A RESEARCH GUIDE TO
CHINA-COAST NEWSPAPERS,
1822-1911

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List of Libraries and their Abbreviations

1. Macao: Portuguese
2. Canton and Macao: English
3. Hong Kong: English
4. Hong Kong: Portuguese
5. Shanghai: English
6. Shanghai: French and German
7. China: Other Cities
8. London

Chinese-English Glossary of China-Coast Newspaper Titles

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FOREWORD

This guide opens an unexpected door. The "China Coast" and the "treaty ports" that flourished on it formed in their day the cultural frontier between the Chinese empire and the outside world. Much of their record is in the literature described in this volume, produced by that transplanted Western institution, the newspaper. Most of these newspapers were in English, but Macao, first and last, had twenty in Portuguese.

This is a complex subject. During the course of the century whole newspaper families grew up, genealogically affiliated—the China Mail group of Hong Kong included eleven different titles, and there were eight in the North-China Herald group of Shanghai. Rival publications, the outport press, American, French, German, Russian and Japanese journals added diversity. The vicissitudes of journalistic enterprise were compounded by treaty-port feuds and politics.

The resulting bibliographic complexity has required historical study, both of publications and of personnel. For much of this we are indebted to the detailed studies of Mr. Clark, whose M.A. dissertation at the University of London in 1961 dealt with the development of China-coast newspapers to 1881. Meanwhile Mr. King (now an associate professor of economics at the University of Kansas) has pursued a parallel interest for many years, and to him we are indebted for the final putting together of this joint volume, which also includes bibliographical data from the many additional sources and contributors credited in the Acknowledgments. As a result of this happy combination, the main section below, in its historical accounts of the various newspapers and the relations and policies of their publishers and editors, indicates something of the origin of those treaty-port feelings that burned so brightly in their day. The fifty pages of biographies, list of holdings, glossary, and various other lists and indices further enhance the utility of this research tool.

John K. Fairbank

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1737 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts
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We wish now to acknowledge the essential contributions of the many other students of modern Chinese history who co-operated in this venture. J.M. Braga has provided material on his own valuable collection of Portuguese-language newspapers as well as supplementary information on Hong Kong journalism. T.R. Liu provided valuable research on Hong Kong. Lucien Bianco contributed the notes on the French-language newspapers. S.T. Leong undertook bibliographical research on Russian-language material. Chuzo Ichiko in Japan and Wolfgang Seuberlich in Germany undertook the tedious but important task of collecting precise information on library holdings. G. Raymond Nunn circularized libraries in the United States.

Many assisted the project with contributions and advice: N.P. Avtonomoff, Masataka Banno, Tieh-chun Chen, Jean Chesneaux, J.L. Crammer-Byng, Robert L. Kirkpatrick, Karl Lo, Motoi Hiramatsu, T.G.N. Pearce, and Paul Rogers. Access to the Jardine Matheson archives was granted by Alan Reid and Matheson and Co. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions also made available their archives. We gratefully acknowledge the patient assistance given to us by the librarians with whom we consulted. Several also found themselves engaged in coordinating work or gave valuable bibliographical advice, including Paul J. McNiff, Geoffrey Bonsall, Edwin Beal, Jr., and the late Júlio Gonçalves.
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Catherine E. King edited and typed several versions of the manuscript. Bertha Ezell typed the final copy for photo-offset, while Lien-sheng Yang and Yeh-chien Wang supplied the calligraphy on the cover and in the text respectively. Elizabeth M. Matheson made key editorial recommendations, and Anne T. Harby undertook the final editing of the guide.

Frank H.H. King
Editor

Lawrence, Kansas
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I
THE CHARACTER AND USE OF CHINA-COAST NEWSPAPERS

This research guide is designed primarily to facilitate the use of Western-language newspapers published in China, including Hong Kong and Macao, during the late Ch'ing period. It contains information on several related topics, including those newspapers published in London concerned with news of China, and certain Chinese-language sheets published as an integral part of or in close connection with the Western-language newspapers. There is also an appendix listing Japanese-language newspapers published in China during the period through 1911. The guide consequently excludes consideration of purely missionary, official, and, with the exceptions noted above, Chinese-language publications. It also excludes price currents and shipping lists except to the extent that they either contained some news items or played a role in the development of China-coast newspapers. Certain borderline publications have been included.

The complex nature of Sino-Western relationships is well known. Current research is concerned with the diversity of opinion within the foreign communities relative to China policy, missionaries, local treaty-port government, internal Chinese political developments, and economic prospects. Not surprisingly contemporaries gave expression to this diversity in the many and various newspapers and periodicals published on the China coast and elsewhere. Indeed, the index to this study lists some 200 newspaper titles. Yet a random sampling of recent studies of the late Ch'ing period reveals that, with the exception perhaps of the North-China Herald (5.1) and the China Mail (3.4.1), these newspapers have been little used.

The reasons for this failure to utilize an obvious primary source are quite straightforward. First, newspapers are costly to store and difficult to catalogue; locating the several newspapers is in itself a major problem. Secondly, their very diversity minimizes their immediate usefulness. Before a newspaper can be used as a source, the student must know something about its contributors, editors, and publishers; he must be
able to assess its political and other bias and generalize as to its policy. The very variety of China-coast newspapers has made this task appear impractical, and the student has in consequence fallen back upon the two most readily available newspapers, the *North-China Herald* and the *China Mail*, whose life span covers almost our entire period.

By attempting to provide at least tentative answers to those questions which are a necessary preliminary to scholarly investigation, we hope to encourage both the use of the newspapers as a research tool and research into the history of China-coast journalism itself. Basic to this guide, therefore, is the comprehensive, alphabetically-arranged list of newspaper titles. This is immediately preceded by a chronological index permitting the student to determine the newspapers published in any year between 1822 and 1911. The guide also includes an introductory essay on the development of China-coast journalism; annotations which consider each title for which information is at all available and group those having editorial or ownership connection or which subsequently amalgamate; a biographical section dealing with editors and publishers; a list of extant copies by newspaper and library; and a bibliography which suggests sources for further research. Those reading Chinese-language texts may come across the Chinese title of a Western-language newspaper, and as these are not always direct translations, a glossary is provided. Few would recognize *Te-ch'en pao* 德臣報 as the *China Mail*, for example, even if they were aware of Dixson's early editorship.

The basic sources consulted in the preparation of this guide are, of course, the newspapers themselves, supplemented primarily by other writings of China-coast journalists. The Jardine Matheson archives proved invaluable. Secondary sources, however well-regarded for other purposes, have proved highly inaccurate in detail. The lists of library holdings are based, wherever possible, upon personal examination not only of card catalogues but also of the actual volumes. Records of newspaper holdings are particularly susceptible to error, and a visit to the stacks was usually rewarding, often surprising. The Chinese titles were obtained from histories of Chinese journalism, from company directories, and from the newspapers themselves.
We have stated the problems of effective use of China-coast newspapers as involving their identification, the location of extant copies, and assessment of their policies and reliability. A research guide cannot give definitive answers to these questions, but it can contribute by stating the problems and by taking first steps toward their solution. Indeed, the location problem may be soon resolved through a microfilming project sponsored by the University of Kansas.

Of the many titles listed in the index, which are most suitable as research tools? Obviously the answer depends upon the nature of the research project, but certain generalizations should prove useful. First, the value of a newspaper in a particular study is not to be measured by its ability to survive in the competitive China-coast scene. The Hongkong Register (3.3.2), for example, failed because the publisher, then in poor health, was unable to find a suitable successor; the China Mail survived periods of severe editorial criticism because of the sound financial base of the parent company.

Secondly, certain newspapers were known to be preeminent in their field. The Friend of China (3.1.2), for example, had a wider coverage of the developing Taiping rebellion than its contemporaries; the North China Herald was the official publisher of certain consular notices. For projects dealing with particular areas or particular national interests, the problem is simpler. The task of reading all newspaper sources outside the centers of Shanghai and Hong Kong or in languages other than English is not an overwhelming one, especially since extant copies of "outport" newspapers are limited in number.

Thirdly, some of the titles listed in the index are merely those of separate editions rather than independent newspapers. Grouping of titles in this guide has facilitated identification of such editions, but there is still a choice to be made.

The China-coast newspapers had their origins in foreign communities whose potential local subscribers numbered, at most, a few hundred. From the beginning, therefore, publishers attempted to meet the requirements of at least two audiences—the local residents and the home country. At first one edition served both markets, but quickly the custom of special
supplements evolved. For local residents an extra advertising sheet might appear, or a shipping list on a separate sheet inserted in or distributed with the weekly paper; for Europe a local news supplement might be added. Certain newspapers evolved the practice of giving their supplements different titles and then the task becomes considerably easier. For example, Andrew Dixson of Hong Kong's China Mail began circulation of Dixson's Hongkong Recorder (3.4.4) gratis in 1850, its income being derived solely from advertising. Holdings of this supplement have been located and are listed separately. The Hong Kong Times (3.7.3) had a local news supplement sufficiently separate to warrant individual mention in bibliographies and library catalogues, although it was included gratis with the overland edition.

