stronach's letter, 5/7/1845

* It is uncertain who sponsored the publication of this work.

Penang

1834	?	The Beatitudes	*t*	lmspe, 'Report of the Penang Station for 1833-34.'
1834	S. Dyer	Tract on Heaven	?	lmspe, Dyer's letter, 9/1/1835
1835	?	a tract	*tt*	lmspe, T. Beighton & Dyer's letter, 7/9/1835
1836	Liang Afa	論靈魂生命貴於珍寶美物 *Lun ling-hun sheng-ming kuei yü chen-pao mei-wu*, What Shall It Profit a Man If He Gain the Whole World and Lose His Own Soul.	*x*	lmspe, Beighton's letter, 11/3/1836
1841	S. Dyer	福音總論 *Fu-yin tsung-lun*, Summary of the Gospel.	*s*	A, B

Batavia

1814	R. Morrison	舊遺詔書第一章 *Chiu-i-chao-shu ti-i-chang*, The first chapter of Genesis.	*x*	E
1814	R. Morrison	a handbill relative to the Scriptures	*x*	lmssj, W. Milne's journal, 3/4/1814.
1814	W. Milne	a farewell address to the Chinese in Java	*x*	a, p. 13
1823	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*x*	B
1823	W. H. Medhurst	a handbill regarding the opening of a mission depot	*x*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 23/8/1823.
1823 -26	W. H. Medhurst	特選撮要每月紀傳 *T'e-hsüan ts'uo-yao mei-yüeh chi-chuan*, The Monthly Magazine.	*x*	A, E
1823 -26	W. H. Medhurst	特選撮要 *T'e-hsüan ts'uo-yao*, Selections of the Monthly Magazine.	*x*	B, E

1824	W H. Medhurst	小子初讀易識之書課 *Hsiao-tse ch'u-to i-shih chih shu-k'o*, Child's Primer.	*x*	A, B
1824	W. H. Medhurst	咬留吧總論 *Yao-liu-pa tsung-lun*, History of Java.	*x*	A, B, D, E
1825	W. H. Medhurst	咬留吧總論 *Yao-liu-pa tsung-lun*, History of Java	*x*	a, p 28
1825	W. H. Medhurst	上帝生日之論 *Shang-ti sheng-jih chih lun*, Birthday of Hsüan-t'ien Shang-ti.	*x*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 3/6/1825.
1825	W. H. Medhurst	中華諸兄慶賀新禧文 *Chung-hua chu-hsiung ch'ing-ho hsin-hsi wen*, Tract on the New Year.	*x*	*ibid.*
1825	W. H. Medhurst	清明掃墓之論 *Ch'ing-ming sao-mu chih lun*, Feast of the Tombs.	*x*	*ibid.*
1825	W. H. Medhurst	普度施食之論 *P'u-tu shih-shih chih lun*, On Feeding the Ghosts.	*x*	B
1825	W. H. Medhurst	媽祖婆生日之論 *Ma-tsu-p'o sheng-jih chih lun*, Birthday of Ma-tsu-p'o.	*x*	a, p. 29
1825	W. H. Medhurst	零碎眞珠 *Ling-sui chen-chu*, Fragmentary Pearls.	*x*	B
1825	W. H. Medhurst	a handbill regarding the mission service	*x*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 9/11/1825
1825	W H. Medhurst	兄弟敘談 *Hsiung-ti hsü-t'an*, Fraternal Dialogues	*x*	*ibid.*
1826	W. H. Medhurst	a handbill on Dragon Boat Festival	*x*	lmsuj, Medhurst's journal 10/6/1826.
1826	W H. Medhurst	道德興發於心篇 *Tao-te hsing fa yu hsin p'ien*, Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.	*x*	a, p. 28
1826	W. H. Medhurst	Sayings of Jesus	?	a, p. 28
1826	W. H. Medhurst	神天十條聖誡註解 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Moral Law.	*x*	B
1828	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	?	a, p. 27
1828	W. H. Medhurst	踏火之事論 *T'a-huo chih shih lun*, On Walking over the Fire.	?	a, p. 29
1828	W. H. Medhurst	東西史記和合 *Tung-hsi shih-chi ho-ho*, Comparative Chronology.	*l*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 22/7/1828
1828	W H. Medhurst	a Chinese school book	*l*	*ibid*
1828	W. H. Medhurst	神天十條聖誡註解 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Moral Law.	*x*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter,14/10/1828.
1828	W. H. Medhurst	小子初讀易識之書課 *Hsiao-tse ch'u-to i-shih chih shu-k'o*, Child's Primer.	*x*	*ibid.*
1828	W. H. Medhurst	清明掃墓之論 *Ch'ing-ming sao-mu chih lun*, Feast of the Tombs.	?	a, p. 28
1828	W. H. Medhurst	中華諸兄慶賀新禧文 *Chung-hua chu-hsiung ch'ing-ho hsin-hsi wen*, Tract on the New Year.	?	a, p. 28
1828	W. H. Medhurst	道德興發於心篇 *Tao-te hsing fa yü hsin p'ien*, Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.	?	a, p. 28
1828	W. H. Medhurst	普度施食之論 *P'u-tu shih-shih chih lun*, On Feeding the Ghosts.	?	a, p. 29
1828	W. H. Medhurst	媽祖婆生日之論 *Ma-tsu-p'o sheng-jih chih lun*, Birthday of Ma-tsu-p'o.	?	a, p. 29
1829	W. H. Medhurst	道德興發於心篇 *Tao-te hsing fa yü hsin p'ien*, Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.	*x*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 22/7/1829.
1829	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌贖罪之論 *Yeh-su shu-tsui chih lun*, Tract on Redemption.	*x*	*ibid.*
1829	W. H. Medhurst	神天十條聖誡註解 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Moral Law.	*x*	*ibid.*
1829	W. H. Medhurst	鄉訓 *Hsiang hsün*, Village Sermons.	*x*	*ibid.*
1829	W. H. Medhurst	咬留吧總論 *Yao-liu-pa tsung-lun*, History of Java.	*x*	*ibid.*

1829	W. H Medhurst	神理總論 *Shen-li tsung-lun*, Discourse on Theology.	*l*	*ibid.*
1829	W. H. Medhurst	a Dutch and Chinese school book	*l*	*ibid.*
1829	W H. Medhurst	a handbill regarding Buddha	*l*	*ibid.*
1829	W. H. Medhurst	告白 *Kao-pai*, a handbill against fear of fires.	*l*	D
1830	W. H. Medhurst	小子初讀易識之書課 *Hsiao-tse ch'u-to i-shih chih shu-k'o*, Child's Primer.	?	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 5/8/1830.
1830	?	Chinese tracts	*x*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 7/3/1831.
1832	W. H. Medhurst	問答淺註耶穌教法 *Wen-ta ch'ien-chu yeh-suchiao fa*, Assembly's Catechism.	*l*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 13/7/1832
1832	W. H. Medhurst	Prints for a Scripture History	*l*	*ibid.*
1832	W. H. Medhurst	a Chinese school book	*l*	*ibid.*
1832	W. H. Medhurst	神理總論 *Shen-li tsung-lun*, Discourse on Theology.	*l*	*ibid.*
1832	W. H. Medhurst	神天十條聖誡註解 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Moral Law.	*x*	*ibid.*
1832	W. H. Medhurst	道德興發於心篇 *Tao-te hsing fa yü hsin p'ien*, Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.	*x*	*ibid.*
1832	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌贖罪之論 *Yeh-su shu-tsui chih lun*, Tract on Redemption.	*x*	*ibid.*
1832	W. H. Medhurst	鄉訓 *Hsiang hsün*, Village Sermons.	*x*	*ibid.*
1832	W. H. Medhurst	兄弟敘談 *Hsiung-ti hsü-t'an*, Fraternal Dialogues.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	問答淺註耶穌教法 *Wen-ta ch'ien-chu yeh-su-chiao fa*, Assembly's Catechism.	*l*	lmsba, W. Young's letter, 17/3/1834.
1833	W. H. Medhurst	踏火之事論 *T'a-huo chih shih lun*, On Walking over the Fire.	*l*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	神理總論 *Shen-li tsung-lun*, Discourse on Theology.	*l*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	神天十條聖誡註解 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Moral Law.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	咬留吧總論 *Yao-liu-pa tsung-lün*, History of Java.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	零碎眞珠 *Ling-sui chen-chu*, Fragmentary Pearls.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	道德興發於心篇 *Tao-te hsing fa yü hsin p'ien*, Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌贖罪之論 *Yeh-su shu-tsui chih lun*, Tract on Redemption.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	普度施食之論 *P'u-tu shih-shih chih lun*, On Feeding the Ghosts.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	中華諸兄慶賀新禧文 *Chung-hua chu-hsiung ch'ing-ho hsin-hsi wen*, Tract on the New Year.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	清明掃墓之論 *Ch'ing-ming sao-mu chih lun*, Feast of the Tombs.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	媽祖婆生日之論 *Ma-tsu-p'o sheng-jih chih lun*, Birthday of Ma-tsu-p'o.	*x*	*ibid.*
1833	W. H. Medhurst	上帝生日之論 *Shang-ti sheng-jih chih lun*, Birthday of Hsüan-t'ien Shang-ti.	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	W. H. Medhurst	神理總論 *Shen-li tsung-lun*, Discourse on Theology, vol. 2.	*l*	lmsba, Mehurst's letter, 10/4/1834.
1834	W. H. Medhurst	踏火之事論 *T'a-huo chih shih lun*, On Walking over the Fire.	*l*	*ibid.*
1834	W. H. Medhurst	Tract on the Being of a God	*l*	*ibid.*

1834	W H. Medhurst	福音調和 *Fu-yin t'iao-ho,* Harmony of the Gospels.	*l*	E
1834	W. H. Medhurst	咬留吧總論 *Yao-liu-pa tsung-lun*, History of Java	*x*	lmsba, Mehurst's letter, 10/4/1834.
1834	W H. Medhurst	耶穌贖罪之論 *Yeh-su shu-tsui chih lun,* Tract on Redemption.	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	W. H. Medhurst	中華諸兄慶賀新禧文 *Chung-hua chu-hsiung ch'ing-ho hsin-hsi wen*, Tract on the New Year.	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	W. H. Medhurst	清明掃墓之論 *Ch'ing-ming sao-mu chih lun*, Feast of the Tombs.	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	W. H. Medhurst	普度施食之論 *P'u-tu shih-shih chih lun,* On Feeding the Ghosts.	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	W. H. Medhurst	小子初讀易識之書課 *Hsiao-tse ch'u-to i-shih chih shu-k'o*, Child's Primer.	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	W. H. Medhurst	零碎眞珠 *Ling-sui chen-chu*, Fragmentary Pearls.	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	W. H. Medhurst	兄弟敘談 *Hsiung-ti hsü-t'an,* Fraternal Dialogues.	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	W. H. Medhurst	Important Selections	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	K. Gutzlaff	耶穌神蹟之傳 *Yeh-su shen-chi chih chuan,* Miracles of Christ.	*x*	*ibid.*
1834	W H Medhurst	Sayings of Jesus	?	a, p. 28
1835	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌贖罪之論 *Yeh-su shu-tsui chih lun,* Tract on Redemption.	?	a, p. 30
1835	W. H. Medhurst	福音調和 *Fu-yin t'iao-ho,* Harmony of the Gospels.	*l*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 1/4/1835
1835	W. H Medhurst	福音調和 *Fu-yin t'iao-ho,* Harmony of the Gospels. (another edition)	*l*	*ibid.*
1835	W H. Medhurst	踏火之事論 *T'a-huo chih shih lun,* On Walking over the Fire.	*l*	*ibid.*
1835	W. H. Medhurst	Tract on the Being of a God	*l*	*ibid.*
1835	?	Tract on the Divine Attributes	*l*	*ibid.*
1835	?	Tract on the Fall of Man	*l*	*ibid.*
1835	W H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*x*	*ibid*
1835	W H. Medhurst	零碎眞珠 *Ling-sui chen-chu*, Fragmentary Pearls.	*x*	*ibid.*
1835	K. Gutzlaff	耶穌神蹟之傳 *Yeh-su shen-chi chih chuan,* Miracles of Christ.	*x*	*ibid.*
1836	W. H. Medhurst	神天十條聖誡註解 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh chu-chieh,* Exposition of the Moral Law.	*x*	*ibid.*
1836	W. H. Medhurst	小子初讀易識之書課 *Hsiao-tse ch'u-to i-shih chih shu-k'o*, Child's Primer.	*l*	lmsba, Young's letter, 29/12/1836
1836	W. H. Medhurst	Ten Commandments	*l*	*ibid.*
1836	W. H. Medhurst	新遺詔書 *Hsin-i-chao shu*, New Testament.	*l*	*ibid.*
1836	W. H. Medhurst	新遺詔書*Hsin-i-chao shu*, New Testament. 2nd ed.	*l*	*ibid.*
1836	W. H. Medhurst	Sayings of Jesus	?	a, p. 28
1836	W. H. Medhurst	神理總論 *Shen-li tsung-lun*, Discourse on Theology.	*l*	a, p. 31
1837	W. H. Medhurst	新遺詔書*Hsin-i-chao shu,* New Testament. 3rd ed.	*l*	C
1838	W. H. Medhurst	Ten Commandments	?	lmsba, Young's letter, 18/10/1838
1838	W. Young	約翰傳福音書 *Yueh-han ch'uan fu-yin shu*, John's Gospel in Chinese and Malaya.	*t*	*ibid.*, a. p. 67.
1838 or 39	W. H. Medhurst	創世歷代書 *Ch'uang-shih li-tai-shu*, Genesis.	*l*	A, B
1838 or 39	W. H. Medhurst	創世歷代書 *Ch'uang-shih li-tai-shu*, Genesis, in Chinese and Malaya.	?	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 25/3/1939

1839 -40	W H Medhurst	論語新纂 *Lun-yü hsin tsuan*, Collections of Moral and Religious Sayings.	*l*	B
1839 -40	W. H Medhurst	神天十條聖誡註解 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh chu-chieh*, Commentary on the Ten Commandments.	*t*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 9/10/1839
1839	W. H. Medhurst	History of the Christ, in Chinese, Malay and English.	*t*	*ibid.*
1840	W. H. Medhurst	踏火之事論 *T'a-huo chih shih lun*, On Walking over the Fire.	*l*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 5/4/1840.
1840	W. H. Medhurst	養心神詩 *Yang-hsin shen-shih*, Hymn Book.	*l*	E
1840		School Sentences	*l*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 28/7/1840.
1840	W. H. Medhurst	福音調和 *Fu-yin t'iao-ho*, Harmony of the Gospels.	*x*	*ibid.*
1841	a Chinese convert	不知天命總論 *Pu-chih t'ien-ming tsung-lun*, Our Ignorance of God's Decrees.	*l*	B
1841	W. H. Medhurst	創世歷代書 *Ch'uang-shih li-tai-shu*, Genesis.	*l*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 12/4/1841.
1841	W. H. Medhurst	咬留吧總論 *Yao-liu-pa tsung-lun*, History of Java.	*x*	*ibid.*
1841	W. H. Medhurst	踏火之事論 *T'a-huo chih shih lun*, On Walking over the Fire.	*l*	*ibid*
1841	?	Select Sentences	*l*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 7/10/1841
1841	W. H. Medhurst	a collection of Prayers	*l*	*ibid.*
1841	W. H. Medhurst	清明掃墓之論 *Ch'ing-ming sao-mu chih lun*, Feast of the Tombs.	*x*	*ibid.*
1841	W. H. Medhurst	普度施食之論 *P'u-tu shih-shih chih lun*, On Feeding the Ghosts.	*x*	*ibid.*
1841	K Gutzlaff	耶穌神蹟之傳 *Yeh-su shen-chi chih chuan*, Miracles of Christ.	*x*	*ibid.*
1841	W. H Medhurst	耶穌贖罪之論 *Yeh-su shu-tsui chih lun*, Tract on Redemption.	*x*	*ibid.*
1841	W. H Medhurst	中華諸兄慶賀新禧文 *Chung-hua chu-hsiung ch'ing-ho hsin-hsi wen*, Tract on the New Year.	*x*	*ibid.*
1842	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*l*	B
1842	W. H Medhurst	偶像書編 *Ou-hsiang shu-pien*, Tract on Idolatry.	*l*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter of 22/4/1842.
1842	W. H. Medhurst	養心神詩 *Yang-hsin shen-shih*, Hymn Book.	*l*	*ibid.*
1842	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌降世傳 *Yeh-su chiang-shih chuan*, Life of Christ.	*l*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 6/10/1842
1842	W. H. Medhurst	福音調和 *Fu-yin t'iao-ho*,Harmony of the Gospels.	*x*	*ibid.*
1843	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌降世傳 *Yeh-su chiang-shih chuan*, Life of Christ.	*l*	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 10/4/1843.
1843	W. H. Medhurst	踏火之事論 *T'a-huo chih shih lun*, On Walking over the Fire.	*l*	*ibid.*
1843	?	On the Being and Attributes of God	*t*	*ibid.*
1843	?	a short catechism	*t*	*ibid.*
1843	?	Commentary on Matthew	?	lmsba, Medhurst's letter, 24/6/1843.
?	W. H. Medhurst	論善惡人死 *Lun shan-o-jen ssu*, Death of the Good and Bad.	?	a, p. 31
?	W. Young	訓蒙日課 *Hsün-meng jih-k'o*, Daily Lessons for Children.	*l*	a, p. 67

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1844 -46	W. H. Medhurst	眞理通道 *Chen-li t'ung-tao*, Course of Sermons. (weekly sermons)	*t*	A, B
1844	W. H. Medhurst	天理要論 *T'ien-li yao-lun*, Essentials of Theology.	*t*	B
1844	W. H. Medhurst	聖教要理 *Sheng-chiao yao-li*, Important Principles of Religion.	*t*	B
1844	W. H. Medhurst	祈禱式文 *Ch'i-tao-shih-wen*, Forms of Prayer.	*l*	a, p 32
1844	W. H.Medhurst	祈禱式文 *Ch'i-tao-shih wen*, Forms of Prayer	*x*	a, p. 32
1844	W. H. Medhurst	雜篇 *Tsa p'ien*, Miscellaneous Pieces.	?	a, p. 32
1844	W. H. Medhurst	On John iii.	*x*	lmscc, Medhurst's letter, 31/3/1845.
1844 or 45	?	sheet almanack	*x*	*ibid.*
1845	W. H. Medhurst	祈禱式文 *Ch'i-tao-shih wen*, Forms of Prayer. (in the Shanghai dialect)	*l*	lmscc, Medhurst, Lockhart & Fairbrother's letter, 7/10/1845.
1845	W. H. Medhurst	祈禱式文 *Ch'i-tao-shih wen*, Forms of Prayer.	*t*	*ibid.*
1845	W. Milne	幼學淺解問答 *Yü-hsüeh ch'ien-chieh wen-ta*, A Catechism for Youth	*t*	B
1845	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lüeh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*x*	B
1845	W. H. Medhurst	新增三字經 *Hsin-tseng san-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic, enlarged.	*x*	B
1845	W. Milne	上帝聖教公會門 *Shang-ti sheng-chiao kung-hui men*, The Gate of the Church.	*t*	B
1845	I. Tracy	鴉片速改七戒文 *Ya-p'ien su-kai ch'i-chieh-wen*, Incentives to Abandon Opium.	*t*	B
1845	W. H. Medhurst	十條誡註明與祈禱眞法註解 *Shih-t'iao-chieh chu-ming yü ch'i-tao chen-fa ch'u-chieh*, a Commentary on the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer.	*t*	B
1846	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lüeh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*t*	lmscc, Medhurst & Lockhart's letter, 10/4/1846.
1845 or 46	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌降世傳 *Yeh-su chiang-shih chuan*, Life of Christ.	*x*	*ibid.*
1845 or 46	W. H. Medhurst	Brief Exposition of Ten Commandments	*x*	*ibid.*
1845 or 46	W. H. Medhurst	On John, iii.	*x*	*ibid.*
1846	W. H. Medhurst	新增三字經 *Hsin-tseng san-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic, enlarged.	*x*	lmscc, Medhurst & Lockhart's letter, 14/10/1846.
1846	W. H. Medhurst	新增三字經 *Hsin-tseng san-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic, enlarged	*s*	*ibid.*
1846	W. H. Medhurst	新增三字經 *Hsin-tseng san-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic, enlarged.	*t*	*ibid.*
1846	W. H. Medhurst	On John, iii.	*x*	*ibid.*
1846	W. H. Medhurst	聖經史記 *Sheng-ching shih-chi*, Scripture History.	*t*	A, B
1846	W. H. Medhurst	祈禱眞法註解 *Ch'i-tao chen-fa chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.	*t*	B
1846	W. H. Medhurst	眞神天皇十誡 *Chen-shen t'ien-huang shih-chieh*, Ten Commandments.	*t*	B

1846	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌降世傳 *Yeh-su chiang-shih chuan*, Life of Christ.	*l*	a, p. 34
1846	W. H. Medhurst	馬太傳福音註 *Ma-t'ai ch'üan fu-yin chu*, Commentary on Matthew's Gospel (in the Shanghai dialect)	*l*	a, p. 34
1846	W. H. Medhurst	創世歷代傳 *Ch'uang-shih li-tai chuan*, Genealogy from the Creation.	*l*	A
1846	W. H. Medhurst	論悔罪信耶穌 *Lun hui-tsui hsin yeh-su*, On Repentance.	*x*	B
1846	W. H. Medhurst	論勿拜偶像 *Lun wu pai ou-hsiang*, Tract on Idolatry.	*x*	B
1846	W. H. Medhurst	論上帝差子救世 *Lun shang-ti ch'ai tse chiu-shih*, God Sending His Son to Save the World.	?	a, p. 33
1846	W. H. Medhurst	論覺罪之事 *Lun chüeh-tsui chih shih*, Conviction of Sin.	?	E
1846	W. H. Medhurst	講自家個好處靠弗若 *Chiang tse-chia-ko hao-ch'u k'ao fu juo*, The Insufficiency of One's Own Merits. (in the Shanghai dialect)	?	a, p. 33
1846	W. H. Medhurst	講上帝告訴人知識 *Chiang shang-ti kao-su jen chih-shih*, Revelation. (in the Shanghai dialect)	?	a, p. 33
1846 (?)	W. H. Medhurst	新增聖書節註 *Hsin-tseng sheng-shu chieh-chu*, A Brief Explanation of the Scripture.	?	a, p. 29
1846 -47	W. H. Medhurst	St. Paul's Epistles	*t*	lmscc, Medhurst, Lockhart & Milne's letter, 10/4/1847
1846 or 47	W. H. Medhurst	聖經史記 *Sheng-ching shih-chi*, Scripture History.	*t*	*ibid.*
1846 or 47	W. H. Medhurst	On John, iii. (in the Shanghai dialect)	*t*	*ibid.*
1846 or 47	W H. Medhurst	On Temptation and Fall	t	*ibid.*
1846 or 47	W. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.	*s*	*ibid.*
1846 or 47	W. H. Medhurst	論悔罪信耶穌 *Lun hui-tsui hsin yeh-su*, On Repentance.	*x*	*ibid.*
1846 or 47	W. H. Medhurst	論勿拜偶像 *Lun wu pai ou-hsiang*, Tract on Idolatry.	*x*	*ibid.*
1846 or 47	?	Ten Commandments	x	*ibid.*
1847	W. H. Medhurst	講上帝差兒子救世界上人 *Chiang shang-ti ch'ai erh-tse chiu shih-chieh shang jen*, God Sending His Son to Save the World. (in the Shanghai dialect)	?	a, p. 33
1847	W. H. Medhurst	講頭一個祖宗作惡 *Chiang t'ou-i-ko tsu-tsung tsuo o*, Sin of Our First Parents. (in the Shanghai dialect)	*t*	B
1847	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	?	lmscc, Milne's letter, 11/10/1847
1847	?	On Self-righteousness (in the Shanghai dialect)	?	*ibid.*
1847	?	On Divine Revelation (in the Shanghai dialect)	?	*ibid.*
1847	?	On Divine Attribute	?	*ibid.*
1847	?	Separate Text	?	*ibid.*
1847	W. H. Medhurst	論悔罪信耶穌 *Lun hui-tsui hsin yeh-su*, On Repentance.	*x*	*ibid.*
1847	W. H. Medhurst	約翰傳福音書 *Yueh-han ch'uan fu-yin shu*, St. John's Gospel. (in the Shanghai dialect)	?	C

1847	J. Stronach	福音要言 *Fu-yin yao-yen*, Important Gospel Sayings.	*t*	B
1847 or 48	W. C. Milne	上帝聖教公會門 *Shang-ti sheng-chiao kung-hui men*, The Gate of the Church. (in the Shanghai Dialect)	?	lmscc, Milne's letter, 11/4/1848
1847 or 48	W. C. Milne	馬太傳福音書 *Ma-t'ai ch'uan fu-yin shu*, Matthew's Gospel. (in the Shanghai dialect)	?	*ibid.*
1847 or 48	W. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.	*s*	*ibid.*
1847 or 48	W. H. Medhurst	論悔罪信耶穌 *Lun hui-tsui hsin yeh-su*, On Repentance.	?	*ibid.*
1848	W. H. Medhurst	十條誡論 *Shih-t'iao-chieh lun*, Brief Exposition of the Ten Commandments.	*t*	B
1848	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*s*	a, p. 27
1848	W. Milne	幼學淺解問答 *Yü-hsüeh ch'ien-chieh wen-ta*, A Catechism for Youth.	?	a, p. 15
1848	J. Stronach	善終誌傳 *Shan-chung chih chuan*, Peace in Death.	*t*	B
1848	W. H. Medhurst	天帝宗旨論 *T'ien-ti tsung-chih lun*, Discourse on the Divine Perfections.	*t*	B
1849	W. H. Medhurst	天帝宗旨論 *T'ien-ti tsung-chih lun*, Discourse on the Divine Perfections. (another edition)	*t*	B
1849	W. H. Medhurst	論悔罪信耶穌 *Lun hui-tsui hsin yeh-su*, On Repentance.	*t*	B
1849	W. H. Medhurst	論勿拜偶像 *Lun wu pai ou-hsiang*, Tract on Idolatry.	?	lmscc, Medhurst's letter, 8/10/1849.
1849	?	On the Being and Attribute of God	?	*ibid.*
1850	W. H. Medhurst	祈禱式文釋句 *Ch'i-tao shih-wen shih-chü*, Exposition of the Forms of Prayer.	?	a, p. 33
1850	J. Stronach	福音要言 *Fu-yin yao-yen*, Important Gospel Sayings	?	lmscc, Milne's letter, 14/10/1850.
1850	W. H Medhurst	祈禱眞法註解 *Ch'i-tao chen-fa chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.	?	*ibid*
1850	W. C. Milne	福音廣訓 *Fu-yin kuang-hsün*, Village Sermons.	?	*ibid.*
1850	W H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*s*	*ibid.*
1850	?	Ten Commandments	?	*ibid.*
1850	W. H. Medhurst	天地人論 *T'ien ti jen lun*, Heaven, Earth and Man.	*t*	B
1851	W H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lueh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*t*	B
1851	W. H. Medhurst	論悔罪信耶穌 *Lun hui-tsui hsin yeh-su*, On Repentance.	?	a, p. 29
1851	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	t	lmscc, Muirhead's letter, 15/10/1851.
1851	The Committee of Delegates	Gospels and Acts	*t*	*ibid.*
1851	?	Sabbath calendar	*t*	*ibid.*
1851	W. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.	*s*	*ibid.*
1851	?	Ten Commandments	?	lmscc, J. Edkins' letter, 22/3/1852.
1851	W. Muirhead	行客經歷傳 *Hsing-k'o ching-li chuan*, An Abridged Translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.	?	*ibid.*
1851	J. Stronach	善終誌傳 *Shan-chung chih chuan*, Peace in Death.	?	*ibid.*
1851	W. C. Milne	眞道入門 *Chen-tao ju-men*, Introduction to the True Doctrine.	*t*	B

1851	W C. Milne	長遠兩友相論 *Ch'ang-yüen liang-yù hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen	*t*	B
1851	W. Muirhead	格物窮理問答 *Ko-wu ch'iung-li wen-ta*, Catechism of Nature.	*t*	B
1852	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'uan-shu*, New Testament.	*t*	A, C
1852	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'uan-shu*, New Testament. (pocket size)	*t*	C
1852	J. Stronach	福音要言 *Fu-yin yao-yen*, Important Gospel Sayings.	?	lmscc, Medhurst's letter, 19/3/1853.
1852	?	sheet almanac	?	*ibid.*
1852	W. H. Medhurst	論悔罪信耶穌 *Lun hui-tsui hsin yeh-su*, On Repentance.	*t*	B
1852	J. Edkins	華洋和合通書 *Hua-yang ho-ho t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	*t*	A, B, D
1852	J. Edkins	咸豐二年十一月初一日日蝕單 *Hsien-feng erh-nien shih-i-yüeh ch'u-i-jih jih-shih tan*, Elements of the Solar Eclipse on 11 December 1852.	?	a, p. 187
1852	W C. Milne	長遠兩友相論 *Ch'ang-yüen liang-yù hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.	*t*	B
1853	J. Stronach	福音要言 *Fu-yin yao-yen*, Important Gospel Sayings.	?	lmscc, Muirhead's letter, 20/10/1853.
1853	W. C. Milne	福音廣訓 *Fu-yin kuang-hsün*, Village Sermons	?	*ibid.*
1853	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	?	a, p. 188
1853	J. Edkins	孝事天父論 *Hsiao shih t'ien-fu lun*, Discourse on Filial Devotion towards the Heavenly Father.	*x*	B
1853	W H. Medhurst	天地人論 *T'ien ti jen lun*, Heaven, Earth and Man.	*t*	B
1853	W. H. Medhurst	貧者約瑟明道論 *P'in-che yueh-so ming-tao lun*, Death of Poor Joseph.	?	a, p. 31
1853	W. H. Medhurst	亞大門臨死畏刑論 *Ya-ta-men lin-ssu wei hsing lun*, Death of Altamont.	*t*	B
1853	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lüeh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*t*	a, p. 33
1853	A. Wylie	數學啓蒙 *Shu-hsüeh ch'i-meng*, Compendium of Arithmetic.	*t*	B, D
1853	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'uan-shu*, New Testament (pocket size)	*t*	C
1853 -54	W. Muirhead	地理全志 *Ti-li ch'üan-chih*, Universal Geography	*t, x*	A, B, D, E
1854	W. C. Milne	福音廣訓 *Fu-yin kuang-hsun*, Village Sermons.	*t*	A, B, D
1854	W. C. Milne	儆惡箴言 *Ching-o chen-yen*, The Sinner's Friend.	?	lmscc, Muirhead's letter, 5/4/1855, a, p. 124
1854	W. H. Medhurst	野客問難記 *Ye-k'o wen-nan chi*, Against Sacrificing to the Dead.	*t*	*ibid.*
1854	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	?	*ibid.*
1854	J. Edkins	孝事天父論 *Hsiao shih t'ien-fu lun*, Discourse on Filial Devotion towards the Heavenly Father.	*x*	B
1854	W. H. Medhurst	天地人論 *T'ien ti jen lun*, Heaven, Earth and Man.	*t*	a, p. 33
1855	The Committee of Delegates	舊約全書 *Ch'iu-yüeh ch'uan-shu*, Old Testament.	*t*	A
1855	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'uan-shu*, New Testament. ('million edition')	*t*	A, D

