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Producers, Literary Audience, and the Circulation of
English Texts in the Treaty Port of Shanghai

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The Genealogy of Dictionaries: Producers, Literary Audience, and the Circulation of English Texts in the Treaty Port of Shanghai

Jia Jane SI

Abstract

In the circulation of English language in the treaty port of Shanghai, dictionaries were a key element that brought together authors and audience. Beyond its content, a dictionary also yields clues to the social circumstances of its origins. By examining who produced bilingual dictionaries and who used them for the study of English, the paper outlines the social genealogy and cultural biography of the language study medium.

For mid-nineteenth century Shanghai's foreign language market, a bilingual dictionary was a significant milestone. It highlighted the gap between spoken pidgin and written English, constituting the demarcation between two linguistic repertoires commanded by two different groups. On the one side, there were Pidgin English speakers, including so-called linguists, rickshaw coolies, prostitutes, and servants, who used English primarily to make a living in the Settlements. On the other side, there were people who wanted more than oral pidgin: intellectuals and the new elite needed English for understanding Western learning. Therefore, the emergence and evolution of dictionaries reflects the changing demands of English-speaking Chinese. Dictionaries therefore serve not only as tools for language study, but also as special lenses through which one can observe the socio-linguistic milieu of language contact.

A Dearth of Professionals: Four Editions of *Wuche yun fu*

The initial task of compiling a Chinese-English / English-Chinese bilingual dictionary was intertwined with early Protestant missionary activities in nineteenth-century China. To accomplish God's will, that is, by preaching the Bible to a Chinese audience, Protestant missionaries devoted themselves to the study of vernacular Chinese. In Rev. Alexander Wylie's account, about fifteen Euro-American Protestant missionaries produced more than twenty English-Chinese reference books for studying written and colloquial Chinese (including dialects) between 1815 and 1867 (see Table 1). A majority of these works enhanced the efficiency of language study among missionary groups in China, and, beginning in the 1840s, a few of the texts were also used in teaching English to Chinese children in free missionary schools in the Chinese treaty ports.¹

Robert Morrison (1782-1834), the first Protestant missionary to China from the London Missionary Society, collected Chinese books during his early preaching days in Canton in 1807.² He spent many taels of silver³ in hiring Chinese language tutors,⁴ and, with the support of the East India Company in Macao, he devoted more than ten years

Acknowledgements: I would like to express my appreciation to Professor Zhou Zhenhe, my former advisor at Fudan University, who inspired me during my early stage of exploring these historical texts regarding the theme of language contact. I also offer my gratitude to Professor Susan Naquin at Princeton University and Professor Michael Lackner at University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, for their reading of my draft, as well as their encouragement of my work. I am particularly indebted to Daniel Nieh, who proofread this paper. Finally, I wish to thank Professor Victor Mair, my mentor during my study at University of Pennsylvania. Any errors that remain are my own responsibility.

¹ Alexander Wylie recorded in his *Memorial* that W. H. Medhurst (1796-1857) compiled an incomplete series of "Twenty-four Lessons in English and Chinese" during his stay in Shanghai (1843-1856). The lessons were designed particularly for local children to acquire elementary English (Wylie, *Memorial*, p. 38). Wylie also mentioned that John MacGowan (?- 1922) from the London Missionary Society published two English reference books for Chinese who wished to learn the English language. The one is *Yingyu zhengyin* 英語正音, *Vocabulary of the English Language* (Shanghae, 1862), 125 leaves in two books, in which each term is first given in Chinese, then in English, followed by the pronunciation in Chinese characters. The other is called *Ying zi yuanliu* 英字源流, *Spelling Book of the English Language* (Shanghae, 1863), 60 leaves, in which the method of combining letters into syllables and syllables into words is expressed in detail through the medium of the Chinese character (Wylie, *Memorial*, p. 257).

² The main biographies of Rev. Robert Morrison are: *Memoirs of the life and labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.*, compiled by his widow, Eliza Morrison (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1839), *A retrospect of the first ten years of the Protestant mission to China*, by William Milne (Malacca: Printed at the Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820), and *Robert Morrison, a master-builder*, by Marshall Broomhall (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924).

³ A Chinese measure of weight for silver, equivalent to 1000 copper coins. The actual mass that constituted a tael varied from place to place and changed over time; in 1830s Shanghai, a tael was roughly 36.65 grams of silver (see Pan Liangui, *Shanghai huobi shi*, pp. 11-12).

⁴ Eliza Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 184.

(from 1812 to 1823) to finishing a huge three-part bilingual dictionary, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*.⁵ The significance of this pioneering work is that it contains several "firsts" in the history of Sino-Western communication: it was the first Chinese-English and English-Chinese dictionary in the world, and it set a standard for bilingual dictionary compilation. With regard to the second part of his *Dictionary*, called *Wuche yun fu* 五車韻府 (Five cargos of phonetics), Professor Stanislas Julien of Paris wrote that it was "without dispute, the best Chinese Dictionary composed in a European language."⁶

Morrison's dictionary was heavy, containing six thick volumes; it was huge, bound in a quarto format; though 1,500 copies were printed, it was most probably very expensive.⁷ All told, it was more an encyclopedia of the Chinese language than a reference tool to be stored in libraries. Later Protestant missionaries in China, such as Samuel W. Williams and Walter H. Medhurst, both gave credit to Morrison's *Dictionary* when discussing their own experiences of language study and dictionary compilation.⁸ It not only helped newcomer missionaries to learn the Chinese language more effectively, but also provided abundant cultural information about the local Chinese to them. For example, words related to Chinese popular religions, including Buddhism, Taoism, and Islam, appear to be favored by Morrison in his dictionary. Vernacular expressions and topics regarding daily life were another significant linguistic register.⁹ However, Robert

⁵ The complete title of the dictionary is: *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language, in three parts. Part the first, containing Chinese and English arranged according to the keys; part the second, Chinese and English arranged alphabetically, and part the third, consisting of English and Chinese* (Macao: Printed at the Honorable East India Company's Press; London: Published and Sold by Kingsbury, Parbury and Allen, Leadenhall Street, 1815-1823).

⁶ Wylie, *Memorials*, p. 7.

⁷ Morse, *Chronicle*, vol. 3, p. 240. According to the records of the East India Company, after the first part of the dictionary was finished in 1816, the Company held 100 copies, and 600 copies were sent to London. In addition, Robert Morrison owned 500 copies himself, and some European Sinologists at the time (e.g., Joshua Marshman) requested a few copies and paid personally. However, the record did not mention the price of the dictionary.

⁸ Samuel Wells Williams (1812-1884), who was appointed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arrived in Canton in 1833 and became the main figure in charge of the missionary press and the chief editor of the *Chinese Repository* until the early 1840s. He produced several language books, including *An English and Chinese Vocabulary, in the Court Dialect* (Macao: Printed at the office of the Chinese Repository, 1844). Walter Henry Medhurst (1796-1857) from the London Missionary Society, published his *Chinese and English Dictionary* in Batavia in 1842-43, and *English and Chinese Dictionary* in 1847-48 (Shanghai: Printed at the Mission Press).

⁹ For more details, see my article "Translating Vernaculars: Robert Morrison's Bilingual Dictionaries and Sino-Western Cultural Communication," accepted by the scientific committee of the 3rd conference of the European Association of Chinese Linguists, 2003.

Morrison's English-Chinese dictionary, entailing the launching of Sino-British language contact and cultural communication, for the most part only circulated among missionary groups in China during the first half of the nineteenth-century. Beginning in the 1860s, English entered both Chinese official language institutes and private schools, but no hint has yet surfaced that Morrison's six-volume *Dictionary* accompanied it.

From the viewpoint of the domestic industry of making English-Chinese /Chinese-English dictionaries, it is notable that no native Chinese up to the 1860s ever contributed a comprehensive bilingual dictionary for the wants of Chinese students who were learning proper English. Chinese compradors and merchants were capable of speaking English, but their fixed daily life style narrowed their linguistic repertoire; therefore, they could not have become producers of standard dictionaries. Trading terms and business conversations constituted the bulk of the 1860s English glossaries such as *Ying hua zhujie* 英語註解 (English conversation with explanatory notes).¹⁰ To some extent, this resulted from the compilers' experience: though most compradors and merchants received training in English, the English under their command was, in fact, commercial English. Therefore, glossaries that they compiled are usually sorted by headings rather than alphabetic order. On this account, it was the compilers' privilege to orient the theme of the glossaries and to select a particular vocabulary, and, at the same time, to avoid jeopardizing their reputations by entering a linguistic field with which they were not familiar.

Though words and expressions of standard English made *Yingyu jiquan* 英語集全 (Complete collection of English words) distinctive among other glossaries of the 1860s, it cannot be counted as a dictionary.¹¹ The compiler, Tang Tingshu 唐廷樞 (1832-1892), was one of the first Chinese who received an education in standard English at missionary schools in his youth. He served as a governmental interpreter in Hong Kong and in

¹⁰ Zheng Xuwu, *Ying hua zhujie* [English conversation with explanatory notes] 英語註解 (Shanghai, 1860). In 1860, five Ningbo businessmen pooled their money and published the English reference book in Shanghai. The two-volume glossary was finely block-printed, comprising around 4,000 words under 39 different headings in 180 pages (90 double-leaves).

¹¹ Tang Tingshu, *Yingyu jiquan* [Complete collection of English words] 英語集全 (*The Chinese and English Instructor* [original English title]) (Canton, 1862). There is also an English title on the front page, "The Chinese and English Instructor." One original copy of *Yingyu jiquan* stored in the Wason Collection contains six volumes and is nicely bound. Here I offer my gratitude to Thomas Hahn at the Cornell University library, who guided me to the rare book section.

Shanghai during the 1850s, and later as Jardine's Shanghai comprador from 1863-1873.¹² Although the title of his book, *Yingyu jiquan*, suggests that he sought to make his glossary comprehensive, in fact the contents were strictly commerce-oriented. Bolton in his research claimed a relationship between the commercial theme of the text and the "comprador modernity" of the mid-nineteenth century.¹³ However, I would argue that, to the contrary, such values as are found in the text reveal the fact that early English-Chinese glossaries did not provide a comprehensive scope of vocabulary for students to study English. Furthermore, handbooks, glossaries, chrestomathies, or other such forms we may think of, shared a format whereby entries were listed by categories, and thus they could not replace bilingual dictionaries with an alphabetical or a Chinese radical-based organization. Dictionaries geared towards Chinese students seemed slow in coming.

In 1865, the London Mission Press in Shanghai filled the shortage by reprinting a copy of Morrison's first Chinese-English dictionary.¹⁴ The "Advertisement" says:

In reprinting the Second Part of Morrison's Dictionary, regard has been had chiefly to the supply of a pressing want. There is a growing scarcity of works of this kind, while the number of Chinese students is increasing from year to year.

The Second Part of Morrison's Dictionary has been generally commended by experienced Sinologues as the most perfect and useful of the whole....¹⁵

London Mission Press made a wise selection for the Chinese audience. The second part of Robert Morrison's *Dictionary, Wuche yun fu* 五車韻府 (Five cargos of phonetics), contains two volumes published in 1819. The dictionary includes forty thousand Chinese characters, and under each character come words and the corresponding English translations. The original purpose for which Morrison compiled this Chinese-English dictionary was to facilitate the Protestant missionaries' learning of Chinese during the early nineteenth century; however, the dictionary could also fulfill the

¹² Tang Tingshu and his two brothers were educated at the Morrison Education Society School, which was established in Macao and Hong Kong during the late 1830s and the early 1840s (Bolton, *Chinese Englishes*, p. 176).

