

SECTION 3

SCHOLARSHIP

Sinitic Languages in the English Periodical Press of 19th Century China: Focus on *The Chinese Repository* and *The China Review*

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Abstract

Since the time of the first Jesuit mission to China (from the late 16th century onwards), learning the locally spoken language(s) was considered a priority. The Protestant missionaries of the 19th century continued this language-focused trend: it was fundamental for them as well to be able to learn the language of the Court together with the dialects spoken in Southern China, the area where they mainly settled, especially after the First Opium War. If, on one hand, they could benefit from a good amount of works compiled in the previous centuries to describe Mandarin, on the other hand, they found themselves in lack of tools to learn Cantonese, Hakka, Wu and other Southern topolects. Therefore, they began compiling all sorts of dictionaries, phrasebooks and grammars to fill in this gap. At the same time, they published their linguistic analyses, and considerations, together with Romanization proposals on the periodical press they had set in China, thus reaching a worldwide audience. After an introduction on the English periodical press in China, its founders and main contributors (both missionaries and laymen), this paper will conduct a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the articles concerning the description of ‘dialects’, better defined as Sinitic languages. The final aim is to show the contribution provided by the authors of two journals in particular, *The Chinese Repository* and *The China Review*, whose papers had the merit to broaden the scope of Chinese language studies, thus promoting western and Chinese scholarship on this subject.

Keywords: *Chinese dialects, Sinitic languages, China Protestant Missionaries, The Chinese Repository, The China Review*

1. Introduction

Since the time of the first Jesuit mission to China (from the late 16th century onwards), learning the locally spoken language(s) was considered a priority. This was fundamental to ensure the survival of the mission and of the missionaries in the country, and to enable the latter to interact with the population they meant to convert. The Catholic missionaries very early discovered the existence of at least three language levels: the very formal written language, mastered only by the learned men; the so-called Mandarin, or *Guanhua* 官话, spoken by the literati-officials (not without differences) throughout the empire; the incredible variety of local dialects, or topolects, spoken by the common people. At the same time, the missionaries realized that no grammatical analyses (in the Greek-Latin fashion they were accustomed to) or primers were available for foreign learners and, therefore, they had to create these important tools from scratch. In doing so, the Jesuits mainly devoted their attention to Mandarin,¹ with the aim of converting and reaching the favour of the scholar-officials, while the missionaries of other orders, Dominicans and Franciscans above all, paid more attention to locally spoken language varieties and provided the earliest descriptions of Hokkien dialect, or *Minnanhua* 闽南话. The linguistic tools they compiled, in terms of lexical repertoires and analytical descriptions, proved very useful for the following generations of missionaries and for European lay scholars' linguistic research (Mungello, 1989: 174-237; Paternicò, 2013: 26-42).

The Protestant missionaries of the 19th century continued this language-focused trend: it was fundamental for them as well to be able to learn the language of the Court together with the dialects spoken in Southern China, the area where they mainly settled, especially after the First Opium War. Even though they could benefit from a large amount of works compiled in the previous centuries to describe Mandarin, they found themselves in lack of tools to learn Cantonese, Hakka, Wu and other Southern topolects. They therefore began compiling all sorts of dictionaries, phrasebooks and grammars to fill in this gap. At the same time, they published their linguistic analyses, and considerations, together with Romanization proposals on the periodical press they had set in China, thus reaching a world-wide audience (Branner, 1997: 235-237; Tiedemann, 2010: 40-43; Su, 1996: 223-284; Paternicò, 2017: 223-243).

After an introduction on the English periodical press in China, its founders and main contributors (both missionaries and laymen), this paper will conduct a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the articles concerning the description of Chinese and the other Sinitic languages spoken in China. The final aim is to highlight the contribution provided by the authors of two journals in particular, *The Chinese Repository* and *The China Review*, whose

papers had the merit to broaden the scope of Chinese language studies, thus promoting western and Chinese scholarship on this subject.

2. English Periodical Press of 19th Century China

In 19th century China, setting a mission press was fundamental in order to spread religious publications, Chinese translations of *The Bible* and other liturgical materials. Mission presses also published secular works in Chinese to make the population aware of world history, geography, etc. (Barnett, 1971: 293-295).

Being able to print a text entirely in Chinese or including Chinese characters required huge efforts, especially in the passage from the traditional block printing to modern typography. The early missionaries located in Serampore, India, benefiting from local experience, were the first to print their works with Chinese type cast and European methods, with cutters shipped from the West for this purpose.² Because of the anti-Christian atmosphere of the time, printing outside China was the only option for a while. Serampore, Malacca, Batavia were the first chosen locations. However, printing was very hard in this sort of clandestine conditions and only few copies could be printed for each work (Barnett, 1971: 289-290; Su, 1996: 254).

Robert Morrison (1782-1834), the founder of the Protestant mission in China, advocated the creation of new, but also elegant, typesets from the earliest years of the mission. In 1832, he set up a printing press in Macau, but it was shut down anon. In the same year, the American Protestant missionaries set up “the first western style professionally run missionary printing outfit on Chinese soil” in Canton (Barnett, 1971: 290).

However, only by the mid-1840s, after the end of the Opium War, could the conditions for missionary printing and publishing in China have improvement. Both the London Missionary Society and the American Presbyterians could now finally count on a quite complete metallic movable typeset, thanks to an original project of the Parisian type-founder, Marcellin LeGrand, who had worked on it for a decade (Su, 1996: 246-254; Reed, 2004: p. 43).³

In the 19th century, several mission presses were gradually established throughout the country and began the publication not only of faith-related and secular materials in Chinese, but also of works on different topics related to China and its neighbouring countries, together with tools to learn Chinese language(s), written in western languages (McIntosh, 1895: 6-58; Barnett, 1971: 287-302).

Quite soon, hundreds of periodicals, linked to diverse religious creeds, were printed and distributed by foreign missionaries in English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, etc. (Tiedemann, 2010: 36-44). Most of them included Chinese characters as well, thus taking these kinds of publications

to a higher standard of quality and intelligibility, than those providing Romanizations only. These publications had a broad scope and were meant to widely circulate outside China. Many editors were able to see the big picture and understand the cultural, political and economic importance of circulating first-hand reliable information on China in the West.