1855	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yueh ch'uan-shu*, New Testament.	*t*	D
1855	The Committee of Delegates	舊約全書 *Ch'iu-yueh ch'uan-shu*, Old Testament 新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'uan-shu*, New Testament.	*t*	A
1855	W. H. Medhurst	天地人論 *T'ien ti jen lun*, Heaven, Earth and Man	*t*	B
1855	J. Stronach	耶穌教或問 *Yeh-su-chiao huo-wen*, Questions about Christianity.	*t*	B
1855	B. Hobson	博物新編 *Po-wu hsin-pien*, Natural Philosophy and Natural History.	*x*	A, B, D
1855	J. Stronach	善終誌傳 *Shan-chung chih chuan*, Peace in Death.	*t*	B
1855	W. Muirhead	教會問答 *Chiao-hui wen-ta*, The Assembly's Catechism.	*x*	A, B
1855	W. Muirhead	救靈先路 *Chiu ling hsien lu*, The Anxious Enquirer.	?	a, p. 169
1855	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lüeh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*t*	A
1855	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	?	a, p. 189
1856	W. C. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yuen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen. (in the Shanghai dialect)	*x*	D
1856	W. H. Medhurst	人所當求之福 *Jen suo tang ch'iu chih fu*, True Happiness.	*t*	B
1856	?	Short Gate	?	lmscc, G. John's letter, 5/10/1856.
1856	W. H. Medhurst	救世主祇耶穌一人 *Chiu-shih-chu chih yeh-su i-jen*, Christ the Only Saviour.	?	*ibid.*
1856	W. H Medhurst	人不信耶穌之故 *Jen pu hsin yeh-su chih ku*, Why the Heathen Make Light of the Gospel.	?	a, p. 35
1856	W. H. Medhurst	失羊歸牧 *Shih yang kui mu*, The Wandering Sheep Returned to the Shepherd.	*t*	B
1856	W. H. Medhurst	君子終日爲善 *Chun-tse chung-jih wei shan*, A Well-Spent Day.	*t*	B
1856	W. H. Medhurst	歲終自察行爲 *Sui chung tse ch'a hsing-wei*, Discourse for the New Year.	*t*	B
1856	W. H. Medhurst	悔罪祈求之事 *Hui tsui ch'i-ch'iu chi shih*, The Penitent Sinner Seeking for Mercy.	?	a, p. 35
1856	W. H. Medhurst	惡者不得入天國 *O-che pu-te ju t'ien-kuo*, Who Are Excluded from the Kingdom of God.	?	a, p. 35
1856	W. H. Medhurst	祈禱上帝之理 *Ch'i-tao shang-ti chih li*, Prayer.	?	a, p. 36
1856	W. H. Medhurst	善者受難獲益 *Shan-che shou-nan huo-i*, The Good Man in Affliction.	?	a, p. 36
1856	W. H. Medhurst	善人考終命 *Shan-jen k'ao chung ming*, The Happy Death of the Righteous.	?	a, p. 36
1856	W. H. Medhurst	死至猝不及備 *Ssu chih ch'u pu chi pei*, Death Comes Like a Thief in the Night.	?	a, p. 36
1856	W. Muirhead	來就耶穌 *Lai chiu yeh-su*, Come to Jesus.	*x*	B
1856	W. Muirhead	天教證略 *T'ien-chiao cheng-lüeh*, Evidences of the Christian Religious.	*x*	B
1856	W. Muirhead	天佛論衡 *T'ien fo lun-heng*, The Golden Balance.	*t*	B
1856	W. Muirhead	天理十三條 *T'ien-li shih-san t'iao*, Thirteen Articles on Christian Doctrine.	*t*	B
1856	W. Muirhead	求雨勸世文 *Ch'iu-yü ch'üan-shih-wen*, Exhortation with Regard to Praying for Rain.	?	lmscc, G. John's letter, 5/10/1856.

1856	W Muirhead	絕棄偶像勸世文 *Chüeh-ch'i ou-hsiang ch'uan-shih-wen*, Exhortation to Abandon Idols	?	*ibid.*
1856	W. Muirhead	大英國志 *Ta-ying-kuo chih*, A History of England.	*x*	A, B, D, E
1856	W Muirhead	天教超儒論 *T'ien-chiao ch'ao ju lun*, Christianity Superior to Confucianism.	?	a, p. 169
1856	W. Muirhead	Ten Sermons	?	a, p. 169
1856	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	?	a, p. 189
1856	J. Edkins	孝事天父論 *Hsiao shih t'ien-fu lun*, Discourse on Filial Devotion towards the Heavenly Father.	?	a, p. 187
1856	J. Edkins	三德論 *San te lun*, The Three Graces.	*x*	B
1856	W H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*t*	B
1856	W. C. Burns	天路歷程, *T'ien-lu li-ch'eng*, a complete translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.	?	lmscc, Medhurst's letter, 5/4/1856.
1856	W. H. Medhurst	宗主詩篇 *Tsung-chu shih-p'ien*, Hymn Book.	?	*ibid.*
1856	R. H. Cobbold	勸世文 *Ch'üan-shih-wen*, Exhortations for the Age.	?	*ibid.*
1856	R. H. Cobbold	眞理摘要 *Chen-li chai-yao*, Important Selections of Truth.	*t*	A, B
1856	R. H. Cobbold	小學正宗 *Hsiao-hsüeh cheng-tsung*, Correct Views of Minor Questions.	*t*	B
1857	W. H. Medhurst	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'uan-shu*, New Testament. (colloquial Mandarin)	*t*	A, C
1857	R. H Cobbold	指迷編 *Chih-mi-pien*, Directions for the Misguided.	*t*	A
1857	W. H. Medhurst	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'uan-shu*, New Testament. (colloquial Mandarin)	*t*	D
1857	W. C. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.	*x*	B
1857	W. H. Medhurst	羅馬書註解 *Luo-ma-shu chu-chieh*, Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.	*t*	A, B
1857	J. Edkins	釋教正謬 *Shih-chiao cheng-miu*, Correction of Buddhist Errors.	*t*	A, B
1857	W. Muirhead	總論耶穌之道 *Tsung-lun yeh-su chih tao*, General View of Christianity.	?	a, p. 170
1857	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	?	a, p. 189
1857	W. H. Medhurst	葆靈魂以升天國論 *Pao ling-hun i sheng t'ien-kuo lun*, Discourse on Saving the Soul and Ascending to Heaven.	*t*	A
1857	W. H. Medhurst	行道信主以免後日之刑論 *Hsing-tao hsin-chu i mien hou-jih chih hsing lun*, Discourse on Avoiding Future Punishment, by Consistent Faith.	*t*	A
1857	W. H. Medhurst	人當自省以食晚餐論 *Jen tang tse-hsing i shih wan-ts'an lun*, Self-Examination on Partaking of the Lord's Supper.	*t*	A, B
1857	W. Muirhead	救靈先路 *Chiu ling hsien lu*, The Anxious Enquirer.	*t*	A
1857	B. Hobson	問答良言 *Wen-ta liang-yen*, Catechism of Christian Principles.	*x*	B
1857	B. Hobson	西醫略論 *Hsi-i lüeh-lun*, Introduction to the Practice of Surgery in the West.	*x*	A, B
1857	A. Wylie	續幾何原本 *Hsü chi-ho yüan-pen*, Supplementary Elements of Geometry.	*x*	A, D

1857	W H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic	?	lmscc, A. Wylie's letter, 28/5/1857.
1857	J. Edkins	三德論 *San te lun*, The Three Graces.	?	*ibid.*
1857	J. Stronach	福音要言 *Fu-yin yao-yen*, Important Gospel Sayings.	?	*ibid.*
1857 -59	A. Wylie	吾主耶穌基督新遺詔書 *Wu-chu yeh-su chi-tu hsin-i-chao-shu*, New Testament in Manchu and Chinese.	?	*ibid.*
1857 -58	A. Wylie	六合叢談 *Liü-ho ts'ung-t'an*, Shanghai Serial.	*t*	A, B, E
1858	A. Williamson	植物學 *Chih-wu-hsüeh*, Treatise on Botany.	*x*	A, B, D
1858	A Wylie	重學淺說 *Chung-hsüeh ch'ien-shuo*, Popular Treatise on Mechanics.	*t*	B
1858	W. Muirhead	讚主詩歌 *Tsan-chu shih-ko*, Hymns of Praise.	?	a, p. 170
1858	W. Muirhead	耶穌讚歌 *Yeh-su tsan-ko*, Hymns of Praise. (in the Shanghai dialect)	?	a, p. 170
1858	W. Muirhead	至聖指南 *Chih-sheng chih-nan*, True Indication of the Sage	*t*	B
1858	W. Muirhead	虔敬眞理 *Ch'ien-ching chen-li*, Reverence for Truth.	?	a, p. 170
1858	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	?	a, p. 189
1858	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lueh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*t*	A
1858	B Hobson	全體新論 *Ch'uan-t'i hsin-lun*, Treatise on Physiology.	*x*	A, B, D
1858	B. Hobson	婦嬰新說 *Fu-ying hsin-shuo*, Treatise on Midwifery and Diseases of Children.	*x*	A, B, D
1858	B. Hobson	內科新說 *Nei-k'o hsin-shuo*, Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica.	*x*	A, B, D
1858	B Hobson	醫學英華字釋 *I-hsüeh ying-hua tse-shih*, A Medical Vocabulary in English and Chinese	*t*	D
1858	W. H. Medhurst	哥林多書註解 *Ko-lin-tuo-shu chu-chieh*, Commentary on Corinthians.	*t*	B
1858	W H. Medhurst	新約全書註解 *Hsin-yüeh ch'uan-shu chu-chieh*, Commentary on the New Testament.	*t*	A
1858	J. Edkins and A. Wylie	甲乙二友論述 *Chia-i erh-yü lun-shu*, Dialogues between Two Friends	*t*	A, B
1859	J. Edkins	續釋教正謬 *Hsü shih-chiao cheng-miu*, Supplementary Correction of Buddhist Errors.	?	lmscc, Muirhead's letter, 12/10/1859.
1859	A. Wylie	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	?	*ibid.*
1859	W. Muirhead	聖歌 *Sheng-ko*, Hymns.	?	*ibid.*
1859	J. Edkins	重學 *Chung-hsüeh*, Treatise on Mechanics.	*x*	a, p. 188
1859	A. Wylie	代數學 *Tai-shu-hsüeh*, Treatise on Algebra.	*t*	A, B, D
1859	A. Wylie	代微積拾級 *Tai-wei-chi shih-chi*, Elements of Analytical Geometry and of the Differential and Integral Calculus.	*t*	A, B, E
1859	A. Wylie	談天 *T'an-t'ien*, Outlines of Astronomy.	*x*	A, D
1859	W. Muirhead	天道入門 *T'ien-tao ju-men*, Catechism of Christian Doctrine.	*t*	B
1859	B. Hobson	基督降世傳 *Chi-tu chiang-shih chuan*, Advent of Christ.	?	A

1860	A Wylie	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	?	a, p 174
1860	W. Muirhead	耶穌要志 *Yeh-su yao-chih*, Important Facts Regarding Jesus	?	a, p. 170
1860	G. John	上帝全能顯著於福音道理內 *Shang-ti ch'uan-neng hsien-chu yü fu-yin tao-li nei*, God's Omnipotence Revealed in the Gospel.	?	a, p. 237
1860	G. John	耶穌命其徒往普天下傳福音 *Yeh-su ming ch'i t'u wang p'u t'ien-hsia chüan fu-yin*, Christ's Commission to His Disciples to Go into All the World and Preach the Gospel.	?	a, p. 237
1860	G. John	聽人而過於聽上帝在上帝前不得爲義 *T'ing jen erh kuo yü t'ing shang-ti tsai shang-ti ch'ein pu-te wei i*, God Must Be Obeyed Rather Than Men.	?	a, p. 238
1860	G. John	天父上帝無所不能 *T'ien-fu shang-ti wu suo pu-neng*, Omnipotence of God.	?	a, p. 238
1860	G. John	人有三要問 *Jen yü san yao wen*, Three Important Questions.	?	a, p. 238
1860	G John	問耶穌之道何以爲福音 *Wen Yeh-su chih tao ho-i wei fu-yin*, Why is Christ's Doctrine Called God News?	?	a, p. 238
1861	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, New Testament.	*t*	A, C
1861	W. Muirhead	聖書大道 *Sheng-shu ta-tao*, Catechism of Bible Doctrines.	*t*	B
1861	W. Muirhead	聖書大道 *Sheng-shu ta-tao*, Catechism of Bible Doctrines. (another edition)	*t*	B
1861	W Muirhead	耶穌降世傳 *Yeh-su chiang-shih chuan*, Life of Christ.	*t*	B
1861	W Muirhead	救世箴言 *Chiu-shih chen-yan*, Pointed Words about Salvation.	*t*	B
1861	W. Muirhead	來就耶穌 *Lai chiu yeh-su*, Come to Jesus.	*t*	B
1861	W Muirhead	耶穌問答 *Yeh-su wen-ta*, Christian Catechism.	*t*	B
1861	W. Muirhead	教會聖歌 *Chiao-hui sheng-ko*, Church Hymns.	?	a, p. 171
1861	W. Muirhead	救世聖歌 *Chiu-shih sheng-ko*, Salvation Hymns.	*t*	B
1861	J. Edkins and A. Wylie	甲乙二友論述 *Chia-i erh-yü lun-shu*, Dialogues between Two Friends.	*t*	B
1861	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	?	a, p. 189
1861	W. Muirhead	便用禱告文式 *Pien-yung tao-kao-wen shih*, Form of Prayer for Any Occasion.	?	a, p. 171
1861	J. Henderson	上海醫院述略第十四冊 *Shanghai i-yüan shu-lüeh ti shih-ssu t'se*, A Summary of the Fourteenth Report of the Shanghai Hospital.	*t*	A, D
1861	J Stronach	福音要言 *Fu-yin yao-yen*, Important Gospel Sayings.	?	a, p 106
1861	W. C. Milne	儆惡箴言 *Ching-o chen-yen*, The Sinner's Friend.	?	a, p. 124
1862	W. Muirhead	聖教問答 *Sheng-chiao wen-ta*, Catechism of Christian Doctrine. (in the Shanghai dialect)	*x*	B
1862	W. Muirhead	上帝眞道 *Shang-ti chen-tao*, Christian Catechism.	?	a, p 170
1862	J. Macgowan	中外雜誌 *Chung-wai tsa-chih*, the *Shanghai Miscellany*.	*x*	B
1862	G. John	聖教舉隅 *Sheng-chiao chü yü*, Essential Truths of Religion.	*t*	B

1862	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lüeh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity	*t*	B
1862	J. MacGowan	英話正音 *Ying-hua cheng-yin*, Vocabulary of the English Language.	?	a, p. 257
1863	J MacGowan	英字源流 *Ying-tse yüan-liu*, Spelling Book of the English Language.	?	a, p. 257
1863	W. H. Medhurst	野客問難記 *Ye-k'o wen-nan chi*, Against Sacrificing to the Dead.	*t*	B
1864	The Committee of Delegates	新約聖書 *Hsin-yüeh sheng-shu*, New Testament.	*t*	A
1864	G. John	訓子問答 *Hsün-tse wen-ta*, The Child's Catechism.	?	a, p. 238
1864	W. Muirhead	眞教權衡 *Chen-chiao ch'üan-heng*, Balance of the True Religion.	?	a, p. 171
1864	W. Muirhead	耶穌聖訓 *Yeh-su sheng-hsün*, Sacred Teachings of Jesus.	*t*	B
1864	W. Muirhead	聖教或問 *Sheng-chiao huo-wen*, Some Questions about Religion.	*t*	B
1864	W Muirhead	聖教問答 *Sheng-chiao wen-ta*, Catechism of Christian Doctrine.	*t*	B
1865	W. Muirhead	聖教問答 *Sheng-chiao wen-ta*, Catechism of Christian Doctrine. (in the Shanghai dialect)	*t*	A, B
1865	W. Muirhead	聖教問答 *Sheng-chiao wen-ta*, Catechism of Christian Doctrine.	*x*	B
1865	J. Edkins, A. Wylie and W. Muirhead	長遠二友論述 *Ch'ang-yüen erh-yü lun-shu*, Dialogues between Two Friends.	*t*	B
1866	W. Muirhead	來就耶穌 *Lai chiu yeh-su*, Come to Jesus.	*t*	B
1866	W Muirhead	耶穌聖道 *Yeh-su sheng-tao*, The Holy Doctrine of Jesus.	*x*	B
1867	W. Muirhead	耶穌降世傳 *Yeh-su chiang-shih chuan*, Life of Christ	*t*	B
1868	W. Muirhead	耶穌言行綱目 *Yeh-su yen-hsing kang-mu*, Outline of the History and Teaching of Christ	*t*	B
1872	W. Muirhead	眞理尋繹 *Chen-li hsün-i*, Investigation of Truth.	*t*	B
1873	J. Legge	智環啓蒙塾課 *Chih-huan ch'i-meng shu-k'o*, Graduated Reading.	*t*	A, B
1873	W. Muirhead	天儒總論 *T'ien-ju tsung-lun*, Discourse on Christianity and Confucianism.	*t*	B
?	?	新種痘奇法 *Hsin chung-tou ch'i-fa*, A Treatise on Vaccination.	*x*	A
?	W. H. Medhurst	三字經註解 *San-tse-ching chu-chieh*, Three Character Classic, with commentary.	?	a, p. 27
?	W. H. Medhurst	祈禱眞法註解 *Ch'i-tao chen-fa chu-chieh*, Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.	?	a, p. 33
?	W. Muirhead	聖書大道 *Sheng-shu ta-tao*, Great Doctrine of the Bible.	*x*	B
?	W. Muirhead	救世良言 *Chiu-shih liang-yan*, Good Words about Salvation.	?	a, p. 170
?	W. Muirhead	聖教問答 *Sheng-chiao wen-ta*, Catechism of Christian Doctrine.	*x*	B
?	W. Muirhead	聖教入門 *Sheng-chiao ju-men*, Entrance to the Christian Religion.	?	a, p. 171
?	W. Muirhead	耶穌福音 *Yeh-su fu-yin*, The Gospel of Jesus.	?	a, p. 171
?	W. Muirhead	論上帝 *Lun shang-ti*, Predicates of God.	?	a, p. 171

?	W Muirhead	論天堂論地獄 *Lun t'ien-t'ang lun ti-yü*, Predicates of Heaven and Hell.	?	a, p 171
?	W. Muirhead	耶穌門徒問答 *Yeh-su men-t'u wen-ta*, The Disciple's Catechism.	*t*	B
?	W. Muirhead	從耶穌聖教公會 *Ts'ung yeh-su sheng-chiao kung-hui*, Principles of the Christian Church.	?	a, p. 171
?	W. H. Medhurst	上帝愛世 *Shang-ti ai-shih*, God's Love to the World.	*t*	A, B
?	W. H. Medhurst	四字經文 *Ssu-tse ching-wen*, Four Character Classic.	?	a, p. 281
?	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌總論 *Yeh-su tsung-lun*, Life of Christ in Verse.	?	a, p. 281
?	W. Muirhead	進教問答 *Chin-chiao wen-ta*, The Neophyte's Catechism.	*t*	B
?	W. Muirhead	進教問答 *Chin-chiao wen-ta*, The Neophyte's Catechism. (another edition)	*t*	B
?	W. Muirhead	眞教論衡 *Chen-chiao lun-heng*, Balance of the True Religion.	*t*	B
?	W. Muirhead	眞教論衡 *Chen-chiao lun-heng*, Balance of the True Religion (another edition)	*t*	B
?	W. Muirhead	眞教論衡 *Chen-chiao lun-heng*, Balance of the True Religion. (another edition)	*t*	B
?	W. Muirhead	聖教入門 *Sheng-chiao ju-men*, Entrance to the Christian Religion.	*t*	B
?	W. Muirhead	聖教啓蒙 *Sheng-chiao ch'i-meng*, Introduction to Religion.	*t*	B
?	W. Muirhead	論稱義大道 *Lun ch'eng-i ta-tao*, Catechism of the Doctrine of Justification.	*x*	B
?	B Hobson	耶穌基督降世傳 *Yeh-su chi-tu chiang-shih chuan*, Advent of Christ.	*t*	B

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1843	Liang Afa	God's Gracious Edict Pardoning Sins	*x*	lmssc, Legge's letter, 6/5/1844.
1843	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*s*	A
1844	W. C. Milne	張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.	*s*	A, B, D, E
1844	J. Legge	耶穌山上垂訓 *Yeh-su shan-shang ch'ui-hsün*, Sermon on the Mount.	?	a, p. 119
1844	W. H. Medhurst	論善惡人死 *Lun shan o jen ssu*, Death of the Good and Bad.	*s*	A
1844	?	神天十條聖誡 *Shen-t'ien shih-t'iao sheng-chieh*, Ten Commandments.	?	A
1845	W. Milne	鄉訓五十二則 *Hsiang-hsün wu-shih-erh tse*, Fifty-Two Villiage Sermons.	*s*	A, B
1847	?	啞兒記 *Ya erh chi*, The Dumb Boy.	*x*	B
1849	B. Hobson	治病良言 *Chih-ping liang-yen*, Hospital Prospectus.	*t*	B
1850	F. Genähr	聖經之史 *Sheng-ching chih shih*, Scripture History.	*x*	A, B
1851	W. C. Milne	眞道入門 *Chen-tao ju-men*, Introduction to the True Doctrine.	*t*	B
1851	W. C. Milne	長遠兩友相論 *Ch'ang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen	*t*	a, p. 17, 124

1851	The Committee of Delegates	馬太傳福音書 *Ma-t'ai ch'uan fu-yin shu*, Matthew's Gospel.	*t*	C, E
1851	J. Legge	養心神詩 *Yang-hsin shen-shih*, Hymn Book.	*x*	A
1851	J. Legge	英華通書 *Ying-hua t'ung-shu*, Anglo-Chinese Calender.	?	a, p 119
1851	?	a work by an American missionary	?	lmssc, Legge's letter, 22/4/1851.
1851	?	a work by a German missionary	?	*ibid.*
1851 -52	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, New Testament. (8vo)	*t*	lmssc, Legge's letter, 23/8/1852.
1851 -52	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, New Testament. (12mo)	*t*	*ibid.*
1852	J. Legge	約瑟紀略 *Yüeh-so chi-lüeh*, Brief History of Joseph.	*t*	a, p. 119
1852	J. Legge	重修禮拜堂仁濟醫館祈禱上帝祝文 *Ch'ung-hsiu li-pai-t'ang jen-chi-i-kuan ch'i-tao shang-ti chu-wen*, Prayer Used at the Reopening of the Chapel and Hospital at Hong Kong.	*t*	B
1852	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*t*	A
1852	E. T. R. Moncrieff	算法全書 *Suan-fa ch'üan-shu*, A Treatise on Arithmetic in the Chinese Language.	*t*	A, B, D, E
1853	B Hobson	約翰眞經釋解 *Yüeh-han chen-ching shih-chieh*, Commentary on John's Gospel.	*t*	A, C
1853 -56	W. H. Medhurst, Jr., C. B Hillier and J. Legge.	遐邇貫珍 *Hsia-erh kuan-chen*, Chinese Serial.	*t*	A, D
1854	W. H. Medhurst	麥氏三字經 *Mai-shih san-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*x*	A
1854	J. Legge	耶穌山上垂訓 *Yeh-su shan-shang ch'ui-hsun*, Sermon on the Mount.	*t*	B
1854	何進善 Ho chin-seen	新約全書注釋 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu chu-shih*, Commentary on Matthew.	*t*	a, p. 119
1854	J. Legge	耶穌門徒信經 *Yeh-su men-t'u hsin-ching*, The Apostles' Creed.	*t*	a, p. 119
1854	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, New Testament. ('million edition')	*t*	A, C, E
1855	J. Legge	宗主詩章 *Tsung-chu shih-chang*, Hymn Book.	*t*	A
1855	J. Legge	耶穌門徒信經 *Yeh-su men-t'u hsin-ching*, The Apostles' Creed.	*t*	A
1855	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lüeh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*t*	A
1855	W. H. Medhurst	禱告文 *Tao-kao-wen*, Book of Common Prayer.	?	a, p. 281
1855	W. H. Medhurst	禱告文 *Tao-kao-wen*, Book of Common Prayer. (colloquial Mandarin)	?	a, p. 281
1855	J. Chalmers	初學粵音切要 *Ch'u-hsüeh yüeh-yin ch'ieh-yao*, A Chinese Phonetic Vocabulary.	*t*	A, B
1855	T. Hamberg	耶穌信徒受苦總論 *Yeh-su hsin-t'u shou-k'u tsung-lun*, History of the Martyrs.	*x*	A, B
1855	The Committee of Delegates	舊約全書 *Ch'iu-yüeh ch'uan-shu*, Old Testament.	*t*	A, C
1855	W. Burns	天路歷程 *T'ien-lu li-ch'eng*, *The Pilgrim's Progress.*	*t*	A
1856	W. Burns	天路歷程 *T'ien-lu li-ch'eng*, *The Pilgrim's Progress.*	?	a, p. 175

1856	W C. Milne	眞道入門 *Chen-tao ju-men*, Introduction to the True Doctrine.	*t*	A, D
1856	J. Legge	聖書要說析義 *Sheng-shu yao-shuo hsi-i*, Skeleton Sermons.	*t*	B
1856	W. H. Medhurst	麥氏三字經 *Mai-shih san-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*x*	A
1856	W. Muirhead	天人異同 *T'ien-jen i-t'ung*, Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion.	*t*	B
1856	W. Muirhead	救靈先路 *Chiu ling hsien lu*, The Anxious Enquirer.	*t*	A, B
1856	J. Chalmers	設數求眞 *She-shu ch'iu-chen*, Arithmetical Questions.	*t*	B
1856	J. Legge	聖會準繩 *Sheng-hui chun-sheng*, The Faith and Practice of a Christian Church.	*t*	A
1856	J. Legge	智環啓蒙塾課初步 *Chih-hüan ch'i-meng shu-k'o ch'u-pu*, Graduated Reading.	*t*	A, B
1857	W. Muirhead	天人異同 *T'ien-jen i-t'ung*, Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion.	*t*	A
1857	J. Legge	亞伯拉罕紀略 *Ya-po-la-han chi-lüeh*, Brief History of Abraham	*t*	a, p. 120
1858	J. Chalmers	上帝總論 *Shang-ti tsung-lun*, General Discourse on God.	*t*	A
1858	J. Stronach	耶穌教或問 *Yeh-su-chiao huo-wen*, Questions about Christianity.	*t*	A
1858	J. Legge	往金山要訣 *Wang hsin-chin-shan yao-chüeh*, Advice to Emigrants.	*t*	A
1859	W Lobscheid	廟祝問答 *Miao-chu wen-ta*, Conversations with a Temple-Keeper.	*t*	A
1860	J. Legge	聖會準繩 *Sheng-hui chun-sheng*, The Faith and Practice of a Christian Church.	*t*	B
1860 (?)	J Legge	聖書要說析義 *Sheng-shu yao-shuo hsi-i*, Skeleton Sermons.	*t*	A
1860 (?)	J. Legge	聖書要說析義 *Sheng-shu yao-shuo hsi-i*, Skeleton Sermons. (another edition)	*t*	A
1860	B. Hobson	耶穌基督降世傳 *Yeh-su chi-tu chiang-shih chuan*, Advent of Christ.	*t*	A
1860 (?)	G. Piercy	貧人約瑟 *P'in-jen yüeh-so*, Poor Joseph.	*t*	A, B
1861	J. Edkins	釋教正謬 *Shih-chiao cheng-miu*, Correction of Buddhist Errors.	?	a, p. 188
1861	W. C. Milne	福音廣訓 *Fu-yin kuang-hsün*, Village Sermons.	*t*	a, p. 124
1861	F. Genähr	聖經史記撮要 *Sheng-ching shih-chi ts'uo-yao*, Barth's Scripture Histories.	*x*	a, p. 160
1862	J. Legge	約瑟紀略 *Yüeh-so chi-lüeh*, Brief History of Joseph.	*t*	a, p. 119
1862	J. Legge	新金山善待唐客論 *Hsin-chin-shan shan-tai t'ang-k'o lun*, Address to the Chinese settlers at Sydney.	?	a, p. 121
1862	W. Muirhead	天人異同 *T'ien-jen i-t'ung*, Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion.	*t*	A
1862	J. Chalmers	天鏡衡人 *T'ien-ching heng-jen*, Men Tried by the Celestial Mirror.	*t*	a, p. 217
1862	Ho Chin-seen	新舊約聖書證據 *Hsin-chiu-yüeh sheng-shu cheng-chü*, Old and New Testament Evidences.	*t*	a, p. 120