¹³ Bolton, *Chinese Englishes*, p. 176.

¹⁴ The London Missionary Society in Shanghai established the London Mission Press in 1844. W. H. Medhurst, one of the founders, moved printers and other facilities from Batavia (Jakarta), the main missionary station in Southeast Asia during the early nineteenth century.

¹⁵ Morrison, *Wuche yun fu* (Reprinted, 1865), vol. 1, p. 1.

needs of elementary-level Chinese students of English in the 1860s. In other words, although the 1865 edition of *Wuche yun fu* was an identical reprint of Morrison's 1819 work, the audience of the two editions was different: missionary colleagues for the 1819 edition and Chinese students for the 1865 reprint.

The publisher mentioned neither the amount nor the price of the two-volume dictionary in his advertisement. According to our knowledge of the London Mission Press in 1860s Shanghai, letterpress printing was used in the publication of religion tracts and language books, including the reprint of *Wuche yun fu*.¹⁶ Therefore, the dictionary's cost of production could not have been low. This is further demonstrated by the publisher's substitution of the 12mo. (duodecimo, about 19cm × 13cm) format for the original 4to (quarto). However, the smaller size proved an advantage to students carrying the two-volume, more than 1,000-page dictionary to school every day.

A clear understanding of the genealogy of bilingual dictionaries can help us not only tidy up the relation between the texts, but also gain an insight into the social aspects of the publication. In mid-nineteenth century Shanghai, pidgin English dominated the foreign language market, where linguists and merchants spoke for the purpose of trade and business. Yang Xun 楊勛, a literatus who received an education in standard English in official language schools, noted in *Shenbao* 申報 that there were numerous *tongshi* 通事 (linguists or interpreters) who had been involved in trading contacts with Westerners around the northern area of Shanghai in the early 1870s.¹⁷ The English language that those people paid attention to was only the spoken form. Yang Xun called it *bieqin Yingyu* 別琴英語, which is the way that Shanghai vernacular transcribes the term "pidgin English." Yang Xun also used Chinese characters to write down the sound of English words and further compiled a hundred Chinese poems as examples of what pidgin English sounded like, which suggested that the English that most people of Shanghai spoke at the time had little written context as standard criteria for phonetic references. Therefore, the advent of dictionaries suggested the criteria and indicated a social marking between pidgin English speakers and those who pursued standard English. Those who

¹⁶ Fan Muhan, ed., *Zhongguo yinshua jindaishi*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁷ Yang Xun, "Bieqin zhuzhici bing xu," in *Shenbao*, 3 March 1873.

wished to learn standard English represented the main readership unserved by "the growing scarcity" of dictionaries as mentioned above in the publisher's preface. Who were they?

The demand came from students who were receiving formal study in English. Due to the Qing government's failure in the Second Opium War (1856-1860), the current circumstances drew official-scholars' attention to the fact that the study of foreign languages was imperative for communicating directly with foreigners. Beginning in the early 1860s, the study of standard English burgeoned in official language institutes, missionary schools, and private English schools. There were two main foreign language schools in Shanghai at the time: one was the official language institute called Guangfangyan Guan 廣方言館 (School for the Diffusion of Foreign Languages),¹⁸ and the other was the Anglo-Chinese School run by missionaries.¹⁹ Students who had such formal training were relatively few in number, compared to merchants, interpreters, and other office clerks who spoke pidgin English and, were involved in the foreign trade of the Settlement. However, as long as each year there were newcomers, standard English and standard dictionaries also had growing popularity.²⁰

It is unknown whether enough copies of the 1865 *Wuche yun fu* reached the students who wished to learn proper English, in regard to the price, the number of texts published, and the market for language tutoring at the time. Further along in history of Morrison's dictionary, clues from another reprint in 1879 suggest that the audience for the 1865 version was limited.

In the 1870s, when lithography was first introduced to Tien-Shih-Chai

¹⁸ In Shanghai, the foreign language institute Guangfangyan Guan was set up in 1863, where talented local boys under fourteen were selected to study English or French. Between 1863 and 1896, around five hundred Chinese graduated from Guangfangyan Guan, most of whom later became diplomats, translators, or key members of the government. For more detailed research on Guangfangyan Guan, see Knight Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, and Xiong Yuezhi, "Shanghai Guangfangyan Guan shilue."

¹⁹ The Anglo-Chinese School was established also with the support of several foreign firms, such as Jardine, Matheson & Co. The students were mainly from the merchant families of Shanghai. For more information on the school, see John Fryer, "First Report of the Anglo-Chinese School to F.R. Gamwell, 1865," and Fryer, "Second Report, 1867," in John Fryer Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

²⁰ Xiong Yuezhi's research shows that in Guangfangyan Guan, the number of students varied from year to year, from less than thirty at first to as many as eighty. According to Fryer's report, the number of students of the Anglo-Chinese School was also growing between 1865 and 1867.

(Dianshizhai) 點石齋²¹, a private publishing house in Shanghai, a photo-lithographed reprint of Morrison's *Wuche yun fu* was published for the English language study market. The main purpose of producing lithographed dictionaries was to lower the cost so that more copies could be produced to reach the growing number of students. Before lithography was employed by private Chinese publishers, few readers could afford to buy a bilingual dictionary as the basic reference tool for their study of English. As noted by Dianshizhai's manager in his preface to the new edition in 1879: "The price of a dictionary has hitherto been extremely high. If a person is planning to purchase one, it would definitely cost him several dozen dollars, readers have therefore been invariably prevented [from doing so] 字典之價向來極昂, 計購取一部非數十金不可, 以致讀者每被阻止." The price of the 1865 edition of *Wuche yun fu* is unknown, but it could not have been low because the book was letterpress printed. According to advertisements and pricelists in *Shenbao* for those newly released books during the 1870s and 80s, the lithographic copies mostly varied from 20 cents to 2 silver dollars, yet letterpress-printed books were usually sold for several dollars, roughly equal to the monthly living expenses of an ordinary family. Therefore, the only way to satisfy the widespread demand for affordable bilingual dictionaries was to make lithographic reprints, for a dictionary of several dozen cents was considered more or less affordable to common people, but those that cost several dollars or several dozen dollars was beyond their ability to pay. In response to this situation, Dianshizhai "thence published one English-Chinese dictionary to make it publicly [available] in the market, by pricing it at fifty cents 愛印英華字典一部, 以公於市, 立價五角."²² The manager did not mention the name of this English-Chinese dictionary published in the spring of 1879.²³ The lithographic reprint of Morrison's *Wuche yun fu*, which came out in October, was the second important publishing event in the fifth year of the Guangxu Reign (1879)²⁴ from Dianshizhai.

²¹ The Tien-Shih-Chai (Dianshizhai) Photolithographic Publishing Works (點石齋石印書局) was established by the British merchant Frederick Major (1841-1908) in 1876. It was an asset of the newspaper *Shenbao* until 1907.

²² Dianshizhai's manager, "Preface," in *Wuche yun fu* (photo-lithographed reprint, 1879).

²³ From the advertisement in the newspaper *Shenbao* in 1879, we know that the title of the dictionary is *Suoyinben Ying-Hua zidian* 縮印本英華字典 (An English-Chinese dictionary reprinted in reduced format).

²⁴ Guangxu Reign 光緒朝, 1875-1908.

According to the manager's own record, both dictionaries received enthusiastic responses: "Purchasers come one after another, and those who have seen [the dictionaries] express unremitting praise 購者接踵而來，見者誇不絕口。"²⁵

To bring the cost of paper even lower, the publisher reprinted *Wuche yun fu* in reduced format, placing two pages on one 16-mo (hexadecimo, about 18cm×13cm)-sized sheet, and typesetting one above and the other below. The original two-volume dictionary was thus reduced to a more convenient single volume. Information about this newly published Chinese-English dictionary continuously appeared in advertisement columns in the newspaper *Shenbao* 申報 from 1879 to 1881:

Wuche yun fu, 80 cents 五車韻府 洋八角

This is a book that translates Chinese into English (*i.e.*, is a Chinese-English dictionary). It is quite convenient for any Chinese people who are in contact with Westerners. Because it happens that sometimes a Chinese cannot convey his thoughts readily while using Western languages, he can check in this dictionary and read [the relevant entry], then understand. It is appropriate for everyone to keep a copy with him.

是書系以華文翻英語，凡華人與西人交接者甚為便捷。蓋華人操西語或一時不能達意，則將此書查出給與閱看，便明故。各人皆宜身藏一部也。²⁶

Beginning in the late 1870s, cheap lithographic dictionaries provided students an easy access to the study of English.²⁷ Despite their significance in terms of change in circulation of English through textual media among ordinary people, the dictionaries did not bring about large-scaled transformation because, in Shanghai, both the authors and

²⁵ Dianshizhai's manager, *Wuche yun fu* (photo-lithographed reprint, 1879), preface. From the inside front cover of the 1879 *Wuche yun fu*, we can see that the dictionary was distributed by Shenchang Shuhuashi 申昌書畫室 (The Shenchang Painting and Calligraphy Room). Both the publisher Dianshizhai and the distributor Shenchang Shuhuashi in fact shared a common owner with the newspaper *Shenbao* during the 1870s and 80s.

²⁶ *Shenbao*, 16 January 1881.

²⁷ During my visit to Shanghai in the summer of 2004, I found another version of *Wuche yun fu* in Professor Zhou Zhenhe's personal collection. The book is a lithographic reprint of the 1865 letterpress-printed edition of *Wuche yun fu*. Because it is an identical reprint of the 1865 version, the date and the publisher remain the same on the cover page; however, the real publisher and publishing date are not clear. The dimensions are 15cm × 9cm, about half of the original 19cm × 13cm, and it weighed much less. It is probable that a local Chinese publisher made it in the 1880s when lithographic printing became a popular and profitable enterprise for Chinese private printing houses in Shanghai. In this reprint, the original English preface which appeared in the 1865 edition was slightly abridged by the Chinese publisher, and a list of "Chinese radicals" called *Huawen weibu* 華文位部 was added and sequenced with new page numbers before the original content.

users of bilingual dictionaries were restricted to certain groups before the 1880s. Books like *Wuche yun fu* became the main reference for "people in contact with Westerners," who in fact were only the literate, *i.e.*, merchants, clerks in foreign firms, and students in missionary schools. The 1880s was a revolutionary era for the making of English reference works, which merits specific treatment in the following pages, yet publication still failed to reach a broad, systematic level.²⁸ Standard English, as a medium of Western learning and foreign affairs, attracted only a limited number of literati and intellectuals in treaty ports. Dictionary compilers, who received serious language training and were proficient in English, were even fewer.

The small scope of the industry led to a close relationship between authors and readers. It can be inferred that the social network behind the publication of bilingual dictionaries in the treaty port of Shanghai was not large, but it was effective. The prefaces of each reprinted version of *Wuche yun fu* tells us how and why the new editions were brought to publication, revealing that communication between author and reader played a key role. *Wuche yunfu* was originally compiled for Protestant missionaries to study Chinese during the early nineteenth century; messages and feedback on using the dictionary therefore were transmitted mainly between missionaries in China and missionary students in the West. Although the 1865 reprint was produced by missionaries, it in fact also satisfied the demands of Chinese readers. This implies that, starting in the mid-nineteenth century, a new audience for *Wuche yunfu* emerged who facilitated communication between English-speaking Chinese and Protestant missionaries behind the textual medium. The main purpose of reprinting a lithographic version of Morrison's dictionary in 1879 was to make the volume more affordable. The Chinese preface claims that the readers' feedback on book price was the main reason for producing a new lithographic edition.²⁹ Though the original author of the lithographic edition was Robert Morrison, the people responsible for reprinting the text changed from the Protestant missionaries to Chinese publishers, revealing that the circulation of English through the textual medium earned attention from local Shanghai literati during the late nineteenth

²⁸ For example, most of the dictionaries and English reference works published in the 1880s were authored by Kuang Qizhao 鄺其照.