The periodicals published in English by the Protestant missionaries were mainly three: *The Chinese Repository* (1832-1851), *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (1867-1941) and *The China Review, or Notes and Queries on the Far East* (1872-1901) (Tiedemann, 2010: 40-43).

The Chinese Recorder, published monthly, mainly dealt with individual missionaries' biographies and works, missionary activities, evangelization progress and hardships, whereas *The Chinese Repository* and *The China Review* included papers on a broader range of subjects, and also language and linguistics. For this reason, the present study will now concentrate on these two journals.

3. The Chinese Repository

The Chinese Repository (*Zhongguo Congbao* 中國叢報) was a monthly periodical published in English in Canton between 1832 and 1851, for the benefit of the Protestant missionaries working in Southeast Asia and of the Westerners interested in China.

Its founder and first editor was Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801-1861), the first American Protestant missionary in China.

Considered the father of American Sinology, Bridgman was assigned to the China mission in 1829 (Bridgman, 1864: 30), and upon his arrival began to study Chinese with Morrison and a native speaker. Morrison provided him with all the necessary tools and books, including the Chinese translation of the *Bible*, and lent him his Cantonese vocabulary (Bridgman, 1864: 40). Dedicating time to learn the language was specifically requested in the precise instructions Bridgman had received from Jeremiah Evarts of the Prudence Committee before leaving his home country (Bridgman, 1864: 22).

Bridgman soon became very proficient in Cantonese and in 1841 in Macau he published his *Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect*, a comprehensive description of Cantonese language including exercises in reading, conversation and writing.

In 1832, Bridgman started a mission press in Canton and, on May 1st, upon suggestion of Morrison, he began the publication of *The Chinese Repository*, which would become the main Western periodical in China of the time (Bridgman, 1864: 74).

From Bridgman's "Introduction" to the first volume we can learn the reasons for launching this enterprise, its purpose and intended methodology:

One of the objects of this work [...] will be to review foreign books on China, [...] and to distinguish [...] what is, and what is not, now true. [...] Sufficient weight has not, generally, we think, been given to native authorities. While we would allow them their proper influence, we shall try to avoid the opposite extreme [...].

On natural history, inquiries may [...] be directed to the climate, its temperature, changes, winds, rains healthfulness [...]. As to commerce, it will be especially interesting to notice its progress from the past to modern times [...]. Inquiries in regard to the social relations will require a careful investigation of the constitution of society, and in connection with an examination of the moral character of the people [...]. We feel and shall take a very lively interest in the religious character of the people. [...]

We enter on our work unbiased, and influenced rather by considerations of duty than of reward. (Bridgman, 1832: 2-5)

Bridgeman therefore had a clear idea of the objectives and the wide range of subjects the journal would cover. Special attention was also to be paid to the local language, since only few foreigners could speak Chinese, and very few Chinese could speak English at the time, and both were forced to resort to some sort of *pidgin*:

Every visitor at Canton must be struck, not to say confounded, with the strange jargon spoken alike by natives and foreigners, in their mutual intercourse; it has been a most fruitful source of misunderstanding; and in not a few instances, it has paved the way for misrepresentation, altercation, detention, vexation and other such evils. (Bridgman, 1832: 21)

Bridgman was editor until he left for Shanghai in 1847, though continuing to cooperate as one of the authors. The following year, Samuel Wells Williams (1812-1884), an American missionary who had been sent to China in 1833 in order to take care of the typography of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Canton, took over as editor of *The Chinese Repository*, until the journal's twentieth and last volume (Wells Williams, 1889: 62-63; Tiedeman, 2010: 40). Williams was also proficient in his knowledge of Chinese and especially Cantonese, to the study of which he had dedicated several years, publishing a primer, *Easy lessons in Chinese* (Macao 1842), and a dictionary, *A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect* (Canton 1856).

Over time, *The Chinese Repository* reached a wide audience all over the world. According to Malcom's findings, in 1836 the journal had 800 subscribers in China, South-Asian countries, Europe and the United States, although some copies were sent out for free (Malcom, 1973: 171-172). Some of the first issues were printed in as many as 1000 copies and some had to be reprinted. Among the subscribers, there were missionaries and religious people, but also merchants, scholars, and writers. The earliest years were

definitely the most successful ones, followed by a slow decline due to several reasons: lack of funds, decreased missionary contribution, and competition with other publications (Malcom, 1973: 173-176).

In bringing the *Chinese Repository* experience to an end, the editors wrote:

Since its first number was issued, great and unexpected changes have taken place in China, and in its relations with foreign countries [...]. These changes have been especially momentous in all that relates to the propagation of Christianity removing the serious penalties before attached to its profession [...]. During this period also, facilities for printing have multiplied in China; the two newspapers existing at its commencement have now increased to five; and the five printing presses to thirteen, while the “Mails”, “Registers”, “Heralds” &co., issuing from them, rapidly convey news to all parts of the world. Something more of a Monthly of sixty pages is, therefore, now required for the discussion of important questions, the description of interesting places, the reception of valuable translations, and the preservation of facts, which shall still serve as a Repository of permanent records relating to, and illustrating, China.⁴

Despite its undeniable importance as a mirror on China for the West, not many studies are available on *The Chinese Repository*, and few of them take into account their contribution to the description and study of Sinitic languages. In the following section, a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the papers related to language topic will be performed.

4. The Sinitic Languages as Portrayed in *The Chinese Repository*

In nineteen years of activity, twenty yearly volumes of *The Chinese Repository* were published, each of them including twelve monthly issues (about 60 pages per issue) starting from May 1832. With the twentieth and last volume, a *General Index* was published to facilitate the consultation. Going through it, the themes under study by its contributors appear in their great variety, spanning from geography and history, to economy, trade and commerce, politics and society; from language and literature, to philosophy and religion; from arts and science, to foreign relations, travel reports and missionary activities. It is also finally possible to learn the authors' identities, since most of the papers had come out anonymously. In some cases, the initials of the authors were provided, while, in others, pseudonyms were preferred, like “Philo”, “Anglo-Sinicus”, “A Correspondent”, etc.

It must be noted that, probably in order to facilitate consultation, in the *General Index* we sometimes find rephrased titles, or titles attributed to sections of a longer paper.