1862	J. Legge	聖經證據 *Sheng-ching cheng-chü*, Scripture Evidences	*t*	B
1862	J. Legge	宗主詩章 *Tsung-chu shih-chang*, Hymn Book.	*t*	a, p. 119
1862	J. Legge	亞伯拉罕紀略 *Ya-po-la-han chi-lueh*, Brief History of Abraham.	*t*	A
1863	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, New Testament.	*t*	A, C
1863	J. Chalmers	正名要論 *Cheng-ming yao-lun*, Important Discourse on the Correct Name.	?	a, p. 217
1863	J. Chalmers	糾幻首集 *Chu huan shou chi*, Exposure of Idolatry.	*t*	A, B
1863	J. Stronach	耶穌教或問 *Yeh-su-chiao huo-wen*, Questions about Christianity.	*t*	B
1863	A. Stronach	總論耶穌之榮 *Tsung-lun yeh-su chih jung*, General Discourse on the Glory of Christ	*t*	B
1863	J. Stronach	善終誌傳 *Shan-chung chih chuan*, Peace in Death.	*t*	A, B
1863	J. Legge	耶穌門徒信經 *Yeh-su men-t'u hsin-ching*, The Apostles' Creed.	*t*	a, p. 119
1863	W. Lobscheid	麥氏三字經 *Mai-shih san-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*t*	B
1863	F. Genähr	舊約四字經 *Chiu-yüeh ssu-tse-ching*, Old Testament History, Rhymed.	*t*	a, p. 160
1863	F. Genähr	新約四字經 *Hsin-yüeh ssu-tse-ching*, New Testament History, Rhymed.	*t*	A
1863	F. Genähr	堪輿問答 *K'an-yü wen-ta*, On Geomancy.	*t*	a, p. 160
1863	F. Genahr	眞道衡平 *Chen-tao heng-p'ing*, Chinese and Christian Doctrines Compared.	*x*	A, B
1863	W. Burns	天路歷程 *T'ien-lu li-ch'eng*, *The Pilgrim's Progress.*	*t*	a, p. 175
1863	W. Muirhead	來就耶穌 *Lai chiu yeh-su*, Come to Jesus.	?	a, p. 169
1863	W Lobscheid	廟祝問答 *Miao-chu wen-ta*, Conversations with a Temple-Keeper.	*t*	a, p. 162.
1863	W Lobscheid	三字經註解 *San-tse-ching chu-chieh*, Three Character Classic, with Commentary.	*t*	e
1863	P. Winnes	耶穌受苦尋源 *Yeh-su shou-k'u hsün-yüen*, On the Sufferings of Christ.	*t*	A
1864	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lueh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*t*	B
1864	J. Legge	智環啓蒙塾課初步 *Chih-hüan ch'i-meng shu-k'o ch'u-pu*, Graduated Reading.	*t*	A, B
1864 -66	The Committee of Delegates	舊約全書、新約全書 *Chiu-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, The Holy Bible. (8vo)	*t*	A, C
1865	F. Genähr	堪輿問答 *K'an-yü wen-ta*, On Geomancy.	*t*	B
1865	F. Genähr	舊約四字經 *Chiu-yüeh ssu-tse-ching*, Old Testament History, Rhymed.	*t*	A
1865	J. Legge	耶穌山上垂訓 *Yeh-su shan-shang ch'ui-hsün*, Sermon on the Mount.	*t*	A
1866	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, New Testament.	*t*	C, D
1866 -67	The Committee of Delegates	舊約全書 *Chiu-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, Old Testament	*t*	A
1866	W. H. Medhurst	野客問難記 *Ye-k'o wen-nan chi*, Against Sacrificing to the Dead.	*t*	A

1866	J. Chalmers	天鏡衡人 *T'ien-chìng heng-jen*, Men Tried by the Celestial Mirror.	*t*	A, B
1866	J. Legge	聖會準繩 *Sheng-hui chun-sheng*, The Faith and Practice of a Christian Church.	*t*	B
1867	?	舊約詩篇 *Chiu-yueh shih-p'ien*, Psalms	*t*	A
1867	W. C. Milne	福音廣訓 *Fu-yin kuang-hsün*, Village Sermons.	*t*	A, B
1867	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lüeh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*t*	B
1867	?	十條聖誡 *Shih-t'iao sheng-chieh*, Ten Commandments.	*t*	A
1867	The Committee of Delegates	舊約全書 *Chiu-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, Old Testament, 新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, New Testament.	*t*	C
1868	J. Legge	宗主詩章 *Tsung-chu shih-chang*, Hymn Book.	*t*	A, B
1868	F. Genähr	堪輿問答 *K'an-yü wen-ta*, On Geomancy.	*t*	A
1868	J. Edkins	釋教正謬 *Shih-chiao cheng-miu*, Correction of Buddhist Errors.	*t*	A
1868	A. Stronach	總論耶穌之榮 *Tsung-lun yeh-su chih jung*, General Discourse on the Glory of Christ	*t*	A, B
1868	P. Winnes	耶穌受苦尋源 *Yeh-su shou-k'u hsün-yüen*, On the Sufferings of Christ.	*t*	A, B
1868	W. H. Medhurst	祈禱式文 *Ch'i-tao-shih-wen*, Forms of Prayer.	*t*	A
1868 -70	Ho Chin-seen	新約全書注釋 *Hsin-yueh ch'üan-shu chu-shih*, Commentary on the New Testament.	*t*	A
1869	R. H. Cobbold	指迷編*Chih-mi-pien*, Directions for the Misguided	*t*	A
1869	W. H. Medhurst	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, New Testament. (colloquial Mandarin)	*t*	A, C
1869	J. Legge	往金山要訣 *Wang chin-shan yao-chüeh*, Advice to Emigrants.	*t*	A
1869	F S. Turner	性理略論 *Hsing-li lüeh-lun*, On Human Nature.	*t*	A, B
1869	W. H. Medhurst	天地人論 *T'ien ti jen lun*, Heaven, Earth and Man.	*t*	A, B
1869	G. John	福音大旨 *Fu-yin ta-chih*, Sermon on John, iii. 16.	*t*	A, B
1869	J. Stronach	耶穌教或問 *Yeh-su-chiao huo-wen*, Questions about Christianity.	*t*	A, B
1869	W. Lobscheid	指迷編 *Chih-mi-pien*, Guide to a Wanderer.	*t*	B
1870	W. H. Medhurst	野客問難記 *Ye-k'o wen-nan chi*, Against Sacrificing to the Dead	*t*	A, B
1870	J. Legge	耶穌山上垂訓 *Yeh-su shan-shang ch'ui-hsün*, Sermon on the Mount.	*t*	A, B
1871	J. Legge	約瑟紀略 *Yüeh-so chi-lüeh*, Brief History of Joseph.	*t*	A, B
1871	W. Lobscheid	廟祝問答 *Miao-chu wen-ta*, Conversations with a Temple-Keeper.	*t*	B
1871	J. Chalmers	糾幻首集 *Chiu huan shou chi*, Exposure of Idolatry.	*t*	A, B
1871	W. C. Milne	長遠兩友相論 *Ch'ang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen.	*t*	B
1871	J. Legge	宗主詩章 *Tsung-chu shih-chang*, Hymn Book.	*t*	B
1872	J. Legge	耶穌門徒信經 *Yeh-su men-t'u hsin-ching*, The Apostles' Creed.	*t*	B
1872	J. Legge	往金山要訣 *Wang chin-shan yao-chüeh*, Advice to Emigrants.	*t*	B
1871	B. Hobson	耶穌基督降世傳 *Yeh-su chi-tu chiang-shih chuan*, Advent of Christ.	*t*	B
1872	G. John	訓子問答 *Hsün-tse wen-ta*, The Child's Catechism.	*t*	b, p. 18

?	J. Legge	勸崇聖書略言 *Ch'üan ch'ung sheng-shu lüeh-yen*, Incentives to Reverence the Scriptures.	?	a, p. 120
?	J. Legge	落爐不燒 *Luo-lu pu shao*, Unscathed in the Furnace. (in the Canton dialect)	*t*	A, B
?	J. Legge	浪子悔改 *Lang-tse hui-kai*, The Prodigal Repenting. (in the Canton dialect)	*t*	A, B

Amoy

1846	J. Stronach	善終誌傳 *Shan-chung chih chuan*, Peace in Death.	*x*	B
1852	W. Young	養心神詩新編 *Yang-hsin shen-shih hsin-pien*, New Hymn Book.	*x*	a, p. 68
1852	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*x*	a, p. 27
1853	W. Young	*Khui gin-á ê sim-hoi ê chheh*, Child's Primer in the Amoy dialect.	?	a, p. 281
1854	W. C. Milne	眞道入門 *Chen-tao ju-men*, Introduction to the True Doctrine.	*x*	a, p. 15, 124
1857	J. Stronach	新約舊約全書節錄 *Hsin-yüeh chiu-yüeh ch'uan-shu chieh-lu*, Bible Stories	*x*	B
1857	A. Stronach	養心神詩新編 *Yang-hisn shen-shih hsin-pien*, New Hymn Book (in the Amoy dialect).	*x*	B
1869	J. Stronach	中西四書合參 *Chung-hsi ssu-shu ho-ts'an*, Chinese and Christian Scriptures Compared.	*x*	B
1873	J. Macgowan	聖經闡詳 *Sheng-ching ch'an-hsiang*, Eadie's Bible Dictionary.	*x*	B

Canton (after the Opium War)

1849	B. Hobson	天文略論 *T'ien-wen lueh-lun*, Digest of Astronomy	*x*	A, B, D
1850	B. Hobson	惠愛醫館年記 *Hui-ai-i-kuan nien chi*, Annual Report of the Missionary Hospital at Canton, for 1850.	?	a, p. 126
1851	B. Hobson	全體新論 *Ch'uan-t'i hsin-lun*, Treatise on Physiology	*x*	A, B, E
1851	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lüeh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*x*	A
1852	B. Hobson	上帝辨證 *Shang-ti pien-cheng*, Theological Evidences.	*x*	A, B
1853 -55	The Committee of Delegates	新約全書 *Hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu*, New Testament.	*x*	B
1854	B. Hobson	祈禱式文 *Ch'i-tao-shih-wen*, Forms of Prayer.	*x*	D
1854	B. Hobson	博物新編 *Po-wu hsin-pien*, Natual Philosophy.	*x*	A
1855	B. Hobson	信德之解 *Hsin-te chih chieh*, Explanation of Faith.	*x*	B
1855	B. Hobson	問答良言 *Wen-ta liang-yen*, Catechism of Christian Principles.	*x*	a, p. 126
1856	J. Chalmers	上帝總論 *Shang-ti tsung-lun*, General Discourse on God.	*x*	A
1856	B. Hobson	聖書擇錦 *Sheng-shu tso-chin*, Selections from the Holy Scriptures.	*x*	a, p. 127
1856	B. Hobson	古訓撮要 *Ku-hsün ts'uo-yao*, Important Extracts from Ancient Authors.	*x*	B

1857	W Muirhead	救靈先路 *Chiu ling hsien lu*, The Anxious Enquirer.	*x*	A
1859	J. Legge	智環啓蒙塾課初步 *Chih-hüan ch'i-meng shu-k'o ch'u-pu*, Graduated Reading	?	a, p.120
1860	J. Legge	耶穌門徒信經 *Yeh-su men-t'u hsin-ching*, The Apostles' Creed.	?	a, p. 119
1860	J. Chalmers	宗主詩章 *Tsung-chu shih-chang*, Hymn Book.	*x*	B
1865	J. Chalmers	城隍非神論 *Ch'eng-huang fei shen lun*, The Patron Deity of the City Has No Spiritual Existence.	*x*	a, p. 218
1865	B. Hobson	祈禱式文 *Ch'i-tao-shih-wen*, Forms of Prayer.	?	a, p. 126
1865 -68	J. Chalmers	中外新聞七日錄 *Chung-wai hsin-wen ch'i-jih lu*, Chinese and Foreign Weekly News.	*x*	B
?	B Hobson	耶穌基督降世傳 *Yeh-su chi-tu chiang-shih chuan*, Advent of Christ.	*x*	B
?	B. Hobson	聖地不收貪骨論 *Sheng-ti pu shou t'an-ku lun*, Covetousness excluded from Heaven.	*l*	a, p. 127
?	B. Hobson	聖主耶穌啓示聖差保羅復活之理 *Sheng-chu yeh-su ch'i-shih sheng-ch'ai pao-luo fu-huo chih li*, The Doctrine of the Resurrection.	*l*	a, p. 127
?	B. Hobson	詩篇 *Shih-p'ien*, Hymns.	*l*	a, p. 127
?	B. Hobson	論仁愛之要 *Lun Jen-ai chih yao*, The Importance of Love.	*l*	a, p. 127
?	J. Chalmers	世俗清明祭墓論 *Shih-su ch'ing-ming chi-mu lun*, Discourse on Ancestral Worship.	*x*	a, p. 127
?	J. Chalmers	耶穌教駁問 *Yeh-su-chiao po-wen*, Enquiry into the Religion of Jesus.	*x*	B

Hankou

1861	G. John	宗主詩章 *Tsung-chu shih-chang*, Hymn Book.	*x*	B
1862	G. John	天路指明 *T'ien-lu chih-ming*, Clear Indication of the Heavenly Way.	*x*	B
1869	G. John	耶穌聖教問答 *Yeh-su sheng-chiao wen-ta*, A Catechism.	*x*	B
1870	G. John	聖詩百篇*Sheng-shih pai-p'ien*, A Hundred Hymns.	*x*	B
1872	G. John	救主耶穌之言 *Chiu-chu yeh-su chih yen*, Words of the Lord Jesus.	*x*	B

Peking

1862	W. H. Medhurst	耶穌教略 *Yeh-su-chiao lüeh*, Condensed Statement of Christianity.	*x*	B
1862	J. Edkins	聖教問答 *Sheng-chiao wen-ta*, Christian Catechism.	*x*	B
1863	J. Edkins	釋教正謬 *Shih-chiao cheng-miu*, Correction of Buddhist Errors.	*x*	B
1863	J. Edkins	福音選篇 *Fu-yin hsüan p'ien*, Extract from the Gospel.	*x*	B
1864	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	*x*	a, p. 189

1865	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	*x*	a, p. 189
1866	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	*x*	A, B
1864	W H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*x*	B
1864	J. Edkins	頌主聖詩 *Sung-chu sheng-shih*, Hymn Book.	*x*	B
1864	J. Edkins	地球全圖 *Ti-ch'iu ch'üan-t'u*, Map of the World.	-	a, p. 189
1865	A. Williamson or J. Edkins	桑榆再生記 *Sang-yü tsai-sheng-chi*, Old Man's Conversion.	*x*	B
1865	J. Lees	伶俐小孩 *Ling-li hsiao-hai*, The Young Gideon.	*x*	B
1866	J. Lees	領出迷路 *Ling-ch'u mi-lu*, The Lost Child Brought Home.	*x*	B
1866	J. Lees	賢王遺事 *Hsien-wang i-shih*, Remains of the Wise King.	*x*	B
1866	J. Edkins and others	新約官話 *Hsin-yüeh kuan-hua*, New Testament in the Mandarin Dialect.	-	C
1866	J. Stronach	善終誌傳 *Shan-chung chih chuan*, Peace in Death.	*x*	B
1868	J. Edkins	聖教問答 *Sheng-chiao wen-ta*, Catechism of Christian Doctrine.	*x*	B
1869	W. H. Medhurst	三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic.	*x*	B

Tientsin

1863	J. Edkins	中西通書 *Chung-hsi t'ung-shu*, Chinese and Foreign Concord Almanac.	*x*	A, B
1864	J. Lees	舊新約全書目錄 *Chiu-hsin-yüeh ch'üan-shu mu-lu*, Catalogue of the Names of the Books in the Old and New Testaments.	-	a, p 264
1865	J. Lees	擇善而從 *Tse-shan erh ts'ung*, Choose the Good and Follow It.	-	a, p. 264

NOTES

Abbreviations:

LMS	London Missionary Society Archives
BA	LMS Archives, Batavia
BM	LMS Archives, Board Minutes
CC	LMS Archives, Central China
CP	LMS Archives, China, Personal
MA	LMS Archives, Malacca
OL	LMS Archives, China-Ultra Ganges, Outgoing Letters
PE	LMS Archives, Penang
SI	LMS Archives, Singapore
SC	LMS Archives, South China

Introduction

1 Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 177, 229.

2 *ibid.*, p.12.

3 Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895* (London, 1899), pp. 750-55, Appendix 3: Analysis of the Income and Expenditure of the London Missionary Society from 1796 to 1895.

4 Samuel G. Green, *The Story of the Religious Tract Society for One Hundred Years* (London, 1899), pp. 24, 45, 71.

5 Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 210.

6 *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1850, p. 57; 1852, p. 91.

7 LMS, SC, 1.4.E., Robert Morrison to George Burder, Canton, 14 September 1817; MA, 1.2.B., W. H. Medhurst to Burder, Malacca, 4 December 1817.

8 LMS, CC, 1.2.A., Wylie to the Directors, Shanghai, 4 June 1848.

9 This number excluded seven missionaries who joined the Shanghai station after its press closed in 1865.

10 The third one was Thomas Gilfillan, who had been an apprentice to a compositor, and was first appointed to the Hong Kong mission to take charge of the mission press there. However, arriving at Hong Kong in 1848 to find that the press already had an American printer as its superintendent, he moved to Canton where he did no printing (LMS, Candidate Papers, Thomas Gilfillan; SC, 5.0.A., Gilfillan to Tidman, Hong Kong, 29 August 1848; OL, Tidman to Gilfillan, London, 4 November 1848.).

11 William Milne. *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (Malacca, 1820), p. 153; W. H. Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects* (London, 1838), p. 106.

12 LMS, SC, Journal, Milne's Journal, 24 February 1814.

13 In his *Travels in South-Eastern Asia* (London, 1839), Howard Malcom cited the results of an American missionary's investigation at Singapore. Of the two thousand Chinese examined, only one could read with ease and four could spell out the sense with difficulty. The rest, though in general they could read the characters, scarcely any knew the sense of a single word. (p. 308)

14 Evelyn S. Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor, 1979), pp. 2, 12, 17.

15 For Wylie's collection, see David Helliwell, 'Two Collections of Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missionary Publications in Chinese in the Bodleian Library.' *Chinese Culture*, 31:4 (December 1990), pp. 21-38.

Chapter One: The Road to China

1 That block printing was not so prevalent in the T'ang dynasty may be confirmed by the fact that, among more than eight thousand manuscripts, dating from the fifth to eleventh centuries, found in Tun-huang caves and now in the British Library, only twenty are printed books or sheets (see Lionel Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhang in the British Museum* (London, 1957), Introduction.

2 Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, *Paper and Printing*, in Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1985), p. 159. A discussion of Pi Sheng and his moveable type will be given in Chapter 4.

3 On T'ang and Yüan Nestorianism, see A. C. Moule, *Christian Missions in China before the Year 1500* (London, 1930); K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London, 1929), pp. 51-60; 羅香林 Lo Hsiang-lin, 唐元兩代之景教 *T'ang-yüan liang-tai chih ching-chiao*, Nestorianism in the T'ang and Yüan Dynasties (Hong Kong, 1966), pp. 10-11, 31-44.

4 Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* (London, 1914), vol. 3, pp. 46-53, 'First Letter of John of Montecorvino;' A. C. Moule, 'Documents Relating to the Mission of the Minor Friars to China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1914), pt. 2, pp. 533-99.

5 In his *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* (New York, 1955), Thomas F. Carter holds it very likely that the Franciscan missionaries had employed block printing (pp. 161-2). However, since John of Montecorvino 'bought' 150 Chinese boys and trained them for transcribing books as he noted in his letter (Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. 3, p. 46), any extra expenses on printing would be unnecessary. According to A. C. Moule, the number of boys bought by John of Montecorvino was forty (*Christians in China before the Year 1550*, p. 577.).

6 The Roman College of the Society of Jesus, which Ricci attended in the 1570s, owned a printing establishment and the Jesuit students were used as proof-readers. See Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (London, 1985), pp. 132-4.

7 Louis J. Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610* (New York, 1953), pp. 20-1, 446-51.

8 Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, 'Western Impact on China through Translation,' *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 13:3 (May 1954), pp. 305-27. Tsien's sources of data are Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jesuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773* (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932-34), and Henri Bernard, 'Les adaptations chinoises d'ouvrages europeens, 1514-1688,' *Monumenta Serica*, 10 (1945), pp. 1-57, 309-88.

9 Gallagher, *The Journals of Matthew Ricci*, pp. 448-50.

10 Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4, pt. 2, *Mechanical Engineering* (Cambridge, 1965), p. 439.

11 K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (London, 1937-47), vol. 3, p. 42; vol. 4, p. 68; Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London, 1986), pp. 222-3.

12 Melvill Horne, *Letters on Missions* (Bristol, 1794), pp, 1-2, 60, 132-3; Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United* (London, 1983), pp. 42-3.

13 Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895* (London, 1899), p. 30.

14 *The Report of the London Missionary Society* (London 1796), p. 38; Lovett, *The History of the LMS*, pp. 49-50.

15 In 1823, the fundamental principle was revised to preclude Baptists from being LMS missionaries. For a discussion of this revision, see Martin, *Evangelicals United*, pp. 73-4.

16 William Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society* (London, 1844), p. 5. George Keate's *An Account of the Pelew Island* was first published in 1788 and many editions, including translations, appeared in the following years.

17 Lovett, *The History of the LMS*, pp. 60-4.

18 The first edition of this *Memoir* appears to have been lost. Moseley published a second edition in 1830 and it was later appended to his *The Origin of the First Protestant Mission to China*, published in 1842.

19 This is 四史攸編耶穌基利斯督福音之會編 *Ssu-shih yü-pien yeh-su chi-li-ssu-tu fu-yin chih hui-pien*, Gospel Harmony, now at the British Library (Sl. 3599.28.c.). On this manuscript, see Antonio Montucci, 'An Account of an Evangelical Chinese MS in the British Museum,' *The Gentleman's Magazine* (October 1801), pp. 881-7; Lindsay Ride, *Robert Morrison: The Scholar and the Man* (Hong Kong, 1957), pp. 45-8, appendix 2, Note on Manuscript Chinese.

20 William Moseley, *A Memoir on the Importance and Practicability of Translating and Printing the Holy Scriptures in the Chinese Language* (London, 1830), p. 21.

21 John Owen, *The History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1816), p. 96.

22 T. H. Barrett, *Singular Listlessness: A Short History of Chinese Books and British Scholars* (London, 1989), pp. 41-2.

23 These specimens appeared in Breitkopf's *Exemplum Typographiae Sinicae* (Liepzig, 1789).

24 Edmund Fry, *Pantographia* (London, 1799), p. 45.

25 William Moseley, *The Origin of the First Protestant Mission to China* (London, 1842), p. 31.

26 Robert Philip, *The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell.* (London, 1841), p. 320.

27 LMS, BM, 30 July 1804.

28 Eliza A. Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison* (London, 1839), vol. 1, pp. 95-7.

29 *The Evangelical Magazine*, June 1805, p. 275, Extract of the last letter from the Baptist Missionaries in India to the Society in London.

30 The translation and printing of Chinese works at Serampore will be discussed in later chapters.

31 Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, pp. 172-5.

32 For Canton trade, see Frederic Wakeman, 'The Canton trade and the Opium War,' in Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, eds., *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, 1978), vol. 10, pt. 1, pp. 163-212.

33 Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 223; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 91.

34 *The Report of the LMS*, 1805, p. 213.

35 LMS, BM, 15 September; 22 September 1806; SC,1.1.C, Morrison to Burder, London, 20 September 1806.

36 *The Report of the LMS*, 1805, p. 212.

37 LMS, BM, 28 April; 20 October, 1806; SC, 1.1.A., William Brown to ?, 12 April 1806.

38 LMS, BM, 16 and 23 December, 1805; 8 December 1806.

39 There is much information about Morrison's studying Chinese in London in the LMS archives, especially in Board Minutes, 20 May, 17 and 24 June, 19 August, 1805; 17 February, 15 and 22 September, 1806; S.C., 1.1.A., Morrison's memorandums of the conversation with Sam Tak a Chinese now at Clapham, 1805; 1.1.A., Morrison to Hardcastle & Reyner, 7 September 1805; 1.1.C., Morrison to Burder, 28 December 1806. For further information, see Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 77-8; Moseley, *The Origin of the First Protestant Mission to China*, pp. 82-6.

40 LMS, PE, 1.1.A., a copy of William Scott's letter to John Campbell, Penang, 1 November 1805.

41 LMS, BM, 11 November 1805.

Chapter Two

Morrison at Canton and Macao, 1807-1834

1 For 'factory' and foreigners' lives at Canton in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Immanuel Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (London, 1970), p. 195; James B. Eames, *The English in China* (London, 1909), p. 89; William C. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton before Treaty Days 1825-1844* (London, 1882), pp. 20-1; Peter Osbeck, *A Voyage to China and the East Indies* (London, 1777), quoted in *The Chinese Repository*, 1:6 (October 1832), pp. 211-2; and 梁嘉彬 Liang Chia-pin, 廣東十三行考 *Kuangtung Shih-San-Hang K'ao*, An Investigation of the Thirteen Hong at Canton (Shanghai, 1937).

2 Austin Coates, *Macao and the British 1637-1842* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 47-8. Coates does not supply the name of the bishop.

3 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 366.

4 Morrison had a letter of introduction to Staunton from Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society, and another one to Chalmers from Robert Cowie, a Director of the LMS. Because Chalmers's name was not in *The East India Register and Directory*, he could not have been a member of staff of the East India Company.

5 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 153, 160-2, 187.

6 LMS, SC, 1.1.B., Morrison to Hardcastle, Canton, 29 May 1808.

7 In 1805, an Italian missionary at Peking was found guilty of preaching to Chinese people, printing and circulating religious books and attempting to send out a Chinese map. The missionary was then imprisoned and many native converts were severely punished. For detailed information about this event, see 故宮博物院 The Palace Museum, 嘉慶朝外交史料 *Chia-ch'ing-ch'ao wai-chiao shih-liao*, Documents of Foreign Relations in the Reign of Chia-ch'ing Emperor (Peking, 1932), book 1, ff. 19-28; Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, pp. 175-7.

8 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 217.

9 LMS, SC, 1.1.B., Morrison to Hardcastle, Canton, 29 May 1808; Morrison to the Directors, Macao 3 July 1808; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 222.

10 In 1807 and 1808, the East India Company occasionally employed two external translators and interpreters. One was Thomas Manning, a Cambridge graduate who went to China in 1806 for the purpose of studying the language. The other was Portuguese, Father Roderigues de Madre de Deos. Following Staunton's return to England in 1808, however, Manning and Roderigues also soon left China in early 1809 for different reasons. The Company was thus left without help in the Chinese language. See the East India Company archives, G/12/269, Canton Select Committee's Secret Consultation, 27 February 1809.

11 Hosea B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), vol. 3, pp. 7, 31, 71-2, 103, 134; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 225, 245, 251, 269. The LMS gave Morrison £200 a year. However, he surprisingly found that to maintain a minimum living standard at Canton he required at least £500, which the Directors in London thought of as a 'far greater sum than we ordinarily devote to any one mission.' The annual salary of the job of translator and interpreter at the Company was exactly £500 until 1812; later it was £1000 as interpreter and teacher. See Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 154, Morrison to Hardcastle, Canton, 7 September 1807; p. 261, Hardcastle and Burder to Morrison, London, 9 January 1809; pp. 250-2, Morrison to his father, Macao, 23 February 1809. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, vol. 3, p. 177.

12 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 153, Morrison to Hardcastle, Canton, 7 September 1807. On the sumptuous life within the Company's factory, see Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton*, pp. 31-2.

13 Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, vol. 3, pp. 103, 134, 165, 178; LMS, SC, 1.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 7 January 1811.

14 LMS, SC, 1.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 7 January 1811; 1.3.B., Milne to the Directors, Canton, 16 January 1814.

15 The East India Company archives, G/12/270, Canton Select Committee's Secret Consultations, 15 March 1814 and 11 October 1814, Morrison to the President of the Select Committee. Also in Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 375, 421.

16 LMS, SC, 1.1.B., Morrison to the Directors, Macao 3 July 1808; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 221.

17 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 226, 382. Unfortunately, It is not possible to identify the Latin-Chinese dictionary.

18 LMS, SC, 1.1.B., Morrison to his father, Canton 29 May 1808; Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 3 July 1808.

19 The East India Company archives, G/12/181, Canton Consultations, 11 November 1812, Morrison to J. F. Elphinstone, Canton, 9 November 1812. The order of the first and the second parts was then changed.

20 *ibid.*, 11 November 1812.

21 C. H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834* (Manchester, 1940), pp. 130, 335-7, Appendix II: List of Directors, 1784-1833.

22 The East India Company archives, R/10/8, Court's Letters to Canton, 1 April 1814; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 354, Morrison to Hardcastle, Canton, 22 December 1812.

23 LMS, SC, 1.3.C., Morrison to Hardcastle, Macao, 7 December 1814.

24 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 208, 239-40; LMS, SC, 1.1.B., Morrison to his father, Canton 29 May 1808; Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 3 and 10 July 1808.

25 Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 232-3.

26 *ibid.*, pp. 233-4.

27 *ibid.*; LMS, SC, 1.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 7 January 1811; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 293. The agreed expense was 521 dollars, but was then reduced to 446 dollars after being found to be too high, see LMS, SC, 1.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 18 January 1811.

28 LMS, SC, 1.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 7 January 1811.

29 The Palace Museum, *Chia-ch'ing-ch'ao wai-chiao shih-liao*, book 1, ff. 19-29.

30 LMS, SC, 1.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 7 January 1811.

31 About Morrison's salaries, see *supra.*, note 11. Until 1814, the Spanish dollar was equivalent to 5*s*. per dollar, or £1 = $4 (Morse, *The Chronicle of the East India Company*, 'Conventional Equivalents.'

32 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 307.

33 LMS, SC, 1.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 7 January 1811.

34 LMS, SC 1.2.B., Morrison to Hardcastle and Burder, Canton, 22 December 1812; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 352.