²⁹ Dianshizhai's manager, "Preface," in *Wuche yun fu* (photo-lithographed reprint, 1879).

century.³⁰

An Upsurge of Texts and Expansion of Consumers

In 1870s Shanghai, Pidgin English was an oral jargon increasingly popular among the lower social stratum, including shopkeepers, rickshaw coolies, prostitutes, and servants.³¹ Due to the social effect of *yangwu yundong* 洋務運動 (Movements for Foreign Affairs, 1860s-1890s), the study of formal English also reached a literary audience. This literary audience included not only students at official language institutes as well as missionary schools and the new elite collaborating with Protestant missionaries to translate texts for the spread of Western learning, but also part of the merchant class in treaty ports, such as compradors and interpreters. Although most of the people from the merchant class completed only short-term English study at private English schools or

³⁰ At the end of this section, I need to mention one more edition of *Wuche yun fu*, although it is less closely related to previous versions. This one is an enlarged and revised edition, entitled *Zengguang gaiding wuche yun fu* [An enlarged and revised version of "Five cargos of phonetics"] 增廣改訂五車韻府. The author's name is 金約瑟 (Jin Yuese, originally no Romanization). The purpose of the revision was to change the indexing method. As mentioned above, although both the 1865 and the 1879 editions of *Wuche yun fu* provided important means for Chinese students to acquire standard English, the phonetic order of Chinese characters might have caused difficulties for those who had not mastered the English alphabet. The author, Jin Yuese 金約瑟, a Chinese scholar who "had an extreme liking for English 酷嗜英文," took more consideration for Chinese students. The original version of *Wuche yun fu* is in Nanjing dialect, thus students from other regions, such as Shanghai or Ningbo, surely encountered difficulties in finding a Chinese character according to the phonetic order. Therefore, to make *Wuche yun fu* more widely useful to Chinese students, the author indexed the dictionary by Chinese radical order, the system employed by most contemporary Chinese dictionaries. The copy that I have seen in the Widner Library at Harvard University is catalogued under the authorship of H. A. Giles (1845-1935). However, my opinion is that the author was a Chinese person, and 金約瑟 (Jin Yuese) was his pen name for compiling this dictionary. The author must have received formal language training in English, either overseas, or in official language institutes in China. The name 約瑟 (Yuese) could be the Chinese transcription of his English name, Joseph. H. A. Giles, an Englishman, who came to China in the 1860s as a secretary student, learned Chinese in the Legation Office and later became a diplomatic official in the 1880s. He compiled a Chinese-English dictionary in 1892 and an English-Chinese one in 1912. No records indicate that he revised and enlarged *Wuche yun fu*.

³¹ Chinese Pidgin English in nineteenth-century Shanghai was called *yangjingbang yu* 洋涇浜語. The *yangjingbang* language that local Shanghai people spoke can be traced back to "Canton jargon," a trading jargon composed of a mixture of English, Cantonese, Portuguese, and Hindi used by Cantonese merchants to communicate with foreigners during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. After the opening of the treaty ports in the 1840s, Cantonese merchants, workers, and adventures traveled to Shanghai to explore trading opportunities; they also brought their trading jargon to the north. From the 1850s to the early twentieth century, *yangjingbang* was the dominant trading language used between Chinese people and Westerners in the Settlements. The language also spread to various groups of people in lower social strata who employed it primarily to make a living in late nineteenth-century Shanghai (See Chapter One of my dissertation, "The Circulation of English in Shanghai, 1840-1940: Historical Texts, Personal Activities, and Social Movements" [forthcoming].)

evening schools, they were able to read and write in English. In other words, Pidgin English constituted the bulk of merchants' business conversation, but texts still tended to provide them with knowledge of standard English.

Texts thus highlighted the gap between spoken pidgin and written English, constituting the demarcation between two repertoires commanded by two different groups. While coolies, prostitutes, and servants took pidgin English to be a part of daily life, intellectuals and the new elite viewed standard English as the gateway to Western learning. "In the study of Western learning, if one does not read bilingual dictionaries, then he can neither understand the essence of the learning, nor can he write properly in coherent grammar. It will be really a pity for him. 講究西學若不展閱兩文字典，則學問不得其精，文理多不得其當，惜乎，" suggested the manager of Dianshizhai, who was running the most famous lithographic printing house in late nineteenth-century Shanghai.³² Dictionaries and reference books, therefore, were important media for the spread of formal English to the literary audience.

This flourishing of texts relied to a great extent on technological developments. The printing of English reference books from the late 1870s was revolutionary in significance primarily because lithography decreased printing costs and allowed the study of English to reach a wider literary audience. In other words, lithographic technology greatly contributed to the proliferation of English texts in the late nineteenth century.

In Shanghai, missionaries and Westerners introduced lithography to publishers during the 1870s. The printing house Tushanwan 土山灣, which was affiliated with the Catholic church in the Xujiahui 徐家匯 area, applied the technology to the publication of religion pictures and tracts in 1875.³³ In 1876, Dianshizhai started lithographically printing dictionaries, Chinese classics, and English reference works.³⁴ From the 1880s to the 1920s, lithography gradually expanded to numerous private publishers and printing houses in Shanghai, fifty-six of which can be traced by historical sources.³⁵ An article in the 1880 *Shenbao* compared the cost of block-printing to that of lithographic printing. It

³² Dianshizhai's manager, "Preface," in *Wuche yun fu* (photo-lithographed reprint, 1879).

³³ Fan Muhan, ed., p. 98.

³⁴ Fan Muhan, ed., p. 155.

³⁵ Xiong Yuezhi, ed., *Shanghai tongshi*, vol. 6, p. 94.

emphasized that lithographic printing could produce two hundred copies at one time, at a cost of \$37.³⁶ Block-printing the same quantity would have cost at least \$45, excluding the cost of paper and ink.³⁷ Another advertisement reads: "Cut blocks are no longer used in printing. Now there is a newly invented method from foreign countries, which is extremely marvelous 印書不用刻板。今外國新創一法，奇妙之至。"³⁸ Private publishers and printing houses in Shanghai started to produce lithographic reprints of English reference books, making the study of English more affordable. In the 1880s, a letterpress-printed English textbook, *Ying zi zhinan* 英字指南 (Guidebook for English words), sold at more than two dollars.³⁹ But a lithographic English glossary, *Ying zi rumen* 英字入門 (An elementary course in English words), cost only fifteen cents.⁴⁰

The increasing number of private English schools and evening schools in Shanghai between the 1870s and 80s indicates the existence of a large market for language study.⁴¹ However, if language reference books had not been so low in price, obstacles would have stood in the way of students: a several-dollar block-printed or letterpress-printed dictionary equaled the monthly tuition of most English schools. Only wealthy individuals, not ordinary people, could afford such upscale reference books. Therefore, as we will see, lithographic printing inevitably led to the expansion of the language study market.

Around the late 1870s and the early 1880s, aside from the aforementioned lithographic version of *Wuche yun fu*, Dianshizhai reprinted other English-Chinese / Chinese-English dictionaries and produced a few new language reference books. In an era of few professional dictionary compilers, the publisher and the authors deserve credit for their contribution to the study of English. At the same time, one cannot neglect the

³⁶ The mark "\$" and the currency "dollar" in this chapter refer to the Mexican silver dollars circulating in the international market during the second half of the nineteenth century. The conversion rate to the local Chinese silver tael was around 1: 0.73 in the 1880s.

³⁷ *Shenbao*, 10 June, 1880.

³⁸ *Shenbao*, 6 April, 1880. Here, the "newly invented method" referred to is lithography. Although lithography was first invented in 1798 by Alois Senefelder (1771-1834) and was employed by the Protestant missionary Walter H. Medhurst in 1828 to print a Chinese textbook in Batavia, the technology was still considered "new" by local Shanghaiese.

³⁹ *Shenbao*, 10 June, 1880. *Ying zi zhinan* was compiled in 1879 by Yang Xun 楊勛, a student who received formal English training at the official language school in Shanghai.

⁴⁰ *Shenbao*, 16 January, 1881. *Ying zi rumen* first came out in 1874. The author Cao Xiang 曹驥 was a local Shanghaiese. In 1879, Dianshizhai published a lithographic reprint which cost only fifteen cents.

⁴¹ See advertisements of English schools in *Shenbao* from 1873 to 1883.

fact that low cost and huge demand for English reference books brought big commercial profits to both authors and publishers. From the book information advertised by Dianshizhai in *Shenbao* in January 1881, one can see that an active rapport arose between the publisher / authors and the consumers in the market of language study:

Hua-Ying wenzi hebi (Chinese and English combining harmoniously), one volume. The book covers the translation of the main ideas of idioms and phrases, which are selected from the Chinese classics. It will be very helpful for the reading of various kinds of English books. 《華英文字合璧》，1卷，系擇中國經書中成語之要旨，譯成英文，大有助於閱讀英文各書之用。

Hua-Ying tongyong yaoyu (Chinese-English general key words and phrases). [The author of] the book translates daily expressions from English to Chinese, and Chinese to English. 《華英通用要語》，系將華英日用各語互譯成文。

Hua-Ying shuobu cuoyao (Synopsis on the translation of anecdotes from Chinese into English). This book focuses on the translation of daily Mandarin speech, divided in different categories. ...Compared to *Hua-Ying tongyong yaoyu*, this book constitutes a step of improvement. 《華英說部撮要》，系將平常官話分部互翻，……較諸《華英通用要語》已進一層矣。

Another small advertisement that continuously appeared from January until April 1881 supplied additional information on prices and where to purchase:

To those who are learning the English language, please note:

The publisher has produced various books on translation between Chinese and English. Please purchase them at the Shenchang Painting and Calligraphy Room in Shenbao Guan (the building of the newspaper *Shenbao*) 請學英文英話者賜鑒：本齋今印成各種互翻華英文字書籍，請向申報館申昌書畫室購取。

Ying zi rumen (An elementary course in English words) / 15 cents 英字入門 一角五分

Hua-Ying tongyong yaoyu (Chinese-English general key words and phrases) / 15 cents 華英通用要語 一角五分

Hua-Ying shuobu cuoyao (Synopsis on the translation of anecdotes from Chinese into English) / 40 cents 華英說部撮要 洋四角

Hua-Ying wenzi hebi (Chinese and English harmoniously combined) / 25 cents 華英文字合璧 二角五分

Wuche yun fu (Five cargos of phonetics) / 80 cents 五車韻府 洋八角

Such advertisements kept readers informed when new publications came out and new editions became available on the market. A January 1882 issue contains updated information:

Wushi zitong Yingyu lu (English self-instruction textbook) / 50 cents
Common phrases are classified and translated into English in this book. They are also annotated with phonetic transliteration in Chinese, which makes studying very convenient 《無師自通英語錄》洋五角，是書啓常用之語分類譯成英文，注以華字最便學習。⁴²

Robert Darnton has proposed a general model for the study of "the history of books," in which the "communication circuit" demonstrates all aspects of a book worthy of study: author, publisher, printer, shipper, bookseller, and reader.⁴³ In the case study of "the history of English books" in China, the "communication circuit" concept is certainly useful for examining the relationship between historical texts and social networks. Moreover, to fully understand the interaction between publishers of bilingual reference books and their audience, we need to pay more attention to a few facts relevant to the "circuit." While only indirectly accounted for in the process of making a book, these auxiliary factors are directly pertinent to the social network of publication. One of these factors was newspaper advertising. Although the advertising bore the appearance of promoting the books, it also effectively increased public awareness of the newly emerging publishing activities of bilingual dictionaries.