4.1. Themes and Topics

Concerning the focus of the present research, in the *General Index*, section 9, *Language and Literature etc.*, we find 95 papers listed. Excluding those on Chinese Literature, on Chinese translation of western classics and vice-versa, on the Chinese education and examination system, the writings on Chinese and other Sinitic languages can be grouped into three different categories: 1. Language description and analysis, including studies on singular features, like the characters or the tones, etc.; 2. Language learning and Romanization proposals; 3. Reviews of older Chinese works or of contemporary publications on Sinitic languages (sometimes with the replies from the authors) published in China or in the West. Of these three groups, the most interesting ones, because of their innovative and original character, are the first two, which amount to a total of 28 articles. The number rises to 31 if we consider that some of them were continued in a following issue (For a complete list of the papers in these two categories please refer to Appendix 1).

In particular, there are 16 writings dealing with language description and analyses. Of these, at least 6 are explicitly devoted to “dialects” mainly Hokkien and Cantonese, as stated in the title. However, upon careful reading, one may find out that many papers apparently referring to simply “Chinese” in general, are actually on Cantonese. This is quite obvious and natural considering that most of the authors of *The Chinese Repository* were located in Southern China, especially Canton, Hong Kong and Macau.

There are 12 articles dealing with language learning and Romanization proposals. In particular, 5 papers were dedicated to the best methods and facilities for learning the language, while 7 debated on how to best transcribe the sounds of Chinese (Wang et al., 2017: 97-102). In this case as well, the research for a fitting “orthography” for Chinese, also involved the Romanization of dialects’ sounds.

4.2. Length

The lengths of the articles vary from 1 to a maximum of 29 pages. Sometimes the General Index indicates as “article” what would just be a paragraph on a specific topic within a more general paper. For example, this is the case for the article “Dialect of the people in the island of Hainan”, Vol. I (1832-1833), pp. 151-152, which in fact is a section of a longer anonymous paper titled “Religious Intelligence”; or the article “Presses in China, and Study of Chinese”, Vol. II (1833-1834), pp. 1-9, which is actually a topic dealt within the more general “Introductory Remarks” to vol. II.

The lengthiest paper is Marshman’s “Dissertation on the Chinese language, or a particular and detailed account of the primitives, formatives and derivatives”, Vol. IX (1840) of 29 pages.

The average length of papers is 9 pages, and in particular there are papers of 29pp. (1), 23pp. (1), 22pp. (1), 16pp. (2), 15pp. (1), 14pp. (1), 13pp. (2), 12pp. (1), 9pp. (1), 8pp. (1), 7pp. (2), 6pp. (1), 5pp. (5), 4pp. (4), 2pp. (2), 1p. (2).

4.3. Authors, Background and Nationalities

The authors of the 27 contributions on language and linguistics were 12 in total. Eliah C. Bridgman was the most prolific (8 articles), followed by John R. Morrison (4), Samuel Wells Williams (3), Samuel Dyer (2), George T. Lay (2), Ira Tracy (2), J.C. Stewart (1), Samuel Wolfe (1), William Dean (1), Walter M. Lowrie (1) and Joshua Marshman (1), plus anonymous (1).

Only one of the authors was a layman: John. R Morrison (1814-1849), Robert Morrison's eldest son, who was a British interpreter and Colonial official.⁵ All the others were missionaries: aside from the already mentioned Bridgman, Wells Williams, S. Dyer (1804-1843) and S. Wolfe (1811-1837) who were British Protestant Missionaries of the London missionary Society (Davis, 1846; Wylie, 1867: 89-90). George T. Lay (ca. 1800-1845) was a British naturalist who later on became a missionary of the British and Foreign Bible Society (Broomhall, 1981: 235-236).⁶ I. Tracy (1806-1875) was an American Protestant missionary sent to China by the American Board together with Wells Williams (Tiedemann, 2010: 143). Very little is known about J.C. Stewart (?-?): only one source refers to him as an American medical missionary in Taiyuan.⁷ William Dean (1807-1895) was an American Baptist missionary in Siam and HK (Brackney, 1999: 173). Joshua Marshman (1768-1837) was a British missionary of the Baptist Missionary society located in Serampore, Bengal (India).⁸ Walter Macon Lowrie (1819-1847) was secretary of the Western missionary society, predecessor of the Presbyterian Board for foreign missions (Lowrie, 1849).⁹

All of the missionaries were English native speakers, either of British or American nationality, and mainly belonged to the Protestant or Baptist missions to China.

4.4. Qualitative Assessment: Content, Methodology

Due to space limitations, it is not possible to analyse each paper in detail and only a general assessment can be made.

For the first time in the world history of Sinology, *The Chinese Repository* provided a platform which allowed Western missionary and lay scholars not only to share their language findings and analyses, but also to confront and discuss them with other colleagues. The results of their research or their proposals, once published, would be subsequently commented, amended or

rejected in following issues by the community of expert readers the journal regularly reached. The authors themselves often encouraged feedback and corrections in order to publish an “agreed upon” version in a later volume.

It is important to highlight the extremely innovative character of some of the Romanization proposals for the Sinitic languages’ sounds, the precious insights into their grammar and pedagogy, the sound methodology used in making an unprecedented language data collection of different topolects. This data collection, for both India and China, had been called for by the linguist Nathan Brown (1807-1888) and the editors of *The Chinese Repository* were immediately responsive to that (Branner, 1997: 250-251).

Significant in this respect are for example the papers by J.R. Morrison, “System of orthography for Chinese words”, Vols. V-VI (Appendix 1) where the author highlights the difficulty in representing the Chinese syllables’ sounds using the English alphabet, especially for Cantonese, and suggests using the sounds as in the Italian alphabet instead, with some modifications. The system he proposes could be easily learned by all the Europeans and Morrison calls for its general approval and adoption. Other papers, in fact, followed with comments on the proposed system which “promoted several orthographic practices that remained in widespread use for a century or more” (Branner, 1997: 250).

It is, on the other hand, also true that the early idea these authors had of the origin of Chinese language and its dialect was still quite imprecise and based more on Chinese ‘chronicles’ and their own perceptions than on historical language reconstructions. Some of them lavished praise on Chinese language “unrivalled antiquity” and the surprising ability to preserve itself “undergoing few alteration” through the centuries (unlike Latin or Greek) and in such a vast territory. The variety of dialects and the different pronunciations were, according to them, due to the logographic nature of the written language, which did not allow proper pronunciation of the characters to be enforced throughout the empire. The sounds are judged “less full and sonorous than most of the Indochinese languages, yet when its measured periods and its tones are carefully observed, it is grateful to the ear” (Bridgman, 1834-1835: 2-3). Other authors, did not hide their feeling of presumable superiority of European languages, “the smooth flow of words, the beauty of a polysyllabic language”, if compared with the “harsh and rough sounds” of certain people, especially in Southern China, which “gives them often the appearance of anger, even in their ordinary conversations” (Morrison, 1834-1835: 484-485).