35 LMS, Home Correspondence, Incoming Letters, 2.6.A., the Directors to Morrison, London, no date, March 1812; SC, 1.2.B., Morrison to Hardcastle and Burder, Canton, 22 December 1812; 1.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 20 September 1813; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 394-5.

36 LMS, SC, 1.3.C., Milne to the Directors, New Batavia, 21 April 1814.

37 LMS, SC, 1.3.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 20 September 1813; 1.3.B., Milne to the Directors, Canton, 16 January 1814; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 375; Milne, *Retrospect*, p. 112.

38 LMS, SC, 1.3.A. and B., Morrison and Milne's letters to the Directors, Canton, from September 1813 to February 1814; Milne, *Retrospect*, p. 113; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 376. It is unclear as to whether these books were printed at Canton or Macao. However, as Morrison and Milne were at Canton when the work was done, Canton is more likely the place.

39 For itinerant printers and clan registers, see 張秀民 Chang Hsiu-min, 中國印刷史 *Chung-kuo yin-shua-shih*, A History of Chinese Printing (Shanghai, 1989), pp. 710-5, 757; Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 190, 211.

40 Milne, *Retrospect*, p. 246.

41 *The Evangelical Magazine*, November 1814, p. 445, Milne to the Directors, Batavia, 23 March 1814; LMS, SC, 1.3.C., Milne to the Directors, Batavia, 4 August 1814; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, pp. 72-4, Milne to Morrison, Malacca, 3 November 1820.

42 LMS, SC, 1.1.B., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 3 July 1808; 1.3.C., Milne to the Directors, Macao, 24 September 1814; Morrison to Hardcastle, Macao, 7 December 1814; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 208; Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 121-3.

43 For the traditional Chinese press, see 戈公振 Ko Kung-chen, 中國報學史 *Chung-kuo pao-hsüeh-shih*, A History of Chinese Journalism (Peking, 1955), pp. 22-62; Roswell Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press 1800-1912* (Shanghai, 1933), pp. 1-14.

44 LMS, SC, 1.3.B., Milne to the Directors, Canton, 16 January 1814; Milne to the President, etc., of the Bible Society, Macao, 27 January 1814; Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 139, 154; Ko, *Chung-kuo pao-hsüeh-shih*, pp. 21, 64.

45 In 1812, the Directors of the LMS published Morrison's *Horae Sinicae* in London, which was his first printed work, containing translations from the popular literature of the Chinese. He did not attend the processes of its publication. In 1813, his manuscript of *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* was sent to India by the East India Company, but it was not until 1815 that the work came out of the printing office of the Baptist Mission at Serampore.

46 Elie Halévy, *England in 1815* (London, 1949), pp. 428, 446-50; David Thomson, *England in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1950), p. 60; Philips, *The East India Company*, pp. 186-91.

47 Lovett, *The History of the LMS*, vol. 2, Appendix III, Analysis of the Income and Expenditure of the LMS from 1796 to 1895; *The Report of the LMS*, 1816, 'Missionary Society: Compendious View.'

48 LMS, BM, 23 January 1815. For the printing press at Tahiti, see Ellis' vivid narration in his *Polynesian Researches* (London, 1834), vol. 2, pp. 212, 220-37.

49 LMS, BM, 9, 16, and 23 October 1815. By the end of 1820, three more missions at Surat, Calcutta and Bellary, all being in India, were provided with printing presses (*ibid.*, November 1817- November 1820).

50 The Palace Museum, *Chia-ch'ing ch'ao wai-chiao shih-liao*, book 4, ff. 19, 32, 33-8, 42-5. In a letter to Burder, the Secretary of the LMS, dated 1 January 1816, Morrison translated a large part of an emperor's edict about the persecution that happened in the province of Ssu-ch'uan in 1815. See LMS, SC, 1.4.C.; also Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 434-6.

51 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 405, 407.

52 LMS, SC, 1.2.B., Morrison to Hardcastle and Burder, Canton, 22 December 1812; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 355.

53 Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 140, 178.

54 The East India Company archives, G/12/191, Canton Consultations, 28 December 1814, for George Staunton's first and second reports respecting the press, dated 23 and 26 December 1814.

55 LMS, SC, 1.4.A., Morrison to the Directors, Canton, 4 March 1815. While awaiting enough Chinese types produced by this method, Thoms printed two small works, *Translations from the Original Chinese*, by Morrison; and *San-Yu-Low: or the Three Dedicated Rooms, a tale translated from the Chinese*, by J. F. Davis, a staff member of the Company at Canton and one of Morrison's students of Chinese.

56 LMS, SC, 1.4.A., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 9 March 1815; 1.4.C., *ibid.*, 10 January 1816.

57 *ibid.*, 1.4.A., 29 January 1815.

58 LMS, SC,1.4.C., Letters of Morrison to Burder, Canton, 1 January; 18 March 1816; 1.4.D., 13 January; 23 February 1817; 1.4.E., 14 September 1817; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 473-4, Extracts from letters to Dr. Waugh, Canton, 24 February 1817; Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, pt. 2, vol. 1 (Macao, 1819), preface, x. The characters with somewhat strange appearance are in the first 300 pages of the first volume of the part two.

59 LMS, SC, 1.4.D., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 21 March 1817.

60 *ibid.*, 1.4.E., 14 September 1817.

61 *ibid.*, 1.4.D., 23 February 1817.

62 *ibid.*, 1.4.E., 13 December 1817.

63 *ibid.*, 1.4.D., 21 March 1817; 2.1.B., Morrison to Hankey, Canton, 15 January 1819; 2.1.C., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 8 December 1819.

64 LMS, SC, 2.1.B., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 9 March 1819.

65 LMS, SC, 2.1.C., Morrison to the Directors, Canton, 25 November 1819; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, pp. 2-11.

66 LMS, SC, 2.1.B., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 14 November 1819; 2.1.C., *ibid.*, Canton, 26 November 1819.

67 LMS, CP, 1, *Note to Collection Respecting Dr. Morrison.* The sum included everything on account of printing at the Company's press until the 1823/24 season, i.e. including the expenses of other works either by Morrison or by other members of the Canton Factory.

68 LMS, SC, 2.2.B., Morrison to Hankey, Canton, 12 November 1822; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 181.

69 LMS, SC, 1.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, no date, November, 1811.

70 LMS, SC, 1.4.B., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 11 October 1815.

71 LMS, SC, 1.4.B., Morrison to the Directors, Canton, 4 November 1815; 1.4.C., Burder to Morrison, London, no date, December 1816; *The Report of the LMS*, 1816, pp. 41-2; *The Evangelical Magazine*, July 1816, pp. 281-3.

72 LMS, SC, 1.4.C., a copy enclosed in Morrison's letter to Burder, Canton, 10 February 1816. The letter also appeared in *The Evangelical Magazine*, September 1816, pp. 352-3.

73 LMS, SC, 1.4.C., Morrison to the Directors, Canton, 10 June 1816.

74 LMS, SC, 1.4.D., Morrison to Burder, Macao, 21 January 1817. According to Milne, the number of these types was about 10,000 (*Retrospect*, p. 238).

75 Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia* (Cambridge, 1811), pp. 9-16; Elmer H. Cutts, 'Political Implications in Chinese Studies in Bengal 1800-1823,' *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, 34:2 (June 1958), pp. 152-63; *The Baptist*

Magazine, 1 (March 1809), pp. 117-9, Extract from a Discourse of Lord Minto Addressed to the Students of the College of Fort William, 27 February 1808; M. Siddq Khan, 'William Carey and the Serampore Books (1800-1834),' *Libri*, 11:3 (1961), pp. 197-280, especially pp. 234-5; David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 71-80.

76 LMS, SC, 1.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 9 March 1811.

77 *ibid.*, 1.4.B., 5 July 1815.

78 LMS, SC, 1.4.C., Marshman to Ryland, no place, 13 December 1816.

79 *Public Disputation of the Students of the College of Fort William, in Bengal, ... 20th June, 1814* (Calcutta, repr. in London, 1815), Appendix A.

80 LMS, SC, 1.4.A., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 29 January 1815; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 407.

81 *Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society*, 3 (1806), pp. 222-3, Mr. Carey to Mr. Morris, 7 February 1806; 4 (1810), pp. 52-63, A Second Memoir of the State of the Translations in a Letter to the Society; *The Baptist Magazine*, 4 (May 1812), pp. 304-8, Memoir of the Translation. The Baptist missionaries did not give the size of the edition, but according to a list of the Bibles on sale at the Bible Society's depot at Calcutta, dated April 1810, it was 100 copies, see T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture* (London, 1903-11), vol. 2, p. 182.

82 *Periodical Accounts*, 5 (1813), pp. 36-44, Fourth Memoir of the Translations; *The Baptist Magazine*, 4 (October 1812), pp. 444-6, Fire at the Mission Printing Office, Serampore.

83 *A Memoir of the Serampore Translations for 1813* (Kettering, 1815), pp. 16-7, 36-9. The *Memoir* also appeared in *Periodical Accounts*, 5 (1813), pp. 297-325.

84 LMS, SC, 1.4.C., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 10 February 1816; *The Evangelical Magazine*, September 1816, pp. 352-3.

85 G. A. Grierson, 'The Early Publications of the Serampore Missionaries,' *The Indian Antiquary*, 32 (1903), pp. 241-54.

86 *A Brief View of the Baptist Missions and Translations* (London, 1815), p. 38, Appendix.

87 *A Memoir of the Serampore Translations for 1813*, p. 32; LMS, SC, 1.4.C., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 10 February 1816; *The Evangelical Magazine*, September 1816, p. 353.

88 This is a revised edition of Genesis and Exodus, corrected with the help of the Malacca version. See Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Holy Scripture*, vol. 2, p. 186; and Hubert W. Spillett, *A Catalogue of Scriptures in the Languages of China and the Republic of China* (London, 1975), p. 6.

89 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 521, Morrison's journal of 6 July 1834.

90 LMS, CP, 1, *Note to Collection Respecting Dr. Morrison*, Extract from Canton Consultation, 22 October 1823.

91 LMS, BM, 8 and 28 February, 1825; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, pp. 289-90.

92 LMS, CP, 1, Fisher to Morrison, London, 15 April 1827. About the early history of lithography in Britain and Fisher's role in it, see Michael Twyman, *Lithography 1800-1850* (London, 1970), pp. 26-33, 37-40, 78; and *ibid.*, *A Directory of London Lithographic Printers, 1800-1850* (London, 1976), pp. 2-9. Twyman holds that Fisher's contribution to lithography has not been sufficiently appreciated, although it was partly due to his encouragement that the art was kept alive in England after the earliest foreign lithographic printers left (*Lithography 1800-1850*, pp. 30-1.).

93 LMS, CP, 1, Fisher to Morrison, London, 20 December 1831.

94 LMS, CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Hackney, 16 September 1825.

95 Robert Morrison, *Chinese Miscellany* (London, 1825), p. 52.

96 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 372. It is unclear whether at Canton or Macao the first lithographic trial took place. As they undertook it toward the end of the year, i.e. in the trading season, it was probably at Canton.

97 LMS, CP, 1, Fisher to Morrison, London, 15 April 1827; and Richard S. Boswell, Assistant Secretary to the Language Institution, to Fisher, London, 23 April 1827, acknowledging the receipt of five pamphlets and two lithographic sheet tracts sent from Morrison. The two sheet tracts were probably duplicates.

98 LMS, SC, 1.2.B., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 19 December 1812.

99 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 367, Morrison's journal of 21 October 1826.

100 *ibid.*, p. 360.

101 LMS, CP, 1, *Note to Collection Respecting Dr. Morrison*, Extract separate letter to China, 13 April 1831.

102 LMS, SC, 3.1.A., Morrison to Orme, Canton, 25 March 1830. There are similar complaints in his letters to Fisher (LMS, CP, 1, Macao, 10 December 1829 and 26 January 1830).

103 For the controversy of the Anglo-Chinese College, see Brian Harrison, *Waiting for China* (Hong Kong, 1979), pp. 42-53, 70-7, 95-100.

104 LMS, CP, 1, Fisher to Morrison, London, 12 July 1826.

105 *ibid.*, 9 December 1827. Also, Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 396.

106 LMS, SC, 2.3.D., Morrison to Orme, Macao, 1 December 1829.

107 LMS, CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Macao, 13 November 1828; also Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 397. Further information about the dissolution of the Language Institution, see LMS, CP, 1, Fisher to Morrison, London, 21 August 1828; SC, 2.3.D., Morrison to Orme, Macao, 1 December 1829.

108 LMS, SC, 2.3.B., *Morrison to Orme, Canton*, 4 February 1828.

109 LMS, SC, 3.1.A., Morrison to Hankey, Canton, 14 November 1830.

110 LMS, CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Canton, 9 November 1830.

111 LMS, SC, 3 [in an unnumbered red jacket]., Morrison to William Ellis, Canton, 14 February 1834.

112 LMS, SC, 2.3.D., Morrison to Orme, Macao, 1 December 1829.

113 LMS, BM, 21 and 18 April 1831; SC, 3.1.A., Morrison to Hankey, Canton, 14 November 1830.

114 LMS, SC, 3.1.B., Morrison to Hankey, Canton, 22 December 1831.

115 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 504, Morrison's journal of 20 January 1834.

116 LMS, SC, 2.3.C., Morrison to J. Arundel, Canton, 26 November 1828.

117 LMS, SC, 2.3.D., Morrison to Orme, Macao, 1 December 1829.

118 LMS, OL, 1, The Treasurer to Morrison, 2 May 1830.

119 LMS, SC, 2.3.A., Morrison to the Directors, Canton, 27 September 1827; 2.3.B., Morrison to Hankey, Canton, 10 October 1828.

120 Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board Commissioners for Foreign Mission* (Worcester, 1840), pp. 201, 224; Eliza Bridgman, *The Life and Labors of Elijah Coleman Bridgman* (New York, 1864), p. 74; LMS, CP, 1, J. R. Morrison to Fisher, Canton, 22 October 1832; Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press*, p. 28.

121 LMS, CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Macao, 19 June 1833; Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press*, p. 22.

122 J. M. Braga, 'The Beginnings of Printing at Macao,' *Studia*, 12 (July 1963), pp. 88-90; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, pp. 383-4; LMS, SC, 3.1.B., Morrison to Hankey, Canton, 22 November 1831.

123 LMS, CP, 1, *Note to Collection Respecting Dr. Morrison*, Extract letter to China, 8 April 1823; Morrison to Fisher, Macao, 23 February 1830; The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, Papers of John Robert Morrison, Western MSS. 5829, Morrison to his son John, Macao, 19 December 1829; *ibid.*, 16 January 1830; Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, vol. 3, pp. 82, 98; Braga, 'The Beginnings of Printing at Macao,' pp. 83-6, 91-9. The four works were: *The Anglo-Chinese Kalendar and Register*, by J. R. Morrison (1831); a periodical in ten numbers, *The Canton Miscellany* (1831-2); *A Catalogue of the Library of the British Factory at Canton* (1832) and *The Anglo-Chinese Kalendar and Register*, by J.R. Morrison (1832). The unfinished one was *A Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language* by W. H. Medhurst, which was then completed by the ABCFM's press in 1837. For Portuguese printing and newspaper at Macao in this period, see Braga's above-mentioned essay.

124 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 465.

125 Wellcome, Papers of Robert Morrison, Western MSS. 5827, J. R. Morrison to his father, Malacca, 21 August, 9 October, 1828.

126 LMS, SC, 3.1.B., Morrison to Arundel, Macao, 31 May 1831; CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Macao 31 May 1831.

127 LMS, SC, 3.1.B., Morrison to Arundel, Macao, 31 May 1831; 3.1.C., *ibid*, Canton, 17 February 1832. About the same time, W. H. Medhurst, another LMS

missionary, was producing lithographic work at Batavia mainly for Chinese immigrants in Southeast Asia.

128 These specimens are in LMS, CP, 1 and 3. The one bearing the Chinese and Korean characters is enclosed in a letter from Morrison to Fisher, Canton, 20 December 1832; the map of Formosa enclosed in his later letter to Fisher, Canton, 23 January 1834.

129 LMS, CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Canton, 18 October 1832; J. R. Morrison to Fisher, Canton, 22 October 1832. Unfortunately, the Morrisons did not give the title of the pamphlet in their letters. Nor is any copy of this work known to be extant.

130 *ibid.*, Morrison to Fisher, Macao, 31 January 1833; Fisher to Morrison, London, 4 and 17 July 1833.

131 LMS, CP, 1, J. R. Morrison to Fisher, Canton, 21 October 1833.

132 *ibid.*, 21 June 1834.

133 LMS, BM, 23 and 14 October 1833.

134 LMS, SC, 3.1.C., a printed sheet entitled 'To the Churches of Christ, in Europe, America, and Elsewhere, the Following Statement is Respectfully Presented;' Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, pp. 470-4; Wellcome 5829, Morrison to John, Canton, 19 November 1832.

135 LMS, CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Macao, 31 January 1833.

136 Braga, 'The Beginnings of Printing at Macao,' pp. 107-8.

137 LMS, SC, 2.3.B., Morrison to Orme, Canton, 4 February 1828.

138 LMS, CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Macao, 10 October 1833. The Select Committee's letter to Morrison requesting his obedience to the Portuguese order, see Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, pp. 479-80.

139 Wellcome 5829, Morrison to John, Macao, 20 June 1833.

140 LMS, SC, 3.2.A., Morrison to Ellis, Macao, 4 December 1833. The number of 6,000 type was counted up to the end of September only and the type-cutters could produce 1,300 per month, see Wellcome 5829, Morrison to John, Macao, 30 September 1833.

141 Wellcome 5829, Morrison to John, Macao, 28 October 1833.

142 *ibid.*, 19 October 1833.

143 *ibid.*, 28 October 1833.

144 *ibid.*, 24 March 1834.

145 LMS, CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Macao, 13 February 1834.

146 Wellcome 5829, J. R. Morrison to Fisher, Lintin, 10 December 1835.

147 LMS, SC, 3.1.A., Morrison to Hankey, Canton, 14 November 1830.

148 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 448, Morrison to D. Abeel, Macao, 13 July 1831; LMS, SC, 3.2.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 6 December 1833.

149 LMS, SC, 3.2.B., Bridgman and J. R. Morrison, Circular Letter, Canton, 15 January 1835.

Chapter Three
The LMS in Southeast Asia, 1815-1846

1 Ellis, *The History of the LMS*, p. 577.

2 Wang Gungwu, *China and the Chinese Overseas* (Singapore, 1991), p. 118; John Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries* (London, 1856), p. 97.

3 For discussion of the Chinese in Southeast Asia prior to the twentieth century, see Wang Gungwu, *China and the Chinese Overseas*; *ibid.*, *Community and Nation* (New South Wales, 1992); N. Tarling, ed., *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 345-401, L. Y. Andaya, 'Interactions with the Outside World and Adaptation in Southeast Asian Society, 1500-1800;' pp. 460-507, A. Reid, 'Economic and Social Change, c. 1400-1800;' Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (London, 1965), especially pt. 1, 'The Area as a Whole.' The term 'plural society' was coined by J. S. Furnivall in his *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge, 1944).

4 The most serious clashes between Chinese immigrants and the local authorities occurred in the Philippines, where six massacres of Chinese by the Spanish between 1603 and 1762 resulted in the death of around 50,000 people in total (Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, pp. 513-27; 劉芝田 Liu Chih-t'ien, 中菲關係史 *Chung-fei kuan-hsi shih*, A history of the Sino-Philippino relations (Taipei, 1965), pp. 400-30.). In Batavia, over 10,000 Chinese were killed by the Dutch in the massacre of 1740 (Purcell, *ibid.*, pp. 403-7; Leonard Blusse, *Strange Company* (Dordrecht, 1986), p. 95.).

5 Francis Light to the Governor-General at Calcutta, dated at Fort Cornwallis, 25 January 1794, here cited from *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, 5 (1851), p. 9, Notices of Pinang.

6 T. Braddell, 'Notices of Singapore,' *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, 8 (1854), p. 40.

7 Barbara W. Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia* (London, 1982), p. 47; Sarnia H. Hoyt, *Old Malacca* (Kuala Lumpur, 1993), p. 18. A contemporary work about Malacca in the early sixteenth century is Tomé Pires's *The Suma Oriental, An Account of the East* (London, 1944, translated by Armando Cortesao), vol. 2, Malacca. According to Pires, Malacca was 'a city that was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world' and 'is of such importance and profit that ... it has no equal in the world.' (pp. 285-6.)

8 Victor Purcell, 'Chinese Settlement in Malacca,' *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 20:1 (1947), p. 121.

9 Manuel Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore 1511-1958* (Lisbon, 1961), vol. 1, p. 100.

10 Regarding the population of Malacca in 1641, see K. S. Sandhu, 'Chinese Colonization of Malacca,' *Journal of Tropical Geography*, 15 (June 1961), p. 6; for 1750, see Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Malaya* (London, 1948), p. 36.

11 *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, 4 (1818), p. 257, Extracts from Mr. Milne's Journal of His Voyage to Java. T. Braddell gave the figure of the Chinese in Malacca as only 1,006 in 1817 (*Statistics of the British Possession in the Straits of Malacca* (Penang, 1861), Table 1).

12 The Chinese population in Batavia was estimated as being 12,000 in 1820 (Susan Abeyasekere, *Jakarta: A History* (Singapore, 1987), p. 73, Figure: Population of Batavia by Ethnic Group, 1820-1900.)

13 LMS, SC, 1.2.B., Morrison to Hardcastle and Burder, Canton, 22 December 1812; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 355.

14 LMS, SC, 1.4.A., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 29 January 1815; Morrison to the Directors, Canton, 2 March 1815; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 411.

15 Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 135-7; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 384-5; C. M. Turnbull, *The Straits Settlement, 1826-1867* (London, 1972), p. 15; *ibid.*, 'Melaka under British Colonial Rule.' in Sandhu and Wheatley, *Melaka: The Transformation of a Malay Capital, c. 1400-1980* (Kuala Lumpur, 1983), p. 247; K. G. Tregonning, *The British in Malaya* (Tucson, 1965), p. 168.

16 Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 137-9; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 385-7.

17 This date is the first day of July, according to the lunar calendar, to which the contemporary Chinese were accustomed and according to which the Chinese Magazine shows its publication date. But Milne always wrote the date according to the solar calendar in his reports.

18 The advertisement, entitled 立義館告帖 (Announcement of the Foundation of a Free School) and dated June (lunar calendar) 1815, occupied the fourth and fifth leaves of the first issue of the Chinese Magazine. It appears that some copies of the advertisement had been taken from the blocks for distribution before it was re-used to make up part of the Magazine. The text says that this school will offer three courses, viz. reading, writing and using of abacus. Teacher's salary, textbooks, stationery and the use of the abacus will be paid by Milne.

19 Milne, *Retrospect*, p. 154.

20 From vol. 2 (1816), no. 5, there were eight lines in each half-leave and twenty characters in each line; then from vol. 6 (1820), no. 1, the numbers increased to nine lines and twenty-four characters respectively.

21 During about four decades after 1819, twelve additional editions of this work appeared. By the early twentieth century, there were at least seventeen editions with a total number estimated from several hundred thousand to two million copies published. See Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Shanghai, 1867), pp. 16-17; Daniel H. Bays, 'Christian Tracts: The Two Friends,' in S. W. Barnett and J. K. Fairbank, eds., *Christianity in China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), p. 23.

22 LMS, MA, 1.1.D., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 23 October 1816. This plate appeared in the 94th leaf in the issue of August and September 1816.

23 Twenty-two stories of *Esop's Fables* was first translated into Chinese by a Jesuit Nicholas Trigault, in collaboration with a Chinese scholar 張賡 Chang Keng, and published in 1625, almost two hundred years prior to Milne's translation.

24 As this leaf was numbered the fourth, there should have been at least three in previous issues. However, they are not in either of the copies in the British Library and the Harvard-Yenching Library at Harvard University, which are the two copies of this magazine known to be extant, nor are there any traces about what contents they might have had. This leaf has never been mentioned by the authors of previous studies on the Chinese Magazine. It is probably for this reason that, although the magazine has been generally recognized as the first modern Chinese journal, there is a different opinion claiming that, 'It was a periodical tract rather than a monthly journal.' (Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press*, p. 20.)

25 LMS, MA, 1.2.C., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 10 August 1818. It appears that the type was distributed after it was printed, so this leaf cannot be found in the reprint of the whole volume.

26 The four works printed from old blocks were: 救世者言行眞史記 *Chiu-shih-che yen-hsing chen shih-chi*, Life of Christ, by Milne; 古時如氐亞國歷代略傳 *Ku-shih ju-ti-ya-kuo li-tai lüeh-chuan*, Outline of the Old Testament History, 神道論贖救世總說眞本 *Shen-tao lun-shu chiu-shih tsung-shuo chen pen*, A Tract on the Redemption of the World, and 問答淺註耶穌教法 *Wen-ta ch'ien-chu yeh-su-chiao fa*, A Catechism. The last three were by Morrison. The two reprinted from the magazine were 崇眞實棄假謊略說 *Ch'ung chen-shih ch'i chia-huang lüeh-shuo*, Tract on the Sin of Lying, and 進小門走窄路解論 *Chin hsiao-men tsou chai-lu chieh-lun*, Tract on the Strait Gate. The one on vaccination called 英吉利國新出種痘奇書 *Ying-chi-li-kuo hsin-ch'u chung-tou ch'i-shu*, A Treatise on Vaccination, translated into Chinese by Sir George Staunton, of the East India Company, and originally published at Canton in 1805. See Milne's journal, 30 December 1815 - 4 January 1817, in LMS, SC, Journal; *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, 4 (1818), pp. 352, 414, Extracts from the Journal of Mr. Milne; and Milne's *Retrospect*, p. 271.

27 LMS, SC, 1.4.C., Morrison to the Directors, Canton, 10 June 1816.

28 LMS, SC, 1.4.D., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 21 March 1817; 1.4.E., *ibid.*, 13 December 1817.

29 In 10 November 1817, Medhurst reported to the Directors that about 500 copies of the New Testament had been printed, half of them sent to China (LMS, MA, 1.2.B.). It seemed that these two editions had not been printed as many times as Morrison first expected. At the close of 1819, Milne mentioned that 3,420 copies of the 12mo and only 100 copies of the 8vo were printed (Milne, *Retrospect*, p. 267.).

30 LMS, SC, 1.4.D., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 23 February 1817.

31 Milne, *Retrospect*, p. 181; LMS, MA, 1.1.D., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 31 December 1816.

32 Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 190-2; *The Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, 1 (May 1817), p. 5; Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 538, Hankey and Burder to Morrison, London, 26 February 1819.

33 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 158, Huttmann to Morrison, Malacca, 14 June 1822.

34 Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 303-4; LMS, MA, 1.2.B., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 22 June 1817.

35 Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 211-2; LMS, BM, 28 April 1817; PE, 1.2.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Penang, 21 September 1820.

36 LMS, BM, 11 November 1805; 23 January 1815.

37 LMS, MA, 1.1.B., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 30 December 1815; SC, 1.4.B., Morrison to the Directors, Canton, 4 November 1815; *The Report of the LMS*, 1816, pp. 41-2; *The Evangelical Magazine*, July 1816, pp. 281-3.

38 LMS, BM, 11 September 1815; 9, 16 and 23, October, 1815; 18 March 1816.

39 *ibid.*, 29 April, 3 May, 10 June, 1816; *The Evangelical Magazine*, January 1816, p. 33.

40 LMS, Candidates' Papers, 'Walter H. Medhurst,' Joseph Wood's letter to the Directors of the LMS, Gloucester, 6 May 1816.

41 LMS, MA, 1.1.C., Instruction to Medhurst, London, 29 August 1816.

42 LMS, MA, 1.2.C., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 10 August 1818.

43 *The Missionary Register*, September 1832, p. 375; October 1839, p. 15.

44 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 504; Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 199-200.

45 LMS, SC, 1.4.A., Morrison to the Directors, Macao, 11 January 1815.

46 Milne, *Retrospect*, p. 204.

47 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 426-7.

48 Morrison's annual salary at the East India Company was £500 from 1809 to 1812, after 1812 it was £1,000, compared with £200 originally given by the London Missionary Society. In February 1817, he told the Directors in a letter that he had $4,000 deposit in the hands of a Chinese merchant at 12 per cent annual interests and another $4,000 at a different Chinese merchant at 15 per cent rates. Besides, the Company had just given him $1,000 extra for his accompanying Lord Amherst's embassy to Peking (LMS, SC, 1.4.D., Morrison to Burder, Canton, 23 February 1817.). £1 = 4 dollars.

49 Meeting strong opposition later on, the objects of the College were mentioned as 'the cultivation of Chinese and English literature, and the diffusion of Christianity.' Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 506-7, 512-6; LMS, SC, 1.4.A., Milne to the Directors, Macao, 24 January 1818; Milne, *Retrospect*, p. 351.

50 LMS, MA, 1.4.D., Thomsen, Medhurst, Beighton and Ince to the Directors, 26 August 1820; PE, 1.2.B., Beighton, Ince and Medhurst to Burder, Penang, 22 September 1820.

51 LMS, BA, 1.D., John Slater to Burder, Batavia, 12 November 1821.

52 LMS, MA, 1.4.C., Thomsen to Beighton, Malacca, 30 April 1820; PE, 1.2.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Penang, 21 September 1820. According to Morrison, Milne first called the press 'The Mission Press.' But Morrison thought it was 'a vague and hackneyed designation.' At his desire, it was changed to 'a more descriptive title,' The Anglo-Chinese Press (LMS, SC, 2.1.B., Morrison to the Directors, Canton, no date, December 1820.).

53 LMS, BM, 2 October 1821.

54 *ibid.*

55 *ibid.*

56 *ibid.*

57 LMS, MA, 1.2.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Malacca, 10 November 1817.

58 LMS, MA, 1.2.C., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 10 August 1818.

59 LMS, MA, 1.3.C., Medhrust to the Directors, Malacca, 23 November 1819.

60 LMS, MA, 1.3.B., Milne to Colonel Bannerman, Malacca, 2 April 1819.

61 LMS, MA, 1.2.B., Medhurst to Burder, Malacca, 21 July 1817; 2.1.A., Milne to Hankey, Malacca, 2 January 1821; 2.1.B., *ibid.*, 23 August 1821.