These supplements proved only a temporary answer to the problem of different markets. As the size of the total market grew, newspapers could afford more than one edition, and the "overland edition" was born. The weekly newspapers had from the first been mailed to Europe, but the overland edition was published specifically to be sent via the Red Sea and Marseilles, then overland to England. The frequency and timing of publication coincided with the sailing of the mail ships. About 1860, the advertising supplements with their column of news developed into daily editions of the newspaper. For a time, therefore, one company might be publishing a daily, a weekly, and an overland edition. Subsequently the weekly might be eliminated with the principal title going in some cases to the daily and in others to the overland edition. The coming of the telegraph and other new developments in journalistic practices changed the requirements of all markets, and the overland edition became in some cases nothing more than a weekly mail edition containing reprints of the daily edition without the advertising pages.

Unfortunately, beyond this general pattern there was little uniformity. Selection of the right edition must be based on knowledge of the particular newspaper. For some the problem can be circumvented by consulting, for example, the London and China Telegraph (8.1.1-2), which was based on a cross-section of all China-coast newspapers and contained reprints of articles from outport publications no longer available.

Actual assessment of reliability and policy remains the most important and the most difficult of the student's tasks, however. China-coast newspapers,
especially during the first fifty years, were essentially personal. After identifying editor and publisher at the particular time in question and resolving the question as to who was the dominant force, the student can concentrate his attention on that dominant personality. An examination of the editorials, of comments by other newspapers, and of other writings by editor or publisher will very quickly reveal the attitudes and prejudices involved.

There still remains the question of reliability, which is an issue at two levels. First, most newspapers made general claims--they were the voice of a community, of some section of a community, or, sometimes, of the whole British or American nation. These claims cannot be accepted uncritically. Charges and counter-charges of influence and interest were commonplace. Most editors asserted complete editorial independence; yet there is often evidence to the contrary. Many editors claimed to speak for all those of their own nation; there is much to contradict this. We have made some preliminary judgments on these matters below. On the second level, the student is concerned with the accuracy of particular news articles. On this subject no generalization can be made. The information must be checked against other contemporary sources where at all possible. Opinions, of course, can be discounted given the known bias of a particular writer, but facts were as elusive then as they are today.

More specific comments on these and closely related topics are made in the following two sections.

Problems in the Interpretation of China-Coast Newspapers

John K. Fairbank has warned the translators of Ch'ing documents that they must have both an understanding of the background and way of thinking of the authors and the ability to adapt the literal translation into something meaningful in today's idiom. This task is not limited to translators; indeed, interpreters of nineteenth-century English-language material may have the more difficult task since they must overcome their apparent familiarity with the language!

We can change "trembling and prostrate your slave hears the Imperial pleasure" to "your instructions received," but are we similarly justified
or even permitted to translate the China-coast Englishman's "the semi-civilized Chinese" to "the Chinese, a people not yet conversant with the application of steam to transport"? Yet this is precisely what most writers meant by the term. Certainly a brief description of the characteristic problems and attitudes of the early journalists appears essential.

a. Language

"The Chinese--a people characterized by a marvelous degree of imbecility, avarice, conceit, and obstinacy..." is a description in good nineteenth-century style which would appear clear enough. There is ample historical evidence that many British supported James Matheson's view.

"The Chinaman is the best of society. He is always courteous and suave in his manners; shrewd and 'piquant' in his remarks, cheerful in his disposition," wrote the Shanghai Recorder (5.3.1) in 1867. This opinion, too, found support in the foreign community. We cannot conclude, therefore, that the attitude of British journalists to the Chinese was one of unrestrained contempt based on ignorance. Indeed, their attitude requires interpretation if the language of the newspaper is not to obscure the information it contains.

The unrestrained comments both pro and con are typical not only of the newspapers' judgments of the Chinese but also of all others they had occasion to notice. A Hong Kong governor, Sir George Bonham, was described in the relatively mild China Mail as a "humbug," "...not of the vain, good-natured, obliging class...but a cold, selfish, uncharitable, evasive, blustering, addle-pated humbug, who never did or expected a disinterested action, or enforced a policy even when persuaded it was right, if he also felt persuaded it would require to be defended." Nothing more severe was said of the Chinese officials, so often the target of criticism. In 1865, writing on another favorite target, Hong Kong's Daily Press (3.5.2) described Americans as "servile, impotent, selfish, and sneaking."

To dwell upon such quotations from China-coast newspapers would be to distort the relative severity of the criticisms. The editors wrote in the idiom of their time; they made harsh judgments, but those require
some translation if we are not to be side-tracked by the apparently grotesque phrases, by the unfamiliarity of the tone.

b. Opinions on the Chinese

Criticism of the Chinese was a continuous and detailed newspaper activity, and cannot be dismissed solely by revising the language. The problem is to place the criticism in perspective. First, such criticism must not be understood as necessarily the result of ignorance. Many editors were also Sinologues, all newspapers had on their staff or in their pay men capable of translating from the Chinese, and some—e.g. William Tarrant of the Friend of China—made good use of Chinese informants. Secondly, Western attitudes to the Chinese were based upon two traditions: the Protestant belief that those living without the Word of God were bound to a life of evil—and missionary contributions were designed to illustrate and support this conclusion; and the merchant support of free trade principles and the still surviving philosophical belief in the infallibility of man's reason, a reason which had reformed the governments of enlightened Europe, created the United States, and, if permitted free scope, would reform China. This latter tradition was supplemented by the new identity of progress with material innovations, especially steam, and the Chinese failure to adopt these was frequently cited as evidence of the backwardness of the people as a whole or the tyranny, corruption, or other vice of their government. Some few may find the conviction of the nineteenth-century foreigner refreshing; others, more familiar with the conversations at tea parties for foreign students, will be embarrassed. Neither reaction should be permitted to obscure the relevance of the information being presented.

c. Personalities

One key problem in the full use of the newspapers is, then, the severity of the language used in criticism. A second problem is closely related. The small size of the foreign communities, even in such a great city as Shanghai, tended to cause constructive comment on issues to degenerate into criticisms of personalities. The Canton Register (2.1.2)
disapproved of Captain Elliot's 1837 actions on substantial grounds but could not refrain from a personal attack: "...the reader will learn how early Captain Elliot betrayed his lust for the exercise of unconstitutional power over his countrymen."

Personalities played an essential role in Hong Kong, especially until the middle 1860's; the more relevant details have been included in our biographies of William Tarrant and Y.J. Murrow. So bitter indeed did these controversies become that they clouded judgments; thus, knowledge of the rivalries and personal relationships of editors and publishers is important to interpretation of their news items and editorials.

d. The Newspaper Staff

The China-coast newspaper, especially in the period before 1880, was usually directed by an editor of limited experience supported by an inadequate staff, dependent upon a narrow range of news sources. Indeed, until the 1860's newspapers were principally one-man affairs. By the end of the century the larger newspapers might have an editor, sub-editor, and possibly one to three local reporters, with correspondents in Europe and the outports, supplemented by Reuters' telegrams, translations from the Chinese, and some exchange with newspapers in other Western languages. The Shanghai Mercury (5.7.10), North-China Daily News (5.1.8), China Mail, South China Morning Post (3.9), Der Ostasiatische Lloyd (6.8.1) and L'Echo de Chine (6.7.1) were, for example, such newspapers, in scope and content comparable to their contemporaries elsewhere. The early newspapers require, however, some general description. Details are added subsequently in the guide.

Between 1866 and 1868 the Hongkong Daily Press was edited by Alfred Percy Sinnett, former editor of India's Pioneer. In 1873 William Curtis left his inherited Brighton Gazette to edit and publish the Hong Kong Times, Daily Advertiser and Shipping Gazette (3.7.3). These men may well have been the first editors in China with any significant journalistic experience. The Canton editors were former merchants or missionaries; the background of the Hong Kong editors, with the exception of Andrew Shortrede and his successors, was principally mercantile, although William Tarrant of the Friend of China
was a discharged government servant. In Shanghai, Henry Shearman, the founder of the *North-China Herald* (1850), had been an auctioneer. These pioneers had varying reasons for beginning a newspaper, which must be considered individually below.

The contrast between the *China Mail* and the other early newspapers suggests that inexperience and "personalism" are generally coincident. The *China Mail* was first edited by Shortrede, who may have had experience on a newspaper in Sydney, Australia, but who came to China as proprietor of a printing establishment. The editing of a newspaper was thus only one of his functions. From the beginning the *China Mail* was milder in its criticism, did not automatically support merchant opinion with which it had no personal ties, and was more comparable to the manner of later newspapers. In contrast, Robert Fraser-Smith's *Hongkong Telegraph* (3.8), founded in 1881, was a reversion to an earlier, personal journalism.

Printing was the earliest Western industry established in China, and the first generation of Chinese journalists served their apprenticeships with missionary presses and Western newspapers. Leadership in the printing industry went quickly to the Portuguese, however, and early editors came to depend upon a Portuguese staff member not only for printing but also for occasional reporting. There are examples of the printer taking over the editorial direction of the newspaper during an editor's temporary absence--in jail, perhaps, or in North China. In addition to such assistance the editor could also call for general support from the foreign community. This came in the form of translations, signed or unsigned articles, and letters to the editor.