At any rate, many of the research included in the pages of *The Chinese Repository* paved the way to larger compilations: primers, grammars and dictionaries of the other so far less recorded Hokkien and especially Cantonese speech. We can here mention the case of S. Wells Williams’ “New

orthography adopted for representing the sounds of Chinese characters” in Vol. XI which prepared the orthography used in his *Tonic Dictionary*.

Finally, in *The Chinese Repository*, comparisons were often made between Chinese and Western languages, or between the different Sinitic languages, but the time was not ripe enough yet for the kind of comparative debates that would animate the linguistic panorama a few years later.

5. The China Review

The China Review or Notes and Queries on the Far East (*Zhongguo Pinglun* 中國評論 also called *Yuan Dong Shiyi Bao* 遠東釋疑報) was published bi-monthly by the *China Mail* Office in Hong Kong from 1872 to 1901 (Wang, 2007: 21-23). The journal was apparently not supported by any church, but missionaries frequently published articles of sinological interest within its pages (Tiedeman, 2010: 42).

The China Review was edited in its initial years by Nicholas Belfield Dennys (1839-1900), a British officer who had joined the Consular Service in China in 1863 as a student interpreter at Beijing. One year later, he resigned and became proprietor and editor of the Hong Kong newspaper *China Mail*, retaining the position until 1876, while he was also serving as Secretary of the City Hall and Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. In April 1877, Dennys left China because he was appointed Assistant-Protector of Chinese in Singapore and Justice of Peace for the Straits Settlements. He also edited the *North Borneo Gazette*. Dennys was the author of several books on China, including: *Notes for Tourists in the North of China* (1866), *The Treaty Ports of China* (1867), *The Folklore of China* (1876), *A Handbook of the Canton Vernacular of the Chinese Language* (1874) (Dyer Ball 1900: 94-95; Wright and Cartwright, 1908: 750; Paternicò, 2019a: 27-28).

The second editor of the journal was Ernst Johann Eitel (1838-1908), a Protestant missionary of the Basel Mission, who, in 1865 was transferred to the London Missionary Society in Canton. Five years later, he moved to Hong Kong where he began to work as a civil servant with the appointment of Director of Chinese Studies. He took up the editor's post of *The China Review* in 1876, probably because Dennys was preparing to leave for Singapore (Wang, 2007: 26). From 1878 to 1882, he worked as Supervisor of Interpreters and Translators for the Supreme Court, and from 1879 to 1896 as School Inspector for the Hong Kong Government. In 1897 he moved to Australia, where he remained until his death. He was author of several works on China and Chinese, among which: *Hand-Book for the Student of Chinese Buddhism* (1870), *A Chinese dictionary in the Cantonese dialect* (1877), *Europe in China: The History of Hongkong from the Beginning to the Year 1882* (1895) (Wesley-Smith, 2012: 132-133).

After Eitel's departure in 1897, it is still not very clear who took up the task of editing *The China Review* for the remaining four years, presumably one of its main contributors, James Dyer Ball (1847-1919) (Wang, 2007: 27).

In the introductory notice to the first volume, Dennys stated that *The China Review* would inherit the purpose of his previously edited *Notes and Queries on China and Japan* (*Zhong Ri Shi Yi* 中日釋疑), a monthly journal published in Hong Kong, which had ceased publications after only four years of activities (1867-1870). Dennys declared that *The China Review* would encompass:

papers (original and selected) upon the Arts and Sciences, Ethnology, Folklore, Geography, History, Literature, Mythology, Manners and Customs, Natural History, Religion, etc. of China, Japan, Mongolia, Tibet, The Eastern Archipelago, and the 'Far East' generally.

The journal would accept papers written in Chinese, Latin, English, German, French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese. This last information can give the idea of the broadness of people it meant to reach as readers and involve as authors. The final lines read:

Arrangements have been made to procure a complete selection of all the periodicals devoted to Oriental matters [...] so as to present a resumé of their content in each number. Great attention will also be paid to the Review department, eminent publishers in Europe and America having promised to send copies of such works as may bear upon the subjects to the consideration of which this periodical is devoted.¹⁰

The China Review did have a large audience all over the world, being the window on China for many Westerners who could gain access to a great amount of first-hand, authoritative information on the 'Far East' without leaving their countries.

An aura of mystery surrounds the end of the journal. Unlike *The Chinese Repository*, there was no closing notice in the last issue. Only in 1902, from the 3rd issue of another journal, *T'oung Pao* 通報, we learn that *The China Review* had 'temporarily' ceased publications after the 6th issue of volume 25 (1901). Other dates have been proposed for the end of the publications, but they do not seem reliable (Wang, 2007: 24-25).

At any rate, in 29 years of activity, only 25 volumes were published, and not 29 as one would expect. In the period between 1872 until 1890, the issues came out quite regularly: 1 volume per year, 6 issues per volume, with a total of 18 volumes and 104 issues. Afterwards, from the second half of 1890, something went wrong and the last three issues of volume 19 were published only in January 1892. From that moment on, and until 1899, 1 volume was published every 2 years. In 1899, the old manner of 1 yearly volume was

resumed, until the publication ceased. Therefore, the total amounts to 25 volumes and 150 issues (Wang, 2007: 25-26).

6. The Sinitic Languages as Portrayed in *The China Review*

The variety of topics in the papers published in *The China Review* is quite impressive. As Wang calculates in his study, 33 areas of interest can be listed, spanning from architecture to archaeology, from commerce to agriculture, from ethnology to society, from history and geography to language, politics, foreign relations, etc. (Wang, 2007: 26-27). Thanks to an accurate “List of contributors and table of contents of *The China Review*” compiled in 2011 by Helen Wang of the British Museum, the papers pertaining to the field of language and linguistics are easy to find. They amount to a total of 108 (Appendix 2), including those concerning the language in general and Mandarin, but excluding short essays (sometimes just a few lines) on single characters or pronunciations. Papers on Manchu, Mongolian and Muong have been excluded since they are not Sinitic languages. The total is definitely higher in comparison to the same typology of papers in the earlier *Chinese Repository*, and this mirrors the great interest in the studies of ‘Oriental languages’ which had sparked throughout European comparatists in those years.