62 LMS, MA, 1.4.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Malacca, 10 January 1820. As the Malay press was under Thomsen's control, Medhurst only gave an approximate number of 20,000 copies of Malay books printed in 1819. There is an 'Account of the Malay Book,' based upon Thomsen's material, in Milne's *Retrospect*, pp. 303-8.

63 Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 267-72, List of Books Written and Printed by the Members of the Ultra-Ganges Missions.

64 LMS, MA, 2.1.B., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 23 August, 16 November 1821.

65 LMS, MA, 2.1.C., Thomsen to the Directors, Malacca, 5 December 1821; PE, 1.2.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Penang, 21 September 1820; Beighton, Ince and Medhurst to Burder, Penang, 1 October 1820.

66 LMS, PE, 1.2.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Penang, 21 September 1820.

67 *ibid.*

68 *ibid.*

69 LMS, MA, 1.2.C., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, no date, May 1818.

70 LMS, BM, 18 January, 16 August, 11 October, 1819.

71 LMS, MA, 1.4.C., Thomsen to the Directors, Malacca, 12 July 1820.

72 LMS, MA, 1.4.C., Thomsen to Beighton, Malacca, 11 July 1820.

73 LMS, MA, 1.4.D., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 26 September 1820; Milne to Huttmann, 29 September 1820.

74 *ibid.*

75 LMS, MA, 2.1.A., Milne to Hankey, Malacca, 2 January 1821.

76 LMS, MA, 1.4.D., Milne to Huttmann, 29 September 1820.

77 LMS, MA, 2.1.A., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 14 April 1821.

78 LMS, MA, 1.4.D., Huttmann to Burder, Malacca, 18 November 1820; 2.2.A., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 15 February 1822.

79 LMS, MA, 2.2.A., Milne to the Directors, Malaca, 15 February 1822.

80 *ibid.*

81 *ibid.*, 2.1.A., 14 April 1821.

82 A report entitled 'Anglo-Chinese College,' undated, must have been printed shortly after the completion of the building (LMS, CP, 3.).

83 LMS, MA, 2.2.A., Milne to the Directors, Penang, 17 April 1822.

84 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, pp. 152-3, Milne to Morrison, Singapore, 6 March 1822.

85 LMS, MA, 1.4.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Malacca, 10 January 1820. Milne's first English work was *The Sacred Edict*, which was a translation, with notes, of 16 maxims of the Chinese emperor K'ang-hsi with the amplification of his son, the emperor Yüng-cheng. This work was published in London in 1817. The second one was *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Missions to China* (Malacca, 1820), which has become one of the most valuable resources in the study of mission history in China, as well as in Southeast Asia.

86 Milne, *Retrospect*, p. 289. Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 2. According to their agreement, Milne was responsible for the Book of Job and the Historical Books, whilst the others were Morrison's.

87 LMS, MA, 2.2.A., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 15 February 1822.

88 LMS, MA, 1.2.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Malacca, 10 November 1817.

89 LMS, MA, 1.1.B., Milne to the Directors, Malacca 30 December 1815; 2.1.A., *ibid.*, 14 February 1821. There is a comparison between type and blocks in printing Chinese works in Milne's *Retrospect*, pp. 237- 67.

90 *ibid.*, 1.2.C., 10 August 1818.

91 *ibid.*, 2.1.B., 22 May 1821.

92 *ibid.*, 2.1.B., 23 August 1821.

93 These four works have not been mentioned in missionaries' reports in the LMS archives, or listed in Wylie's two bibliographies of works by Protestant missionaries to the Chinese. The copies of these four works, one of each, at the British Library are probably the only extant ones.

94 Sandhu, 'Chinese Colonization of Malacca,' p. 8; T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (London, 1839), p. 136; Turnbull, *The Straits Settlements*, p. 15; *ibid.*, 'Melaka under British Colonial Rule,' in Sandhu and Wheatley, *Melaka*, pp. 254-5.

95 Turnbull, 'Melaka under British Colonial Rule,' p. 247; George Finlayson, *The Mission to Siam* (London, 1826), p. 39; Howard Malcom, *Travels in South-Eastern Asia* (London, 1839), p. 110; John Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (Kuala Lumpur, 1967), p. 41. J. H. Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago* (Singapore, 1837), vol. 1, p. 224.

96 LMS, MA, 2.3.A., Morrison to Hankey, Malacca, 19 February, 1823.

97 *ibid.*, 2.3.B., 18 June 1823.

98 LMS, MA, 2.3.B., Humphreys and Collie to the Directors, Malacca, 13 June 1823; Morrison to the Directors, Malacca, 18 June 1823.

99 LMS, MA, 2.3.B., Humphreys and Collie to the Directors, Malacca, 13 June 1823.

100 LMS, MA, 2.3.A., Morrison to Hankey, Malacca, 29 April 1823. Letters concerning Huttmann's case are in LMS, MA, 2.3.A., Morrison to Hankey, 19 February 1823; Huttmann to Burder, 1 March 1823; Morrison to Hankey, no date, March 1823; Huttmann to Burder, 10 April 1823; and in 2.3.B., Copies of correspondence between Morrison, Humphreys and Collie, 28 and 29 April 1823.

101 LMS, MA, 2.2.C., The Malacca and China Station Account with the London Mission Society, from 1 August 1821 to 1 August 1822.

102 LMS, MA, 2.3.A., Humphreys to the Directors, Malacca, 8 March 1823.

103 For these missionaries' works in Chinese, see Wylie's *Memorials*.

104 *The Report of the LMS*, 1826, p. 26; Ellis, *The History of the LMS*, p. 526.

105 LMS, MA, 2.1.A., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 14 April 1821.

106 *Report of the Anglo-Chinese College*, 1828, p. 12.

107 *ibid.*, 1829, pp. 10-1.

108 LMS, SC, 2.3.B., Morrison to Hankey, Canton, 10 October 1828.

109 *Report of the Anglo-Chinese College*, 1829, p. 11.

110 Wellcome 5827, J. R. Morrison to his father, Malacca, 7 November 1828. As no copies of this paper are known to be extant and no information was given in related documents, its publishing frequency is uncertain. The *Malacca Observer* first reported that this paper was published in about April 1828, then Morrison's son, John, who was at the College at that time, wrote to his father in November of the same year that the second number was just published (Wellcome 5829, Morrison to his son, Macao, 14 June, 28 August 1828; Wellcome 5827, John Robert Morrison to his father, Malacca, 7 November 1828.). In the College report for 1829, Kidd mentioned that there were 'several copies' being published. Nor is it known whether this paper was printed with blocks or type.

111 LMS, MA, 2.5.C., Kidd to the Directors, Malacca, 9 November 1829; Cecil K. Byrd, *Early Printing in the Straits Settlements 1806-1858* (Singapore, 1970), pp.

10-1; Harrison, *Waiting for China*, pp. 82-3. The cause of the arguments between this paper and the authorities was an editorial in no. 62 (14 July 1829) on the recent war between the government and the Malay leader of Nanning. After receiving a warning letter from the government, a defending editorial appeared in the next issue (28 July 1829).

112 *ibid.*, 2.5.C., 9 November 1829.

113 *ibid.*

114 LMS, CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Macao, 18 March 1827; Fisher to Morrison, London, 15 April 1827; Morrison to Fisher, Canton, 9 December 1830; LMS, SI, 2.4.C., Keasberry to Tidman, Singapore, 2 July 1849.

115 LMS, SC, Journals, Liang Afa's diaries, the 13th day of the 7th moon, 1832.

116 LMS, MA, 3.3.A., Evans to Ellis, Malacca, 20 October 1834.

117 LMS, MA, 3.3.B., Hughes and Evans to Ellis, Malacca, 1 January 1835.

118 *The Missionary Register*, March 1841, p. 139.

119 LMS, MA, 3.3.B., Evans to Ellis, Malacca, 12 October 1835.

120 *ibid.*, 3.4.C., 1 November 1839.

121 LMS, MA, 3.3.A., Hughes and Evans to Ellis, Malacca, 4 January 1834.

122 *ibid.*, 3.3.B., 1 January 1835.

123 LMS, MA, 3.3.C., Evans and Dyer to Ellis, Malacca, 6 April, 1 October 1836.

124 LMS, MA, 3.4.C., Evans to the Secretary of the LMS, 1 November 1839; *Report of the LMS*, 1840, p. 29.

125 LMS, MA, 3.3.C., Evans and Dyer to the Directors, Malacca, 1 October 1836.

126 The British Library has the second volume, including 16 numbers from June 1837 to September 1838, of *The Periodical Miscellany.*

127 LMS, MA, 3.4.D., Evans to the Directors, Malacca, 5 November 1840.

128 LMS, MA, 3.5.A., Legge to the Directors, Malacca, 8 March 1841.

129 LMS, CP, 8, Legge to his brother John, Malacca, 3 October 1842; also H. E. Legge, *James Legge, Missionary and Scholar* (London, 1905), p. 16-7.

130 LMS, MA, 3.5.C., Legge to the Directors, Malacca, 1 September 1842.

131 In 1856, Legge discontinued the publication of a Chinese monthly, 遐邇貫珍 *Hsia-erh kuan-chen*, the *Chinese Serial*, while under his turn of editorship. Again, in 1873, he sold the Hong Kong mission press, and hence closed the printing enterprises of the LMS in China. These will be discussed in Chapter 5.

132 LMS, M, 3.5.C., Legge to the Directors, Malacca, 1 September 1842.

133 LMS, MA, 3.4.A., Evans to Ellis, Malacca, 14 April, 16 August 1837. In I. Proudfooot's *Early Malay Printed Books* (Kuala Lumpur, 1993), fifty-eight Malay titles and editions, including seven in doubt, are listed as being printed at

Malacca from 1817 to 1842. At least four of these were printed after Legge took over the mission in late 1840.

134 *ibid.*, 3.4.C., 6 May 1839.

135 LMS, SI, 2.2.C., Dyer to Tidman, Singapore, October 15, 1842; 2.4.C., Keasberry to Tidman, Singapore, 2 July 1849.

136 *The Missionary Register*, March 1844, p. 133.

137 *ibid.*, March 1842, p. 143; March 1844, p. 133. Wylie, *Memorials*, p. 119.

138 LMS, BM, 12 October 1842; 26 February 1844; OL, Tidman to Legge, 29 February 1844.

138 LMS, MA, 3.5.C., Legge to Tidman, Singapore, 18 May 1843.

140 *ibid.*

141 C. M. Turnbull, *A History of Singapore 1819-1975* (Kuala Lumpur, 1977), pp. 1-5. The 14th-century Chinese trader was 汪大淵 Wang Ta-yüan. As the passing reference to Singapore in his work 島夷誌略 *Tao-i chih lüeh*, Description of the Barbarians of the Isles (1349) was very sketchy, some scholars consider that the Chinese mentioned by him were probably merchants who used this island as a provisional rest camp, re-victualling station or warehouse, but not necessarily as a permanent settlement (Sandhu, 'Chinese Colonization of Malacca,' p. 2).

142 Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (London, 1830), p. 383, Raffles to the Duchess of Somerset, Singapore, 11 June 1819.

143 Wang Gungwu, 'The Chinese as Immigrants and Settlers: Singapore,' in his *China and the Chinese Overseas*, p. 167; Turnbull, *A History of Singapore*, p. 56; *ibid.*, *The Straits Settlements*, p. 22.

144 LMS, SI, 1.6.B., a copy of a letter from Farquhar to Milne, Singapore, 10 June 1819.

145 LMS, MA, 1.3.C., Milne to the Directors, Malacca, 2 August 1819.

146 LMS, Candidates Papers, 'Samuel Milton.' LMS, SI, 1.1.B., Farquhar to Milton, Singapore, 18 May 1820; Milton to Burder, Singapore, 20 November 1820.

147 LMS, SI, 1.1.B., Milton to Burder, Singapore, 25 December 1821.

148 *ibid.*, 1.1.A., 20 November 1820.

149 LMS, PE, 1.4.B., Beighton and Ince to Burder, Penang, 13 November 1822.

150 LMS, SI, 1.1.B., Milton to Burder, Singapore, 20 November 1820; 1.1.C., *ibid.*, 19 May 1822.

151 *ibid.*, 1.1.C., 23 September 1822.

152 LMS, SI, 1.1.C., Thomsen to the Directors, Singapore, 1 July 1822.

153 Turnbull, *A History of Singapore*, pp. 18-23.

154 LMS, SI, 1.2.C., Thomsen to the Directors, Singapore, 25 January 1823; a copy of Thomsen's letter to Raffles, Singapore, 17 January 1823.

155 LMS, SI, 1.2.C., a copy of Raffles's reply to Thomsen, Singapore, 23 January 1823.

156 C. E. Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles* (London, 1954), p. 521.

157 LMS, SI, 1.3.-., Milton to the Directors, Singapore, 31 December 1824.

158 LMS, SI, 1.2.B., Raffles to Burder, Singapore, 23 January 1823; 1.2.A., Thomsen to the Directors, Singapore, 20 February, 8 March 1823;

159 Accounts of the Malacca station from 1 August 1822 to 1 August 1823 showed that a Flint of Singapore twice paid $22 each for printing. It must be William Flint, Raffles's brother-in-law and the Master Attendant in the Singapore government at that time.

160 LMS, SI, 1.2.A., Thomsen to the Directors, Singapore, 20 February 1823.

161 LMS, SI, 1.2.A., Milton to the Directors, Singapore, 10 April 1823.

162 *ibid.*, 1.2.C., undated, suppose 8 June 1823; 1.3.-., 31 December 1824.

163 LMS, SI, Morrison to the Directors in reply to Milton's letter of 31 December 1824, no date.

164 *Formation of the Singapore Institution* (Malacca, 1823), p. 104, A Meeting of the Trustees of the Singapore Institution, 15 April 1823; Raffles, *Memoir of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles*, p. 83.

165 LMS, SI, 1.2.B., Morrison to the Directors, Singapore, 13 April 1823; 1.2.C., Milton to the Directors, undated, suppose 8 June 1823.

166 LMS, SI, 1.2.C., Milton to the Directors, Singapore, 27 January 1824; 1.3.-., *ibid.*, 31 December 1824.

167 *ibid.*, 1.3.-., 30 June 1825.

168 *ibid.*, 31 December 1824.

169 Turnbull, *The Straits Settlements*, p. 130.

170 LMS, SI, 1.3.-., Milton to the Directors, Singapore, 30 June 1825.

171 *ibid.*

172 *ibid.* No copy of Milton's edition of these four works is known to be extant.

173 LMS, PE, 2.4.A., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 15 March 1826.

174 LMS, BM, 23 March 1827.

175 LMS, PE, 2.4.A., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 15 March 1826.

176 LMS, SI, 1.2.C., Thomsen to the Directors, Singapore, 31 January 1823.

177 LMS, SI, 1.6.B., a copy of a letter from Ellis to Samuel Wolfe, 6 May 1835.

178 About fifteen years later, this plot was sold in 1840 for a mere 155 dollars (LMS, SI, 2.2.A., J. Stronach to Ellis and Tidman, Singapore, 10 September 1840.).

179 LMS, SI, 1.6.D., The report of the Deputation respecting Thomsen at Singapore and his answer to this report; 1.6.D., a list of the Directors' correspondence with Thomsen, 1827-1830.

180 LMS, SI, 1.5.A., Thomsen to the Directors, Singapore, 28 October 1829.

181 LMS, BM, 14 December 1829.

182 *ibid.*, 27 September 1830.

183 *ibid.*, 25 August and 8 September 1823.

184 LMS, SI, 1.4.A., Thomsen to Burder, Singapore, 8 November 1826.

185 LMS, SI, 1.5.C., Thomsen to Paterson, Singapore, 16 July 1831.

186 LMS, SI, 1.4.A., Thomsen to Burder, Singapore, 14 December 1827.

187 *ibid.*

188 LMS, SI, 1.5.C., Thomsen to Paterson, Singapore, 24 June 1831.

189 LMS, SI, 1.5.C., Thomsen to the Directors, Singapore, 27 September 1831.

190 LMS, SI, 1.6.A., Thomsen to the Foreign Secretary of the LMS, Singapore, 4 October 1832.

191 *ibid.*

192 LMS, SI, 1.6.B., Thomsen to Ellis, Singapore, 23 November 1833; 2.2.B., J. Stronach to Ellis, Singapore, 31 March 1841; Keasberry to Tidman and Freeman, Singapore, 14 September 1841.

193 LMS, SI, 1.5.C., Thomsen to Paterson, Singapore, 16 July 1831.

194 LMS, SI, 2.2.C., Dyer to his father, Singapore, 29 March 1842; PE, 3.2.A., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 27 June 1831; 3.6.A., Beighton to Ellis, Penang, 19 March 1834.

195 LMS, PE, 3.5.C., Beighton and Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 28 December 1833.

196 LMS, OL, Ellis to Hughes and Evans, London, 18 November 1834; Ellis to Beighton, London, 1 January 1835.

197 LMS, SI, 1.6.B., Extracts of a letter from Ellis to Wolfe, London, 6 May 1835; Wolfe to the Directors, Singapore, 28 May 1836; 2.1.B., A. & J. Stronach to Ellis, Singapore, 9 October 1838; *ibid.*, Singapore, no date, November 1838.

198 LMS, SI, 1.5.A., Thomsen to Orme, Singapore, 24 November 1829; BA, 3.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 22 July 1829; Medhurst to Orme, Batavia, 1 February 1830.

199 LMS, SI, 1.4.A., Thomsen to Burder, Singapore, 8 November 1826.

200 *ibid.*, 1.6.A., 4 October 1832.

201 *ibid.*, 1.5.A., 24 November 1829; 1.5.B., Thomsen to Orme, Singapore, 13 February 1830.

202 Walter Makepeace, *One Hundred Years of Singapore* (London, 1921), pp. 349-50.

203 Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore*, vol. 3, pp. 8-11.

204 Tracy, *History of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission*, pp. 258, 270; Malcom, *Travels in South-Eastern Asia*, p. 107; *The Missionary Register*, March 1838, p. 130.

205 LMS, SI, 2.1.B., J & A Stronach to Ellis, Singapore, 9 March, 14 May, 9 October 1838; 2.1.C., *ibid.*, 1 March, 3 August 1839.

206 *ibid.*, 2.1.B., 9 October 1838.

207 *ibid.*, 2.1.C., 3 August 1839; Keasberry to Ellis, 15 September 1839; 2.2.A., J. & A. Stronach to Ellis and Tidman, 10 September 1840.

208 LMS, SI, 2.2.A., Keasberry to Ellis and Tidman, Singapore, 10 September 1840.

209 *ibid.*, 2.2.B., 15 March, 14 September 1841.

210 *ibid.*, 2.2.B., 15 March 1841; John Stronach to Ellis and Tidman, 31 March 1841.

211 LMS, SI, 2.2.B., Keasberry to Tidman and Freeman, Singapore, 14 September 1841.

212 LMS, OL, Tidman to Keasberry, London, 31 December 1841.

213 *ibid.*, Tidman to Beighton, London, 31 December 1841.

214 LMS, SI, 2.2.C., Keasberry to Tidman and Freeman, Singapore, 14 March 1842.

215 LMS, SI, 2.3.A., An extract of a letter from Dyer to his father, Singapore, 27 February 1843.

216 LMS, SI, 2.2.C., Dyer to Tidman, Singapore, 15 October 1842.

217 LMS, SI, 2.3.A., Dyer and J. Stronach to Tidman, Singapore, 10 March, 7 July 1843.

218 Dyer and Stronach, *Esop's Fables* (Singapore, 1843), preface to the first part.

219 LMS, BM, 26 February 1844; OL, Tidman to Dyer, 4 August 1842; SC, 4.3.D., Dyer to Tidman, Hong Kong, 22 September 1843.

220 LMS, SI, 2.3.B., J. & A. Stronach to Tidman and Freeman, Singapore, 14 June 1844.

221 LMS, SI, 2.3.B., J. Stronach to Tidman and Freeman, Singapore, 2 January 1844.

222 LMS, SI, 2.3.C., A. Stronach to the Treasurer, Singapore, 5 July 1845. Unfortunately, the Chinese titles of the Stronachs' two works are unknown, nor were they recorded in Wylie's *Memorials*.

223 LMS, SI, 2.3.A., Keasberry to the Directors, Singapore, 2 April 1843.

224 *ibid.*, 2.3.C., 4 July 1844.

225 LMS, SI, 2.3.C., Keasberry to Tidman and Freeman, Singapore, 15 July 1845; 2.4.C., Keasberry to Tidman, 2 July 1849.

226 LMS, SI, 2.4.A., Keasberry to the Directors, Singapore, 10 February 1846; Byrd, *Early Printing in the Straits Settlements*, p. 16.

227 Light to Andrew Ross, 1 February 1787, cited in Purcell, *The Chinese in Malaya*, p. 39.

228 H. P. Clodd, *Malaya's First British Pioneer* (London, 1948), pp. 55, 70; L. A. Mills, *British Malaya, 1824-67* (Kuala Lumpur, 1966), p. 39.

229 Clodd, *Malaya's First British Pioneer*, p. 55.

230 *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, 5 (1851), pp. 1-14, 'Notices of Pinang,' Francis Light's letter to the Governor-General of India, dated at Fort Cornwallis, 25 January 1794.

231 Mills, *British Malaya*, pp. 40-1.

232 LMS, PE, 1.3.C., Beighton to the Directors, Penang, 31 August 1821.

233 Keppel Garnier, 'Early Days in Penang,' *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1 (1923), p. 10.

234 Tregonning, *The British in Malaya*, p. 71; *The Evangelical Magazine*, February 1827, p. 76, Communications from the Deputation to the South Seas.

235 E. G. Cullin and W. F. Zehnder, *The Early History of Penang, 1592-1827* (Penang, 1905), p. 36; Turnbull, *The Straits Settlements*, p. 223; Tregonning, *The British in Malaya*, p. 71.

236 Concerning A. B. Bone and his printing business, see Byrd, *Early Printing in the Straits Settlements*, pp. 3-4; B. C. Bloomfield, 'A. B. Bone and the Beginning of Printing in Malaysia,' *India Office Library & Records Report*, 1979, pp. 7-33.

237 LMS, BM, 30 July 1804; 15 and 22 September 1806.

238 LMS, PE, 1.1.A., Medhurst to Burder, Penang, 15 February 1819.

239 LMS, PE, 1.1.A., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 20 April 1819.

240 LMS, PE, 1.1.A., Beighton to Burder, Penang, 1 June 1819.

241 Thomas Beighton, 'Penang: Description of the Island,' *The Chinese Repository*, 3 (September 1834), p. 223.

242 LMS, PE, 1.1.B., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 24 June 1819.

243 LMS, PE, 2.5.A., John Anderson, the Secretary to the Government, to Beighton, Penang, 23 November 1826.

244 LMS, PE, 1.2.B., Beighton, Ince and Medhurst to the Directors, Penang, 1 October 1820.

245 *ibid.*, 9 October 1820.

246 LMS, PE, 1.3.A., Beighton to Burder, Penang, 5 January 1821.

247 For the single sheet of English hymns, see LMS, PE, 2.1.A., Beighton and Ince to Hankey, Penang, 27 August 1824; For the *Remarks*, there is a copy located in the British Library.

248 LMS, PE, 3.2.A., Beighton to Orme, Penang, 1 January 1830; Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, pp. 193-4.

249 LMS, PE, 1.1.B., Ince to Burder, Penang, 8 July 1819; Ince to Hankey, Penang, 10 August 1819.

250 LMS, PE, 2.6.A., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 8 January 1828.

251 *ibid.*

252 *ibid.*

253 LMS, PE, 2.5.C., Dyer to Hankey, Penang, 29 August 1827; Dyer to Arundel, Penang, 6 September 1827.

254 Mills, *British Malaya*, pp. 45, 85-6; LMS, PE, 3.1.B., Beighton to ?, Penang, 10 April 1829.

255 LMS, PE, 3.1.B., Beighton and Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 13 September 1833, with 'A Brief Statement of the Penang Mission Native Schools.'

256 LMS, PE, 2.6.A., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 9 June 1828; 2.6.B., *ibid.*, 21 July 1828.

257 *ibid.*, 3.1.A., 1 January 1829.

258 LMS, PE, 3.3.A., Beighton to ?, Penang, 15 January 1831.

259 LMS, PE, 3.4.A., Beighton to Clayton, Penang, 31 January 1832.

260 LMS, PE, 3.2.A., Beighton to Orme, Penang, 1 January 1830; 3.2.B., Beighton to the Foreign Secretary of the LMS, Penang, 21 October 1830; 3.3.A., Beighton to ?, Penang, 15 January 1831.

261 LMS, PE, 3.2.A., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 27 June 1831.

262 *ibid.*, 3.2.A., 27 June 1831.

263 LMS, PE, 3.2.B., Beighton and Dyer to Clayton, Penang, 5 August 1831.

264 LMS, OL, Hankey and Clayton to Beighton and Dyer, London, 10 March 1832.

265 LMS, PE, 3.5.B., Beighton and Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 14 August 1833.

266 LMS, PE, 3.4.A., Beighton to Clayton, Penang, 31 January 1832.

267 *ibid.*, 3.4.B., 31 August 1832.

268 LMS, PE, 3.7.A., Beighton to Ellis, Penang, 25 May 1835.

269 Beighton and Keasberry had respectively pointed out the problem of the differences of spoken and written languages between the Malay Peninsula and Java, see LMS, PE, 3.1.A., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 1 January 1829; 3.2.B., Beighton and Dyer to Clayton, Penang, 5 August 1831; SI, 2.2.B., Keasberry to Tidman and Freeman, Singapore, 14 September 1841.

270 LMS, BA, 4.A., Medhurst to Ellis, Batavia, 2 April 1833.

271 LMS, PE, 3.4.A., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 2 January 1832.

272 *ibid.*, 3.4.C., 29 November 1832; 3.5.A., Dyer and Beighton to Ellis, Penang, 14 January 1833.

273 LMS, PE, 3.4.C., Beighton to Hankey, Penang, 29 November 1832.

274 LMS, PE, 3.5.A., Beighton and Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 14 August 1833.

275 LMS, OL, Ellis to Beighton and Dyer, London, 22 March 1834; PE, 4.1.A., Beighton to Ellis, Penang, 10 March, 23 August, 1836.

276 LMS, PE, 4.1.B., Beighton to Ellis, Penang, 14 December 1836.

277 LMS, PE, 4.2.A., A Malay tract on murder with English translation in Beighton's handwriting, Penang, 15 March 1837.

278 LMS, PE, 4.3.B., Beighton and Davies, Report of Penang Station for 1837-38.

279 Proudfoot's *Early Malay Printed Books* lists sixty-six items published at Penang, including seven printed at Malacca or places unknown, between 1821 and 1842.

280 *The Evangelical Magazine*, January 1840, pp. 43-5, Mission at Pinang.

281 LMS, PE, 4.4.C., Beighton to Ellis, Penang, 21 January 1840; *The Evangelical Magazine*, November 1840, p. 559, State of the Mission at Pinang.

282 LMS, PE, 4.5.A., Beighton to Tidman and Freeman, Penang, 5 November 1841.

283 *ibid.*, 4.5.C., 3 August 1842.

284 *ibid.*, 5 November 1842.

285 LMS, PE, 3.6.B., Report of the Penang Station for 1833-4.

286 LMS, PE, 3.7.A., Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 9 January 1835.

287 LMS, PE, 3.7.B., Beighton and Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 7 September 1835.

288 Dyer, 'China Opened, and in What Sense?' *The Evangelical Magazine*, July 1836, pp. 311-2.

289 LMS, PE, 4.1.A., Beighton to Ellis, Penang, 11 March 1836; OL, Ellis to Beighton, London, 14 November 1836. This sheet tract was based upon St. Matthew's Gospel, chapter 16, verse 26.

290 LMS, PE, 4.5.A., A. Stronach to Ellis and Tidman, Penang, 2 April, 1841; *The Report of the Religious Tract Society*, 1840, p. 4; *The Missionary Register*, March, 1843, pp. 140-1; March 1844, pp. 127-8; Wylie, *Memorials*, p. 53.

291 LMS, PE, 4.2.A., Beighton and Davies to Ellis, Penang, 22 August 1837, Report of Penang Station for 1836-7.

292 LMS, PE, 4.4.D., Beighton to Ellis, Penang, 20 August 1840.

293 LMS, PE, 4.5.A., Beighton to ?, Penang, 24 March 1841.

294 LMS, PE, 4.5.B., Beighton to Tidman and Freeman, Penang, 8 March 1842.

295 LMS, BM, 13 December 1841; *The Report of the Religious Tract Society*, 1843, p. 5; 1844, p. 5; *The Missionary Register*, March 1844, p. 128.

296 Beighton's letter to the Religious Tract Society, in *The Report of the Religious Tract Society*, 1843, p. 6.

297 LMS, BM, 26 February 1844; OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 29 February 1844.

298 LMS, PE, 4.6.C., A. Stronach to Tidman and Freeman, Penang, 19 April 1844; Mrs. Beighton to Tidman and Freeman, Penang, 19 April, 2 May 1844.

299 LMS, SI, 2.4.B., Keasberry to the Directors, Singapore, 7 January 1848; L. J. van Rhyn, the Inspector of the Netherlands Evangelical Mission in the East Indies, to the Directors of the LMS, 4 March 1848.

300 LMS, PE, 4.5.C., Beighton to Tidman and Freeman, Penang, 2 November 1842; 4.6.A., *ibid.*, 24 June 1843; SC, 4.3.D., Dyer to Tidman, Hong Kong, 22 September 1843.

301 LMS, OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 29 February 1844.

302 LMS, OL, Tidman to A. Stronach, London, 3 September 1844.

303 LMS, SI, 2.3.B., J. & A. Stronach to Tidman and Freeman, Singapore, 14 June 1844.

304 LMS, SI, 2.4.A., Keasberry to the Directors, Singapore, 2 July 1846.

305 Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*, pp. 6-7; Jean. G. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1983), p. 3.