The aforementioned advertisements in *Shenbao* were one of the few marketing media in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai, through which information on Chinese-English reference books was transmitted between publishers and readers. Although in the 1870s and 80s *Shenbao* was managed by the British merchant Frederick Major (1841-1908), it was a Chinese language newspaper covering the Western presence in Shanghai; the audience probably was Chinese people in contact with Westerners in addition to Westerners who were proficient in Chinese. Information on commercial trading, transportation, job vacancies, and foreign goods could be found in the advertising section. The postings of English reference books provided snapshots of the new publications, giving the audience a preview of the texts on the market.

⁴² *Shenbao*, 19 January, 1882.

⁴³ Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?" p. 5.

Booklists served as benchmarks for the current book market. In late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Shanghai, readers were able to acquire information on lithographic publications from booklists distributed by local presses. Although most Chinese private publishers, printing houses, and bookstores were relatively small, they were flexible and able to respond to the book market much more quickly than the government-established publishers in late Qing China.⁴⁴ They pioneered the selling of books on current affairs and Western learning, meeting the needs of Chinese intellectuals who paid close attention to foreign affairs. Lithographic versions made these books affordable, providing easy access to readers.

Six separate, undated booklists are surveyed. They were all lithographically printed on about A3-size single sheets.⁴⁵ They are:

"List of new lithographic books on current affairs and mathematics sold at Shanghai Weiwenge Bookstore 上海緯文閣發兌石印時務算學新書目錄," (abbr. "Weiwenge," approx. 1880s).

"List of lithographic books on Western learning, mathematics, and foreign affairs distributed by Shanghai Shiwanyuanlou Press 上海十萬卷樓發兌石印西法算學洋務書目," (abbr. "Shiwanyuanlou," approx. 1890s)

"Various lithographic books on Western learning distributed by Shanghai Feihongge Press 上海飛鴻閣發兌西學各種石印書籍," (abbr. "Feihongge," approx. 1900s)

"Lithographic books, paintings, and pictures distributed by Shanghai Tongwen Press 上海同文書局石印書畫圖帖," (abbr. "Tongwen," approx. 1900s)

"Various lithographic and letterpress-printed books distributed by Shanghai Shenchang Printing House 上海申昌書局發兌石印鉛板各種書籍" (abbr. "Shenchang," approx. 1910s)

"Various new books on current affairs and mathematics sold at Shanghai Baoshanzhai Bookstore on Qipan Street 上海棋盤街寶善齋書莊發兌各種時務算學新書," (abbr. "Baoshanzhai," approx. 1920s).

English reference books are categorized as *yangwu* 洋務 (foreign affairs), *shiwu* 時務 (current affairs) or *xixue* 西學 (Western learning) on these lists. Although they

⁴⁴ As sources indicate, some private publishers served as both printing houses and bookstores (Fan Muhan, ed., pp. 241-253).

⁴⁵ The original booklists belong to Fudan University professor Zhou Zhenhe's personal collections. According to his notes, they date roughly from the 1880s to the 1920s.

made up only a small part of each list,⁴⁶ they still indicate general tendencies of the market for foreign language books (see Table 2). Most of the books were sold at several dozen cents apiece. The cheapest one was *Hua-Ying yaoyu* 華英要語 (Chinese-English key words and phrases), which cost only 12 cents according to the booklist "Weiwenge" of the 1890s. The most expensive one was a letterpress-printed dictionary called *Hua-Ying dacidian* 華英大辭典, also known as Dr. Yen's *English and Chinese Standard Dictionary*, priced at \$15 on the 1920s booklist "Baoshanzhai." The aforementioned letterpress-printed *Ying zi zhinan* (Guidebook for English words) was priced at \$2.40 in *Shenbao*, but its lithographic copies were quoted at between \$0.90- \$1.50 on these booklists. Books are quoted at the same price in booklists dated around the same time, but the price of some books varied slightly in different periods.

We can see that English reference books that cost between \$0.20 and \$1.00 were relatively affordable for the local populace if we refer to other early twentieth-century Shanghai pricelists. For example, tea, the most popular beverage among Chinese literati, cost between \$0.20 and \$0.45 per pound in 1904.⁴⁷ A study on the standard of living of working families in 1920s Shanghai shows that the average monthly income per family ranged from \$28.24 to \$36.22 in 1928.⁴⁸ Compared to other yearly miscellaneous expenses, such as hairdressing (\$2.63), bathing (\$1.87), soap (\$1.36 for 27 pieces), and tooth powder, washing soda, and other articles each costing only a few cents per family,⁴⁹ a book that cost between twenty cents and a dollar was neither expensive nor cheap. On the other hand, a fifteen-dollar letterpress-printed dictionary was quite expensive.

Most English reference books in Table 2 appear on the six booklists. Books sold at the Baoshanzhai Bookstore were not only those newly published in the 1910s and 1920s, but also earlier publications from the 1880s and 1900s. Three lithographed books, *Ying zi zhinan* (Guidebook for English words), *Ying hua zhujie* (English conversation with explanatory notes), and *Ying zi rumen* (An elementary course in English words)

⁴⁶ Each list contains about two hundred books, among which only around ten are English references. The others are traditional classics, novels, maps, paintings, etc.

⁴⁷ *The North-China Desk Hong List*, 1904. Advertisement for a tea company called Him Shan Oan on Nanjing Road.

⁴⁸ Simon Yang and L. K. Tao, *A Study of the Standard of Living of Working Families in Shanghai*, p. 33.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

were most widespread: they appeared on all six of the lists, including the one from "Baoshanzhai" which dates roughly to the 1920s. It deserves our attention that *Ying hua zhujie* was originally produced in block-print by Feng Zefu 馮澤夫 in 1860, and *Ying zi rumen* can be traced back to as early as 1874 when Cao Xiang 曹驥 produced the first copy, and *Ying zi zhinan* was compiled in 1879 by Yang Xun 楊勛. Their popularity in the foreign language study market lasted for almost half a century.

The Advent of Pragmatism: Kuang Qizhao and His English Series

Beginning in the late 1870s, bilingual dictionaries kept on the bookshelves of Chinese students were no longer merely reprints of Robert Morrison's *Wuche yun fu*. Works compiled by Chinese intellectuals, such as Leang Shuh-che's 梁述之 *Ying-Hua Tszewei* 英華字彙,⁵⁰ Tam Tat-hin's *An English and Chinese Dictionary*, Wong Su-king 黃少瓊's *An English and Chinese Dictionary*,⁵¹ and the aforementioned references advertised in *Shenbao* gradually appeared on the market of English study texts. Among them, Kuang Qizhao 鄺其照 (Kwong Ki-chiu)'s English educational series attracted Chinese readers with its practical lessons corresponding to current trading affairs in treaty ports.⁵² Kelly & Walsh in Hong Kong and Shanghai⁵³ as well as a Chinese publisher named Wah Cheung in Shanghai collaborated to publish three of Kuang's works between 1885 and 1887⁵⁴: *Manual of Correspondence and Social Usages* (1885), *The First Conversation-Book* (1885), and *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1887). As a main figure devoted to compiling English reference books, Kuang Qizhao and his works

⁵⁰ Leang Shuh-che, comp., *Ying-Hua Tszewei, An English and Chinese Dictionary in the Court Dialect* (Canton, 1878).

⁵¹ Wong Su-king, comp., *An English and Chinese Dictionary, New Edition* (Hong Kong, 1895).

⁵² Kuang Qizhao was originally from eastern Guangdong Province. "Kwong Ki-chiu" is the Cantonese transcription for 鄺其照 (Kuang Qizhao) and appears as the author's name in the books. In the bibliography, I will retain Kwong Ki-chiu as the author's name, but in this paper, I will use "Kuang Qizhao" as pronounced in MSM (Modern Standard Mandarin).

⁵³ Kelly and Walsh Limited was first set up by J. M. and J. F. Kelly in 1860s Shanghai, and later the brothers were joined by an Irish printer named Arthur Walsh. By the First World War, they had become the most reputable publisher of English language material in the Far East, with branches in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Yokohama.

⁵⁴ There were also cooperating publishers overseas, such as Trübner & Co. in London and Wing Fung in San Francisco.

demonstrate the advent of pragmatism in the study of English in late nineteenth-century China.

In 1868, Kuang Qizhao published a small English-Chinese lexicon entitled *Zidian jicheng* 字典集成 / *English and Chinese Lexicon* in Hong Kong.⁵⁵ It is a letterpress-printed lexicon of 19.5cm ×12.5cm range, containing 400 pages made in somewhat uneven-sized paper of coarse condition. It is a lexicon combined with one dictionary of 8,000 words and one glossary of miscellaneous words and conversational phrases. In fact, the dictionary was compiled in part from the works of Morrison, Medhurst, and Williams, as Kuang indicated on the title page. The glossary, which was an original work by a compiler, is comprised of two parts. The first part is called *Za zi* 雜字 (miscellaneous words), 66 pages, sorted by 50 headings, including astronomy, geography, times and season, categories of imported goods, trading vehicles, daily consumptions, animals and plants, laws and ethics, medications, and other usages for social and business purposes. Part two is a 24-page conversation pamphlet titled *Hua-Ying juyu* 華英句語 (Chinese-English sentences and phrases), a small but detailed reference to teach people how to deal with different situations of foreign trading and daily living in Canton during the mid-nineteenth century. It was reported that the circulation was "unexpectedly large," which "showed the public need and appreciation of such a work."⁵⁶

In 1875, Kuang revised the lexicon, adding another 4,000 words and enlarging the appendix. He provided practical business information, such as forms of letters for commercial correspondence; therefore, the lexicon became "more serviceable to Chinese students of English than anything before published."⁵⁷

Details about Kuang's youth, including how he learned English before working on the lexicons, remain unclear. To be qualified to compile language references, Kuang Qizhao must have received formal education in English, most probably in a missionary school. According to his own account, he was originally from the eastern part of Guangdong and studied Western learning in Hong Kong in the 1850s. In the late 1860s,

⁵⁵ Since the front page of the version that I have seen (from Yale University Library) is damaged, the name of the publisher remains unclear.