Since an editor was not always in a position to check the accuracy of these contributions, much of the content of the early newspaper was beyond his control and must be judged accordingly. Anonymity was considered a virtue in journalism of the period, although Y.J. Murrow, editor of the *Hongkong Daily Press*, admitted that as far as the editors were concerned, anonymity was impossible and "every article might as well be signed." Nevertheless, they were not, and their authorship is not as obvious today as it must have been at the time. Therefore, interpretation is rendered more difficult by the frequent use of amateur and unidentified sources.
By the 1870's editors had gained experience on the job; in addition they had one or more full-time assistants, usually assigned to report on the courts, shipping, or other such routine but essential assignments. News of the outports was at first dependent upon correspondence from merchants or missionaries stationed there. Routine trade reports might be sent in by a merchant house in return for a free subscription. During the Taiping rebellion, newspapers depended upon missionaries with the Taipings for their stories of the Heavenly Kingdom itself. When other ports supported their own newspapers, the custom of reprinting extracts was generally practiced, although the presence of special correspondents might be continued. Correspondents were not restricted to China, moreover, and the larger China-coast newspapers had news direct from other Far Eastern countries. News from England was at first slight, owing to the speed with which the merchant houses were able themselves to disseminate the news from correspondence and from European newspapers arriving by the same mail ship. Efforts to beat the distribution of the British newspapers were made, and eventually there was sufficient demand for specialized reporting from England. Former Hong Kong or China residents, sometimes former editors or staff members of China-coast newspapers, would supply reports of special interest to local readers, which were not available in the home papers. There were also agencies which sent China-coast newspapers news columns with slight differences, so that editors could label such dispatches "from our own correspondent." The coming of the telegraph and Reuters service eventually broadened the scope for European coverage in the local press, although Reuters at first prevented publication of their telegrams for forty-eight hours after receipt to protect private subscribers.

Coverage

The coverage of the China-coast newspapers broadened geographically with the increased number of open ports, the growth of the foreign communities within China, and with the interest of the home countries for China-side news. But they remained essentially small town newspapers, and the broadened geographical coverage did not necessarily broaden "coverage" in other senses.
The most serious defect from the point of view of today's student of China is the lack of coverage of events in China which were unrelated to the immediate interests of the foreign trading community. At first glance this appears but a reflection of the bias of nineteenth-century foreigners, but this judgment is incomplete. Certain editors made considerable efforts to report happenings in China, as is indicated by the coverage of the rebellions and the translations of the various Peking gazettes. Nor were the editors and reporters ignorant of China and the Chinese. The difficulty lay elsewhere.

Interest in China was limited by the practical requirements of the foreigner in China--either trader or missionary--and these requirements were likely to direct attention almost exclusively to a limited aspect of the China scene. Those who did have broader interests tended to concern themselves with traditional Chinese scholarship. At first, indeed, little more could be expected when access to information was so restricted; the right to study Chinese was a privilege to be won by armed conflict. Although contact with Chinese officials subsequently became more frequent, the subjects of discussion were not usually different from those which preoccupied Macartney and Staunton. Throughout the period China-coast newspaper coverage of China was in general restricted and, by modern journalistic standards, unsatisfactory except in certain specific fields.

Newspapers could, of course, have used individual Chinese informants more systematically, and some newspapers were more adventurous here than others. But it is fair to add that editors, even Sinologist-editors, lacked the background in contemporary China to use such informants effectually. The Friend of China used Chinese to great effect, but the accuracy of the reports has not as yet been subjected to rigorous analysis.

If the regular coverage of China was restricted or uncritical, there were notable exceptions. The larger newspapers had the co-operation of foreigners throughout China and many contributed articles which provide a unique insight into the changes being wrought in the late Ch'ing period. But these contributions were irregular, separate, feature-type articles, and their appearance cannot be predicted or their worth judged in advance. A student seeking information on some specific subject cannot afford to
ignore these often definitive accounts, but they have to be sought through the files of the newspapers.

The South China Morning Post (3.9) was founded with the avowed purpose of supporting the reform movement in China, and a detailed analysis of its contents may reveal a further exception to our previous generalization. Wang T'ao 王 豫, the Chinese scholar and pioneer journalist, wrote of his hope that a Chinese-owned newspaper might be founded to present in a Western language the Chinese view to the foreign reader. The South China Morning Post did not meet quite so rigorous a standard. The Hongkong Telegraph, however, was for a short period in the 1900's owned by a Chinese syndicate, and its policy should be examined. The Cycle (5.16), a Shanghai periodical published 1870-1871, might appear at first to meet Wang T'ao's requirements, despite its foreign ownership; but although the Cycle was sympathetic to the Chinese point of view, it was so on subjects within the traditional coverage--i.e. treaty relationships and trade privileges. It provided a counter to the China-coast newspapers, not an extension of their range. Peking's Chinese Public Opinion (7.17.1), and the successor Peking Daily News (7.17.2) were both Chinese-owned and edited and expressive of Chinese patriotic opinion, but this does not make them better interpreters of China news. They were, perhaps, operating on too small a scale to have so great an impact.

National and Outport Newspapers

The increased professionalism of later journalists and, in consequence, the more adequate coverage by already existing newspapers coincided in time with two other developments--all leading to improved newspaper coverage of the China scene. The period from the 1880's witnessed the founding of "national" newspapers and the growth of the outports, i.e. foreign settlements other than Hong Kong and Shanghai, leading to the establishment of local newspapers of particular regional interest.

In the 1860's the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank had its American board members and its French chief manager; similarly, the North-China Herald, although primarily British, yet had served many of the requirements of other
foreign communities. This did not satisfy the spirit of the Age of Imperialism. French, German, and Russian banks were established. And in 1887 came *Der Ostasiatische Lloyd*, in 1898 *L'Echo de Chine* (6.7.1), in 1901 the *Shanghai Times* (5.11)--all papers avowedly intending to serve the interests of Germany, France, and the United States respectively. A comprehensive use of China-coast newspapers requires consultation of these representatives of the late-comers.

Thus far we have been concentrating on publications in Hong Kong and Shanghai. But as the foreign communities of other treaty ports grew, newspapers were founded there. With certain noteworthy exceptions, few copies of these newspapers have been located, although their articles have been reprinted in London and in other China-coast publications. For the most part these outport newspapers appear to have been similar to the early Hong Kong editions for local circulation--advertising and shipping lists with a single column of news, some correspondence, and perhaps an occasional contributed feature article. Their survival rate was low.

An exception is found in the journalistic history of Tientsin, where in 1886 the *Chinese Times* (7.1) was established, to be succeeded in 1894 by the *Peking and Tientsin Times* (7.2). Both had exceptional coverage of local North China news. To tie two themes together, the latter paper thought proper to bow to the temper of the times and state directly its primarily *British* policy. As in Shanghai, newspapers representing other national interests were eventually established: in 1898 the *Bollettino Italiano dell'Estremo Oriente* (7.3), the only Italian-language journal of which mention has been found in this period; in 1904 the English-language *China Review* (7.6.1), said to have represented Russian views; also in 1904 *Tageblatt für Nordchina* (7.5); and in 1906 *Le Courrier de Tientsin* (7.7.1).

In Tsingtao, as in Hong Kong, the ruling power dominated, and both general interest and specialized German-language newspapers were established. Developments in the Chinese capital were slower. The *China Times* (7.14) was established in 1901 and was heralded as the first foreign newspaper in the capital, but before six months had passed the newspaper had moved to Tientsin. The other Peking Western-language newspapers established
before the Revolution appear to have been slight, suitable to be classed with the smaller, less influential foreign-language newspapers of the outports of China.
II
THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA-COAST NEWSPAPERS

When in the 1820's the first Western-language newspapers were published on the China coast, foreigners had already been resident in China for more than 200 years. The timing of the first newspapers suggests that the history of early journalism in China was, like most other aspects of life in the Macao-Canton area, affected by developments in the "old Canton system." Traditionally, the British residing in Macao and Canton had been servants of the East India Company; in such a closed community there had been no need for a newspaper. The Roman Catholic Church had been successful in prohibiting the residence of Protestant missionaries, and all foreigners were under the joint tolerance of the Chinese and Portuguese governments. As the main purpose of residence was trade, much inconvenience could be tolerated, and the dubious advantages of a newspaper were luxuries which were easily forgone.

The forces which challenged the old Canton system also brought journalism to China. The independent or country merchants attacked the monopoly of the East India Company; in 1824 their advocacy of free trade found voice in the Oriental Herald and Colonial Review (8.7), published, however, in London. The Reverend Robert Morrison became the first Protestant missionary in China, but began his activities by studying Chinese within the permissive scope of the Company. The Protestants found that their activities could develop more fruitfully outside the jurisdiction of the China trade "establishment" and accordingly established a base in Malacca where in 1827 or 1828 the Malacca Observer and Chinese Chronicle was founded. The paper dealt mainly with local news but included as the "China Chronicle" a column of news from China. The country merchants however needed but the spark and they, too, would establish a journal; this spark was found in the unlikely combination of William W. Wood, an American adventurer--significantly beyond the jurisdiction of the East India Company--and Alexander Matheson. The unbridled pen of the former
and the handpress of the latter were together responsible in 1827 for the first issues of the Canton Register (2.1.1), which marked the beginning of English-language journalism on the China coast. This was not the first China-coast newspaper, however. Two Portuguese newspapers, both under Catholic auspices and supporting the ruling groups in the Macao government, had already lived their short lives—A Abelha da China (1.1) was the first in 1822. It ceased with a change in government and was replaced in 1824 by the Gazeta de Macau (1.2), which closed in 1826 for lack of support.