306 Blusse, *Strange Company*, p. 84; Reid, 'Economic and Social Change,' p. 496.

307 Francois Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien* (Amsterdam, 1862, first edition 1724-6), pp. 533-4, cited in Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*, p. 24.

308 Furnivall, *Netherlands India*, p. 213.

309 Blusse, *Strange Company*, p. 74.

310 *ibid.*, p.95; L. Suryadinata, *The Chinese Minority in Indonesia* (Singapore, 1978), p. 145; M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, (London, 1981), p. 87.

311 Dirk van Hogendorp, 'Report on the Present Condition of the Batavian Possessions,' published in 1799, cited in Lea E. Williams, 'The Chinese in Indonesia and Singapore under Raffles,' *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 23:1 (July 1957), p. 75.

312 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 389-90, Hardcastle, Burder and Tracy to Morrison, London, 8 January 1813.

313 *ibid.*, p. 371, Morrison's journal of 2 November 1813.

314 D. C. Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles* (London, 1897), p. 188, Raffles to Dr. Thomas Raffles [his cousin], Buitenzorg, 10 February 1815; LMS, SC, Journal, Milne's journal of 1814.

315 LMS, SC, Journal, Milne's journal of 1814, Miscellanies relative to Java.

316 *The Evangelical Magazine*, November 1814, p. 445, Milne to the Directors, Batavia, 23 March 1814.

317 *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, 4 (1818), p. 249, Extracts from Milne's journal, 3 April 1814.

318 LMS, SC, Journal, Milne's journal of 1814. This letter was Milne's first composition in Chinese. Yet no copy of it is known to be extant. Its English translations are in Robert Philip, *The Life and Opinions of the Rev. William Milne* (London, 1840), pp. 150-2; and, in Ellis, *The History of the LMS*, pp. 537-8.

319 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, pp. 353-4; Milne, *Retrospect*, p. 112.

320 *The Evangelical Magazine*, November 1814, pp. 435-6, Milne to the Directors, Batavia, April 1814. The *Dialogues* was then printed at Macao in 1816 after the Company's printing office was established there.

321 *The Missionary Register*, February 1814, pp. 56-57; Ellis, *The History of the LMS*, pp. 539-40; Milne, *Retrospect*, pp. 117-8.

322 Ellis, *The History of the LMS*, pp. 544-5. Bruckner transferred his service to the Baptist Missionary Society in 1816. Kam stayed at Amboyna. However, due to his more direct connection with the Netherlands Missionary Society, which was much more active after Java was restored to the Dutch in 1816, and not receiving any funds from the LMS, Kam ceased to be recognized by the Directors as their agent in 1828.

323 *The Missionary Register*, August 1816, p. 309; October 1818, p. 404; Ellis, *The History of the LMS*, p. 540.

324 LMS, BA, 1.D., Slater to Hankey, Batavia, 1 October 1819; 15 December, 1819.

325 LMS, BA, 1.D., Medhurst and Slater to Burder, Batavia, 22 October 1822.

326 For a discussion of printing history in the Dutch East Indies prior to 1820, see Zubaidah Isa, *Printing and Publishing in Indonesia: 1602-1970* (Ph. D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1972), pp. 11-38; H. H. de Graaf, *The Spread of Printing: Eastern Hemisphere, Indonesia* (Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 11-29; Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Memorandum on the History of Printing in the Dutch East Indies* (Chicago, 1935), pp. 5-8; K. S. Diehl, *Printers and Printing in the East Indies to 1850*, vol. 1, Batavia (New York, 1990).

327 LMS, SC, 2.2..C, Morrison to Hankey, Canton, 5 January 1823; BA, 2.A, Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 30 May 1823.

328 LMS, BA, 2.A., Slater to ?, Singapore, 1 March 1823.

329 LMS, BA, 2.A., Medhurst to Burder, Batavia, 3 June 1825.

330 *ibid.*, 2.A., 30 May 1823; 2.B., *ibid.*, 1 January 1824, Extract of the Proceedings and Resolutions of the Governor General in Council, Batavia, 26 August 1823.

331 *ibid.*, 2.D., 5 and 20 January 1826.

332 See the appendix and Wylie's *Memorials*, p. 27.

333 LMS, BA, 2.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 1 January, 1 September 1824.

334 The British Library has the 1st and the 3rd numbers, published in the 6th and 8th months of the 3rd regnal year of Tao-kuang, i.e. July and September 1823, and the Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, has the number of the 11th month of the 5th regnal year of Tao-kuang, i.e. December 1825. In addition to these, the Harvard-Yenching Library and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, have copies of selections of this monthly from volume one to volume four bound together.

335 LMS, B, 5.A., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 12 April 1841.

336 *ibid.*, 2.B., 1 September 1824.

337 *ibid.*, 2.C., 4 January 1825.

338 *ibid.*, 2.B., 1 September 1824.

339 *ibid.*, 2.A., 3 June 1825. This letter was wrongly dated as 1823.

340 LMS, Ultra-Ganges, Journal, Medhurst's journal, 5 April 1825.

341 LMS, BA, 2.C., Medhurst to Burder, Batavia, 9 November 1825, with a translation of a paper written by the Chinese in Batavia.

342 *ibid.*, 2.D., 20 January 1826.

343 *ibid.*, 2.A., 30 May 1823; 2.D., 6 October 1826; Ultra-Ganges, Journal, Medhurst's journal, 15 June 1826.

344 LMS, BA, 3.A., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 22 July 1828.

345 *ibid.*, 3.C., 7 March 1831.

346 In contrast to baptizing many Malay, it appears that Medhurst baptized only two Chinese before 1843. One was in 1835 and another in 1841. In fact, both were neither inspired by him nor under his instruction, but he merely conducted the ceremonies. For the first case, see his work *China*, p. 360. For the second, see LMS, BA, 5.A., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 7 October 1841.

347 Medhurst, *China*, p. 572. Several months after the first two block-cutters began to work at Batavia in 1823, Medhurst requested one of them to leave, probably for the sake of saving money, before his two-year contract expired. Being rejected, Medhurst afterwards had a negative attitude towards Chinese printers (LMS, BA, Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 1 January 1824.).

348 LMS, BA, 2.B., Medhurst to Burder, Batavia, 20 September 1824.

349 *ibid.*, 2.C., 4 January 1825; 3.A., 3 June 1825; BM, 8 August 1825; 27 March 1826.

350 LMS, BA, 2.D., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 20 January 1826.

351 *ibid.*, 2.D., 20 May 1826; BM, 13 November 1826.

352 LMS, BA, 3.A., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 22 July 1828.

353 *ibid.*

354 *ibid.*

355 *ibid.*

356 *ibid.*; LMS, Ultra-Ganges, Journal, Medhurst's journal, 12 June 1826.

357 LMS, BA, 3.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 22 July 1829.

358 *ibid.*

359 *ibid.*

360 Medhurst, *An English & Japanese and Japanese & English Vocabulary* (Batavia, 1830), preface.

361 Very likely due to its different kind of paper, the copy of this work at the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies has fallen apart.

362 LMS, MA, 1.4.C., Medhurst to Burder, Malacca, 26 June 1820.

363 Raffles, *Memoir of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles*, p. 84, Appendix, Singapore Institution.

364 LMS, BA, 3.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 5 August 1830.

365 LMS, BA, 3.C., Medhurst and Young to the Directors, Batavia, 2 November 1832.

366 The title page still gave that it was printed 'at the Honorable East India Company Press; by G. J. Steyn and Brother, 1832.' Concerning the slowness of its printing, see LMS, CP, 1, Morrison to Fisher, Macao, 10 October 1833; J. R. Morrison to Fisher, Lintin, 10 December 1835; SC, 3.1.B., Morrison to Arundel, Macao, 31 May 1831; Wellcome 5829, Morrison to his son John, Macao, 18 and 28 March; 19 and 24 April; and 17 May, 1834; Frederick W. Williams, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams* (New York, 1889), p. 93, Williams' letter to his father, Macao, 2 July 1837. According to Williams, the printer of the ABCFM who conducted the printing during the latter part of its completion, Olyphant paid more than $2,000 for this work, whilst John Morrison wrote in his letter to Fisher that Medhurst raised a sum of $800 or $900. Concerning the cut Chinese type, neither Williams nor Morrison gave more information beyond mentioning that they were borrowed from the East India Company's closed printing office. A comparison has been made in the present study between them and those in Morrison's *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*. The large type was from two different founts, of which the one in Morrison's dictionary was more uniform in size and elegance. The small type appears to come from the same fount. The two copies of this dictionary in the British Library and the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies do not have page 320, at which point the Company's press had stopped its printing, and the ABCFM's press took over from page 321 to page 857, thus completing the printing of the whole work.

367 *The Chinese Repository*, 6:3 (July 1837), p. 142, A Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dictionary of the Chinese Language.

368 LMS, BA, 3.C., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 30 January 1832.

369 *ibid.*, 3.C., 13 July 1832.

370 LMS, BA, 3.C., Medhurst and Young to the Directors, Batavia, 2 November 1832. For 1832, the expense of the printing office was nearly 900 rupees, of which 537 rupees (nearly 60 per cent) were defrayed by jobbing work.

371 LMS, BA, 3.C., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 13 July, 2 November, 1832.

372 LMS, BA, 4.A., Young to the Directors, Batavia, 17 March 1834.

373 LMS, BA, 4.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 27 October 1834.

374 LMS, BA, 4.C., Report for 1835.

375 About Gutzlaff's voyages, see his *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China* (London, 1834).

376 LMS, BA, 2.D., Medhurst to Burder, Batavia, 15 January 1827; Wylie, *Memorials*, p. 54.

377 LMS, BA, 4.A., Medhurst to Ellis, Batavia, 24 December 1833; OL, Ellis to Medhurst, London, 1 July 1834.

378 LMS, BA, 4.C., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 1 April 1835.

379 Medhurst, *China*, pp. 380, 507.

380 *ibid.*, p.403.

381 *ibid.*, p.511-2; 中國第一歷史檔案館 *Chung-kuo ti-i li-shih tang-aan-kuan*, The Chinese First Institute of Historical Archives, 鴉片戰爭檔案史料 *Ya-p'ien chan-cheng shih-liao*, The Opium War Archives (T'ientsin, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 182-90.

382 W. H. Medhurst, *Memorial Addressed to the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Hackney, 1836); *ibid.*, *Memorial Addressed to the Directors of the Missionary Society* (n. p., 1836).

383 LMS, BA, 4.D., Young to Ellis, Batavia, 29 December 1836; 18 October 1838.

384 LMS, BA, 4.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 1 December 1834.

385 LMS, OL, Ellis to Medhurst, London, 20 June 1835.

386 Medhurst, *China*, p. 574.

387 LMS, BM, 23 July 1838.

388 LMS, BA, 4.D., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 9 October 1839.

389 *ibid.*

390 Nothing about its publication can be found in Medhurst's later reports, except that, three years after in 1842, he mentioned a 'new' Chinese work with the same title printed by lithography, but not typography.

391 Concerning books in tribal languages, for instance, a tract in the Madurese language was printed in 1839 for people living on the island of Madura (LMS, BA, 4.D., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 9 October 1839.). Another work in the Dayak language, spoken by the natives on the southwest coast of Borneo, was printed in 1843 (*ibid.*, 5.B., 10 April 1843.).

392 Medhurst's account sheets in this period can be found in the following letters to the Directors: LMS, BA, 4.D., 9 October 1939; 5.A., 5 April 1840; 12 April, 30 September 1841; 5.B., 22 April 1842.

393 LMS, BA, 4.D., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 9 October 1839.

394 LMS, BA, 4.D., Young to the Directors, Batavia, 29 December 1836; 5.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 22 April 1842.

395 Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, p. 85.

396 LMS, BA, 5.A., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 26 October 1840; Diehl, *Printers and Printing in the East Indies*, p. 299; Graaf, *The Spread of Printing*, p. 39.

397 LMS, BA, 5.A., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 12 April 1841; 5.B., *ibid.*, 22 April 1842.

398 *ibid.*, 5.A., 5 April 1840.

399 LMS, BA, 4.D., Medhurst to Ellis, Batavia, 17 November 1838.

400 LMS, BA, 5.A., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 12 April 1841.

401 *ibid.*

402 *ibid.*

403 *ibid.* A similar account of this printing method can be found in the preface to this dictionary.

404 W. H. Medhurst, *Chinese and English Dictionary* (Batavia, 1842), preface.

405 *The Chinese Repository*, 12 (September 1843), pp. 496-500, Chinese and English Dictionary.

406 *ibid.*

407 LMS, BA, 5.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 22 April 1842.

408 *ibid.*, 5.B., 24 June 1843.

Chapter Four

The Development of Chinese Type up to the 1850s

1 脫脫Tuo Tuo, ed. 宋史*Sung-shih*, History of the Sung Dynasty (Taipei, 1978), p. 12798.

2 For discussion of books and printing in the Sung dynasty, see Poon, Ming-sun, *Books and Printing in Sung China 960-1279* (Ph.D dissertation, University of Chicago, 1979) and Chang, *Chung-kuo yin-shua shih*, pp. 53-229.

3 Chang, *Chung-kuo yin-shua shih*, p. 84.

4 李昉Li Fang, ed. 太平御覽*T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, The Encyclopedia for the Emperor (Peking, 1960).

5 沈括 Shen Kua, 夢溪筆談 *Meng-hsi pi-t'an*, The Dream Pool Jottings (Taipei, 1977), book 18, f. 15. In book 20, f. 14, Shen mentions a goldsmith 畢昇, Pi Sheng, bearing the same surname with a given name of the same pronounciation but of different character.

6 A complete translation of Shen's account of moveable type by Pi Sheng can be found in Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China*, pp. 212-3.

7 黃寬重Huang K'uan-ch'ung, 南宋活字印刷史料及其相關問題 *Nan-sung huo-tse yin-shua shih-liao chi ch'i hsiang-kuan wen-t'i*, Southern Sung Historical Materials on Moveable-type Printing and Related Problems, in 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 *The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 55:1 (1984), pp. 133-8.

8 Chang, *Chung-kuo yin-shua-shih*, pp. 672-3.

9 王禎Wang Chen, 造活字印書法 *Tsao huo-tse yin-shu fa*, Method of Making Moveable Type for Printing, in his 農書*Nung Shu*, Book of Agriculture, which was first published in the early thirteenth century (Peking, 1956), p. 538.

10 *ibid.*, p. 540.

11 張秀民 Chang Hsiu-min, 中國印刷術的發明及其影響 *Chung-kuo yin-shua-shu ti fa-ming chi ch'i ying-hsiang*, The Invention of Chinese Printing and Its Influences (Peking, 1958), p. 83.

12 K. T. Wu, 'Ming Printing and Printers,' *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, 7 (1942-3), p. 203.

13 Chang, *Chung-kuo yin-shua-shih*, p. 338.

14 黃虞稷 Huang Yü-chi, 千頃堂書目 *Ch'ien-ch'ing-t'ang shu-mu*, Bibliography of the Ch'ien-ch'ing Hall, cited in Chang, *Chung-kuo yin-shua-shih*, pp. 338, 402. Huang's bibliography was edited in the 1680s, after the destruction of the Ming dynasty.

15 Chang, *Chung-kuo yin-shua-shih*, pp. 680, 691-4, A list of Ming editions of bronze type.

16 顧炎武 Ku Yen-wu, 亭林文集 *T'ing-lin wen-chi*, The Anthology of Ku T'ing-lin (Shanghai, 1885), book 3, f. 15, 與公肅甥書 *Yü Kung-su sheng shu*, To Nephew Kung-su. Previous to this, according to Ku, the government gazette was produced by hand-copying.

17 祝允明Chu Yün-ming, 書渭南文集後 *Shu wei-nan-wen-chi hou*, A Postcript to Lu You's Anthology, in the bronze-type edition of Lu's work, printed in 1502 (Shanghai, 1922 reprint); 胡應麟 Hu Ying-lin, 少室山房筆叢 *Shao-shih-shan-fang pi-ts'ung*, Miscellaneous essays of Hu Ying-lin (Peking, 1958), p. 60.

18 Neither the Huas nor An left any accounts of how they made their type. Contemporary literary references give different indications about whether their bronze type were cast or cut. As apparent differences exist between two or among several of the same characters on a page, their type appears to have been individually cut. However, Tsien Tsuen-husin argues that, 'it is not necessary to have only one mould for each character, and the types may have been retouched individually after being cast.' (Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, pp. 217-8.) A possibility might be that Ming printers cast a blank body and then cut the character on it, just as P. P. Thoms, the East India Company's printer, did in Macao in the 1810s for the printing of Morrison's dictionary.

As to Ming printers' lack of skill in mastering metal type, the printing of the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* provids a good example. While the preparation of the bronze-type edition began in 1568 in Ch'angshou county, Chiang-su province, lingering in the following years and being eventually completed in 1574, another block edition of this work prepared in the same county was begun two years later, in 1570, but finished earlier, in 1573. (See 郭伯恭 Kuo Po-kung, 宋四大書考 *Sung Ssu-ta-shu k'ao*, A Study of Four Great Books in the Sung Dynasty (Ch'ang-sha, 1940), pp. 40-2; 王重民 Wang Ch'ung-min, 中國善本書提要 *Chung-kuo shan-pen-shu t'i-yao*, Abstracts of Chinese Rare Books (Shanghai, 1983), pp. 355-7.).

19 On the printing of The Grand Encyclopedia, see Lionel Giles, *An Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopaedia Ch'in Ting Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* (London, 1911), introduction, pp. 27-8. As to The Complete Library of Four Classes of Literature and the Collectanea Printed by the Imperial Printing Office

Moveable Type, see Richard C. Rudolph, *A Chinese Printing Manual* (Los Angeles, 1954).

20 Chang, *Chung-kuo yin-shua-shih*, pp. 724-5, A list of Ch'ing editions of bronze type.

21 *ibid.*, p. 707.

22 From 1960 on, thousands of specimens of Chai's type, several matrices and four works printed with his type were discovered and examined by scientists. So far it is still unclear how the clay matrices were made. Chang Ping-lun, 張秉倫, conjectures that Chai probably used half-dried clay to get characters in intaglio from blocks (see Chang's 關於翟氏泥活字的製造工藝問題 *Kuan-yü chai-shih ni-huo-tse ti chi-tsao kung-yi wen-t'i*, On the Technical Aspects of Chai's Clay Type, in 自然科學史研究 *Studies in the History of Natural Science*, 5:1 (1986), pp. 64-7.). For more information about Chai and his type, see Chang's other two essays on this subject: 關於翟金生的泥活字問題的初步研究 *Kuan-yü chai-chin-shen ti ni-huo-tse wen-t'i ti ch'u-pu yen-chiu*, A Preliminary Study on Chai's Clay Type, in 文物 *Cultural Relic*, 1979:10, pp. 90-2; 泥活字印刷的模擬實驗 *Ni-huo-tse yin-shua ti mo-ni shih-yen*, Experimentation of Clay Type, in 馬泰來 Ma Toi-loi, *et al.*, 中國圖書文史論集 *Chung-kuo t'u-shu wen-shih lun-chi*, Collected Essays on Chinese Bibliography, Literature and History (Taipei, 1991), pp. 57-62.)

23 LMS, SC, 5.2.C., Benjamin Hobson to Tidman, Canton, 23 February 1852.

24 *The Chinese Repository*, 20:5 (May 1851), pp. 281-2, Literary Notices.

25 LMS, SC, 5.2.C., Hobson to Tidman, Canton, 23 February 1852.

26 S. Wells Williams, 'Movable Types for Printing Chinese,' *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, 6:1 (1875), p. 25.

27 Denis Twitchett, *Printing and Publishing in Medieval China* (London, 1983), p. 76.

28 In his *Paper and Printing*, Tsien Tsuen-hsuin suggests some other disadvantages of moveable type, such as that it could not answer the special pattern of demand and supply in Chinese society, i.e. recurrent demands for small quantities over a relatively long period, that it posed much greater financial burdens on printers, of whom few could afford a long-term investment, and that it could not fulfill scholars' requirements for artistic effects, e.g. carving directly from author's copy. (pp. 220-2)

29 A Buddhist sutra 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 *Wu-kou ching-kuang ta t'uo-luo-ni-ching*, which was discovered, in 1966, in a stone stupa in Kyongju, Korea, has been identified as a product of the early eighth century. However, there has been an argument between Chinese and Korean scholars about whether it was a local product or was printed in China and then brought to Korea. About its discovery, see L. C. Goodrich, 'Printing: Preliminary Report on a New Discovery.' *Technology and Culture*, 8:3 (1967), pp. 376-8; Goodrich, 'Printing - A New Discovery,' *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 7

(1967), pp. 39-41. For the following argument, see Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 322.

30 Ch'on Hye-bong, '*Pulcho Chikchi Simch's Yojol*, Selections of the Masters of the Zen Buddhism,' *Korea Journal* (April 1973), pp. 10-16. This specimen is in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

31 Kim Won-yong, *Early Movable Type in Korea* (Seoul, 1954), p. 7.

32 Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 327.

33 曹炯鎭 Ts'ao Jiung-chen, 中韓兩國古活字印刷技術之比較研究 *Chung han liang-kuo ku-huo-tse yin-shua chi-shu chih pi-chiao yen-chiu*, A Comparative Study of Ancient Typography between China and Korea (Taipei, 1986), pp. 120-5.

34 Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, p. 330; Chang, *Chung-kuo yin-shua-shih*, p. 673. Tsien suggests that it might be Gitan, a Korean princely monk who travelled to China in search of Buddhist documents in the late eleventh century, who brought information about Pi's invention back to Korea (Tsien, p. 330).

35 In his accounts of making wooden type, '*Tsao huo-tse yin-shu fa*,' Wang Chen, the Chinese county magistrate at the turn of the thirteenth century, gave a passing reference that someone 'cast tin for making type in modern time.' As China and Korea were both under Mongolian domination in Wang's time, could it not be possible that what he said referred to early Korean type-casting?

36 For the discussion of the possibility of Korean influence on Chinese typography, see Tsien Tsuen-hsun, 論明代銅活字板問題 *Lun ming-tai t'ung-huo-tse-pan wen-t'i*, On Ming Editions of Bronze Type, in 蔣慰堂先生七秩論文集 *Chiang-wei-t'ang hsien-sheng ch'i-chih lun-wen-chi*, Collected Papers in Honour of the 70th Birthday of Mr. Chiang Fu-ts'ung (Taipei, 1967), pp. 6-8; Ts'ao, *Chung han liang-kuo ku-huo-tse yin-shua chi-shu chi pi-chiao yen-chiu*, pp. 192-200.

37 Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Holy Scripture*, vol. 2, p. 182; *The Baptist Magazine*, 1 (March 1809), p. 117, Translation of the Scriptures.

38 *The Baptist Magazine*, 4 (May 1812), pp. 304-8, Memoir of the Translation - extract from a letter addressed to the Society, by Carey, Marshman and Ward, Serampore, 20 August 1811. In this letter the missionaries pointed out that 'one of the youths engaged in studying Chinese' suggested the technical improvement in Chinese printing.

39 John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward* (London, 1859), vol. 2, p. 63.

40 G. A. Glaister, *Glaister's Glossary of the Book* (London, 1979), p. 36, Bengali printing and typography.

41 *Brief Memoir Relative to the Operation of the Serampore Missionaries, Bengal* (London, 1827), p. 10. In this memoir, however, Marshman did not give the detail of this sum.

42 Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, vol. 2, p. 498; Medhurst, *Memorial Addressed to the British and Foreign Bible Society*, p. 14.

43 For these types, which were first cut under the direction of Etienne Fourmont in the 1720s, see D. Elisseeff-Poisle, 'Les Caractères Chinois de Fourmont.' *L'art du Livre à l'Imprimerie nationale* (Paris, 1973), pp. 162-9.

44 Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica* (Paris, 1905), 1749. All these three founts, i.e. two under the direction of Rémusat and one cut in China, were described as wooden type in the 1948 and 1963 editions of *Le Cabinet des Poinçons de l'Imprimerie Nationale* (Paris). However, an examination of the specimens in these editions and of Rémusat's works that were printed at the Royal Press with these type, e.g. *l'Invariable Milieu* (1817), *Élémens de la Grammaire Chinoise* (1822) and *Foe Koue Ki* (1836), indicates that several type of the same character on a page are identical, which is possible only for cast type. Could it be possible that, specifically for the printing of these works, some punches were cut, matrices prepared and type struck directly and all derived from these founts soon after they were ready?

45 LMS, BA, 4.D., Medhurst to the Directors, On board the George the Fourth, off the North Forelands, 31 July 1838.

46 Williams, 'Movable Types for Printing Chinese,' p. 28.

47 Marcellin Legrand, *Caractères Chinois, gravès sur Acier par Marcellin Legrand* (Paris, 1836), p. 5; Williams, 'Movable Types for Printing Chinese,' p. 28.

48 For the changes discussed here, see Legrand's three pamphlets on his Chinese type, published in 1836, 1837 and 1859 respectively.

49 LMS, BA, 4.D., Medhurst to the Directors, On board the George the Fourth, off the North Forelands, 31 July 1838. Similar remarks on these type can be found in Medhurst's *China*, p. 567.

50 Marcellin Legrand, *Spécimen de Caractères Chinois* (Paris, 1859), p. 8; Williams, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams*, p. 144; K. T. Wu, 'The Development of Typography in China during the Nineteenth Century,' *The Library Quarterly* 22:3 (July 1952), p. 294.

51 Evan Davies, *Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Dyer* (London, 1846), p. 103.

52 Helliwell, 'Two Collections of Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missionary Publications in Chinese in the Bodleian Library,' p. 35, note 42.

53 Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 319-20. In William B. Todd's *A Directory of Printers ... London and Vicinity 1800-1840* (London, 1972), pp. 102-3, Hughes Family, two individuals by the name of William Hughes were in business around 1813. One was at Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, whilst another was at Old Bailey.

54 Morrison, *Chinese Miscellany*, p. 52.

55 *The Evangelical Magazine*, May 1826, p. 187.

56 The estimate was given in a letter by Tae-W** U* [i.e. Samuel Dyer], dated 7 March 1826, to the editor of *The Evangelical Magazine* and appeared in the number for April 1826, pp. 144-5.

57 LMS, CC, 1.1.C., Medhurst and Lockhart to Tidman, Shanghai, 10 April 1846; Medhurst, Lockhart and Milne to the Directors, Shanghai, 10 April 1847.

58 LMS, OL, China, Tidman to Medhurst, London, 11 November 1846.

59 *Oriental and Other Types, in Sixty-Seven Languages or Dialects, Principally Prepared by the Late Mr. R. Watts, and Now in Use in W. M. Watts's Office* (London, 1851); *Specimens of Oriental & Other Types Now in Use in W. M. Watts's Oriental, Law and General Printing Offices* (London, 1862). During the course of this study, an attempt has been made to find, in English, works with Chinese characters and published in the 1850s and 1860s using Watts's type, but without any success.

60 Williams, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams*, pp. 143-4, 146-9, 242-3, 295-6; Williams, 'Movable Types for Printing Chinese,' pp. 29-30.

61 Wu, 'The Development of Typography in China During the Nineteenth Century,' p. 296.

62 J. L. Mateer, *Lists of Chinese Characters in the Fonts of the Presbyterian Mission Press* (Shanghai 1873), introduction.

63 Samuel Dyer, *A Selection of Three Thousand Characters* (Malacca, 1834), preface.

64 Tae-W**-U**, 'On Chinese Metallic Type,' *The Evangelical Magazine*, April 1826, pp. 144-5; *The Evangelical Magazine*, August 1826, pp. 234-5, Expenses of Chinese Metal Type.

65 *ibid.*, 'On Chinese Metallic Type.'

66 Dyer, *A Selection of Three Thousand Characters*, preface.

67 LMS, PE, 2.5.C., Dyer to Arundel, Penang, 6 September 1827; 2.5.B., Dyer to Hankey, Penang, 29 August 1827.

68 LMS, PE, 2.6.A., Dyer to Hankey, Penang, 5 February 1828.

69 LMS, PE, 3.2.A., Extract from a letter of Dyer to Hankey, Penang, dated 15 May 1830.

70 *ibid.*

71 LMS, Eastern Committee Minutes, 15 March 1830; BM, 15 March 1830.

72 LMS, PE, 3.3.A., Dyer to the Directors, Malacca, 24 March 1831.

73 These fourteen books were listed in his preface to *A Selection of Three Thousand Characters.*

74 Dyer, *A Selection of Three Thousand Characters*, preface; LMS, PE, 3.4.A., Dyer to Clayton, Penang, 20 April 1832.

75 LMS, PE, 3.5.A., Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 7 September 1833.

76 LMS, MA, 3.3.B., Dyer to the Directors, Malacca, 31 October 1835, Dyer's postscript written on 2 November.

77 LMS, PE, 3.4.B., Dyer to Clayton, Penang, 13 October 1832.

78 LMS, PE, 3.4.C., Dyer to the Directors, Penang, 16 November 1832. This letter was then printed with the title, 'Communications from the Rev. Sam Dyer on the Subject of Chinese Metal Type;' Davies, *Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Dyer*, p. 85-92.

79 Legrand's fount of Chinese type consisted of four groups, viz. (1) entire characters, (2) vertical phonetic keys, (3) horizontal phonetic keys and (4) additional vertical and phonetic keys. Dyer's design, manifested in *A Selection of Three Thousand Characters*, consisted of six groups, viz. (1) entire characters, (2) vertical two-third parts, (3) vertical one-third parts, (4) vertical half parts, (5) horizontal half parts and (6) one-fourth parts.

80 LMS, OL, Ellis to Dyer, London, 29 November 1833.

81 LMS, PE, 3.5.A., Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 7 and 16 September 1833.

82 Davies, *Memoir of Samuel Dyer*, p. 102.

83 LMS, PE, 3.5.B., Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 16 September 1833; Davies, *Memoir of Samuel Dyer*, p. 92.