⁵⁶ Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary*, Preface.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

he came to Shanghai and became an English teacher. In 1875, Kuang Qizhao was appointed to the Chinese Educational Commission, upon which he took up residence in Hartford, Connecticut for eight years.⁵⁸ The long stay in the United States offered him a great opportunity to further improve his English and to produce professional language references. With proof that the publication of his previous lexicons had met popular demand, he made up his mind to undertake similar works but "on a much larger scale, and more complete."⁵⁹

As an educator and philologist, Kuang Qizhao pondered the question of how to transmit the English language to ordinary people as practical knowledge that could help change their lives. "Pragmatism" thus became the key theme driving his career in compiling language references, especially under the circumstances of the ongoing movement of foreign affairs. As he saw it, language was an essential medium through which both foreign affairs and trading contacts could be smoothly conducted:

I think that the most essential matter of current affairs is foreign affairs. [The study of] language can shed light on such imperative matters.... Because negotiation never relies on one party, how can one relax in the study of the subjects of speaking and reading? If [foreign] languages can be understood, we can negotiate [with foreigners] face to face 竊思當今時務所尚，莫先於洋務，而洋務所急，語言文字其濫觴也。……蓋交涉者非一端矣，然則語言文字之學曷可緩哉？語言明則可晤。⁶⁰

Speaking ability was essential to meeting with foreigners in person, to thus conduct direct communication in commercial and social activities. "For the purpose of most Chinese, the ability to converse in English is quite as important as the ability to read it."⁶¹ Kuang pointed out that, although commercial relations had existed between England and China for more than forty years and many Chinese desired to learn English, well-adapted textbooks were still lacking. Using texts prepared for Englishmen in Chinese schools would bring the consequence that "Chinese students of such books can write English more easily than they can converse in it. For they do not come to the study with the advantage of the English child, who has already learned to converse. Neither

⁵⁸ Kwong, *Conversation-Book*, Preface (in Chinese), xv.

⁵⁹ Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary*, Preface.

⁶⁰ Kwong, *Conversation-Book*, Preface (in Chinese), xv, xviii.

⁶¹ Kwong, *Conversation-Book*, Preface (in English), xxvii.

from such books can they learn the pronunciation as in conversation."⁶²

A practical and complete conversation book more suitable to Chinese students was included as part of "Kwong's Educational Series." As marked on the front cover, *The First Conversation-Book* was designed for use in schools. "Naturalness" is the theme of Kuang Qizhao's teaching method. "The process is like that of the child in learning from the lips of the parent – he learns to converse without studying grammar – it is, therefore, more natural and easy, as well as more interesting and practical, than any other method of learning a language."⁶³ Consequently, the vocabulary in his *First Conversation-Book* was not alphabetically arranged, but classified under different categories. Household names, fruits, animals, flowers, colors, occupations, clothing, furniture, items in a store, and so on, all are listed in separate lessons. The book also contains a large section on words and expressions for daily use in business and social contacts. In total, 8,000 words are listed. "By faithful study of them in their order, the pupil will acquire a good knowledge of the language, and will have a sufficient number of words and expressions for use in conversation and writing."⁶⁴ There are no sections of grammar, only one section titled "miscellaneous sentences" for students to study. To make conversation lessons accessible for daily use, Kuang designed a section called "duties in various relations," in which conversations were classified by settings and toward objectives. For example, duties of children to parents, young persons to elders, duties mutually pertaining to husband and wife, duties toward neighbors, friends, and employees, etc., were considered major situations in which daily conversations took place.

Kuang Qizhao continued working on the series of *Conversation-Books*, compiling a second and a third. Wang Tao 王韜 commented that the content of the three books gradually progressed "from easy to difficult, from rough to precise, and from brief to detailed. The texts combine abundant resources to convey extensive meanings. It is the first instance of the study of the Western languages reaching completion 由淺以及深, 由粗以逮精, 由略以至詳, 取資多而抒意廣, 西國語言文字之學至是而始備."⁶⁵

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Kwong, *Conversation-Book*, Preface in Chinese by Wang Tao, 1885.

Manual of Correspondence and Social Usages was another important work in Kuang Qizhao's series. This book was "especially adapted to self-instruction" and "to the use of beginners."⁶⁶ By referring to *Hill's Manual of Social and Business Forms*, Mrs. H. O. Ward's *Sensible Etiquette of the Best Society*, and Swinton's books on English, Kuang came up with the idea of compiling an English-Chinese manual that could "help all in the better understanding of the usages and proprieties of social and business intercourse."⁶⁷ The contents of the book show that the merchant class was the audience for which the author designed this self-teaching manual. Because countries have different cultures and social etiquette, Chinese merchants particularly needed to know how to properly treat foreigners and handle trading affairs with them. In this regard, Kuang noted in his preface:

The Chinese and foreigners have different values. It is better to make oneself adapt to wherever he lives; however, one must still be particular about details. ... Business contacts between we Chinese and Westerners have recently become more intense and complicated. By referring to this book, one can be acquainted with foreign folks and exotic customs 中外殊尚，更貴隨地適宜，而於小節仍須講究。……我華人與西人交游貿易事宜近較繁劇，觀是書可識外邦俗尚異國民情。⁶⁸

A practical language manual must be up to date with current conditions of language interaction, and able to help readers gain knowledge for joining in and responding to these conditions. In 1880s treaty ports, e.g., Shanghai, commercial activities flourished and constituted the bulk of ordinary people's daily lives. The English language, mainly in an oral pidgin form, became a linguistic tool assisting local people's trading communication with foreigners. As contact deepened, the merchant class found it necessary to learn written English from evening schools or self-instruction textbooks. However, due to a lack of relevant sources, details about how local Chinese employed the English language for social use remain unexplored. In this regard, although Kuang's *Manual* was a language reference tool, it in fact taught readers how to incorporate English into their business and social life and provided various written examples for them to follow.

As for signboards and advertisements, it is not clear when Chinese shopkeepers

⁶⁶ Kwong, *Manual*, Preface (in English), xviii.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Kwong, *Manual*, Preface (in Chinese), vii, & viii.

started to extensively write English on them. Historical photographs of the treaty port of Shanghai show that street scenes filled with numerous English and Chinese bilingual signboards appeared around the early twentieth century, and not before.⁶⁹ However, one particular section in Kuang Qizhao's *Manual* reveals that making a clear and eye-catching bilingual signboard was already a special art to study in 1880s Shanghai. The whole section displays various ways to make a proper sign. As a literatus originally from east Guangdong Province who was familiar with commerce, Kuang dictates the key points requiring special attention: "The principle point to be regarded in the lettering of signs is correct punctuation. The want of accuracy in the use of commas, periods, and apostrophes sometimes produces ludicrous results. The same rules of punctuation apply as in ordinary writing."⁷⁰ Samples of signs for offices, rooms, stores, etc., then were given as guides for the readers' reference.

As indicated on the front cover, the book also contained instruction and examples on writing all forms of letters, business papers, invitation cards, inscriptions for presents, and so on. These contents shed light on the capacities in which locals took English as practical knowledge to support their trading business. For example, to appropriately write an English letter was considered one of the most important foundations for business communication. "A letter of an infrequent character requires to be written or answered; an occasion arises for the observance of an unfamiliar rule of etiquette, and even a well-educated person may be at a loss how to meet the unusual demand," noted the author.⁷¹ Kuang Qizhao sorted letter-writing into six categories in his *Manual*: 1) suitable forms and expressions, 2) congratulation, 3) condolence, 4) recommendations and introductions, 5) letters of business, and 6) letters of excuse or apology. Detailed examples are given in each section, which shows that English was already a sophisticated topic of learning for the merchant class and people who were involved in foreign business in 1880s Shanghai.

After he finished compiling his *Manual* in 1882, Kuang Qizhao undertook the job

⁶⁹ See George D. Crown, *Historical Photographs of Hong Kong, Shanghai & Peking* (Hong Kong: Pressroom Printer & Designer, 2001). Also, see Régine Thiriez's project on historical photos and postcards of nineteenth-century Shanghai, <http://postcard.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/>. I offer my gratitude to Dr. Thiriez for calling my attention to the importance of photographs and photographers in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Shanghai.

⁷⁰ Kwong, *Manual*, pp. 262-263.

⁷¹ Kwong, *Manual*, Preface in English, p. xvii.

of revising his *English-Chinese Dictionary*, first published in 1875. The new edition came out in 1887, from a publisher called Wah Cheung on the Honan (Henan) Road, and the publisher Kelly & Walsh in Shanghai. It is a letterpress-printed dictionary of 23cm ×16cm dimension, containing more than 800 pages. Kuang states in his preface that he enlarged the list of miscellaneous words and classified the words more accurately. He also added explanatory notes and synonyms to make the definitions more precise. Another preface in Chinese by Xu Yingqiang 許應鏘 noted the reason Kuang Qizhao revised his dictionary:

For all the matters related to current affairs, [Kuang Qizhao] endeavored to make them best.... Recently he again collected correspondence between Chinese and British on trading affairs, from which he selected words and phrases that are easily understood and necessary for daily communication. He translated them in both Chinese and English, and added them to the appendix of the previous edition. The dictionary was named *Hua-Ying zidian jicheng* (An assembled English-Chinese dictionary), which provides a clear reference for traders and travelers to use while conducting business 凡有關時局者無不推求盡善.近複集取華英貿易書劄, 取其語言之簡括易明, 爲日用往來所必需者, 諧譯華英音義, 附入前刊字典編末, 名曰華英字典集成, 將使商旅經營貿易開卷瞭然.⁷²

Half of the new content of the second edition is a long appendix divided into two sections: one is called *Za zi cuoyao* 雜字撮要 (Classified list of miscellaneous terms, 155 pages), and the other is named *Yuyan wenzi hebi* 語言文字合璧 (Combinations of speaking and reading, 204 pages). *Zaozi cuoyao* is a revised edition based on the section *Zai zi* 雜字 in Kuang's 1868 English-Chinese lexicon *Zidian jicheng* 字典集成. It brought together forms of letters, notes, and petitions, a table of distances between major international trading ports, the tariffs on imports and exports for China, the latest developments of commercial treaties between China and foreign countries, and a historical sketch of the Chinese dynasties. These items would not be included in a normal dictionary; however, Kuang Qizhao emphasized that language study should be combined with social understanding. Especially in treaty ports, disputes and misunderstandings were bound to arise if Chinese and foreigners failed to command the idioms and phrases

⁷² Kwong, *Dictionary*, Preface in Chinese by Xu Yingqiang.

of both sides or misinterpreted each other.⁷³ Due to its practicality, Kuang's *Dictionary* was said to be "owned by people who engage in trading and students who study Western languages, for their reference 凡屬洋商及肄習西文學童皆已家置一編，藉資考證。"⁷⁴

After returning from the United States in 1883, Kuang Qizhao was appointed a government official handling trading affairs in Shanghai. Because Kuang earned fame for his understanding of Western learning, the viceroy of Guangdong Province Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909) had him transferred to manage problematical foreign affairs along the southeast coast.⁷⁵ His educational series thus became famous in Shanghai, Guangdong, and Hong Kong. Shenchang Shuju 申昌書局 (The Shenchang Printing House) in Shanghai reproduced lithographic copies of Kuang's dictionary entitled *Zengguang Hua-Ying zidian* 增廣華英字典 (An enlarged Chinese-English dictionary) in 1893 and for the second time in 1896. The new preface by Quan Yiyong 錢以鏞 claimed that Kuang's English series had brought about enormous social impact on the study of English in Shanghai. In 1920, the Wo Shing 和盛 printing office in Hong Kong reprinted the revised edition of Kuang Qizhao's *Dictionary* (1887). This version contains an improved version of *Za zi cuoyao* 雜字撮要 (Classified list of miscellaneous terms), which was part of the appendix in the 1887 edition. An anonymous author re-edited this part by using Chinese characters to append phonetic annotations in Cantonese. The author stated that Kuang Qizhao's works met the requirements of both intellectuals and merchants, and received high praise from both Chinese and Westerners. At the beginning, Kuang attached phonetic annotations in Cantonese to some of his works, which facilitated the study of English pronunciation for students from Guangdong and Hong Kong. However, later he disposed of them, concerned that students might develop an accent.⁷⁶ Though originally from Guangdong, Kuang Qizhao used Mandarin instead of his home dialect Cantonese for compiling dictionaries, partially because he expected his English series to win a larger audience in China. A company called Sun Kwong Hing 新

⁷³ Kuang's note to Xu Yingqing, in *Dictionary*, Preface in Chinese.