After the first issues of the Register, it was apparent that the country merchants had gone too far—in China. Although pressing for trade reform in England, they had not the same freedom in Canton, and the Canton Register dropped Wood to become, in the words of the publisher, James Matheson, "a record of facts, not a vehicle for controversy." Controversy was provided in 1831 with the publication of Wood's Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette (2.2), which, in the unreserved language which was to become typical of China-coast journalism for the next half-century, urged the ending of the Company's monopoly.

News that the Company's monopoly had been ended reached Canton in 1833; the Register was then free to speak—and to urge the winding up of the Company's Canton agency. Foreign opinion was not even then monolithic, however, and the dominant group of British merchants, led by Jardine Matheson and Company, whose position was supported by the Register, soon found themselves attacked in the Canton Press (2.3), sponsored by Dent and Company. A pattern had been established which was to typify the years of "personal journalism," that is, the years up to the 1880's when more professional and experienced men undertook the publishing and editing of China-coast newspapers.
A Survey by Cities*

a. Canton

The history of China-coast newspapers in Canton may be divided into three relatively clear-cut periods. The first, up to 1844, has been described in a previous section as witnessing the beginnings of Western journalism on the China coast; this was the period of the old Canton system and its breakdown. The First Sino-British War resulted in the ceding of Hong Kong to Britain; in 1843 the Canton Register moved to Hong Kong, and in 1844 the Canton Press ceased publication, ending the first period of Canton's journalistic history. In the second period, from 1844 to 1911, Hong Kong dominated South China journalism, and the several efforts to establish a newspaper in Canton failed. The third period, beyond the scope of this guide, witnessed the revival of Canton's political importance, the growth of her foreign community, and the successful establishment of Western-language daily newspapers.

The year 1833, when the East India Company lost the trade monopoly, marks a further division of the period of the old Canton system. Up to this date the Canton Register had been a self-avowed recorder of facts rather than a vehicle for controversy. The country merchants' case was presented not in Canton but in England, although W.W. Wood, the American editor of the Courier, was able to attack the Company even in its Canton stronghold. Unable to engage in controversy over matters of fact, the Register and Courier became quickly engaged in controversies involving personalities, and the Register's editor, A.S. Keating, challenged Wood to a duel. The duel never took place, but China-coast journalism had made a typical beginning.

With the end of the East India Company's monopoly and political jurisdiction, the Register was able to speak for itself; the Courier was

* Portuguese-language newspapers are excluded from this survey. For a brief introductory comment on their development, see Section III (1) below. Other available information is to be found under the newspaper in Section III or under the name of the editor/publisher in Section IV.
left without support. The British community now apparently had a uniform objective. Free trade had been granted by the British government; it had yet to be granted by the Chinese. The merchants sought, therefore, liberalization of their trading relations with the Chinese, and they welcomed the support given their objectives by the appointment of a British representative who was expected to reside in Canton.

The scope for controversy remained, however, surprisingly great. First, there was the question of the East India Company’s Canton agency, which the country merchants sought to eliminate. The new Canton Press and Price Current, established in 1835, was actually edited by ex-East India Company servants who defended both the Company’s old policies and the maintenance of the agency. But the more important and more persistent controversies had deeper roots.

During the period of the Company’s monopoly, trade and political jurisdiction had been united; the country merchants existed under sufferance. The form of relationship with the Chinese was subjected to the requirements of trade, a subordination made possible first because the existing system did permit trade to flourish within set limits and secondly because no Crown servant was involved and thus no question of interstate relationships arose, except when embassies to Peking were attempted.

With the ending of the Company’s monopoly, this combination of trade interest and political power ceased. It had existed, of course, to the detriment of those traders without the London monopoly, and now they were free to act. But they still required political leadership, if only to maintain the trade privileges the Chinese had granted the Company. At first it seemed as if this would create no problem, since both the British government and the country merchants were advocates of free trade and would urge this on the Chinese. The new political authority, however, added a condition the consequences of which the merchants could hardly have foreseen—i.e., that the relationship with China should be consistent with the dignity of the Crown.

The controversies arose, then, over actions which the Crown’s representatives, Lord Napier and Captain Elliot, were forced to take to maintain their concept of national dignity. Their actions in the long run might tend
to a liberalization of trade; in the short run they led to trade stoppages which the merchants would not support. Nor was merchant opinion united; a sharp division within the community arose between supporters of James Matheson and his associates on the one hand and Thomas Dent and his supporters on the other. Significantly, the Register and the Press were supported by these rival groups.

Against this background the two Canton newspapers considered the tactics most likely to achieve sound and stable trade relations with China. Their specific policies are considered in Section III. Commissioner Lin's seizure of privately owned opium, the capitulation of Captain Elliot, and the subsequent disruption of trade provided the opportunity for a conflict to modify the Ch'ing dynasty's traditional trade-tribute policy. That this opportunity should be taken was agreed, but again the community (and the newspapers) were divided on the proper execution of the plan. When war came and Hong Kong was ceded to the Crown, both the Register and the Press questioned its value. The detractors of Hong Kong were not fully answered for many years, but the newspapers quickly succumbed to its competition. The year 1844 saw no English-language newspaper left in either Canton or Macao, and until 1850 Hong Kong was the uncontested scene of English-language journalism on the China coast.

There was a brief transition period from 1839, when the Canton newspapers moved to the relative safety of Macao, and 1844, when the Canton Press closed. Indeed, the first issue of the Hong Kong Gazette was published in Macao in May 1841, the first issue of the Friend of China (3.1.1) in 1842. The two were combined and published in Hong Kong in 1842. The Press, although it remained in Macao, continued to the end to be a valuable source of information on early Hong Kong.

With one exception, no copies of English-language newspapers published in Canton between 1844 and 1911 have been found. That exception is the Friend of China (2.4), published in exile in Canton during 1860-1862, after the editor, William Tarrant, had been released from Hong Kong debtor's prison. He subsequently moved his newspaper north to Shanghai. Information on this period must be based on the report of Hong Kong contemporaries and rivals, and, judging from their comments on other newspapers
which have survived, they were highly biased. Apparently there was still
a demand in Canton for shipping lists, and at least two of the newspapers
were growths of such publications, but little more generalization is possible.

b. Hong Kong to 1860

Three newspapers dominated this first period of Hong Kong journalism:
the _Friend of China_ and _Hongkong Gazette_ (3.1.2), founded in 1842; the _Hong-
kong Register_, successor of the oldest English-language journal on the China
coast, relocated in 1843; and the _China Mail_, established in 1845. The _Friend
of China_ ceased publication in Hong Kong in 1859, the _Register_ failed in 1863
after suffering a series of reverses which began in 1859, and only the _China
Mail_ survived. With these three this section is primarily concerned. In
1857 Hong Kong's first daily, the _Daily Press_, was founded, surviving with
_China Mail_ through the period to 1911, and leading other Hong Kong newspapers
into daily journalism. The year 1860 approximately delimits the end of the
pioneer period and is an obvious bench mark in any journalistic survey.

The year 1860, has, however, greater significance, for it is important
not only in marking the death and birth of newspapers but also, certainly
by coincidence, a termination of the issues so bitterly disputed in the
Colony's early years; furthermore, it marks the date when Shanghai's growing
importance was felt in Hong Kong in journalism as in other fields.

General developments in the newspapers themselves are considered
before the policy problems. In 1843 the _Eastern Globe and Commercial Advertiser_
(3.2) published from June to December, but in the following January its press
was advertised for sale. No copies survive. The three principal publishers
quickly reacted to the need for a special edition to be sent "overland"
_viz_ Suez and Marseilles; the last to be established was the _Overland China
Mail_ (3.4.2) in 1848. The overland editions were published monthly, except
in 1853-1854 when the mail frequency was increased to twice a month. The
regular editions of the _China Mail_ and _Register_ continued weekly; the _Friend
of China_ began bi-weekly publication in 1844. These regular editions con-
sisted generally of four folio pages, with shipping notices and new advertising
dominating the first page. Purely local news items were at a minimum, but
editorials, letters to the editor, and contributions from correspondents
dealing with larger policy issues filled at least another page and a half.
Advertising completed the issue.

The publication of separate advertising sheets which developed their
own news columns preceded the regular issue of daily newspapers. Andrew
Dixson of A. Shortrede and Company was proprietor on his own account of
Dixson's Hongkong Recorder (3.4.4) from 1850 to 1859; the Register's Advertiser
(3.5.8) was published in 1853 and probably into 1854; and the China Mail in
1854 published the Hong Kong Shipping List (3.4.6) to supplement Dixson's
primarily advertising venture. These publications appear to have been
issued gratis to subscribers of the parent newspaper. The direct evolution
to regular daily newspapers will be noted under each journal concerned.