6.1. Themes and Topics

The amount of papers on Sinitic languages is quite high: 108 (Appendix 2), of which 62 are dedicated to Chinese in general or Mandarin (Appendix 2a) and 46 to Sinitic languages ‘other than Mandarin’ (Appendix 2b). Papers on the same topic and by the same author continuing in the following issue/s have been grouped and counted as one.

The topics covered in the 62 papers on Chinese language and Mandarin include: lexicon (10 papers), comparison with other languages (8), roots/morphology/monosyllabism (7), language in general (7), Old Chinese (6), grammar (5), pronunciation and spelling (5), phonology (3), writing (3), radicals (1), varia (6).

The other Sinitic languages that are objects of study are: Cantonese (12 papers), Chinese vernaculars in general (5) Hakka (4), Hainan dialects (4), Hokkien (3), Formosan dialects (2), Peking dialect (2), Tung-kwun dialect (2), Hankow dialect (1), Amoy (1), Eastern Sz Ch’uan dialect (1), Yangchow dialect (1), Wenchow dialect (1), Ningpo dialect (1), Lancheu dialect (1), Gansu dialect (1), San-wui dialect (1), Macao dialect (1), Shun Tak dialect (1).

The topics covered in these 46 papers include: general description/phonological comparison of dialects (38 papers), lexicon (7), songs (1).

6.2. Length

In *The China Review* there was probably no specific limit for the papers. We can see lengthy papers of 30+ pages in one issue or divided across two or more issues. Many contributions were of one or two pages, some of just a few lines.

Among the papers related to studies on Chinese in general (Appendix 2a), the lengthiest paper was E.H. Parker, “The Ancient Relation Between the Japanese and Chinese Languages and Peoples”, 18.2 (1889) of 36 pages in one issue. Another impressive paper for its length is J. Edkins, “Chinese Roots”, of 70pp. published in 8 issues between 1885 and 1888. The average length of each paper is of about 6 pages and precisely: 70pp (1), 44pp (1), 36pp (1), 32pp (1), 15pp (1), 11pp (2), 10pp (2), 6pp (3), 5pp (5), 4pp (12), 3pp (4), 2pp (12), 1p (17).

Among the papers related to studies on other Sinitic languages (Appendix 2b), the longest paper published in one issue was J. Dyer Ball, “The Hong Shan or Macao Dialect”, 22.2 (1896) of 32pp. The average length of each paper is approximately 10 pages and precisely: 43pp (1), 32pp (1), 31pp (1), 27pp (1), 23pp (2), 21pp (1), 20pp (1), 18pp (2), 16pp (1), 15pp (1), 13pp (2), 12pp (1), 10pp (1), 9pp (6), 8pp (1), 6pp (1), 5pp (3), 4pp (2), 3pp (5), 2pp (5), 1p (7).

From a comparison of the above data, we can affirm that the attention to the so-called “dialects” was not secondary at all to that paid to the language in general, and actually more space was devoted to the study and analysis of single varieties and patois.

6.3. Authors

The papers of linguistic interest were written by a total of 39 authors. Among these, 20 were authors of papers on Chinese language and linguistics in general. This number does not include 4 anonymous papers, while it does include 3 authors who just signed with their initials (N.N., G.H.B.W., W.J. and Z.K.W.), and 1 who used the pseudonym “Jawbreaker”. The most prolific writers were: Joseph Edkins (25 articles) and Edward Harper Parker (14), followed by Alfred Lister (2), E.J. Eitel (2), Friedrich Hirth (2). All the others contributed with 1 paper each.

The authors of papers concerning Sinitic languages other than Mandarin were 21 (2 of them – Edkins and Parker – were also authors of general papers on Chinese). This number does not include 4 anonymous papers, while it includes 1 author who signed with his initial (D.). The most prolific writers were E.H. Parker (16 articles), J. Edkins (5), James Dyer Ball (5), James Stewart Lockhart (2) and Frank P. Gilman (2). All the others contributed with 1 paper each.

It might be worth spending a few words to introduce some of these authors, mainly missionaries and civil servants.

Joseph Edkins (1823-1905) was a British Protestant missionary of the London Missionary society who arrived in Hong Kong in 1848. He spent more than two decades in Shanghai before moving to Beijing, where he resided for 30 years. He resigned from missionary service in 1880 to become an official translator for the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs. He cooperated in the translation of several western scientific works into Chinese (Elman, 2005: 321-328) and wrote several linguistic works on Sinitic languages. Outstanding is his contribution to the study of the Shanghai Wu dialect: *A Grammar of Colloquial Chinese as exhibited in the Shanghai dialect* (1853); *A Vocabulary of the Shanghai dialect* (1869). In *The China Review* he wrote on other Sinitic languages, on the reconstruction of early Chinese and on the issue of the roots and monosyllabism of Chinese language (Orlandi, 2019: 523-527).

Edward H. Parker (1849-1926) was a British Consular official. He had studied Chinese in Liverpool and, in 1869, moved to Beijing as Student Interpreter of the British Consular service. He served in several Chinese cities and travelled China extensively writing books and papers on its history, economy, language(s), and religions. He also published his travel journeys (Branner, 1999: 12-13). Among his works: *Chinese Account of the Opium War* (1888); *China and Religion* (1905); *China, her history, diplomacy, and commerce* (1917). His contribution to the study of Chinese dialects was outstanding and fuelled the ongoing comparatists' debates. He did not dedicate monographs to his language studies but contributed several articles in *The China Review*.

James Dyer Ball (1847-1919) was a sinologist born in China from a missionary. He worked for the Hong Kong Civil Services for 35 years holding different positions, from security officer to interpreter for the Supreme Court (1878). He was a very prolific writer and reached a certain celebrity for his encyclopaedic work *Things Chinese* (1892). He dedicated several works to Cantonese: the first and most famous is *Cantonese Made Easy* (1883, IV ed. 1924), followed by *Cantonese Made Easy Vocabulary* (1886, III ed. 1908), *An English-Cantonese Pocket Vocabulary* (1886), *How to Speak Cantonese* (1889, II ed. 1902), *Readings in Cantonese Colloquial* (1894) (Paternicò, 2019a: 27-28).