84 LMS, PE, 3.6.A., Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 13 January 1834.

85 *ibid.*, 3.6.B., 14 July 1834.

86 LMS, BM, 9 February 1835; *The Missionary Magazine*, November 1834, pp. 469-72, China - Increased Facilities for Printing.

87 LMS, PE, 3.6.B., Report of the Penang Station: Ultra Ganges for 1833-4. However, the report did not mention the Chinese title of this work, nor is there any copy of it known to exist.

88 LMS, PE, 3.7.A., Dyer to Ellis, Penang, 9 January 1835.

89 *ibid.*, 3.7.B., 31 August 1835.

90 LMS, PE, 3.3.B., Dyer to Clayton, Penang, 17 August 1831.

91 LMS, PE, 3.5.C., statistics in manuscript form prepared by Dyer in 1833, with the title 'Ultra Ganges Stations & Expenses from Commencement of Mission.'

92 LMS, PE, 2.6.A., Dyer to Arundel, Penang, 9 May 1828; 3.2.A., Dyer to Orme, Penang, 6 February 1830.

93 LMS, MA, 3.3.B., Dyer to the Directors, Malacca, 31 October 1835.

94 LMS, OL, Ellis to Dyer, London, 9 July 1836.

95 LMS, Eastern Committee Minutes, 18 September 1837. The minutes extracted the major contents, including the estimated cost of these additional punches, from a joint letter by Evans and Dyer, dated 20 January 1837, which does not exist in the LMS archives. However, Dyer then changed the cost of these additional punches to about 50 cents each in another letter (LMS, MA, 3.4.B., Dyer to the Directors, Malacca, 24 March 1838).

96 *The Missionary Magazine*, December 1837, p. 302, Chinese Metal Type.

97 LMS, MA, 3.4.B., Dyer to the Directors, Malacca, 24 March 1838.

98 LMS, BM, 12 February 1838.

99 LMS, OL, Ellis to Dyer, London, 30 May 1838.

100 LMS, BA, 4.C., Medhurst, 'General View of the Missionary Operations in China and the Eastern Archipelago,' London, 29 August 1836.

101 Medhurst, *China*, p. 567.

102 *The Missionary Magazine*, February 1840, pp. 96-8, Chinese Metallic Types.

103 *ibid.*; LMS, MA, 3.4.C., Dyer to the Directors, Hendon, Wiltshire, 31 October 1839.

104 LMS, MA, 3.4.C., Dyer to the Directors, Hendon, Wiltshire, 31 October 1839; Davies, *Memoir of Samuel Dyer*, p. 102.

105 LMS, BM, 14 June 1841. The Board resolution was made upon its Special Indian Committee's recommendation, which had been formed in Dyer's presence (LMS, Committee Minutes, Foreign Occasional, Special Indian Committee, 11 June 1841). However, the cause given in the minutes for Dyer's transfer did not appear convincing. The comparatively short distance, a sailing of several days, between Malacca and Singapore would make very little or no difference for future removal to China. Moreover, Dyer's joining the Singapore mission increased the number of missionaries there to four but left only one at Malacca, which was an extreme imbalance and against the Directors' consistent policy of deploying their agents. A more likely reason behind this transfer was the sudden death of John Evans, the Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, in the end of 1840, and the subsequent succeeding to this position of James Legge, a junior missionary with less than a year's experience and who had just had an acrimonious disagreement with Evans, imposing an embarrassing and difficult situation on Dyer after returning to Malacca.

106 LMS, SI, 2.2.C., Dyer to his father, Singapore, 29 March 1842.

107 *ibid.*

108 LMS, SI, 2.2.C., Dyer to Tidman, Singapore, 15 October 1842.

109 LMS, SI, 2.2.C., Dyer to his father, Singapore, 29 March 1842.

110 LMS, SI, 2.3.A., A. & J. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Singapore, 8 November 1843.

111 *ibid.*

112 LMS, SI, 2.3.B., J. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Singapore, 2 January, 14 June 1844.

113 LMS, SI, 2.3.A., A. & J. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Singapore, 8 November 1843.

114 LMS, SI, 2.3.B., J. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Singapore, 2 January 1844.

115 LMS, SI, 2.3.C., A. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Singapore, 5 July 1845.

116 *ibid.*, 2.3.C., 4 January, 1 July 1845.

117 LMS, SI, 2.3.B., J. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Singapore, 2 January 1844.

118 *ibid.*

119 LMS, SI, 2.3.B., J. & A. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Singapore, 14 June 1844; 2.3.C., A. Stronach to the Treasurer, Singapore, 4 January 1845.

120 LMS, SI, 2.3.C., A. Stronach to the Treasurer, Singapore, 1 July 1845; 2.4.A., A. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Singapore, 6 January 1846.

121 LMS, SC, 4.5.A., A. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Hong Kong, 22 June 1846. Stronach did not give the exact number of the punches cut in this letter, but wrote that in order to make this fount more desirably complete, there should be added to the 3,591 complete matrices about 700 new ones, of which nearly 300 of the punches were already cut.

122 LMS, SI, 2.3.C., A. Stronach to the Treasurer, Singapore, 4 January 1845.

123 LMS, SC, 4.5.A., A. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Singapore, 22 June 1846.

124 LMS, SI, 2.3.C., A. Stronach to the Treasurer, Singapore, 4 January 1845.

125 LMS, SI, 2.3.C., A. Stronach to Tidman and Freeman, Singapore, 8 November 1845; 2.4.A., *ibid.*, Singapore, 6 January 1846; SC, 4.5.A.., *ibid.*, Hong Kong, 22 June 1846.

126 LMS, SI, 2.3.B., J. & A. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Singapore, 14 June 1844; SC, 4.5.A., A. Stronach to Tidman & Freeman, Hong Kong, 22 June 1846; 4.5.A., Gillespie to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 December 1846.

127 LMS, SC, 4.5.A., Gillespie to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 December 1846.

128 Curiously contrasting with his position as the father of modern Chinese typography, Dyer did not appear keen to have his works printed with type. Only the first of his six works in Chinese or concerning the Chinese language was so printed, i.e. the small tract The Beatitude (Penang 1834). The second, *A Selection of Three Thousand Characters* (Malacca 1834), was printed with blocks; the third, *A Vocabulary of Hok-keen Dialect* (Malacca 1838), had Romanized texts without any Chinese characters; the fourth, Summary of the Gospel was stereotyped from blocks in London in 1839 and printed at several places in Southeast Asia; the fifth, *Esop's Fables* in the Changchou dialect (Singapore 1843) also had Romanized texts; and the last one, *A Manual for Student in Chinese* (Singapore 1843), though unclear, was very likely Romanized too, as he advocated, in the meantime, Romanized Chinese for European students of this language (see Dyer's introduction to *A Vocabulary of Hok-keen Dialect*, cited in Davies, *Memoir of Samuel Dyer*, p. 73.).

129 LMS, OL, Tidman to A. Stronach, London, 21 August 1845.

130 Stronach did not mention the three foreign worker's names in letters concerning his departure from Singapore and arrival at Hong Kong, nor did they appear in any reports of the Hong Kong mission thereafter.

131 LMS, SC, 4.5.A., *Gillespie to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 December 1846.*

132 LMS, SC, 4.5.C., John Cleland to Tidman, Hong Kong, 29 September 1847.

133 LMS, SC, 4.5.C., Cleland to Tidman, Hong Kong, 30 December 1847.

134 LMS, SC, 5.0.C., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 29 January 1849.

135 *ibid.*, 5.0.C., 29 March 1849.

136 *ibid.*

137 LMS, BM, 11 June 1849; OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 20 June 1849.

138 LMS, SC, 5.1.C., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 28 January 1850.

139 *ibid.*

140 LMS, SC, 5.0.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 29 October 1849.

141 *ibid.*, 5.2.C., 29 January 1852.

142 *ibid.*

143 LMS, SC, 5.2.C., Hobson to Tidman, China, 23 February 1852.

144 LMS, SC, 5.1.D., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 December 1852.

145 LMS, BM, 20 April 1852.

146 LMS, SC, 6.1.A., John Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 14 October 1857. Chalmers, who supervised the press and the type foundry at this time, called the large type 'three lines bourgeois,' and the middle, 'three lines diamond.' The middle type was originally the small one but changed its name after the appearance of smaller bourgeois type. In addition to these Chinese type, the Hong Kong mission cut, in 1849, punches for three founts of Roman type of long primer, small pica and breiver sizes. These Roman type were for use at the mission press as well as for sale, of which Legge reported that, 'There are more orders than we can execute.' (LMS, SC, 5.0.B., Legge to the Directors, Hong Kong, 24 November 1848; 5.0.C., *ibid.*, 29 October 1849; 5.1.C., *ibid.*, 28 January 1850.)

147 LMS, Home Odds, Deputation Letters, No. 10, Joseph Mullens to Tidman, 23 December 1865; SC, 7.2.C., Eitel to Mullens, Hong Kong, 19 July 1872.

148 LMS, SC, 5.2.C., Hobson to Tidman, China, 23 February 1852.

149 LMS, SC, 5.3.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 22 July 1852. Amok was then one of the two witnesses who signed on the contract of the sale of LMS's type foundry and printing office in 1873 (SC, 7.3.A., Ernst J. Eitel to Mullen, Hong Kong, 5 February 1873.).

Chapter Five

The LMS at Shanghai and Hong Kong, 1843-1873

1 *The Missionary Magazine*, February 1843, p. 94, China.

2 LMS, BM, 12 December 1842; *The Missionary Magazine*, January 1843, pp. 39-42.

3 *The Report of the LMS*, 1843, pp. 8-9; *The Missionary Magazine*, February 1843, pp. 89-103, China.

4 At the time of the Hong Kong conference, the LMS had eight missionaries to the Chinese: W. H. Medhurst, S. Dyer, J. Stronach, A. Stronach, J. Legge, W. C. Milne, B. Hobson and W. Lockhart. The last two were medical missionaries arriving at Macao in 1839. In August 1843, Lockhart was at the island of Chusan in the north and absent from the conference. In addition to the missionaries, J. R. Morrison, the son of Robert Morrison, was invited to attend the meetings.

5 The Medical Missionary Society in China was formed at Canton, in 1838, by local foreign residents, to give free medical treatment to the Chinese. The Society then established hospitals at Canton, Macao, Hong Kong, Amoy, Chusan, Ningpo and Shanghai in the 1840s.

6 LMS, SC, 4.3.B., Dyer to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 August 1843. Dyer was elected as the secretary to the Hong Kong conference and this letter was a detailed account of its proceedings.

7 LMS, SC, 4.3.D., Medhurst to Tidman, Hong Kong, 11 November 1843.

8 LMS, SC, 4.3.D., Legge and Hobson to Tidman, Hong Kong, 23 December 1843.

9 LMS, BM, 26 February 1844.

10 Medhurst, *China*, p. 461.

11 For the city of Shanghai in the early nineteenth century, see L. C. Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074-1858* (Stanford, 1995), pp. 96-116.

12 俞樾 Yü Yüeh, 上海縣志 *Shang-hai hsien-chih*, Gazetteer of Shanghai County (Shanghai, 1862), book 5, f. 9. However, Lockhart, the first LMS missionary to arrive in Shanghai, estimated that it was only about 300,000 (LMS, CC, 1.1.A., Lockhart to Tidman, Shanghai, 20 November 1843.).

13 Leung Yuen-seng, *The Shanghai Taotai* (Hawaii, 1990), pp. 17-19, with the table 'Geographical Background of Ch'ing Officials.'

14 Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, p. 232.

15 LMS, CC, 1.1.A., Medhurst and Lockhart to the Directors, Shanghai, 15 October 1844.

16 LMS, CC, 1.1.A., Lockhart to Tidman, Shanghai, 20 November 1843; Medhurst and Lockhart to the Directors, Shanghai, 15 October 1844.

17 Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 193, 248.

18 LMS, CC, 1.1.A., Medhurst to the Directors, Shanghai, 26 December 1843; *ibid.*, 15 October 1844.

19 On the situation of Chiang-su province, including Shanghai, during the Opium War, see 王樹槐Wang Shu-hwai, 中國現代化的區域研究: 江蘇省1860-1916, *Chung-kuo hsien-tai-hua ti ch'ü-yü yen-chiu: Chiang-su-sheng, 1860-1916*, Modernization in China, 1860-1916: A Regional Study of Social, Political and Economic Change in Kiangsu Province (Taipei, 1984), pp. 78-9, 135-6.

20 LMS, CC, 1.1.A., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 1 May 1844.

21 *ibid.*

22 *ibid.*

23 Medhurst did not specify the number of characters involved. According to a report by A. Stronach in January 1845, the type cast by Dyer and supplied to various mission stations included only about 1,540 characters. (LMS, SI, 2.3.C., A. Stronach to the Treasurer of the LMS, Singapore, 4 January 1845.)

24 These type sent by Gutzlaff were first mentioned by Medhurst in 1842, when he was still at Batavia, and were thought to have been cast in Berlin (LMS, BA, 5.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Batavia, 16 October 1842.). According to Samuel W. Williams, the American printer of the ABCFM at Canton since 1833 and someone who whould know the story of this fount of type, the matrices were cut, at Gutzlaff's expense, at Canton by Chinese workers in 1833 and then sent to Serampore to cast type. However, neither Medhurst nor Williams provided details of the number of matrices or type of this fount. (See *The Chinese Repository*, 3:6 (October 1834), p. 252, an editor's note about this fount, which must have been written by Williams, who was the co-editor and printer of this magazine; Williams, 'Movable Types for Printing Chinese,' p.26.).

25 LMS, CC, 1.1.A., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 1 May 1844.

26 George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China* (London, 1847), p. 287. Wang, *Chung-kuo hsien-tai-hua ti ch'ü-yü yen-chiu*, p. 79.

27 The Chinese First Institute of Historical Archives, *Ya-p'ien chan-cheng tang-an shih-liao*, vol. 7, p. 383.

28 LMS, CC, 1.1.A., Medhurst and Lockhart to the Directors, Shanghai, 15 October 1844.

29 The number was the sum of two half yearly numbers, 370,000 and 347,600 respectively, reported by the missionaries, see LMS, CC, 1.1.A., Medhurst and Lockhart to the Directors, Shanghai, 15 October 1844; 1.1.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Shanghai, 31 March 1845.

30 These numbers were again the sums of each half yearly numbers that appeared in Medhurst and Lockhart's joint letters in LMS, CC, 1.1.B., Shanghai, 7 October 1845 (with Fairbrother); 1.1.C., 10 April, 14 October 1846; 10 April 1847 (with Milne).

31 LMS, CC, 1.1.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Shanghai, 6 October 1845.

32 LMS, CC, 1.1.A., Medhurst and Lockhart to the Directors, Shanghai, 15 October 1844.

33 The British Library has an incomplete copy of the weekly sermons, consisting of the 26th to the 74th and in 244 leaves. Another copy is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, consisting of the 50th to the 74th and in 148 leaves. Following the last sermon are 4 additional leaves of two proclamations of toleration of Christianity, issued by the Chinese government in 1845 and 1846.

34 The Chinese title of St Paul's Epistle is unknown. Wylie did not list this work in his *Memorials*.

35 LMS, CC, 1.1.B., Medhurst, Lockhart and Fairbrother to Tidman, Shanghai, 7 October 1845.

36 Medhurst did not give the titles of these four sermons. According to Wylie, they were 講自家個好處靠弗若 The Insufficiency of One's Own Merits; 講上帝告訴人知識 Revelation, 講上帝差兒子救世界上人God Sent His Son to Save the World; and, 講頭一個祖宗作惡 The Sin of Our First Parents (Wylie, *Memorials*, p. 33).

37 LMS, CC, 1.1.D., Milne to Tidman, Shanghai, 11 October 1847.

38 *ibid.*, 1.2.A., 11 April 1848.

39 Medhurst, *Chinese Dialogues* (Shanghai, 1844), preface.

40 *ibid.*

41 LMS, CC, 1.1.B., Medhurst, Lockhart and Fairbrother to Tidman, Shanghai, 7 October 1845.

42 LMS, CC, 1.1.C., Medhurst, Lockhart and Milne to the Directors, Shanghai, 10 April 1847; W. H. Medhurst, *English and Chinese Dictionary* (Shanghai, 1847), preface.

43 LMS, CC, 1.1.B., Medhurst and Lockhart to Tidman, Shanghai, 27 December 1845; 1.1.C., *ibid.*, 14 October 1846.

44 LMS, CC, 1.1.C., Medhurst, Lockhart and Milne to the Directors, Shanghai, 10 April 1847.

45 LMS, CC, 1.1.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Shanghai, 31 March 1845; 1.1.C., *ibid.*, 10 April 1846.

46 LMS, CC, 1.1.A., Medhurst and Lockhart to the Directors, Shanghai, 15 October 1844; 1.1.C., *ibid.*, 10 April, 14 October 1846.

47 LMS, CC, 1.1.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Shanghai, 31 March 1845.

48 LMS, CC, 1.1.C., Medhurst and Lockhart to Tidman, Shanghai, 10 April, 14 October 1846.

49 *ibid.*, 14 October 1846.

50 *ibid.*

51 *ibid.*

52 Earlier in July 1845, William Fairbrother came to Shanghai, yet left for Britain after several months, due to his deteriorated health.

53 The minutes of these meetings can be found in LMS, SC, 4.3.D., a printed document signed by Dyer, the Secretary to these meetings, and Medhurst, the Chairman; also in *The Chinese Repository*, 12:10 (October 1843), pp. 551-3.

54 LMS, CC, 1.1.B., Medhurst and Lockhart to Tidman, Shanghai, 27 December 1845.

55 LMS, China, OL, Tidman to Medhurst and Lockhart, London, 13 July 1846.

56 LMS, CC, 1.1.C., Medhurst and Lockhart to Tidman, Shanghai, 10 April 1846; BM, 28 September 1846.

57 *The Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1847, p. 110; LMS, OL, Tidman to Medhurst and Lockhart, London, 9 October 1846.

58 LMS, BM, 15 January 1847; James Thomas, 'Biographical Sketch of Alexander Wylie,' in A. Wylie, *Chinese Researches* (Shanghai, 1897), p. 2.

59 LMS, CC, 1.1.D., Wylie to Tidman, Shanghai, 27 August 1847.

60 LMS, CC, 1.2.A., Milne to the Directors, Shanghai, 11 April 1848.

61 LMS, CC, 1.1.D., Wylie to Tidman, Shanghai, 12 October 1847.

62 *ibid.*, 1.2.A., 4 June 1848.

63 LMS, CC, 1.2.A., Milne to the Directors, Shanghai, 11 April 1848. In the previous period from April to October 1847, the hand press printed 1,190,100 pages (*ibid.*, 1.1.D., 11 October 1847).

64 LMS, CC, 1.1.C., Medhurst and Lockhart to Tidman, Shanghai, 10 April 1846.

65 LMS, CC, 1.2.A., Milne to Tidman, Shanghai, 24 April 1848.

66 *ibid.*, 1.2.A., 13 October 1848.

67 *ibid.*, 1.2.B., 9 April, 1849.

68 There is a detailed report of this incident written by the missionaries in LMS, CC, 1.2.A., Milne to the Directors, Shanghai, 11 April 1848. The Chinese officials' reports, different from the missionaries' in some points, can be found in The Chinese First Institute of Historical Archives, *Ya-p'ien chan-cheng tang-an shih-liao*, vol. 7, pp. 846-62.

69 Johnson, *Shanghai*, p. 242. There is a similar opinion in Leung, *The Shanghai Taotai*, p. 50.

70 Exclusive articles appeared in various periodicals, works debating the terms and written by the delegates were: W. J. Boone, *An Essay on the Proper Rendering of the Words* ... (Canton, 1848); *ibid.*, *Defense of an Essay on the Proper Rendering of the Words* ... (Canton, 1850); W. H. Medhurst, *An Inquiry into the Proper Mode of Rendering the Word God* ... (Shanghai, 1848); *ibid.*, *Reply to the Essay of Dr. Boone on the Proper Rendering of the Words* ... (Canton, 1848); *ibid.*, *On the True Meaning of the Word Shin*, ... (Shanghai, 1849); *ibid.*, *An Inquiry into the Proper Mode of Translating* ... (Shanghai, 1850); *ibid.*, *To the Protestant Missionaries* ... (Shanghai, 1850). For a fuller bibliography, including works written by other missionaries, see Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, 1279-87; John Lust, *Western Books on China Published up to 1850* (London, 1987), pp. 219-23.

71 LMS, CC, 1.2.B., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 30 June 1849.

72 *The Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1848, p. 100.

73 *ibid.*, 1849, p.132; 1850, p. 107; Compendium, p. 56. These reports did not give the exact cost of Gutzlaff's version of the Bible.

74 About the Chinese Union and questions about it, see Theodore Hamberg's pamphlet, *Report Concerning the Chinese Union at Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1851). Hamberg was a native of Sweden sent to China by the Evangelical Missionary Society at Basle in 1846. He at first helped Gutzlaff in the Chinese Union, but discontinued his connection with it after discovering its problems.

75 LMS, CC, 1.2.B., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 30 June 1849.

76 *ibid.* About the cost of printing, see also Milne to Tidman, Shanghai, 29 June 1849, in the same file.

77 LMS, CC, 1.2.C., Wylie to Tidman, Shanghai, 7 September 1849.

78 LMS, CC, 1.2.C., Medhurst, Stronach, Lockhart, Milne, Muirhead and Edkins to Tidman, Shanghai, 12 October 1849.

79 LMS, CC, 1.2.B., Milne to the Directors, Shanghai, 9 April, 1849.

80 LMS, CC, 1.2.C., Medhurst to the Directors, Shanghai, 8 October 1849.

81 LMS, OL, Tidman to Wylie, London, 24 December 1849.

82 LMS, CC, 1.2.D., Wylie to Tidman, Shanghai, 15 March 1850; Milne to Tidman, Shanghai, 15 March 1850.

83 LMS, CC, 1.3.A., Milne to Tidman, Shanghai, 14 October 1850. The number of copies of this edition was at first 5,000, but was then increased to 5,500, see 1.3.C., Muirhead to the Directors, Shanghai, 15 October 1851; 1.3.D., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 22 March 1852.

84 LMS, CC, 1.3.D., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 17 February 1852; 1.3.B., Medhurst to the Directors, Shanghai, 13 February 1851.

85 LMS, OL, Tidman to Medhurst, London, 23 November 1850.

86 LMS, CC, 1.2.C., Milne to Tidman, Shanghai, 20 December 1849.

87 LMS, BM, 8 July 1850.

88 The three LMS missionaries were those formerly attending the revision of the New Testament, i.e. Medhurst, Stronach and Milne, whilst the Americans were Bridgman, a former delegate, and two new members: J. S. Shuck of the American Southern Baptists and M. S. Culbertson of the American Presbyterian Church. Besides, four other missionaries, including two Americans, one British and one Swedish, were elected delegates but declined to take part in this work. Also, a former American delegate, Boone, though he continued to be a delegate, he did not attend the meetings. See LMS, CC, 1.3.A., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 8 August 1850.

89 *ibid.*

90 *ibid.*, 1.3.A., 13 September 1850.

91 *ibid.*, 1.3.B., 18 February 1851.

92 *ibid.*, 1.3.E., 24 November 1852; Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, p. 263; S. W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (London, 1883), vol. 2, p. 364.

93 LMS, CC, 2.1.A., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 6 September 1855; Edkins to Tidman, Shanghai, 3 October 1855.

94 LMS, CC, 1.1.C., Medhurst and Lockhart to Tidman, Shanghai, 14 October 1846; Medhurst, Lockhart and Milne to Tidman, Shanghai, 10 April 1847; 1.4.A., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 19 March 1853.

95 LMS, CC, 1.3.B., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 9 April 1851.

96 *ibid.*, 1.3.D., 22 March 1852.

97 LMS, CC, 1.3.D., Edkins to Tidman, Shanghai, 12 April 1852.

98 LMS, CC, 1.3.E., Wylie to Tidman, Shanghai, 16 July 1852.

99 LMS, CC, 1.3.E., Milne to Tidman, Shanghai, 12 October 1852. For a detailed discussion of the development of Shanghai in the 1840s and the early 1850s, see Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 235-66.

100 *ibid.*, 1.3.E., 12 October 1852; *The Chinese Repository*, 19:6 (June 1850), p. 331.

101 *ibid.*, 1.3.E., 12 October 1852.

102 The earliest report of Hung's receiving Liang Afa's work was Theodore Hamberg's *The Visions of Hung-siu-tshuen and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection* (Hong Kong, 1854), pp. 8-19. About the influence of this work upon Hung, see Philip A. Kuhn's discussion in Twitchett and Fairbank, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing*, pt. 1, pp. 267-8.

103 On the T'ai-p'ings' publications in 1853, see W. H. Medhurst, *Pamphlets Issued by the Chinese Insurgents at Nanking* (Shanghai, 1853).

104 In his *Great Britain and the Taipings* (London, 1969), J. S. Gregory argues that, 'There was not even any significant increase in the number of missionaries in the China field in the years after 1853, ...'(p.52). The numbers of missionaries referred to here were calculated from Wylie's *Memorials*. The first four societies to send out their agents to China were the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church and the LMS. Then the Chinese Evangelization Society and the Wesleyan Conference joined the enterprises.

105 LMS, BM, 12 September, 11 and 24 October 1853.

106 *ibid.*, 18 April 1854.

107 LMS, OL, Tidman to Medhurst, London, 2 September 1854.

108 *Report of the Jubilee Proceedings of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Societies, 1853-54*, p. 24.

109 *ibid.*

110 The minutes of the meeting of the Corresponding Committee appeared in *The North China Herald*, 10 December 1853. Medhurst's letter of 30 November 1853 to Tidman also contained substantial contents of the minutes (LMS, CC, 1.4.B.).

111 LMS, CC, 1.4.B., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 29 December 1853.

112 *ibid.*, 30 November, 29 December 1853; 18 January 1854.

113 *ibid.*, 1.4.C., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 27 June 1854.

114 LMS, BM, 13 and 27 March 1854; OL, Tidman to Medhurst, 24 April, 1854; CC, 1.4.C., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 27 June 1854.

115 LMS, CC, 1.4.C., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 27 June 1854.

116 *ibid.*, 2.1.A., 6 September 1855.

117 The last time this work appeared in the missionaries' report was in April 1855 when its printing reached the end of the Hebrews (LMS, CC, 2.1.A., Muirhead to Tidman, Shanghai, 5 April 1855). In Darlow and Moule's *Historical Catalogue of the Holy Scripture*, the publication date of this edition was given as 1855 (vol. 2, p. 193, no. 2517).

118 LMS, CC, 1.4.B., Muirhead to the Directors, Shanghai, 20 October 1853.

119 Blocks of two works, Medhurst's 三字經 *San-tse-ching*, Three Character Classic, and Milne's 張遠兩友相論 *Chang-yüen liang-yü hsiang-lun*, Dialogues between Chang and Yüen, were sent to London to be stereotyped. Plates were then sent to Shanghai and printed in 1847 and 1848. (Wylie, *Memorials*, pp. 17, 27.)

120 LMS, CC, 2.1.A., Muirhead to Tidman, Shanghai, 5 April 1855.

121 LMS, CC, 2.1.B., Muirhead to the Directors, Shanghai, 30 June 1856; G. John to the Directors, Shanghai, 5 October 1856.

122 LMS, CC, 2.1.A., Muirhead to Tidman, Shanghai, 5 April 1855.

123 In Wylie's *Memorials*, there were lists of these younger brethren's works, with very short descriptions, i.e. for Milne's, pp. 124-5; for Muirhead's, pp. 168-70; for Wylie's, pp. 173-4; for Edkins, pp. 197-8; for Burns, pp. 175-6; and for Cobbold, pp. 182-3. Of Cobbold's works, the four printed at the LMS's Shanghai mission press were: 眞理摘要 *Chen-li chai-yao*, Important Selections of Truth, 小學正宗 *Hsiao-hsüeh cheng-tsung*, Correct Views of Minor Questions, 勸世文 *Ch'üan-shih-wen*, Exhortations for the Age, and, 指迷編 *Chih-mi-pien*, Directions for the Misguided.

124 LMS, CC, 2.1.A., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 6 September 1855.

125 LMS, CC, 1.4.C., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 27 June 1854.

126 LMS, CC, 1.4.C., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 11 October 1854; 2.1.A., *ibid.*, 31 January 1855.

127 On the development of Shanghai in the 1850s, see Twitchett and Fairbank, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, pt. 1, pp. 237-42, The Rise of Shanghai; Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 320-46.

128 王韜 Wang T'ao, 王韜日記 *Wang T'ao jih-chi*, The Diary of Wang T'ao (Peking, 1987), 13 and 27 November 1858 (pp. 35, 47), 14 February 1859 (p. 77), 1 April 1860 (p. 152), and 9 July 1860 (p. 187). The two poems, or three in fact, because one of them included two poems by the same author, appeared in his diary of 13 and 27 November 1858.

129 郭嵩燾 Kuo Sung-t'ao, 郭嵩燾日記 *Kuo Sung-t'ao jih-chi*, The Diary of Kuo Sung-t'ao (Ch'angsha, 1980), p. 33.

130 Wang T'ao, *Wang T'ao jih-chi*, p. 77. In little more than three years after his visiting the mission press, Hsü unfortunately died in defense of Suchou, the provincial capital, fighting against the T'ai-p'ings in June 1860.

131 The eleven works in foreign languages after 1850, excluding the annual report of the Shanghai hospital, were: Edkins, tr. *The Jews at K'ae-fung-fu*, 1851; *Fac-simile of the Hebrew MSS in K'ai-fung-foo*, 1851; Edkins, *Chinese Conversations*, 1852; *ibid.*, *A Grammar of Colloquial Chinese*, 1853; Jean J. M. Amoyt, *Grammaire Tartare Mantchou*, 1855; Wylie, *A Chinese Grammar of the Manchu Tartar Language*, 1855; Edkins, *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language*, 1857; Muirhead, *The Parting Charge, a Sermon ...*, 1857; Edkins, *Progress Lessons in the Chinese Spoken Language*, 1862; Muirhead, *Christian Missions*, 1863; *ibid.*, *Sin Discovered*, 1864.