(1) Early Policies of the Hong Kong Newspapers. The Treaty of
Nanking, following the negotiations of the widely praised Sir Henry Pottinger,
seemed for a short time to have answered the demands of British merchants.
But the fundamental question of interstate relationships remained, and an
increasing number of smaller incidents, as well as the controversy over
entry into the city of Canton, were allowed to incite the merchant community
into demands for further treaty concessions. An incident was eventually
found in the Chinese seizure of the lorch'a "Arrow," and the second Sino-
British War had begun. Its conclusion in a sense settled this second series
of demands and resulted in a shift of focus north to Shanghai, with con-
sequences which will be considered in subsequent sections.

As in the case of Canton, however, merchant opinion was not uniform,
and in the Hong Kong context there were further complications. The Hong
Kong government itself became a center of controversy, both because of its
administration of the Colony and because the governor was at that time also
Superintendent of Trade on the China coast. The leading merchant houses
appear to have held aloof from the bitter controversies surrounding certain
government personalities, but the newspapers did not, and thus the opportuni-
ties for argument were multiplied with three newspapers required to represent
the various positions, rather than two as in the case of Canton. Unfortunately,
the policies of the newspapers changed within the period and no simple
generalization is possible, but some simple summary will be attempted here.

The Friend of China began as a rigorous supporter of the Colony, but in the fifties was noted for its violent attacks on such government personalities as Colonel William Caine, Dr. W.T. Bridges, and D.W. Caldwell. The basis of this controversy, described briefly under the biographies of Tarrant and Murrow, should be understood if the newspapers are to be more sympathetically interpreted than the personal vilification to be found on too many of their pages would otherwise permit. The Friend of China may also be considered as writing in the interests of the mercantile community, from which it received considerable financial and personal support. The Friend of China was, however, less dogmatic than most of its contemporaries in its condemnation of the Chinese people, and its support of the Taiping rebels indicated its strong anti-Manchu bias. At the opposite pole was the China Mail. It has been characterized as pro-government, and certainly this is a fair description of its policy during much of the period. But between 1853 and 1855 when the Register was successful in obtaining the government printing contract, otherwise held (to 1858) by the China Mail, i.e. by Alexander Shortrede and Company, the China Mail was strongly anti-government. Then, too, the China Mail under Dixon's editorship attempted to counter corruption in government and discover the connection of certain officials with Chinese pirates. The China Mail, again in opposition to the Friend of China, was critical of the Chinese but took a more correct attitude to the Chinese government and opposed the strong demands of the mercantile community for intervention. The Register was both pro-mercantile and anti-Chinese.

In a small community such as that formed by the foreign residents of Hong Kong, it was perhaps inevitable that these different points of view should result in personal animosities. Two characteristics of Hong Kong journalism of the period arise from this situation: first, the tendency to assume, or to pretend to assume, that the other paper was influenced financially or improperly by the side it was supporting; and secondly, the frequency of libel cases--neither being a journalistic characteristic unique to Hong Kong. Until 1860 the press had operated under the Registration Ordinance of 1844, which simply required registration; libel had been prosecuted under the common law of England which Hong Kong took over on its
foundation. An 1860 ordinance required a surety of £250 against damages and cost of conviction should editor or publisher be found guilty of libel.

That a business must not criticize its customers would appear too obvious to state, but in the case of the three Hong Kong newspapers such reticence is not apparent. The story is told that when the East India Company canceled its eleven subscriptions to the Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette, the paper, in consequence, failed. On the contrary, even in so limited a market it was able to continue publication until it failed on other grounds. Likewise, when the Canton merchants canceled their subscriptions to the China Mail over its editorial criticism of merchant demands for the right of entry to the city being immediately enforced, the newspaper continued to publish; its support rested on broader foundations—including the government gazette contract. The Friend of China, although mercantile in its basic orientation, could not have failed to annoy when from time to time it wrote sympathetically of the Chinese. Only the Hongkong Register, which would appear to have offended few subscribers, lost ground. There is the suspicion that customers were primarily interested in a lively newspaper even at their own expense, and the Friend of China certainly met those qualifications.

The success of a newspaper depended on more than its local subscription support. There was the home market in Great Britain to consider, and here the China Mail and its overland edition probably led the field, making up thereby for its loss of local readers. Then, too, the China Mail was part of a much larger establishment, A. Shortrede and Company. The details of such financial problems are, unfortunately, not presently available.

The most insistent type of accusation was, however, that a paper owed its success to official support, that it was an official mouthpiece. Shanghai's North-China Herald would under different circumstances make such a claim for itself; in the period now under consideration it was a charge to be denied. The accusation arose from the circumstances of the granting of the contract for the official gazette and for other government printing. The charges can perhaps be better understood if the history of these contracts is briefly traced.
(2) The Government Gazette and Editorial Policy. A Hongkong Gazette began as a separate publication in Macao in May 1841, and the contract for its printing was let to the missionary press. The Canton Press objected immediately, a reaction which was natural and would become typical. The gazette does not appear to have published again in the form of a collected newspaper until 1853. Instead, Hong Kong government announcements as well as those of the Superintendent of Trade were probably issued individually as signed. In 1842 the Friend of China was established in Macao as a private newspaper venture for a single issue. It was granted the government contract and came out subsequently as the Friend of China and Hongkong Gazette. In April 1844 the contract was given to the Hongkong Register which became the Hongkong Register and Government Gazette (3.3.3). But the Register gave up the contract voluntarily in September and it reverted to the Friend of China. In 1845, however, the contract was transferred to the China Mail which retained it until 1853, all official announcements, proclamations, and other notices being published officially in that newspaper. In 1853 the China Mail lost the contract to the Register, which issued official announcements in a separate publication, the Hongkong Government Gazette. The China Mail regained the contract in 1855, but the gazette continued as a separate publication. This aspect of the controversy ended in 1858 when the contract was awarded to Noronha and Company, then unconnected with any newspaper.

The charge can be made that each of these changes was influenced by government desire to control the policy of a newspaper. Or it can be and was charged that in order to keep the remunerative contract the holder toaded to government. These were serious charges in early Hong Kong, but they were easily made and difficult to substantiate. Students using the newspapers are urged to bear in mind the dates during which a particular newspaper held the government contract but to make their own judgment as to government influence on any particular editorial or story. The annotations dealing with particular newspapers may be of further assistance. If a general statement can be made at this stage in the development of research on China-coast journalism, it would be that the blanket charges are unproven, although there is evidence that the government favored the China Mail.
especially in the switch (engineered by Governor Bowring) from the Register to the China Mail in 1855.

Between 1858 and 1860-1862 many of the early controversies were resolved. The Treaty of Tientsin ended the second series of merchant complaints, although it hardly established Sino-British relations on a permanent or satisfactory basis. The government printing contract was let to a private firm unconnected with journalism. The series of accusations against government officers reached a climax with the conviction of William Tarrant in a criminal libel case; this ended the Friend of China as a Hong Kong publication, but it also exposed the rottenness of the administration and led to the inquiries which, together with normal attrition, removed the most infamous personalities from the scene.

In 1860-1861 a Civil Service Abuses Enquiry recommended the removal of D.W. Caldwell for consorting with known pirates. Meanwhile, Colonel Caine had retired, and Dr. Bridge had discreetly left the Colony. A new type of colonial servant was rising through former Governor Sir John Bowring's cadet system, and Sir Hercules Robinson, the new governor, was to bring order to the administrative chaos of Bowring's rule. The conflicts among the newspapers themselves were resolved by the removal of the Friend of China to Canton and the failure of the Register, after its six-month disguise in 1860 as the China Chronicle (3.3.5) under direct Jardine Matheson control. This was also the period in which the Daily Press rose to journalistic importance in the Colony, a story better told in the following section.

c. Hong Kong after 1860

As the first period was dominated by three newspapers, so the period from 1860 to 1881 was dominated by two: the China Mail and the Daily Press. Two attempts to establish a "third newspaper" in this period failed of permanent success, although this failure does not make them any the less important to the student of China. Then in 1881 Robert Fraser-Smith was successful in founding the Hongkong Telegraph (3.8), a paper which lasted through 1911. With the founding of the South China Morning Post (3.9) in 1903, the Colony had four daily newspapers.
The first of the unsuccessful "third newspapers" was the Hongkong Mercury and Shipping Gazette (3.6), published for six months in 1866. In 1869 the Hongkong Daily Advertiser (3.7.1) became the first in a series of three relatively short-lived papers including the Hongkong Daily Advertiser and Shipping Gazette (3.7.2), 1872-1873, and the Hongkong Times, Daily Advertiser and Shipping Gazette (3.7.3), 1873-1876.

This was a period which witnessed both the growth of the Colony--its population doubled between 1881 and 1906 from 160,000 to 320,000--and its decline as the main focus of the drama being enacted between China and the Western powers. Indeed, the non-Chinese community of Hong Kong had reached but 12,400 by 1906, evidence that the four English-language newspapers must have found support difficult and must still have relied heavily on subscribers beyond the Colony--in Canton, Macao, and other South China ports for which Hong Kong was still the leader, and in Great Britain where the China Mail continued to be of influence.