James Stewart Lockhart (1858-1937) was a British Colonial Civil Servant in Hong Kong and Weihaiwei for more than 40 years. He is remembered for bringing a different approach to colonial rule fighting against racism. This attitude gained him the respect of Chinese leaders and institutions. He was also a collector of Chinese coins, art and artefacts (Airlie, 1989). Lockhart authored two main publications: *A Manual of Chinese Quotations* (1893); *The*

Stewart Lockhart Collection of Chinese Copper (1915). All his articles in *The China Review* concern the Cantonese language.

Finally, Frank Patrick Gilman (1853-1918) was an American Presbyterian missionary to Hainan island, where he worked in close contact with the Miao ethnic minority people he meant to convert (Lodwick, 1999: 242). In *The China Review* he wrote two contributions on Hainan dialects.

6.4. Quality Assessment: Content, Methodology

The linguistic data collection, which was started by the authors of *The Chinese Repository*, reaches a quite impressive level within the pages of *The China Review*, where not only the language families but also their variants become objects of attention and analysis.

In this sense, it is interesting to notice how the length of the papers concerning “dialects” is increased to the extent of real essays on their different features, somehow acknowledging their status of “languages”. This extensive work was mainly carried out by Edkins, Parker and Dyer Ball, often in a new comparative fashion.

Through his papers in *The China Review*, we can see that Edkins had a main research line: reconstructing old Chinese through the analysis of some major dialects and their history in a comparative perspective. For doing so, he can be credited with the “implicit discovery of Sinitic as a linguistic family” and his work “stimulated the growth of a ‘reconstructionist’ approach, represented by the first (though partial) reconstruction of the sound system of early Chinese” (Orlandi, 2019: 530).

In his approach to language classifications and dialectology, Edkins had completely different ideas compared to Parker. Edkins’ entire work was grounded on the assumption that Chinese dated back to the common language of the Babel Tower. He therefore tried to prove this “advancing [...] elaborate theories about the common origin of Chinese and Aryan” and, at the same time, tried to reduce all the Sinitic languages to descending lines of one common ancestor (Branner, 1999: 16). Parker, instead, would study the different “dialects” and their relationships and differences without a particular aim, remaining very sceptical about both the Babel’s myth and the traditional Chinese written phonological sources. Parker’s knowledge of the dialects and his extensive fieldwork of data collection in the Chinese provinces persuaded him that a uniform ancient system was not a realistic working hypothesis (Branner, 1999: 16-18).

The third main contributor to the subject was Dyer Ball, who was of the idea of including Chinese topolects under family groups which were to be considered languages on their own. He began to study some of the main Yue

local varieties, publishing their descriptions in the pages of *The China Review* and later on reaching the conclusion that:

Cantonese has its ‘real dialects’ some of which are spoken by tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands of natives, and which, if they were spoken by the inhabitants of some insignificant group of islands in the Pacific with only a tithe of the population, would be honoured by the name of languages (Dyer Ball, 1888, p. XIV).

He also highlighted that previous compilations on Cantonese (like William’s and Eitel’s dictionaries) were made with the help of native speakers who did not utter what he defined “pure Cantonese”, namely the *Sai Kwáng wá* or the West End Speech of the city of Canton. In his later famous work *Cantonese made easy*, praising Parker’s “wonderfully acute ear”, Dyer Ball adopted the syllabary Parker had published in *The China Review* (Parker, 1880: 363-382) for the transcription of Cantonese sounds.¹¹

The China Review was therefore the favourite platform for China-based western missionary or lay scholars of the time to publish and exchange their linguistic research findings. The scientific quality of their analyses was of a very high standard, if one takes into consideration the place and time it was carried out. Their data would prove precious for their colleagues working on western soil.

7. Impact and Concluding Remarks

The two journals, their authors and papers contributed to some of the most important research lines and ongoing linguistic debates of the 19th century.

First of all, they advanced interesting Romanization and orthography proposals for Chinese, perfecting the previous missionaries’ systems and trying to find a standard that could be used not only to transcribe Mandarin sounds but also the other major dialects. This research line would finally lead to the creation of the Wade-Giles system – also extensively discussed within the pages of *The China Review* mostly by Parker (Branner, 1999: 13-14) – which would become very popular and remain in use, especially in western publications on China, at least until 1979 (Ao, 1997).

The authors of both *The Chinese Repository* and *The China Review* provided precious first-hand material for research on language classifications and relations. These materials proved fundamental for an entire generation of so-called “armchair sinologists” (S. Julien, A. Bazin, A. Montucci, A. Severini among the others) who were conducting studies on Chinese without moving from their countries in the West, with the limited tools they could find in their libraries and mainly thanks to the “fieldwork” carried out by their contemporaries in China (Branner, 1999: 16-21; Paternicò, 2019b: 129-132; Orlandi, 2019: 527-530).

Last but not least, they initiated the study and comparison of a growing number of Chinese dialect families and their local variants, though almost exclusively from a phonological perspective (Branner, 1997: 242-249). This would slowly lead to a growing interest towards the topolects and their grammatical characteristics, paving the way to their recognition as ‘languages’, which did not all come from a common ancestor, but which developed independently, also thanks to contact with non-sinitic languages. All this would not have been possible without the contribution of the foreign missions to China. Although a few of the most prominent authors of the pages of the two journals were lay scholars, the missionaries must be credited for their role in bringing all the Chinese languages in their variety to the attention of the western readers, collecting data and promoting scholarly research on them.

Notes

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1. Mandarin back in the days was not based on Northern dialects pronunciation but was a Nanjing-based koine.
 2. In 1813, Joshua Marshman was able to print with metal type *St. John's Gospel and Epistles*, followed in 1814 by his *Elements of Chinese Grammar*, and in 1815 by Robert Morrison's *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*.
 3. LeGrand had created a set of 3,000 matrices to print the 214 radicals and 1,100 common Chinese characters which could be combined giving a total of 22,741 characters.
 4. This passage was written by Bridgman and Williams on Dec. 31st, 1851 in the *Editorial Notice* opening the 20th volume. Page numbers are not present.
 5. On him see the article written upon his death and published (anonymously) in the *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Vol. 17, No. 9 (1849), pp. 257-260.
 6. His daughter was the wife of the more famous Protestant missionary Hudson Taylor (Broomhall, 1981: 235-236, *passim*).
 7. The information comes from a list of foreign residents in China in *The Directory & Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China ...* Hong Kong: Daily Press Office, 1888: 249.
 8. Despite being located in India, Marshman authored several publications on China and Chinese, among them it is noteworthy to mention: *Elements of Chinese grammar*, Serampore: Serampore, printed at the Mission press, 1814. On him see also “Biography: Dr. Marshman”, *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, no. 911 (Saturday, September 8, 1838), pp. 166-167.
 9. On him, a publication edited by his father Walter Lowrie, 1849.