⁷⁴ Kwong, *Dictionary*, Preface in Chinese by Xu Yingqing.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ "Xin zeng Yueyin xu 新增粵音序 [New preface for supplementing phonetic annotations in Cantonese]," in Kwong, comp., *An English-Chinese Dictionary* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1920).

廣興 in Hong Kong distributed the whole set of Kuang Qizhao's English educational series during the 1920s. In addition to the books mentioned above, the series also includes several other significant works: *A Dictionary of English Phrases* (1881), *Yingxue chujie* 英學初階 / *First Lessons in English*, *Comprehensive Geography*, and *Diqiu wudazhou quantu* 地球五大洲全圖 / *Complete Atlas of Five Continents*.

The influence of Kuang Qizhao's works lasted till the early twentieth century. Kuang earned fame as the first and one of most important Chinese to devote himself to compiling English references for Chinese students.⁷⁷ Gu Hongming (Ku Hung-Ming) 辜鴻銘 commented in 1902: "Many foreign scholars have not disdained to undertake the preparation of elaborate Chinese-English dictionaries to which foreign students of the Chinese language can turn for assistance. But Chinese students of the English language have had hitherto nobody to help them except Mr. Kwong Ki-Chiu."⁷⁸

The Institutionalization of Dictionary Publication: The Commercial Press

Beginning in the early twentieth century, the work of compiling dictionaries developed into a technical profession. It was no longer an individual practice but an organizational task for a group of scholars. The changes began at a private publisher in Shanghai called the Commercial Press (Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館) where the largest number of Chinese-English reference books was produced from the 1900s to the 40s. To language students, the Commercial Press became a brand name assuring quality textbooks and references. More than twenty dictionaries in standard, abridged, unabridged, enlarged, pocket, condensed, and translated versions were published, covering subjects of pronunciation, idioms, phrases, conversation, synonyms, and so on.

⁷⁷ The Commercial Press, *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (Revised edition, 1925), "The Original Preface" by Zhang Tiemin 張鐵民, 1913.

⁷⁸ The Commercial Press, *Pronouncing Dictionary* (Shanghai, 1908), "Introductory Note," 1902. As Gu noted, numerous Anglo-Americans (mainly Protestant missionaries) also compiled Chinese-English / English-Chinese dictionaries. Among them were the aforementioned Robert Morrison, S. W. Williams, W. H. Medhurst, and so on, whose dictionaries were mainly designed for foreign students who were learning Chinese. Since my paper focuses on the influence of English texts on Chinese students, I am not going to further explore their works. Chinese intellectuals also benefited from these dictionaries for their English study before the 1880s. When Chinese scholars started to compile bilingual dictionaries, most of them took Anglo-Americans' works as main references.

In addition, the publisher periodically updated numerous textbooks and two journals on English study.⁷⁹

Jean-Pierre Drège has explored the publishing business of the Commercial Press in Shanghai from 1897 to 1949 in his monograph. Against the backdrop of the publishing world of late nineteenth-century China, Drège discusses the historical milieu relevant to the origin of the press.⁸⁰ However, since he scarcely mentions the publication of English reference works in his book, he fails to explain fully the role that Western languages played in the ideological trends of Chinese intellectuals toward the end of nineteenth century. In fact, the study of Western languages gradually became as important as the study of Western learning, and the former even exceeded the latter early in the twentieth century.

Starting in the late 1860s, an increasing number of official translation projects on Western learning informed Chinese intellectuals of modern science and technology.⁸¹ Chinese scholars and Protestant missionaries collaborated on the translation of technical-scientific texts, through which new terms and ideas were introduced.⁸² In Shanghai, Anglo-American missionaries began to work with local Chinese scholars on translation projects beginning in the 1850s. Between the 1870s and 1890s their work peaked. Among the missionaries, Alexander Wylie (1815-1887), Joseph Edkins (1823-1905), Alexander Williamson (1829-1890), Young J. Allen (1836-1907), and John Fryer (1839-1928) were the main figures; on the Chinese side, Li Shanlan 李善蘭(1810-1882), Xushou 徐壽 (1818-1884), Hua Hengfang 華蘅芳 (1833-1902), and others contributed to numerous translation projects of mathematics, geometry, physics, and chemistry texts. More and more intellectuals living in Shanghai and other treaty ports gained a comprehensive view of world geography and civilization.

⁷⁹ *Yingwen zazhi* 英文雜誌 (*English Student*) and *Yingyu zhoukan* 英語周刊 (*English Weekly*).

⁸⁰ Drège, *La Commercial Press de Shanghai (1897-1949)*, pp. 2-8.

⁸¹ The main translation departments and institutes in Shanghai were: the translation department of the Jiangnan zhizaoju 江南製造局 (Shanghai Arsenal) in 1867 and Gezhi shuyuan 格致書院 (The Chinese Polytechnic Institution) in 1874. In 1887, a few Anglo-American missionaries and traders set up Guanxuehui 廣學會 (Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge), for the purpose of disseminating Western learning to the vast public. On the publishing activities of these institutes, see Xiong Yuezhi, *Xixuedongjian yu wan Qing shehui*, pp. 350-362, 493-526, and 551-556.

⁸² For details about the translation works, see Federico Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon*, pp. 57-71.

The proliferation of language references from the 1880s led Chinese officials and intellectuals to a better understanding of Western languages. Scholars started to discuss issues of foreign language study, such as whether it was best to read the translation first or to learn the language directly.⁸³ The difference between Chinese and Western languages, the positive and negative of both, and so on, were also popular topics addressed in essays on management in the late nineteenth century.⁸⁴ Therefore, on the relationship between the acquisition of Western learning and Western languages, scholars emphasized that language study was essential:

Since the Chinese have been seeking the Western knowledge, they cannot study it without learning Western written languages. ...Western languages are the essence while Western learning is only for application. If one fails to understand the essence, he will not know how to apply it to different situations....Thus if one wishes for a thorough understanding of Western learning, he has to study Western languages 華人既講求西學，其不可不用西文也，……西學為末，西文為本，不能明其本，不能知其末也。……如欲精於西學，非用西文不可。⁸⁵

A specific department of English publication had been established in the Commercial Press in Shanghai, when Xia Ruifang 夏瑞芳, Bao Xian'en 鮑咸恩, Bao Xianchang 鮑咸昌, and Gao Fengchi 高鳳池 first set up the press in 1897.⁸⁶ The press became a conduit through which contemporary intellectuals contributed their knowledge of Western learning to society. The gradually expanding publishing business helped a vast public audience gain access to Western terms and ideas. One year after establishment, the publisher translated two sets of English textbooks, *Hua-Ying chujie* 華英初階 (*English and Chinese Primer*) and *Hua-Ying jinjie* 華英進階 (五冊) (*English and Chinese Reader* /in five volumes). It was said that, "After the books were published, they sold extremely widely. The profits gained from the market were three times [what they used to be] 此書

⁸³ Chen Zhongyi, ed., *Huangchao jingshiwen sanbian*, pp. 27-31.

⁸⁴ Shao Zhitang, ed., *Huangchao jingshiwen tongbian*, pp. 82-83.

⁸⁵ Chen Zhongyi, ed., p.27.

⁸⁶ All the four founders received Western education and learned typesetting in missionary schools. About the establishment of the Commercial Press in Shanghai, see Drège, pp. 8-10.

出版，行銷極廣，利市三倍。⁸⁷ More textbooks were published after the Qing government issued regulations concerning education in 1902 and 1903, since English courses were added into the curriculum of middle schools around the country.⁸⁸ A 1908 booklist recorded more than thirty books on foreign language teaching (see Table 3).

In addition to textbooks, bilingual dictionaries were also in huge demand. F. L. Hawks Pott observed the new trend of Chinese scholars to be interested in Western learning and saw their need for dictionaries for language study at the beginning of the twentieth century:

At the present day a great need is felt in China for a Dictionary which will serve as a convenient bridge between the English and the Chinese languages.

The Chinese scholar at the present time has a wider outlook than formerly. He is not content to acquire merely the knowledge contained in the Chinese literature, but he wishes to absorb the learning of the West....

Hence for one desiring to get at the sources of Western thought and learning, a knowledge of English is indispensable.

All have not however the opportunity of studying the English language thoroughly, and thus many Chinese when they read English books will often be puzzled and confused, and will stand in need of a good Dictionary to help them over the difficult places.⁸⁹

The Commercial Press commenced the work of compiling a standard and complete dictionary in 1906. According to Yan Huiqing 顏惠慶 (Dr. W. W. Yen, 1877-1950) and other editors, the proprietors of the press expressed their desire in the summer of 1905 to publish a new English-Chinese dictionary.⁹⁰ Yan Huiqing also recalled in his autobiography that in Shanghai, "there developed an urgent demand for English-Chinese dictionaries for our students and others, as the English language had become practically

⁸⁷ The British had originally compiled the textbooks for English teaching in India. The Commercial Press bought the copies and invited Xie Honglai 谢洪赉 to translate them into Chinese with annotations in vernacular. See Jiang Weiqiao, "Chuangban chuqi zhi Shangwu Yinshuguan yu Zhonghua Shuju," p. 395.

⁸⁸ The regulation concerning education that the Qing government issued in 1902 is called Renyin Xuezhi 壬寅學制, and the one in 1903 is called Guimao Xuezhi 癸卯學制. The two regulations legalized the English course to first enter the middle school curriculum (up to about one fourth of the total teaching hours). See Li Liangyou 李良佑 et al., *Zhongguo yingyu jiaoxue shi*, pp. 94-96.

⁸⁹ W. W. Yen, ed., *Standard Dictionary*, Preface by F. L. Hawks Pott, 1908.

⁹⁰ W. W. Yen, ed., *Standard Dictionary*, Preface in English by "the editors," 1908.

our second national language."⁹¹ Yan was asked to be the chief editor to compile the dictionary, with a number of assistants, mostly graduates of St. John's University in Shanghai and Queen's College in Hong Kong. They chose Nuttall's *Complete Dictionary* as the basis, translated the vocabulary into Chinese, and produced *An English and Chinese Standard Dictionary* in 1908. The dictionary was letterpress printed, in two volumes with more than 3,000 pages, including 120,000 words and phrases with translations, pronunciations, definitions, and illustrations.

Although the project was considered one of the largest in the history of the compilation of bilingual references in late Qing China, it still had limitations. As noted in the preface, the principle difficulties lay in two tasks: expounding idiomatic uses and rendering scientific terms into Chinese. The editors believed that the spirit of most idioms "can only be grasped by Chinese who have enjoyed exceptional privileges both in education and in social discourse with English-speaking nations."⁹² The second issue seemed an insuperable difficulty to Chinese scholars for the time being. Although the dictionary was referred to as a "standard" one, the editors felt that standardizing scientific terms was out of the question, "especially in the present chaotic condition of terminology in China."⁹³ The chief editor Yan Huiqing recalled his own experience:

I left my home a youth, I returned a man, with new knowledge and new ideas, all learned in English, which I did not know how to express in Chinese, and indeed in those days, there did not exist the terminology in our language for them.⁹⁴

How to translate the so-called "new knowledge and new ideas," especially scientific terms and societal keywords, from the books published in the West became a challenge to Chinese intellectuals who paid attention to Western learning. Bilingual dictionaries stand at the frontier of recording such new terms. The first two decades of the twentieth century was a time when the Chinese language evolved into a fully modern form. Absorbing new terms from the West and from Japan constituted part of the

⁹¹ W. W. Yen, *East-West Kaleidoscope*, pp. 38-39. Yan Huiqing (Dr. W. W. Yen) was born in Shanghai in 1877. After graduating from the University of Virginia, he came back to teach at St. John's University in Shanghai in the early 1900s. He was appointed as the editor of the Commercial Press and participated in several important dictionary compilation projects.