Two characteristics of Hong Kong journalism after 1860 have already been mentioned. First, there was a tendency toward a more professional and less personal journalism. This generalization is best illustrated by reference to the biographical index; contrast, for example, the background of Cairns, Tarrant, and Wood with that of Cunningham of the South China Morning Post, Donald of the China Mail, or Duncan of the Hongkong Telegraph.

Secondly, the separation of the government of Hong Kong from the direction of Britain's China policy was reflected in the coverage of the Hong Kong newspapers. Although newspapers by the turn of the century were following the general practice of securing the services of professional correspondents to cover important events, the Hong Kong newspapers were more concerned with events in the Colony and South China. For more thorough coverage of the continuing struggle between China and the Powers, for news of the Yangtze Valley, and for diplomatic developments in Peking, the Shanghai and London newspapers are more useful. Such a generalization is not, of course, equally applicable to every crisis, and Hong Kong newspapers as a general source should not be neglected.

In the development of daily journalism, the Daily Press led the way. But it was not without its precursors, the advertising and shipping sheets.
In 1859 the new editor of the Register issued a daily supplement, but the additional expense involved was one factor which lost him control of the paper. The China Mail's Shipping List and Commercial Intelligencer (3.4.7) began including a column of news, and in 1862 as the Evening Mail and Hongkong Shipping List (3.4.8) the paper became a regular daily. Newspapers founded subsequently were established as dailies. The Hong Kong Daily Advertiser in 1869 began in a form similar to the older advertising and shipping lists but met with little success; in 1871 it was sold and changed in form to a more conventional newspaper. The dividing line was thin, however, for more than half the space in the daily newspapers continued to be taken up with advertising and shipping news.

One of the more important developments in the history of Hong Kong journalism, beginning almost with the founding of the Colony, was the increasing role of the Chinese. This took two forms: first, and most widely researched, the development of the Chinese-language press itself; secondly, the investment of Chinese capital in English-language newspapers. On the latter development, considerable research is required before even the most tentative generalization can be made. The known facts are quickly stated. In 1901 the Hongkong Telegraph was purchased by a group of Chinese investors, including Sir Robert Ho Tung. In 1903 Chinese money was invested in the company founded to publish the South China Morning Post, a newspaper designed to support the reform movement in China. The effects of these investments on policy have yet to be established.

The influence of Hong Kong journalism on the growth of the Chinese press began, indirectly at least, with Andrew Shortreko, who financed the American education of Wong Shing 黃勝 (Huang Sheng) at Monson, Massachusetts, in 1847-1848. Wong was one of the three Morrison Education Society boys sent to America, but he returned in 1848 because of poor health, and Shortreko taught him the printing trade. Another thread is also traceable to the China Mail, since Wang T'ao, while assisting James Legge in his translation of the Chinese classics, served consecutively as editor of the Chin-shih pien-lu 進時編錄 (Hong Kong News; 3.4.10), a Chinese newspaper founded in 1864 by the China Mail. In 1873-1874 Wang T'ao and Wong Shing founded the successful Tsun Wan Yat Pao 循環日報 (Hsiün-huan jih-pao; Universal circulating
herald), an independent daily newspaper.

Although credit has been given to Shortrede and the China Mail, the most significant step was taken by Murrow of the Daily Press. When the newspaper began publication in 1857, or very shortly thereafter, he included a Chinese-language weekly paper as an integral part of the Daily Press itself. It was entitled Hsiang-kang ch'uan-t'ou huo-chia chih 香港船頭貨價紙 (3.5.5), and was apparently the first privately published, Western-style newspaper in the Chinese language. The few copies available, for example those bound with the Essex Institute collection, indicate that the bulk of its space, like that of the parent newspaper, was devoted to commercial news and reprints of relevant proclamations, and that a column or so of general news items was also included. The news items examined include reports on the movement of troops during the Arrow War, general market conditions, and problems of securing indentured labor for Cuba. In 1860, the Daily Press published a separate Chinese newspaper, Chung Ngor San Pao 中外新報 (Chung-wai hsin-pao). A similar development took place some ten years later when from March 1871 to April 1872 the China Mail published a Chinese page in its Saturday edition entitled Chung-wai hsin-wen ch'i-jih pao 中外新聞七日報 (3.4.11). It too was replaced in 1872 by the separate Hua-tzu jih-pao 華字日報 (Chinese Mail), which the China Mail claimed to be the first Chinese-language newspaper "ever issued under purely native direction."

The significance of the assertion rests, of course, in the meaning of "newspaper" and "purely."

d. Shanghai

The North-China Herald, with which the history of Shanghai journalism begins in 1850, has a deservedly high reputation. For eleven years, until publication of the Shanghai Daily Times (5.2.1) in 1861, the Herald had no Shanghai rival.* Henry Shearman, its founder and first editor, had like his Hong Kong contemporaries no formal journalistic experience, but his

*It has proved impossible to note all variant spellings of "Shanghai." Hence this spelling has been used for the English throughout, and "Changhiae" for the French. The usual spelling with this particular paper was "Shanghae."
deeply religious nature and his willingness to permit his newspaper to become the vehicle for many shades of opinion resulted in a journal quite unlike any then published in Hong Kong. Throughout its history the North-China Herald carried a tone of authoritativeness and completeness which, while justified in a relative sense, has perhaps led students to overdependence on this single source. While not detracting from the value of the North-China Herald, we should consider in this section the existence and sequence of other Shanghai newspapers. These will be discussed in further detail in Section III.

The popularity of the North-China Herald rests also on its availability, and one of the problems confronting the historian of Shanghai journalism will be the piecing together of evidence relating to the several newspapers of which only a few copies, if any, survive. However, as the Daily Press and the China Mail provide a thread lasting throughout this period in Hong Kong, so the North-China Herald and the Celestial Empire (5.7.8), founded in 1874, are keys to Shanghai journalism.

Although the North-China Herald began as a weekly in 1850, it soon began an evolution similar to that of the China Mail in Hong Kong. A daily shipping list and advertising sheet was published as the North-China Daily News. The Shanghai Daily Times was, of course, a daily, but it failed in 1862 after one year of publication. In 1868-1869 there were no less than five daily newspapers in Shanghai. These included the North-China Daily News; the (tri-weekly) Friend of China (5.4.1), which moved from Canton in 1863; the Shanghai Recorder (5.3.1), founded 1862; the Shanghai Evening Express (5.5), 1867; and the Shanghai Evening Courier (5.7.3), 1868. All of them published more than one edition, usually including an overland; in addition there was an independent overland, the Shanghai News-letter (5.7.1), 1867, which was the only mail edition designed for transmission to the United States and whose editorial policy reflected this destination.

These newspapers can be reduced into groups for convenient study. The Friend of China ceased publication in 1859. The Recorder group (5.3) was bought by the North-China Herald in 1869; the Express arose from a dispute between the proprietors of the Recorder and failed in 1871; the Courier and the Shanghai News-letter had evolved by 1890 into the Shanghai Mercury and its overland, the Celestial Empire, after combination with the Evening
Gazette (5.7.6), founded 1874, and the Shanghai Mercury, 1879. We are thus reduced to the principal two which we suggested earlier were the keys to Shanghai journalism, i.e. the North-China Herald and the Celestial Empire. Since between 1898 and 1905 the foreign population of Shanghai more than doubled, from 5,000 to 11,500, it is not surprising that additional English-language newspapers were founded. Although lists of editors and publishers are available for the China Gazette, the Shanghai Daily Press, and the Shanghai Times, only copies of the China Gazette have been located. Biographical data indicate, however, that these papers too were staffed by men with journalistic experience. Other newspapers with specialized functions were published, e.g. the Temperance Union, but these, with the exception of the Cycle, are not considered further in this guide.

No copies of the first French-language newspapers have been located, and the available secondary sources are not entirely consistent. From 1870 to the end of 1872, however, the evidence is conclusive that the weekly Le Nouvelliste de Shanghai (6.4.1) was published, edited by a N. Beer. In 1873 this became the larger Le Courrier de Shanghai (6.4.2), which lasted but three issues. On March 21, 1871, shortly after the first publication of Le Nouvelliste, an opposition paper was founded, Le Progrès (6.5), edited by Emile Lépissier, but it succumbed in January 1872.

There was another French newspaper published in 1886, L'Echo de Shanghai (6.6.1), and copies of its overland edition, Le Courrier de l'Extrême Orient (6.6.2), provide the basis for our later comments. The main French effort began with L'Echo de Chine (6.7.1), whose policy confirms the generalization that the age of the New Imperialism required a national voice. Similarly the German Der Ostasiatische Lloyd spoke for German interests, although its editor and proprietor in the 1900's, Carl Fink, was also a director of the Shanghai Mercury by whose presses it was printed.

There can be little question but that the principal French and German newspapers claimed to represent official opinions. The early British tradition had been to deny official connections, but this, of course, had been in Hong Kong where British supremacy was unquestioned. In the international atmosphere of Shanghai, the North-China Herald reacted otherwise. Since 1859 the newspaper had been the vehicle for all official notifications; from 1862
the *Daily Shipping and Commercial News* (5.1.7), published by the same office, officially carried all Shanghai British consular notices. All this did not, however, make it an official newspaper, and its views often differed sharply from those of British representatives in Peking. In 1877, for example, the editor of the *Celestial Empire* castigated the *North-China Daily News* for its "official" presumption, doubted it, and commented, "We are independent seeking to satisfy a cosmopolitan audience." Shanghai newspapers, like their Hong Kong contemporaries, made frequent claims and counter-claims, charges and counter-charges. However convenient their acceptance may be for purposes of research, accuracy requires individual examination and evaluation.