10. N.B. Dennys, "Introductory Notice", *The China Review*, Vol. 1 (1872), page not numbered.
11. Parker's work suffered and was shadowed by Kalgren's critics of inaccuracy for many years until Branner's recent defence (Branner 1999: 14-16).

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Appendix 1

Papers on Chinese and other Sinitic languages published in *The Chinese Repository*:

1. Anonymous, "Dialect of the people in the island of Hainan", Vol. I (1832-1833): 151-152.
2. E.C. Bridgman, "Presses in China, and study of Chinese", Vol. II (1833-1834): 5-9; III (1834-1835): 43-44.
3. E.C. Bridgman, "The Chinese language: its antiquity, extensive use and dialects", Vol. III (1834-1835): 1-14.
4. J.R. Morrison, "The Chinese written language: origin of Chinese writing", Vol. III (1834-1835): 14-37.
5. E.C. Bridgman, "Select papers on the subject of expressing the languages of the East in the English (Roman) character", Vol. III (1834-1835): 385-386; IV (1835-1836): 39-40.
6. J.R. Morrison, "The Chinese oral language: ... origin of different dialects...", Vol. III (1834-1835): 480-485.
7. Anonymous, "An alphabetic language for all the Chinese", Vol. IV (1835-1836): 167-172.
8. S. Dyer, "Remarks on the Fuhkien Dialect", Vol. IV (1835-1836): 172-176.
9. J.R. Morrison, "System of orthography for Chinese words...", Vol. V (1836-1837): 22-30; "On a system of orthography for the Chinese language", VI (1837-1838): 479-486.
10. J.C. Stewart, "Remarks and suggestions respecting the system of orthography for Chinese words", Vol. V (1836-1837): 65-70.
11. S. Wolfe, "Orthography of the Chinese language ... [as applied to the dialects of Fuhkien]", Vol. V (1836-1837): 481-485.
12. G.T. Lay, "Remarks on the cantus and the inflections used by the Chinese in speaking", Vol. VI (1837-1838): 579-583.
13. E.C. Bridgman, "Chinese intonations described and illustrated", Vol. VII (1838-1839): 57-61.
14. J.R. Morrison, "Review of the facilities existing for the study of the Chinese language", Vol. VII (1838-1839): 113-121.
15. I. Tracy, "Study of the Chinese language", Vol. VII (1838-1839): 204-206
16. G.T. Lay, "A new analysis of the Chinese language", Vol. VII (1838-1839): 255-264.
17. S. Wells Williams, "Remarks on the system of Chinese orthography proposed in the *Repository* vol. VI: 479", Vol. VII (1838-1839): 490-497.
18. I. Tracy, "Remarks on the study of the Chinese language", Vol. VIII (1839-1840): 338-345.
19. S. Dyer, "Remarks on the grammatical construction of the Chinese language", Vol. VIII (1839-1840): 347-359.
20. E.C. Bridgman, "Chinese grammar", Vol. IX (1840): 329-333; "Notes on Chinese grammar: additional remarks", Vol. IX (1840): 518-530.
21. J. Marshman, "Dissertation on the Chinese language", Vol. IX (1840): 587-616.
22. S. Wells Williams, "New orthography adopted for representing the sounds of Chinese characters ... in the national language and in the dialects of Canton and Fukien", Vol. XI (1842): 28-44.

23. W. Dean, "Remarks on the Cochinchinese language", Vol. XI (1842): 450-452.
24. E.C. Bridgman, "The Chinese spoken language", Vol. XII (1843): 582-604.
25. W.M. Lowrie, "On the signification of the character jin 仁 or humanity", Vol. XV (1846): 329-342.
26. E.C. Bridgman, "Philological diversions illustrating the word fung 風 or wind", Vol. XVIII (1849): 470-484.
27. E.C. Bridgman, "Animadversions ...on the word Pneuma", Vol. XIX (1850): 486-491.
28. S. Wells Williams, "Bibliographical notice: 1. Chhông Sè Toan, &c. [with remarks on Romanizing the Chinese Language, dialect of Amoy]", Vol. XX (1851): 472-478.

Appendix 2

Papers on Chinese and other Sinitic languages published in *The China Review*.

a) Papers on Chinese

1. F. Hirth, "Words Introduced from the Chinese into European Languages", 2.2 (1873): 95-98.
2. Alfred Lister, "On the Supposed Difficulty of Chinese", 2.2 (1873): 103-112.
3. Douglas Carstairs, "Chinese Tones", 3.4 (1875): 248-252.
4. A. Lister, "A Last Word About Tones", 3.6 (1875): 380-383.
5. T. Watters, "Essays on the Chinese Language" 4.4 (1876): 207-212; 4.5 (1876): 271-278; 4.6 (1876): 335-343; 5.1 (1876): 9-13; 5.3 (1876): 145-152; 5.4 (1877): 209-216.
6. E.J. Eitel, "The Language and Literature of China", 4.5 (1876): 301-306.
7. John Chalmers, "Chinese Spelling Tables", 4.5 (1876): 307-311.
8. E.J. Eitel, "The 214 Radicals", 4.5 (1876): 332.
9. Chal. Alabaster, "The Origin of Writing", 5.1 (1876): 70-71
10. N.N.? – F. Hirth, "Notes on Chinese Grammar", 5.5 (1877): 282-286; 5.6 (1877): 386-392; 6.2 (1877): 107-114; 7.2 (1878): 120-124; 8.3 (1879): 157-162; "Errata", 8.4 (1880): 257.
11. J. Edkins, "Studies in Words. Roots Meaning One", 6.2 (1877): 137.
12. J. Edkins, "Studies of Words", 6.3 (1877): 210-211.
13. J. Edkins, "On the Syllabic Spelling", 7.1 (1878): 73-74.
14. Jawbreaker, "Comparative Linguistic Peculiarities", 9.2 (1880): 123.
15. Anonymous, "Chinese Proverbs", 9.4 (1881): 255
16. Frederic H. Balfour, "Spelling and Pronunciation", 10.5 (1882): 353.
17. Anonymous, "Professor Gabelentz on a new Chinese Grammar", 11.2 (1882): 127-130.
18. Anonymous, "New Chinese Terms", 11.4 (1883): 160.
19. G.H.B.W., "Speculations on the Primitive Forms of Language", 12.6 (1884): 469-473
20. E.H. Parker, "Chinese and Sanskrit", 12.6 (1884): 498-507.
21. J. Edkins, "The Chinese Old Language", 13.1 (1884): 1-5; 13.2 (1884): 114-117; 21.6 (1895): 413-415; 22.3 (1896): 596-598.