⁹² W. W. Yen, ed., *Standard Dictionary*, Preface in English by "the editors," 1908.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ W. W. Yen, *East-West Kaleidoscope*, p. 31.

transformation, which is documented in detail by dictionaries of the time.⁹⁵ Therefore, compilers had to update dictionaries so that their works could meet contemporary demands. The situation stimulated publication of English textbooks and references at the Commercial Press in Shanghai. The 1918 booklist shows that seventeen dictionaries were produced between 1908-1918, among which sixteen are English-Chinese/Chinese English, and one is French-Chinese (see Table 4). One 1920s booklist demonstrates that English and Japanese language reference books dominated the market of foreign language study of the time: about 32 English reference books and 35 Japanese reference books were for sale; however, only three French and two German ones are on the list.⁹⁶

As mentioned above, the *English-Chinese Standard Dictionary* compiled by Yan Huiqing and other scholars from Shanghai and Hong Kong was considered the most comprehensive one at the time. However, it cost fifteen dollars, which was about ten times more than a normal letterpress-printed dictionary cost, and several dozen times the price of a lithographic Chinese-English reference book in the early twentieth century. To lower the price, the publisher produced a small-type edition of the dictionary in the same year (1908), reducing the original two volumes to one volume.

Around 1907 Yan Huiqing undertook two more projects during his stay in Shanghai. One was to revise the translation of a dictionary of English idioms into Chinese, *Dictionary of Idiomatic English Phrases* (*Ying-Han chengyu cilin* 英漢成語辭林). The other was to gather enough teaching material to have it published as a textbook of translation. It was said that the short textbook, *A Manual of Translation*, sold thousands of copies and was still in demand after more than thirty years.⁹⁷

In 1908, the Commercial Press also published another bilingual dictionary, *English and Chinese Pronouncing Dictionary* (*Hua-Ying yinyun zidian jicheng* 華英音韻

⁹⁵ Especially after the Sino-Japanese war in 1895, Chinese intellectuals found that Japanese scholars had translated numerous works on Western scientific and social theories. Therefore, new ideas that had been translated into Japanese could be borrowed directly back into Chinese; studying Japanese was an alternative way to study Western knowledge. For more details, see Federico Masini's discussion in his *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon*.

⁹⁶ "Various new books on current affairs and mathematics sold at Shanghai Baoshanzhai Bookstore on Qipan Street 上海棋盤街寶善齋書莊發兌各種時務算學新書," approx. 1920s, from Prof. Zhou Zhenhe's personal collection.

⁹⁷ W. W. Yen, *East-West Kaleidoscope*, p. 31.

字典集成。The preparation of this dictionary seemed in advance of Yan Huiqing's *Standard Dictionary*. In 1902, the publisher claimed:

Owing to the great demand for English and Chinese dictionaries, we have prepared at considerable expense the COMMERCIAL PRESS ENGLISH AND CHINESE PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY, which we sell at a moderate price, and believe it will be found the best Dictionary in the market.

THE PUBLISHERS,
COMMERCIAL PRESS.

SHANGHAI, March, 1902.⁹⁸

Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854-1921), the famous translator of the late Qing Dynasty, pointed out, in the 1903 Chinese preface, the increasing number of Chinese students who were learning English in treaty ports, and the growing demand for proper English dictionaries for their study. J. A. Silsby (?-1939), a Protestant missionary from America, wrote the introduction entitled "On the importance of the English language." He stressed the importance of mastering spoken English for traveling all around the world for business purposes. Silsby also emphasized the ability to read literature in English and its connection with the acquisition of modern scientific knowledge and social theories. A Protestant missionary who preached Christianity in China, Silsby admired the entrepreneurship that the Commercial Press had shown in publishing English references for Chinese students. He further commented:

Many thousands of Chinese students are learning English, and may it not be expected that this will result in the introduction of many new and helpful ideas, and even in the enrichment and remodeling of the Chinese language to meet the demands of modern thought and modern progress?⁹⁹

The manager of the Commercial Press also published a pocket edition of the *Pronouncing Dictionary*, about the size of 13.5cm × 8cm (the original one is about 22cm × 13.5cm). The editors kept the essential words, but omitted technical and scientific words. They thought the omission wise because this edition, "small in compass, and light in weight," was designed for school students, travelers, and businessmen. To them, a pocket dictionary served "practically all the purposes of the big dictionary without its

⁹⁸ *Pronouncing Dictionary*, "Preface," 1902.

⁹⁹ *Pronouncing Dictionary*, "Introduction," ii, by J. A. Silsby, 1902.

voluminousness and cumbersomeness."¹⁰⁰ T. M. Woo of the Nanyang College 南洋公學 pointed out in the introduction:

The present volume is the first production of its kind, and it is confidently expected that it will prove a great boon to the students of the English tongue.

The principle feature of this dictionary is the pronunciation. Every word is re-spelt in such a way as to show at once how it ought to be pronounced.¹⁰¹

Gilbert Reid reviewed the dictionary and wrote a recommendation: "This Pocket Dictionary of English and Chinese will meet the wants of many. ... It will, I judge, be more used than larger dictionaries."¹⁰² Probably due to its usefulness, the *Pronouncing Pocket Dictionary* was published in 1904, four years before the standard *Pronouncing Dictionary*. Eleven editions were printed in the next ten years. In 1913, the English Editorial Department of the Commercial Press took over revision, "to make it more accurate, suitable, and helpful."¹⁰³ In the 1930s and early 40s, students were still able to purchase the reprints of this revised edition.¹⁰⁴

From the 1910s, editors of the Commercial Press employed a new manner of compiling bilingual dictionaries. Instead of referring to Nuttall's and Webster's works, they translated Japanese-English / English-Japanese dictionaries into Chinese-English / English-Chinese ones. *The Anglo-Chinese Handy Dictionary (Xiuzhen Ying-Han cilin 袖珍英漢辭林)*, published in 1915, is a translation of "The English-Japanese Dictionary." Compilers added many technical terms from the *Standard Dictionary* and up-to-date words from the most recent works published in Europe and America.¹⁰⁵ A copious appendix listing irregular verbs, inflections, prefixes and suffixes, abbreviations, proverbs, and so on was included, enhancing the usefulness of the handy book.

¹⁰⁰ *Pronouncing Pocket Dictionary*, Preface in English by W. W. Yen, 1904.

¹⁰¹ *Pronouncing Pocket Dictionary*, Introduction in English by T. M. Woo, 1904.

¹⁰² *Pronouncing Pocket Dictionary*, "Recommendation" by Gilbert Reid, 1904.

¹⁰³ W. Y. Hu, "Preface to the revised edition," in *Commercial Press English and Chinese Pronouncing Pocket Dictionary (Revised Edition)*. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1914.

¹⁰⁴ Z. T. K. Woo, et al., *English and Chinese Pronouncing Pocket Dictionary (Revised Edition)*. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1938. The size of the book is about 14.5 × 7.5cm.

¹⁰⁵ *Anglo-Chinese Handy Dictionary*, Preface in English by Fong F. Sec (Kuang Fuzhuo 鄺富灼), 1915. The dictionary was said to have been finished in the summer of 1908; however, due to the lack of a suitable typeface, the book was not published until 1915.

Numerous English-Chinese dictionaries were produced but Chinese-English ones were lacking. The Commercial Press published *A New Chinese-English Dictionary* in 1918. The author, Li Yuwen 李玉汶 (Lee Yu-wen), of Peiyang University 北洋大學 was only twenty-three when he started compiling the dictionary in 1915. Li had studied English as a youth and discovered that the earlier Chinese-English dictionaries compiled by Robert Morrison and other Anglo-American missionaries were not fully appropriate for Chinese students. *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, edited by Zhang Tiemin 張鐵民 in 1913, was concise, but not comprehensive. "Motivated by what he saw as a lack of suitable references for Chinese students," Li Yuwen consulted many English-Chinese references, as well as Japanese-English / English-Japanese dictionaries, and books on technical and scientific terminology.¹⁰⁶ To make translation more convenient, he also included slang, proverbs, idiomatic phrases, proper nouns (such as names of places in China), and chemical terms accompanied by their formulas.

From the 1920s to the late 1930s, the department of English publication focused on compiling various reference books for the study of English, such as textbooks for commercial English, conversation books for middle schools, grammar references, and annotated translations of foreign stories. The editors of the department produced few new English-Chinese/Chinese-English dictionaries. Instead, they worked on revising and enlarging earlier versions.¹⁰⁷ Advertisements for and previews of language books published by the Commercial Press could be found in booklists, appendixes of new publications, and even guidebooks in the 1920s. Most private English schools in Shanghai from the 1910s to the 1940s used English references and textbooks published by the Commercial Press. The Commercial Press in Shanghai had established a strong brand image in the minds of students who studied English.

¹⁰⁶ *A New Chinese-English Dictionary*, Preface in Chinese by Li Yuwen, 1914 (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1918).

¹⁰⁷ The editors revised *A Chinese-and English Dictionary* (*Dingzheng Ying-Han cidian* 訂正漢英辭典) by Zhang Tiemin in 1925. *English and Chinese Pronouncing Pocket Dictionary* (*Xiuzhen Ying-Hua zidian* 袖珍英華字典) was kept in print in revised editions until 1938.

Conclusion

A brief look at the history of English-Chinese/Chinese-English dictionaries produced in nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Shanghai yields two basic observations: quality over that period was quite inconsistent, and the numbers produced varied greatly. These variables indicate the changing process of how those dictionaries were produced, and they further reveal the connections among the authors, the audience, and the era.

Western merchants and Cantonese compradors brought English to the treaty port of Shanghai as a trading jargon in the early 1840s. During the next two decades, local Chinese merchants and interpreters mainly employed a pidgin form of the language, namely, *yangjingbang* 洋涇浜 English, to communicate with foreigners. Only a few glossary books conveyed written English to the Chinese, and only as pidgin English in a written format. The appearance of bilingual dictionaries, therefore, signified a departure from pidgin English.

Though only reprints of *Wuche yun fu* 五車韻府 ("Five cargos of phonetics," a Chinese-English dictionary compiled by Robert Morrison in the 1810s) were available to Chinese students until the early 1880s, the study of formal English was in growing demand. The readership included students from official foreign language institutes and missionary schools who pursued Western learning, as well as the literate portions of the business community, such as merchants and clerks. In my paper, I define them as the "literate audience" in order to discuss their relationship with English texts. Chinese merchants in 1850s Shanghai may have mastered only a few pidgin English sentences to speak with foreigners, but by the 1870s, they needed formal training in English, such as how to write letters, notes, etc. The linguistic activities of English-speaking Chinese were transformed due to the changing circumstances, which also affected their social activities. At the same time, lithographic technology decreased the cost of dictionaries, allowing the study of English to reach a wider literary audience. This is discussed in the first and the second sections of this paper.