This survey of the development of China-coast newspapers has lacked quantification. We do not have circulation figures, nor do we have sufficient financial information to be able to make useful statements about this essential aspect of the history of journalism. In 1875 the circulation of the *Hong Kong Times* (3.7.3) was 303, of which only 243 were paid. In private correspondence the editor told his publisher that if he could reach 500 he would "probably" have the biggest circulation in the Far East. Although this information is difficult to interpret, it is clear that these newspapers, while certainly "small," nevertheless exerted an influence which was considerably greater than their size, and that today they enjoy an ever-increasing importance as primary sources for the study of the history of the late Ch'ing period.
III
AN ANNOTATED LIST OF CHINA-COAST NEWSPAPERS

In this section are listed all Western-language newspapers published in China, Hong Kong, or Macao during the period through 1911, together with certain London publications. The newspapers are arranged by language and place of publication, and within these major headings are grouped by publisher, historical sequence, or eventual merger. Groups are arranged in chronological order. Although grouping has not always proved possible, the technique should assist the student in placing the newspaper in its proper context. And although each history is told individually, we have attempted to provide some continuity to the story, so that the list can be read through, rather than used simply for reference to a particular newspaper. The type and amount of information available differ from newspaper to newspaper, and the annotations vary accordingly. The brief histories are, of course, preliminary, and intended to stimulate further research.

Unless stated otherwise, publishers and editors are assumed to have held their positions until the next date mentioned.

Chinese titles of China-coast newspapers are given in those cases where such translations have been found. They are listed against a specific newspaper title; however, the reader is warned that the Chinese might also refer to some other title in the group. For example, "Shang-hai ching-lang yu mei-chou ch'ai-pao" was found to refer to the Shanghai Budget and Weekly Courier (5.7.4), but it might very well have been used to refer to the Shanghai Budget and Weekly News-Letter (5.7.5) or some other of the 5.7 group. On the other hand, some writers in Chinese might devise their own translation rather than the one shown in the lists below.
1. MACAO: PORTUGUESE

The history of the Portuguese-language press in Macao appears even more stormy than that of the English-language press in neighboring Hong Kong. As in early Hong Kong, the newspapers were usually excessively outspoken, and their short life reflects both government reaction to extreme criticism and uncertain financial support. Several papers discontinued publication in Macao to reappear temporarily in Hong Kong, sometimes to return. These instances are noted below. Other short-lived papers originated solely to provide an opposition voice to some particularly outspoken journal or at some critical time. This was especially true in the case of controversies arising out of the coolie slave trade and is reflected in the histories of O Independente, O Oriente, Gazeta de Macau e Timor, and Jornal de Macau (group 1.9).

As in Hong Kong, there was an official publication of the Macao government, published under varying titles: Boletim do Governo da Província de Macau e Timor, Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Macau e Timor, Boletim do Governo de Macau e Timor, Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor, Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Macau e Timor, and Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Macau. A Chinese section was first included in 1879. A publication entitled Boletim do Governo de Macao (1.5.1), 1838-1839, printed at the Typografia Macaense of S. Wells Williams, was the forerunner of these wholly official journals. Since it was edited by Manuel Maria Dias Pegado, however, it has been included below in the Pegado group (1.5); it was probably not wholly an official publication.

Because of the number of Macao newspapers, we have made particular efforts to set up groups. Lack of extant copies or of

*A Canton Portuguese newspaper is listed as 1.20 below; see also 1.9.5. With a few exceptions, the entries in this section are based on information supplied by J.M. Braga, Hong Kong. Miss Nancy Stevens was able to add comments based on a brief examination of microfilms received at the University of Kansas from the National Library, Lisbon, just before final submission of the manuscript.
sufficient information on the histories has forced a more arbitrary system than applies elsewhere in this guide. Common editorship provides one special basis for grouping; concern with the coolie trade another.

1.1 A Abelha da China, 1822-1823
Mí-feng Hua-pao 蜜蜂華報

Editor: Frey António de S. Gonzalo de Amarante, O.D. Two other names are closely connected with the paper, in important but unknown capacities: Joaquim José dos Santos, to whom requests for subscriptions were to be addressed, and Carlos José Pereira, who wrote most of the signed articles.

This was the first Western-language newspaper published on the China coast. The political organ of the Absolutist Party (Migueïtes) and government-sponsored, it was issued weekly with various supplements. The editor was Superior of the Dominicans in Macao. With the overthrow of the Absolutists by the Conservatives, the paper was forced to cease publication and its editor, along with other leading members of the party, fled to Canton and thence to Calcutta.

The paper's title is usually translated simply as "The Bee."

1.2 Gazeta de Macau, 1824-1826

Editor: Frey José da Conceição, O.S.A.

In contrast to A Abelha (1.1), Gazeta de Macau was moderate in tone and published information of a commercial nature. It was, however, the organ of the Conservative Party, which had taken over both the government and the press on which A Abelha had been printed. The editor was Prior of the Augustinians; António José de Rocha was listed as "nominal editor." The paper failed financially.

1.3 A Chronica de Macao, 1834-1837
Ao-men ch'ao-pao 澳門鈔報

The paper, which contained news and political items, was first published weekly and later fortnightly. Its competitor was Macaista Imparcial (1.4.1).
1.4 Felis F. da Cruz sequence

1.4.1 *Macaista Imparcial*, 1836-1837

*Ti-kuo Ao-men ren* 帝國澳門人

1.4.2 *Macaista Imparcial e Registe Mercantil*, 1837-1838

Publisher and editor: Felis Feliciano da Cruz

The paper, which contained articles of varied interest, including historical and commercial material, was suspended for criticism of the governor. There was a title change with the issue of July 5, 1837. *Imparcial* was succeeded by *O Português na China* (1.5.3). See also 1.3.

1.4.3 *O Farol Macaense*, 1841-1842

This weekly was printed at the Typographia Armonia of Felis Feliciano da Cruz, former editor of *Imparcial* (1.4.1-2).

1.4.4 *A Aurora Macaense*, 1843-1844

Editor: Felis Feliciano da Cruz

This weekly, which was also published at the Typographia Armonia, appears to have been the successor of *O Farol* (1.4.3). According to the *Hong Kong Times* (3.7.3), it was a vehicle for the political opinions of Chief Justice Amaral.

1.5 Dias Pegado sequence

1.5.1 *Boletim do Governo de Macau*, 1838-1839

Editor: Manuel Maria Dias Pegado

*Boletim* was the forerunner of a series of official gazettes (see list in the introductory comments above). Printed at the Typographia Macaense of Dr. S. Wells Williams, the publication may already have been wholly official, although there is some evidence that it did differ in content from later "Boletims."

1.5.2 *Gazeta de Macau*, Jan.-Aug. 1839

Editor: Manuel Maria Dias Pegado
The first twenty-two issues were printed at the Typographia Mercantil, suggesting that Dias Pegado continued publication of what was, in effect, the same newspaper (1.5.1). The government, however, was issuing its own gazette, which necessitated a change in title. The contents included commercial, social and other news. The paper was discontinued in favor of O Português na China (1.5.3).

1.5.3 O Português na China, 1839-1843(?), 1860

Editor: Manuel Maria Dias Pegado

Important especially for its interpretation of the First Sino-British War from a Macao viewpoint, this newspaper was the successor of both Imparcial (1.4.2) and Gazeta (1.5.2). It concentrated on local Macao political events.

1.5.4 O Procurador dos Macaïstas, 1844-1845

Editor: Manuel M. Dias Pegado

This weekly was transferred to Hong Kong following the issue dated September 2 (?), 1845. It was published there under the title A Voz do Macaïsta (4.1.1).

1.5.5 O Solitário na China, 1845

Editor: Manuel M. Dias Pegado

Dias Pegado founded this newspaper after O Procurador was closed by the authorities. It too ceased publication in December 1845.

1.6 O Correio Macaense, 1838-1839

Editor: Dr. J.C. da Silva Telles

The newspaper was published monthly from October to March.

1.7 O Verdadeiro Patriota, 1838-1839 (weekly)

Chih-ai-kuo che 直愛國者

1.8 O Commercial, 1838-1842 (weekly)

1.9 Magalhães coolie-trade controversy

1.9.1 Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo, 1863-1866

Editor: José da Silva
This publication is included in the group because of its 
editorship by José da Silva. Actually it is noted mostly for its 
extcellent articles, mainly of a historical nature. Its contributors 
include José Gabriel Fernandes, António Feliciano Marques Pereira, 
Gregoria José Ribeiro, Jeronimo Osorio de Castro Cabral Albuquerque, 
Alexandre Meireles de Tavora, Rev. António Maria de Vasconcelos.

J.M. Braga writes that this publication was the brain child 
of António Feliciano Marques da Silva. His collection of histori-
cal material was taken back to Portugal, and in 1899-1902 his son 
published a Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo in Lisbon. Although this latter journal 
was based on material collected originally for the Macao publication, 
much had been lost in the intervening thirty years.