22. J. Edkins, "Chinese Roots", 13.6 (1885): 387-398; 14.2 (1885): 67-80; 14.3 (1885): 135-146; "Chinese Roots ending in P, T, K, or a Vowel" 15.5 (1887): 288-295; 15.6 (1887): 347-357; 16.1 (1887): 31-39; "All Roots labial", 16.1 (1887): 48-49; "Sixteen Chinese Roots", 16.4 (1888): 241-242.
23. E.H. Parker, "Chinese, Korean, and Japanese", 14.4 (1886): 179-189.
24. E.H. Parker, "Chinese Terms", 14.4 (1886): 216.
25. E.H. Parker, "The Origin of Language", 14.4 (1886): 220-221.
26. E.H. Parker, "Diplomatic Terminology", 14.4 (1886): 224
27. E.H. Parker, "Local Terms", 14.4 (1886): 224.
28. E.H. Parker, "Idiomatic Phrases", 14.4 (1886): 227-228; 16.2 (1887): 127-128; 16.3 (1887): 183-186; 18.4 (1890): 264; 18.5 (1890): 320-321.
29. Ernest Satow, "Tone Distinctions in Korean and Chinese", 15.2 (1886): 128.
30. Joseph Edkins, "Evolution of the Chinese Language", 15.4 (1887): 243-244.
31. E.H. Parker, "Annamese and Chinese", 15.5 (1887): 270-273.
32. J. Edkins, "Accadian and Chinese", 15.5 (1887): 295-298.
33. J. Edkins, "The Old Initials", 15.5 (1887): 311.
34. J. Edkins, "Evolution of the Pronoun", 16.1 (1887): 49-53.
35. J. Edkins, "Notes on Words", 16.1 (1887): 53-54.
36. J. Edkins, "Expression of the Conditional", 16.1 (1887): 54.
37. J. Edkins, "Relative Pronoun", 16.5 (1888): 305.
38. J. Edkins, "Monosyllabism", 16.5 (1888): 306-307.
39. E.H. Parker, "Chinese and Annamite Tones", 16.5 (1888): 309-312.
40. A. Sydenstricker, "General Mandarin: A Table of Sounds", 16.6 (1888): 365-369.
41. Thos. Kingsmill, "Scheme for a Comparative Dictionary of Older Chinese", 17.1 (1888): 45-47.
42. E.H. Parker, "Chinese Etymology", 17.2 (1888): 114.
43. E.H. Parker, "The Ancient Relation Between the Japanese and Chinese Languages and Peoples", 18.2 (1889): 82-117.
44. W.J., "Chinese Riddles and Puns", 18.2 (1889): 128-129.
45. W.J., "Uses of 有", 18.2 (1889): 129
46. E.H. Parker, "Sienpi Words in China", 18.6 (1890): 378-379.
47. J. Edkins, "The Identity of European and Asiatic Words", 20.1 (1892): 53-56.
48. R.H. Graves, "Vowel Changes in Chinese", 20.3 (1892): 202.
49. J. Edkins, "The Mandarin a Modern form of Speech", 21.3 (1894): 203-204.
50. J. Edkins, "Proofs of Ancient Chinese Sounds", 21.5 (1895): 350-351.
51. A. Von Rosthorn, "Migrations of Tones in Modern Chinese", 22.1 (1896): 447-452.
52. J. Edkins, "Recent Researches upon the Ancient Chinese Sounds", 22.3 (1896): 565-570.
53. Z.K.W., "A suggestion concerning the Graphic Classification of Chinese Characters", 22.3 (1896): 612
54. J. Edkins, "Accadian Origin of Chinese Writing", 22.6 (1897): 765-768.
55. J. Edkins, "The Roots of Chinese and of all Languages", 22.6 (1897): 776-778.
56. J. Edkins, "Primitive Roots", 23.3 (1898): 167-170.
57. J. Edkins, "The Roots of Language as judged by their form in Chinese", 23.5 (1899): 277-280.

58. J. Edkins, "A Letter to Professor Pezzi, Turin, Italy", 24.2 (1899): 68-70.
59. J. Edkins, "Indestructibility of Roots", 24.2 (1899): 74-75; 24.6 (1900): 291-292.
60. J. Edkins, "Origin of Connective Conjunctions", 24.6 (1900): 271-274.
61. J. Edkins, "Monosyllabism as Represented in Chinese", 24.6 (1900): 274-276.
62. W. Ebert, "A New System of Indexing Chinese Characters", 25.6 (1901): 297-298.

b) Papers on other Sinitic languages

1. T.L. Bullock, "Formosan Dialects and their connection with the Malay", 3.1 (1874): 38-46.
2. E.H. Parker, "The Hankow Dialect", 3.5 (1875): 308-312.
3. C.F. Preston, "The Chinese Vernaculars", 4.3 (1875): 152-160.
4. J. Edkins, "Tone and Accent in the Peking Dialect", 5.2 (1876): 140-141.
5. Alexander Falconer, "A Chinese Dictionary in the Cantonese Dialect", 5.4 (1877): 252-260.
6. Anonymous, "Tonic and Vocal Modification in the Foochow Dialect", 7.3 (1878): 182-187.
7. D., "Chinese Dialects", 7.3 (1878): 208.
8. Su, tzu, &c. E.H. Parker, "The Pekingese Syllables", 7.6 (1879): 408-412.
9. E.H. Parker, "New Foochow Colloquial Words", 7.6 (1879): 415-418.
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