In the last two sections, I focus on one important figure, Kuang Qizhao 鄺其照, and one publisher, Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館 (the Commercial Press), that

contributed to the proliferation of English-Chinese/Chinese-English dictionaries in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Shanghai. The 1880s English series compiled by Kuang Qizhao reveals a common theme of "pragmatism," corresponding to the contemporary societal demand for English language skills. The Commercial Press institutionalized the publishing of English reference books, influencing numerous Chinese students who studied English under new school systems during the Republican period (1912-1949).

Dictionaries reached various groups of Chinese who studied English, ranging from merchants to intellectuals and from amateurs to school students. English texts were distant from most local people's daily lives, but they played a significant role in the circulation of English among the literate. The evolution of the dictionaries indicates the changing market demand, and also the changing of the market itself. What did various dictionaries mean to different audiences? Did those texts constitute lenses through which Chinese intellectuals and the new elite perceived the Western world? In this sense, the dictionaries I have discussed in my paper are also meaningful in terms of their social implications, on which my further research needs to focus.

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Table 1: English-Chinese / Chinese-English reference books compiled by the early Protestant missionaries in China (1815-1865)

Author	Dates of Publication	Title	Volumes and Pages	Place of Publication	Language or Dialect
R. Morrison	1815-22	<i>A Dictionary of the Chinese Language</i>	6 vols. pp. 930+884+908+1090+178+305+480	London and Macao	Nanjing dialect
R. Morrison	1828	<i>Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect</i>	3 parts, pp. 202+90+354	Macao	Guangdong dialect
W. H. Medhurst	1832	<i>A Dictionary of the Hok-kèèn Dialect of the Chinese Language</i>	pp. lxiv, 860	Macao	Fuzhou dialect
S. Dyer	1838	<i>Vocabulary of Hok-kien Dialect</i>	Unavailable	Singapore	Fuzhou dialect
E. C. Bridgman	1841	<i>Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect</i>	pp. xxxvi, 698	Macao	Guangdong dialect
W. Dean	1841	<i>First Lessons in the Tie-chew dialect</i>	pp. 48	Bangkok	Zhangzhou dialect
J. Legge	1841	<i>A Lexilogus of the English, Malay, and Chinese Languages</i>	pp. 3, 111	Malacca	Fuzhou and Guangdong dialect
W. H. Medhurst	1842-43	<i>Chinese and English Dictionary</i>	2 vols. pp. xxiv+1486	Batavia	Mandarin
W. H. Medhurst	1844	<i>Chinese Dialogues, Questions, and Familiar Sentences, literally rendered into English</i>	pp. viii, 287	Shanghai	Mandarin
S. W. Williams	1844	<i>An English and Chinese Vocabulary, in the Court Dialect</i>	pp. lxxxviii, 440	Macao	Mandarin
Thomas T. Devan	1847	<i>The Beginner's First Book in the Chinese Language (Canton Vernacular)</i>	pp. 161	Hongkong	Guangdong dialect

Table 1, cont.

J. Goddard	1847	<i>A Chinese and English Vocabulary in the Tchéiu Dialect</i>	pp. ix, 248	Bangkok	Zhangzhou dialect
W. H. Medhurst	1847-48	<i>English and Chinese Dictionary</i>	pp. vii, 1436	Shanghae	Mandarin
S. W. Bonny	1853	<i>Phrases in the Canton Colloquial Dialect</i>	pp. 98	Canton	Guangdong dialect
E. Doty	1853	<i>Anglo-Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect</i>	pp. xv, 214	Canton	Xiamen dialect
J. Chalmers	1855	<i>A Chinese Phonetic Vocabulary</i>	33 leaves	Hongkong	Guangdong dialect
S. W. Williams	1856	<i>A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect</i>	pp. xxxvi, 832	Canton	Guangdong dialect
H. V. V. Rankin	1857	<i>Primer of the Ningpo Colloquial Dialect</i>	pp. 92	Ningpo	Ningbo dialect
W. Lobscheid	1858	<i>The Beginner's First Book, or Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect</i>	pp. ix, 123	Hongkong	Guangdong dialect
J. Chalmers	1859	<i>An English and Cantonese Pocket-Dictionary</i>	pp. 161	Hongkong	Guangdong dialect
J. MacGowan	1862	<i>Vocabulary of the English Language</i>	2 books, 125 leaves	Shanghae	English only
J. MacGowan	1862	<i>A Collection of Phrases in the Shanghai Dialect</i>	pp. 196	Shanghae	Shanghai dialect
J. MacGowan	1863	<i>Spelling Book of the English Language</i>	60 leaves	Shanghae	English only
W. Lobscheid	1864	<i>Tourist's Guide and Merchant's Manual, Being an English Chinese Vocabulary of Articles</i>	pp. iv, 148	Hongkong	Mandarin

Sources: Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867).

Table 2: English reference books and their prices on six Shanghai booklists from the 1890s to the 1920s.

Publishers and Bookstores	Weiwenge 緯文閣 1880s*	Shiwanjuanlou 十萬卷樓 1890s*	Feihongge 飛鴻閣 1900s*	Tongwen 同文書局 1900s*	Shenchang 申昌書局 1910s*	Baoshanzhai 寶善齋書莊 1920s*
Book Titles						
華英大辭典 <i>Hua-Ying dacidian</i> Dr. Yen's <i>English and Chinese Standard Dictionary</i>						\$15.00**
華英音韻字典集成 <i>Hua-Ying yinyun zidian jicheng / English and Chinese Pronouncing Dictionary</i>						7.50
英華新字典 <i>Ying-Hua xinidian</i> A New English-Chinese Dictionary						1.50
袖珍華英字典 <i>Xiuzhen Hua-Ying zidian / English and Chinese Pronouncing Pocket Dictionary</i>						1.25
英字指南 <i>Ying zi zhinan</i> Guidebook for English Words	0.90	1.20	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.00
五車韻府 <i>Wuche yun fu</i> Five Cargos of Phonetics			0.50	0.50	1.00	1.50
華英四書 <i>Hua-Ying sishu</i> The Four Classics in Chinese-English					1.20	1.50
英字入門 <i>Ying zi rumen</i> An Elementary Course in English Words	0.40	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.25
英話注解 <i>Ying hua zhujie</i> English Conversation with Explanatory Notes	0.15	0.25	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.25
英語撮要 <i>Yingyu cuoyao</i> Basics of the English Language		0.50	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.50
華英字典 <i>Hua-Ying zidian</i> A Chinese-English Dictionary	0.40	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.60	
無師自通英語 <i>Wushi zitong Yingyu</i> English Self-instruction Textbook	0.40		0.50	0.50	0.50	
華英要語 <i>Hua-Ying yaoyu</i> Chinese-English Key Words and Phrases	0.12	0.20				
華英通用要語 <i>Hua-Ying tongyong yaoyu / Chinese-English General Key Words and Phrases</i>			0.15	0.15	0.15	
華英尺牘 <i>Hua-Ying chidu</i> Commercial Letters in Chinese and English	0.3		0.4	0.4	0.4	
英語問答 <i>Ying hua wenda</i> English Conversations	0.25	0.25				
Note: * The booklist dates are approximate. ** \$ The prices are in Mexican dollars.						

Sources: Booklists of Weiwenge, Shiwanjuanlou, Feihongge, Tongwen, Shenchang, and Baoshanzhai (personal collection of Prof. Zhou Zhenhe, Fudan University, Shanghai).

Table 3: English textbooks published by the Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, between 1898-1908 (32 in total), with their prices in Mexican dollars.

華英初階	每本洋壹角	English and Chinese Primer \$ 0.10
華英進階初集	每本洋壹角五分	English and Chinese First Reader \$ 0.05
華英進階貳集	每本洋貳角五分	English and Chinese Second Reader \$ 0.25
華英進階三集	每本洋肆角	English and Chinese Third Reader \$ 0.40
華英進階肆集	每本洋伍角五分	English and Chinese Fourth Reader \$ 0.55
華英進階伍集	每本洋柒角五分	English and Chinese Fifth Reader \$ 0.75
華英進階全集	每部貳元貳角半	English and Chinese Readers \$ 2.25
華英英文初範	每本洋貳角五分	English and Chinese Grammatical Primer \$ 0.25
華英地理問答	每本洋貳角五分	English and Chinese Catechism of Geography \$ 0.25
華英亞洲啓悟集	每本洋貳角	English and Chinese New Orient Primer \$ 0.20
華英亞洲課本首冊	每本洋三角	English and Chinese New Orient First Reader \$ 0.30
華英亞洲課本貳冊	每本洋肆角	English and Chinese New Orient Second Reader \$ 0.40
華英亞洲課本三冊	每本洋伍角	English and Chinese New Orient Third Reader \$ 0.50
華英亞洲課本肆冊	每本洋陸角	English and Chinese New Orient Fourth Reader \$ 0.60
華英亞洲課本伍冊	每本洋柒角	English and Chinese New Orient Fifth Reader \$ 0.70
華英國學訓蒙編	每本洋壹角	English and Chinese Royal Primer \$ 0.10
華英國學文編卷一	每本洋貳角五分	English and Chinese Royal First Reader \$ 0.25
華英國學文編卷二	每本洋肆角	English and Chinese Royal Second Reader \$ 0.40
華英國學文編卷三	每本洋柒角五分	English and Chinese Royal Third Reader \$ 0.75
華英國學文編卷四	每本壹元貳角半	English and Chinese Royal Fourth Reader \$ 1.25
華英文件指南	每本洋陸角	English and Chinese Complete Letter Writer \$ 0.70
增廣英字指南	每本洋壹元	Method for Learning English \$ 1
華英文法釋意	每本洋一角	Explanation of Chinese-English Grammar \$ 0.10
分類英語	每本洋肆角	Classified English Words \$ 0.40
袖珍分類英語	每本洋肆角	A Pocket Edition of Classified English Words \$ 0.40
華英通用要語	每本洋貳角	Chinese-English General Key Words and Phrases \$ 0.20
增廣英語撮要	每本洋伍角	Enlarged Basics of the English Language \$ 0.50
英字入門	每本洋貳角半	An Elementary Course in English Words \$ 0.25
英語註解	每本洋貳角半	English Conversation with Explanatory Notes \$ 0.25
華英要語類編	每本洋貳角	English and Chinese Conversations \$ 0.20
華英智環啓蒙新編	每本洋肆角	Circle of Knowledge \$ 0.40
華英繙譯捷訣	每本洋七角	A Manual of Translation \$ 0.70

Table 4: English-Chinese and Chinese-English dictionaries published by the Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, between 1908-1918 (17 in total), with their prices in Mexican dollars.

DICTIONARIES published by THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, Ltd.	
Dr. Yen' s English and Chinese Standard Dictionary	\$ 15
English and Chinese Pronouncing Dictionary	7.50
English and Chinese Pronouncing Pocket Dictionary	1.25
English and Chinese Pronouncing Condensed Dictionary	1.50
English and Chinese Dictionary Paper Binding	.60
An Abridged English and Chinese Dictionary	4.00
Anglo-Chinese Handy Dictionary Pocket Edition	1.50
Webster' s Unabridged Dictionary Translated into Chinese	5.00
A Modern Dictionary of the English Language Translated into Chinese	5.00
A Modern English-Chinese Dictionary	2.50
Dictionary of Idiomatic English Phrases	2.50
A Pocket Dictionary of English Phrases with Chinese Equivalent	1.50
An Anglo-Chinese Conversation Dictionary	1.00
English Synonyms explained	2.00
Practical Synonyms	.70
Chinese-English Dictionary	2.00
Dictionnaire Francais-Chinois	4.00

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