132 LMS, CC, 1.3.D., Edkins to Tidman, Shanghai, 12 April 1852.

133 Wylie, *Memorials*, p. 189. This almanac was edited by Wylie for the 1859 and 1860 issues when Edkins was absent in London.

134 LMS, CC, 2.1.C., A. Williamson to Tidman, Shanghai, 4 April 1857.

135 W. Muirhead, 地理全志 *Ti-li ch'üan-chih*, The Universal Geography (Shanghai, 1853), English preface.

136 According to Muirhead's preface, the main sources of this work were Thomas Milner's *A Universal Geography*, 1851; Mary Somerville's *Physical Geography*, 1848 or 1849; Hugo Reid's *Elements of Physical Geography* and *Outlines of Geology and Astronomy*, 1850; 外國地理備考 *Wai-kuo ti-li pei-k'ao*, A Survey of Foreign Geography, by Marquez, a Portuguese of Macao, 1849; and 瀛環志略 *Yin-huan chih-lueh*, Abstract Geography, by 徐繼畬 Hsü Chi-yü, the Director-General of the Civil Affairs of Fu-chien Province, 1850.

137 Whewell's book was first published at Cambridge in 1819 and was followed by many editions. An entirely re-written edition appeared in 1841 and another one in 1847. It is unclear which edition formed the basis for Edkins' translation.

138 It is unclear what Williamson's translation was based upon from amongst Lindley's many works. Probably it was *Elements of Botany*, new edition, 1849, or *An Introduction to Botany*, 4th edition, 1848, or both.

139 Wang T'ao, *Wang T'ao jih-chi*, 12 April 1858. Hobson had other assistants in translation at Canton.

140 *ibid.*, 18 December 1858.

141 LMS, Candidates' Papers, Answers to Printed Questions, Alexander Wylie.

142 For the discussion of Tseng's preface, together with previous prefaces to this work by Matteo Ricci and Hsü Kuang-ch'i, see G. E. Moule, 'The Obligations of China to Europe in the Matter of Physical Science Acknowledged by Eminent Chinese,' *Journal of North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 7 (1873), pp. 149-64.

143 It had been thought for a long time that there were no extant copies of this Chinese translation (王萍 Wang P'ing, 西方曆算學的輸入*Hsi-fang li-suan-hsüeh ti shu-ju*, The Introduction of Western Astronomical and Mathematical Sciences into China (Taipei, 1966), p. 175.). However, one copy has been found in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London, and another one in the Brotherton Collection of the University of Leeds.

144 A. Wylie, 代微積拾級 *Tai-wei-chi shih-chi*, Elements of Analytical Geometry and of the Differential and Integral Calculus (Shanghai, 1859), preface in English. Wang P'ing, *Hsi-fang li-suan-hsüeh ti shu-ju*, pp. 173-5.

145 Wylie, *Memorials*, p. 174; John Fryer, 'An Account of the Department for Translation of Foreign Books at the Kiangnan Arsenal, Shanghai,' *The North China Herald* (Shanghai), 29 January 1880, p. 80

146 Wang P'ing, *Hsi-fang li-suan-hsüeh ti shu-ju*, pp. 177-8.

147 For Li Shan-lan, see Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 1644-1912* (Washington, D.C., 1943-4), pp. 479-80; 李儼 Li Yen, '李善蘭年譜 *Li Shan-lan nien-p'u*, A Chronology of Li Shan-lan,' in his 中算史論叢 *Chung-suan-shih lun-ts'ung*, Collected Papers on the History of Chinese Mathematics (Taipei, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 435-74.

148 LMS, CC, 2.1.C., Wylie to Tidman, Shanghai, 28 May 1857, an enclosed 'Prospectus of A Chinese Periodical.'

149 Three essays in total by Chinese authors appeared in different issues, i.e. one on Julius Caesar by Chiang Tun-fu in the second number, one on the use of force by Han Ying-pi in the fourth number and one as a response to Han's views by Wang T'ao in the ninth number.

150 六合叢談 *Liu-ho ts'ung-t'an*, *The Shanghai Serial*, no. 7 (July 1857), ff. 10-11.

151 LMS, CC, 2.2.B., Wylie to the Directors, Shanghai, 26 April 1858.

152 LMS, CC, 3.1.A., John Macgowan to Tidman, Shanghai, 1 August 1862.

153 Wylie, *Memorials*, p. 257. The Bodleian Library, Oxford, has copies of the first and the sixth numbers of this magazine, which formerly belonged to Wylie.

154 Wang T'ao, 弢園尺牘 *T'ao-yüan ch'ih-tu*, Letters of Wang T'ao (Hong Kong, 1876), book 3, ff. 16-17, 上某觀察 *Shang mo kuan-ch'a*, To an Intendant; ff. 18-19, 歲暮干人書 *Sui-mu kan-jen shu*, A Soliciting Letter to Someone [i.e. Hsü Yü-jen, the Viceroy of Chiang-su province] at the Turn of a Year; f. 19, 與郁丈泰峰 *Yü Yü-chang-t'ai-feng*, To Yü T'ai-feng.

155 Wang P'ing, *Hsi-fang Li-suan-hsüeh ti shu-ju*, pp. 139-40.

156 馮桂芬 Feng Kui-fen. 校邠廬抗議 *Chiao-pin-lu k'ang-i*, Straightforward Words from Feng Kui-fen (Taipei, 1971. reprint), ff. 67-70, 采西學議 *Ts'ai hsi-hsüeh i*, Study Western Learning.

157 For *Kuang-fang-yan-kuan*, see 蘇精 Su Ching, 清季同文館及其師生 *Ch'ing-chi t'ung-wen-kuan chi ch'i shih-sheng*, The First Government Schools in the Late Ch'ing and Their Faculties and Students (Taipei, 1985), pp. 88-120.

158 LMS, CC, 2.1.C., Williamson to Tidman, Shanghai, 4 April 1857. Whilst enthusiastically praising the missionaries' translations, Feng Kui-fen reproached those on Christianity as being despicable and worthless. Not only the readers, but even Kuan Ssu-fu, Hobson's collaborator in medical translation, had the same selective acceptance of Western knowledge. Sometime after Hobson's translation was completed and desperately in want of a job, Kuan declined an invitation from E. C. Bridgman, the ABCFM's missionary, to translate the Bible and vowed to keep this principle all his life. (Wang T'ao, *Wang T'ao jih-chi*, 10 March 1859.)

159 About the influence of these treaties on mission work, see Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, pp. 271-81.

160 *ibid.*, pp. 405-6. During the present study, however, a calculation from the data in Wylie's *Memorials* shows that there were 77 new missionaries arriving in China from 1859 to 1864. Of these, 36 were from 8 British societies, including 11 sent out by the LMS.

161 LMS, BM, 8 November 1859.

162 *ibid.*, 24 January, 5 April, 8 November 1859; 14 January, 25 February 1861.

163 The Shanghai missionaries wrote numerous reports on their intercourse with the T'ai-p'ings. The following were some of the letters of especial important: for its beginning and the missionaries' visiting Suchou, in LMS, CC, 2.2.D., Edkins's, 16 July 1860; John's, 16 August 1860; visiting Nanking, 2.3.A., John's, 6 and 18 December 1860, 2.3.E., Muirhead's, 9 February 1861; 2.3.C., Edkins's, 12 April 1861; giving up the T'ai-p'ings, 2.3.D., Edkins's, 12 April, 1861, John's, 22 April 1861, Muirhead's, 23 April 1861. Most of these letters were published in *The Missionary Magazine*, except those on giving up the T'ai-p'ings.

164 LMS, CC, 2.2.A., Muirhead to Tidman, Shanghai, 4 January 1858.

165 *ibid.*, 2.2.D., 6 January 1860.

166 *ibid.*, 3.2.A., 8 January 1864.

167 *ibid.*, 3.2.B., 7 January 1865.

168 LMS, CC, 2.2.A., Muirhead to the Directors, Shanghai, 1 April 1858.

169 LMS, CC, 2.1.A., Muirhead to Tidman, Shanghai, 5 April 1855.

170 *ibid.*

171 LMS, CC, 2.2.A., Muirhead to the Directors, Shanghai, 1 April 1858.

172 LMS, CC, 2.2.B., Wylie to the Directors, Shanghai, 26 April 1858.

173 *ibid.*, 2.2.C., 2 September 1859.

174 William Canton, *A History of the British & Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1904), vol. 3, p. 436.

175 *ibid.*

176 LMS, CC, 3.1.D., Muirhead to the Directors, Shanghai, 9 December 1863.

177 *ibid.*, 2.3.E., 22 November 1861.

178 *ibid.*, 3.1.D., 4 July 1863.

179 *ibid.*, 3.1.D., 15 August 1863.

180 Gilbert McIntosh, *The Mission Press in China* (Shanghai, 1895), pp. 12, 18.

181 LMS, CC, 2.2.C., Muirhead to the Directors, Shanghai, 3 September 1859.

182 For Gamble and his two inventions, see McIntosh, *The Mission Press in China*, pp. 19-24; K. T. Wu, 'The Development of Typography in China During the Nineteenth Century,' pp. 296-8.

183 LMS, Home Odds, 8, Deputation Letters, 10, Joseph Mullens's Letter, Shanghai, 17 November 1865

184 *ibid.*, Peking, 26 October 1865. A similar opinion appeared in Mullens's *Report on the China Mission of the London Missionary Society* (London, 1866), p. 33.

185 LMS, CC, 3.2.B., Muirhead to the Directors, Shanghai, 8 December 1865.

186 LMS, CC, 3.2.C., Muirhead to Mullens, Shanghai, 15 August 1866.

187 *ibid.*

188 LMS, SC, 4.2.A., a joint report signed by Morrison, Lockhart, Milne and Hobson, Macao, 22 March 1841.

189 The missionaries gave the lowest number of 2,500 (*ibid.*), whilst the second number of the *Hong Kong Government Gazette*, published in May 1841, estimated that it was 5,650 (E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China* (Hong Kong, 1895), p. 171).

190 G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1964), pp. 32, 65; Carl T. Smith, 'The Chinese Settlement of British Hong Kong,' *Chung Chi Bulletin*, 48 (1970), p. 28.

191 Smith, 'The Chinese Settlement of British Hong Kong,' p. 28.

192 George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China* (London, 1847), pp. 508-11.

193 *ibid.*, p. 523.

194 About religious activities at Hong Kong in and around 1843, see Eitel, *Europe in China*, pp. 186, 190-191; Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians* (Hong Kong, 1985), p. 1-11, introduction.

195 LMS, SC, 4.3.B., Dyer to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 August 1843.

196 The Anglo-Chinese College first received the annual allowance from the Penang colonial government in 1827, then from the Canton Factory of the East India Company in the early 1830s and again from the Superintendent of British Trade in China from 1834.

197 LMS, SC, 4.3.B., copies of letters including the LMS missionaries to Sir Henry Pottinger, Hong Kong, 18 August 1843, and Sir Henry's answer to the above letter, Hong Kong, 21 August 1843.

198 LMS, SC, 4.4.A., Legge's translation of Liang Afa's letter to the Directors, Canton, 6 May 1844. However, Legge did not give the original Chinese title of this tract. Nor did Wylie list this work under Afa's name in the *Memorials*.

199 *ibid.*

200 LMS, SC, 4.4.D., Hobson to the Directors, Hong Kong, 29 May 1845.

201 *The Evangelical Magazine*, December 1841, p. 624, Legge's letter, Malacca, 15 June 1841. For Ho Chin-seen's ordination, see LMS, SC, 4.5.A., Gillespie to Tidman, Hong Kong, 27 November, 26 December 1846.

202 LMS, SC, 4.4.C., Legge and Hobson to Tidman, Hong Kong, 1 February 1845.

203 LMS, SC, 4.4.C., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 3 March 1845.

204 LMS, SC, 4.4.C., Legge and Hobson to Tidman, Hong Kong, 28 June 1845.

205 *ibid.*, 4.4.A., 3 and 6 March 1844. The site was surrounded by the Aberdeen Street, Staunton Street and Elgin Street.

206 LMS, SC, 4.3.D., Legge and Hobson to Tidman, Hong Kong, 23 December 1843.

207 LMS, SC, 4.5.A., W. Gillespie to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 December 1846.

208 LMS, SC, 4.5.C., J. Cleland to Tidman, Hong Kong, 29 September, 30 December 1847.

209 LMS, Candidates' Papers, 'Thomas Gilfillan'; SC, 5.0.A., Gilfillan to Tidman, Hong Kong, 29 August 1848.

210 LMS, SC, 5.0.A., Gilfillan to Tidman, 29 August 1848.

211 LMS, SC, 5.0.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 29 August 1848; OL, Tidman to Gilfillan, London, 4 November 1848; Tidman to Legge, London, 4 November 1848.

212 LMS, SC, 5.0.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 29 October 1849.

213 LMS, SC, 5.0.A., Hobson to Tidman, Hong Kong, 28 August 1849.

214 LMS, BM, 26 November 1849; SC, 5.1.C., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 28 January 1850.

215 LMS, SC, 5.2.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 21 February 1851.

216 LMS, BM, 9 June 1851; OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 24 June 1851.

217 LMS, SC, 5.3.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 23 September 1852.

218 *ibid.*, 5.2.B., 22 April 1851.

219 LMS, SC, 5.2.C., Hobson to Tidman, China, 23 February 1852.

220 LMS, SC, 5.2.D., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 27 February 1852.

221 In 1849, Hobson purchased a lithographic press from a Hong Kong merchant and printed some illustrations for his works, 天文略論 *T'ien-wen lüeh-lun*, Treatise

on Astronomy, in 1849, and 全體新論 *Ch'üan-t'i hsin-lun*, Treatise on Physiology, in 1851 (LMS, SC, 5.1.C., Hobson to Tidman, Canton, 28 March 1850.).

222 LMS, SC, 5.2.C., Hobson to Tidman, China, 23 February 1852.

223 LMS, SC, 5.2.C., Hirschberg to Tidman, Hong Kong, 27 February 1852.

224 LMS, SC, 5..2.D., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 27 February 1852.

225 *ibid.*

226 *ibid.*, 5.3.A., 22 July 1852.

227 LMS, SC, 5.2.C., Hobson to Tidman, China, 23 February 1852.

228 LMS, OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 24 July 1852; SC, 5.3.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 23 September 1852. According to Legge, Amok's position was 'as a workman and director in the printing office.'

229 LMS, SC, 5.3.A., Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 27 September 1852.

230 *ibid.*,5.3.C., 11 January 1853; Legge and Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 27 January 1853.

231 LMS, SC, 5.3.C., Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 September, 26 October 1853; 5.4.B., *ibid.*, 12 January 1855. It is regrettable that the missionaries never mentioned Li Kim-lin's Chinese name.

232 For more information about Huang Sheng, see Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp. 13-33, The Morrison Education Society and the Moulding of Its Students; pp. 103-138, The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong; and pp. 139-171, The English-educated Chinese Elite in Nineteenth-century Hong Kong.

233 Ng Lun Ngai-ha. *Interactions of East and West* (Hong Kong, 1984), p. 52.

234 LMS, SC, 5.3.C., Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 September 1853.

235 *ibid.*, 5.4.B., 12 January 1855.

236 *ibid.*, 5.3.E., 21 July 1854.

237 LMS, BM, 23 October 1854.

238 LMS, OL, Tidman to Chalmers, London, 23 October 1854.

239 LMS, SC, 5.4.B., Chalmers and Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 12 January 1855.

240 LMS, SC, 6.1.B., Legge to Tidman, London, 19 June 1858. Legge was in Britain at this time.

241 *ibid.* Later in 1884, Huang Sheng was appointed by Sir George Bowen, the Governor, as the only Chinese member of the Legislative Council, which was the highest position a Chinese resident in the colony could obtain at that time. He held this office until 1890 (G. B. Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong, 1841-1962* (Hong Kong, 1964), p. 101.).

242 *The Missionary Magazine*, March 1859, pp. 74-5, Legge's remarks at a special public meeting held by the LMS in London on 15 March 1859 in support of an enlarged mission enterprise in China.

243 *ibid.*, p. 75.

244 LMS, SC, 4.5.A., Gillespie to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 December 1846.

245 LMS, SC, 4.4.B., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 10 October 1844.

246 LMS, SC, 5.0.B., Legge to the Directors, Hong Kong, 24 November 1848.

247 *ibid.*

248 LMS, OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 17 February 1849, 23 October 1850; SC, 5.2.B., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 21 August 1851.

249 LMS, SC, 5.2.B., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 22 April 1851. Legge did not mention who were the American and German missionaries, nor the titles of their works.

250 LMS, SC, 5.0.C., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 29 October 1849.

251 LMS, OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 23 November 1850.

252 LMS, SC, 5.3.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 23 August 1852.

253 *ibid.*, 5.3.B., 28 October 1852.

254 LMS, OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 24 January 1853.

255 LMS, SC, 5.3.B., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 28 October 1852.

256 *ibid.*

257 *ibid.*, 5.2.A., 21 February 1851.

258 The imprint, including the price, on the title page indicated that this periodical was printed and 'given away' at 英華書院 *Ying-hua shu-yüan*, i.e. the Chinese name of the LMS's Hong Kong mission. From 1:4, the price part of the imprint disappeared; however, it was not until 2:3 & 4 (April 1854) and after that the character meaning 'give away' was replaced by another character also meaning printing.

259 The first one appeared in 1:4 (November 1853) and was about the terms controversy of the Delegate's version of the Chinese Bible. The second one, an extract of the preface to a commentary of the New Testament, appeared in 3:2 (February 1855). And the third one, on Christian martyrdom, appeared in 4:2 (February 1856).

260 Legge's announcement of the closure, in Chinese and English, dated 1 May 1856, appeared in the last number for the same month. Probably, a reason of its demise was its diversion too far from its original plan becoming a near complete general and commercial journal.

261 E. J. Eitel, 'Materials for a History of Education in Hongkong,' *The China Review*, 19 (1890-1), p. 321.

262 *ibid.*

263 LMS, SC, 6.1.A., Legge and Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 14 January 1857.

264 J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics* (Hong Kong, 1861), preface, pp. 7-8.

265 LMS, SC, 6.1.B., Legge to Tidman, Brompton, 17 June 1858.

266 *ibid.*; CP, 8, Legge to Robert Jardine, Hong Kong, 30 November 1865.

267 LMS, SC, 5.0.B., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 24 November 1848; 5.1.C., *ibid.*, 28 January 1850; 5.2.B., *ibid.*, 22 July 1851; China, OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 17 February 1849.

268 LMS, SC, 5.0.C., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 29 October 1849.

269 LMS, SC, 6.1.B., Legge to Tidman, Brompton, 19 June 1858.

270 *ibid.*, 6.1.B., 17 June 1858; BM, 12 July 1858.

271 LMS, SC, 6.1.B., Legge to Tidman, Brompton, 19 June 1858; Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 28 October, 29 November 1858; 6.1.C., *ibid.*, 29 March 1859.

272 LMS, SC, 6.3.D., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 27 January 1862.

273 In a letter to Robert Jardine, in November 1865, on the publication of the third volume, Legge mentioned that expenses had already amounted to $9,365 (LMS, CP, 8). After that there were the expenses of printing the fourth volume and of employing a Chinese assistant in Britain between 1868 and 1869 (*ibid.*, Legge to J. Whittall, 7 June 1867; Legge, 'Memorandum of My Agreement with Wang T'ao, Dollar, 23 December 1868).

274 In 1866, Legge's publisher in London, Trübner & Co., informed him that six sets of the four volumes published were sold in a week and about sixty copies of the *Shoo King*, i.e. the third and fourth volumes, were sold in the first six weeks of its appearance in London (LMS, CP, 8, Legge to his wife, Hong Kong, 7 April 1866). In addition, the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs ordered fifty copies of each volume (*ibid.*, a copy of Robert Hart, the Inspector General of the Customs, to Muirhead, n.d.) and the Japanese government purchased ten copies (*ibid.*, 29 January 1867). While discussing the missionaries' salary with the Directors in 1866, Legge admitted that, in contrast to his being in debt in the 1850s, he was better off, by a legacy from his brother and the sale of *The Chinese Classics* (LMS, SC, 6.4.E., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 31 January 1866).

275 LMS, CP, 10, Legge to his wife, Hong Kong, 3 December 1866; Barrett, *Singular Listlessness*, p. 75.

276 LMS, SC, 6.4.E., Legge to Mullens, Hong Kong, 22 August 1866; CP, 8, Legge to his wife, Hong Kong, 13 January 1866.

277 This catalogue, in four pages, was enclosed in LMS, SC, 6.5.B., F. Turner to Mullens, Hong Kong, 28 January 1868.

278 Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China*, p. 522.

279 LMS, SC, 4.5.A., Gillespie to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 December 1846. The sum was exclusively the expense of the type foundry, as nothing had been done in printing during this period.

280 LMS, OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 23 November 1850.

281 LMS, SC, 4.5.A., Gillespie to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 December 1846.

282 LMS, SC, 5.3.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 23 September 1852.

283 LMS, SC, 5.3.D., Legge and Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 24 January 1854.

284 LMS, OL, Tidman to Chalmers, London, 23 October 1854; SC, 5.4.B., Chalmers and Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 12 January 1855. Later in 1863, when reporting the amount of nearly ten million pages printed for the Bible and the Tract Societies in the previous year, the brethren still decided to 'charge them only such a percentage on the cost of materials and labour as will cover the tear and wear occasioned in the establishment by their work.'(LMS, SC, 6.4.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 12 January 1863.)

285 Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong*, pp. 85, 98.

286 *China Mail*, 9 November 1848.

287 LMS, SC, 5.1.D., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 26 December 1850.

288 This paper then changed its title to 香港中外新報 *Hsiang-kang chung-wai hsin-pao*, the Hong Kong Chinese and Overseas News. As no early copies of this paper are extant, however, when it changed name and who was its editor still remain as questions. Some studies argue, but without persuasive reference, that Huang Sheng, the Chinese superintendent of the LMS's Hong Kong mission press, was its first editor. See 方漢奇Fang Han-ch'i, 中國新聞事業通史*Chung-kuo hsin-wen shih-yeh t'ung-shih*, A History of Chinese Journalism (Peking, 1992), pp. 298-300; 林友蘭Lin Yü-lan, 香港報業發展史 *Hsiang-kaing pao-yeh fa-chan-shih*, A History of Hong Kong Newspapers (Taipei, 1977), pp. 68-79.

289 LMS, SC, 6.4.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 12 January 1863.

290 The new Chinese papers athat appeared at Hong Kong after 1861 were: 近事編錄 *Chin-shih pien-lu*, the News Records, in 1864; 中外新聞七日報 *Chung-wai hsin-wen ch'i-jih pao*, the Weekly Chinese and Overseas News, in 1871. In Shanghai, there was 上海新報 *Shanghai hsin-pao*, the Shanghai New Press, which began in 1864 as the Chinese supplement to *The North China Herald*. It is unclear whether the last one used the LMS's or American Presbyterian type.

291 LMS, OL, Tidman to Legge, London, 26 August 1857; SC, 6.1.A., Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 14 October 1857; 6.1.B., *ibid.*, 14 December 1858; 6.2.C., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 14 April 1860; CP, 10, Mohl to Legge, Paris, 25 July 1860; *The Missionary Magazine*, March 1859, pp. 74-5.

292 LMS, SC, 6.3.B., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 14 January 1861.

293 *The Missionary Magazine*, March 1859, pp. 73, Legge's remarks at a special public meeting held by the LMS in London on 15 March 1859 in support of an enlarged mission enterprise in China.

294 LMS, SC, 6.1.B., Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 10 August 1858; 6.2.C., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 28 January 1860.

295 LMS, SC, 7.2.D., Eitel to Mullens, Hong Kong, 23 December 1872.

296 For Hung Jen-kan's life, see 'The Confession of Hung Jen-kan,' in Franz Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents* (Seattle, 1971), vol. 3, pp. 1507-30. For his connections with Hong Kong, see Carl T. Smith, 'Friends and Relatives of Taiping Leaders,' in his *Chinese Christians*, pp. 75-85.

297 LMS, SC, 6.3.B., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 14 January 1861; 6.3.D., *ibid.*, 27 January 1862.

298 *ibid.*, 6.3.B., 14 January 1861.

299 *ibid.*, 6.4.B., 24 February 1864.

300 *ibid.*

301 *ibid.*

302 *ibid.*, 6.4.E., 31 January 1866.

303 LMS, SC, 7.2.B., Eitel to Mullens, Hong Kong, 12 May 1872.

304 *ibid.*, 7.2.B., 23 May 1872.

305 John K. Fairbank, ed. *The I. G. in Peking: Letters of Robert Hart* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 179, 185.

306 LMS, SC, 5.4.C., Legge and Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 8 January 1856.

307 *ibid.*, 6.1.C., 13 January 1859; BM, 12 July 1858. The construction of the new printing office finally cost $2,250 (*ibid.*, Chalmers to Tidman, Hong Kong, 28 October 1858.).

308 LMS, SC, 6.4.A., Legge to Tidman, Hong Kong, 12 January 1863.

309 Mullens, *Report on the China Mission of the LMS*, pp. 33-4.

310 LMS, SC, 6.5.B., Turner to Mullens, Hong Kong, 28 January 1868.

311 LMS, SC, 7.2.B., Eitel to Mullens, Hong Kong, 17 May 1872; 7.3.A., *ibid.*, 2 January 1873; SC, Report, 1.1., Turner to Mullens, Hong Kong, 25 January 1869; *ibid.*, 7 February 1870. The unusual large profits in 1872 resulted from the sale of type to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese government.

312 A copy of *Specimens of Chinese, Manchu and Japanese Type, from the Type-foundry of the American Presbyterian Mission Press* (Shanghai, 1867) can be found as an enclosure in F. S. Turner's letter to J. Mullens, Hong Kong, 28 January 1868 (LMS, SC, 6.5.B.).

313 LMS, SC, 6.5.B., Turner to Mullens, Hong Kong, 28 January 1868.

314 *ibid.*, 6.5.A., 25 April 1867.

315 *ibid.*

316 LMS, OL, Mullens to Turner, London, 10 December 1867.

317 LMS, SC, 6.4.E., Legge to Mullens, Hong Kong, 22 August 1866.

318 LMS, SC, 6.5.A., Turner to Mullens, Hong Kong, 28 October 1867; BM, 24 Feburary 1868.

319 *ibid.*, 6.5.B., 28 January 1868.

320 LMS, SC, Reports, 1.1., Turner to Mullens, Hong Kong, 25 January 1869.

321 *ibid.*, 7 February 1870.

322 LMS, SC, 7.2.B., Eitel to Mullens, Hong Kong, 17 May 1872.

323 *ibid.*

324 LMS, SC, 7.2.C., Eitel to Mullens, Hong Kong, 19 July 1872.

325 LMS, BM, 14 October 1872; OL, Mullens to Eitel, London, 18 October; SC, 7.2.C., Eitel to Mullens, Hong Kong, 28 June 1872.

326 LMS, SC, 7.3.A., Eitel to Mullens, Hong Kong, 15 and 28 January 1873.

327 *ibid.*, 7.3.A., 5 February 1873.

328 For the incident of Huang Sheng's matrices, see related letters among Eitel, Huang, Turner and Smale appended to Eitel's report to Mullens, Hong Kong, 9 May 1873 (LMS, SC, 7.3.B.). Shortly after this incident, Turner submitted his resignation to the Directors (LMS, SC, 7.3.C., Eitel to Whitehouse, LMS's acting Foreign Secrtary, Hong Kong, 10 November 1873.).

329 LMS, SC, Reports, 1.2., Eitel to Mullens, Hong Kong, 18 February 1874.

Conclusion

1 *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877* (Shanghai, 1878), pp. 206, 209, S. L. Baldwin, 'Christian Literature - What Has Been Done and What Is Needed.' Together with 14 in Manchu, Mongolian and Malay, 222 secular works, and 241 in Western languages, Baldwin gave a total number of 1,513 publications by Protestant missionaries to the Chinese. His sources of statistics were Wylie's *Memorials* and *Catalogue of Publications by Protestant Missionaries in China.*

2 For a contemporary discussion of mission printing and book distribution in China, see Malcom, *Travels in South-Eastern Asia*, vol. 2, pp. 106-14, 155-60, 192-5, 216-34; T. W. M. Marshall, *Christian Missions*, vol. 1, pp. 20-39, 236-50; Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. 2, pp. 331-2.

3 Medhurst, *China*, pp. 362, 592.

4 Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, p. 479.

5 LMS, CC, 1.4.B., Medhurst to Tidman, Shanghai, 11 October 1854.

6 Medhurst, *China*, pp. 555-62.

7 Malcom, *Travels in South-Eastern Asia*, vol. 2, pp. 218, 305.

8 *Records of the General Conference, 1877*, p. 221.

9 *Records, China Centenary Missionary Conference, held at Shanghai, April 25 to May 8, 1907* (Shanghai 1907), p. 205, John Darroch, 'Christian Literature.'

10 梁啓超 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, 西學書目表序例 *Hsi-hsüeh shu-mu-piao hsü-li*, 'Preface to A Bibliography of Western Studies,' in his 飲冰室文集 *Yin-ping-shih*

wen-chi, Collected Essays from the Ice-Drinker's Studio (Shanghai, 1932), p. 123. The preface was written in 1896.

11 Fryer, 'An Account of the Department for Translation of Foreign Books at the Kiangnan Arsenal, Shanghai,' p. 77.

12 *ibid.*, p. 80.

13 F. Hirth, 'Western Appliances in the Chinese Printing Industry,' *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 20 (1885), p. 168.

14 *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 2 February 1874, 'Prospectus - The Chinese Printing & Publishing Company, Limited.'

15 史和 Shih Ho, 姚福申 Yao Fu-shen and 葉翠娣 Yeh Ts'ui-ti, eds., 中國近代報刊名錄 *Chung-kuo chin-tai pao-k'an ming-lu*, A Directory of Modern Chinese Newspapers and Magazines (Fuchou, 1991), preface.

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