1.9.2 O Independente, 1867-1869, 1873-1880, 1882-1898

Publisher and editor: José da Silva (at least through 1878);
editor (1889-1898): Constancio José da Silva

The editor was a colorful figure within the traditions of China-
coast journalism. His outspoken comments led to the paper's sus-
pension as noted in the above dates; during these periods it was 
published in Hong Kong (4.1.4). The newspaper, published twice 
weekly, supported Francisco da Silva Magalhães against Pinto Bastos 
in a crucial election over the coolie trade, which Magalhães supported. 
The paper was closely involved in local politics of the most personal 
kind. According to Hong Kong sources, A. Marques Pereira and 
Conçalves, both co-editors of the paper, were accused of accepting 
bribes from coolie dealers.

1.9.3 O Oriente, 1869-1870, Jan.-Oct. 1872

Editor: Francisco da Silva Magalhães

The editor was bitterly opposed to government reform of the 
coolie trade. His attacks led to suspension of the paper in 1870 
and again in September-October 1872. The paper was finally
closed after the October 14 special issue and the editor was exiled to Timor. The newspaper was a weekly, printed by José da Silva, sometime editor of O Independente (1.9.2). According to Hong Kong's Daily Press (3.5.2), Dr. António Ferreira de Lacerda, Chief Justice of Macao, had been an editor; he died in July 1873—"hounded to death by others in Macao" was the quote from Magalhães. João Alvino Ribeiro Cabral was a prominent contributor.

1.9.4 Gazeta de Macau e Timor, 1872-1874

Ao-men hsin-wen chih 澳門新聞紙, then (after Apr. 29, 1873) Ao-men ti-men hsin-wen 澳門地門新聞

Editor: Francisco de Sousa

The Daily Press (3.5.2) also lists Pinto Bastos as editor until his departure to Lisbon in 1874 following his election as deputy to parliament. Pedro Gastão Mesnier, private secretary to Viscount de S. Januaria, governor of Macao, was the driving force behind this weekly. Indeed, its editorial purpose was to counter the arguments of the Magalhães group. An important summary of the coolie trade is found in this issue of January 14, 1873.

1.9.5 Jornal de Macau, 1875-1876

Editor: Manoel L. Roza Pereira

Hong Kong sources state that this paper provided a powerful check to O Independente (1.9.2), and for this reason it is listed here. The weekly was published in Canton during May 1876. The editor then left for Shanghai.

1.9.6 A Verdade, 1880-(?)

Publisher: A.A. Martins Velho; editor: A de Silva Magalhães

Only one copy, the first (dated May 2, 1880), survives. It is included here because of the possible relationship with other Silva Magalhães family publications. This paper appears unrelated to a later publication of the same name (1.18).

1.10 O Noticiario Macaense, 1869-1870

Editor: Miguel Aires da Silva

This weekly ceased publication in Macao with the issue dated February 24, 1870, but subsequently reappeared in Hong Kong (4.1.3).
1.11 Antônio Joaquim Bastos sequence

This group is composed of newspapers in which Bastos played a prominent role.

1.11.1 O Imparcial, 1873

The principal contributors to this weekly included Antônio Joaquim Bastos, A.A. de Mello, and Vicente de Paula Salatawch Pitter.

1.11.2 O Macaense, 1882-1892(?)

Hao ching hsin-pao 豪鏡新報

Editors: Manuel José Maria Gonçalves da Silva (1882), Antônio Joaquim Bastos (1885)

Bastos succeeded on the death of da Silva. Some sources show publication ceasing in 1886 with Vol. 5. However, we have located a Vol. 4 dated 1891, and there is evidence of publication in 1892. The change in numbering suggests a change in management or an even more important break in the series.

1.11.3 A Voz do Crente, 1887-1895

Editor: Antônio Borges

The real power on A Voz was Fr. José Maria da Cruz Simeão, assisted by Fr. F. Narciso, Horacio Poiares (1.16), and Antônio Joaquim Bastos. The paper, a weekly, presented a strongly religious view and approach to the news. It continued "until the contributors tired."

1.11.4 O Echo Macaense, 1893-1899

Ching hai ts'ung-pao 鏡海叢報

Publisher and editor: Francisco Hermenegildo Fernandes

The paper became increasingly involved in local politics, a trend which was the consequence of contributions from Pedro Nolasco da Silva from April 1896, and was intensified by those of Antônio Joaquim Bastos who joined the paper in 1899. Da Silva may have become editor in 1896. A Chinese-language section was included. The paper was eventually suspended for criticism of the governor.
1.12 **O Correio** group

1.12.1 **O Correio de Macau**, 1882-1883
   Editor: Manuel Joaquim dos Santos
   *O Correio*'s political views led to suspension by the government.

1.12.2 **O Correio Macaense**, 1883-1889, 1890(?)-1891(?)
   Editor: António Gomes da Silva Telles
   The successor of *O Correio de Macau* (1.12.1), this weekly did not take so vigorous a political position. By 1899 it was appearing irregularly, and there was a gap from November 1888 to February 1889. Clarke has also found this paper listed in 1890-1891.

1.13 **A Liberdade**, 1896-(?)
   Editor: José Cesario da Silva

1.14 **O Oriente Português**, 1892-1894
   Manager: A.V. da Silva
   A weekly dedicated to Portuguese interests in China and "Oceania."

1.15 **O Porvir**, 1897(?)
   A weekly, *O Porvir* may have been published in Macao prior to Hong Kong, for which see 4.1.5.

1.16 **O Lusitano**, 1898-1899
   Editors: E.F. das Neves Tavares (1898), João Pereira Vasco (1899)
   The paper was directed by Artur Tamagnini de Abreu da Nota Barbosa, João Albino Ribeiro Cabral, and Horacio Poiares (1.11.3).

1.17 **Jornal de Macau**, 1899-1901
   Publisher: Luiz da Silva Catharino; editor: Antonio Casimiro Ferreira

1.18 **A Verdade**, 1908-1911
   Editor: Constancio José da Silva
The editor, following in the footsteps of his father José da Silva, strongly criticized the government. The paper was suspended temporarily in 1910 and again and finally in April 1911. Some issues contained up to a page of Chinese text.

1.19 **Vida Nova, 1909-1910**

Ao-men hsin ching-pao 澳門新鏡報

Editors: Luis Ayres da Silva, then Luiz Nolasco

Vida Nova was a rival of *A Verdade* (1.18), but it too was ordered suspended by the government.

1.20 **Verdade e Liberdade, Canton 1852**

With the exception of the *Jornal de Macau* (1.9.5), this was the only Portuguese-language newspaper known to have been published in Canton in the period through 1911. It is apparently the same newspaper as the one published subsequently in Hong Kong (4.1.2).

2. **CANTON AND MACAO: ENGLISH**

2.1 **Canton Register**

Kuang-tung chi-lu 廣東紀録

For comment on this group, see text below 2.1.2. See also 3.3.

2.1.1 **Canton Register and Price Current, 1827-1828**

2.1.2 **Canton Register, 1828-1843**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>James Matheson (?)</td>
<td>William W. Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>James Matheson</td>
<td>James Matheson, Robert Morrison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arthur S. Keating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Slade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

James Matheson was probably the publisher from the first and is generally so listed. The initiative for founding the paper appears to have come, however, from William W. Wood, who used a handpress lent by Alexander Matheson. Certainly the ownership of the handpress gave *de facto* control to the Mathesons, and
when the paper failed to receive support from the foreign community, it was Wood who was dropped. James Matheson then personally undertook management of the paper, although Robert Morrison was the chief contributor. Matheson maintained editorial supervision during the editorship of Arthur Keating. There was an interregnum period between August and December 1833, when John Slade became editor. As Slade wrote on October 6, 1840: "Mr. Matheson established the Canton Register in November 1827, and until the end of 1833 held, we believe, great if not undivided control over it. But we and only we are accountable, editorially, for all that has appeared in the columns of the Canton Register since the first number of 1834." This editorial independence is confirmed first by the fact that James Matheson complained of Slade's anti-American "excesses" in a letter to the editor signed "A British Merchant" (October 6, 1840); it was in response to this that Slade wrote the above explanation. Secondly, in the Jardine Matheson letters it is clear that Slade in 1841 again successfully asserted his editorial independence.

History

Journalism had been inhibited by the political control of the East India Company and pressure from both church and government in Macao. Therefore, the first issue of the Canton Register—even though under the editorship of the young American adventurer William W. Wood—was cautious: "The want of a printed register of the commercial and other information of China, has long been felt....It will be perceived, that our principal endeavour will be, to present a copious and correct price-current...accounts relative to...the Chinese will occasionally occupy a portion of our page." But Wood's editorial policy was in fact considerably less restrained than this would indicate, and by February 1828 he had lost control of the paper.

Wood's fight with the East India Company may well have been based at first on his belief that it was tyrannical and that its actions were prejudicial to American interests. Particularly, he
objected to East India Company interference with the importation into Canton of British goods on American vessels, despite the fact that the British raised no objection to their original exportation by Americans. He felt, correctly, that the East India Company staff's unanimity of action enabled them to be more effective than the Americans working individually. Hence Wood took up the challenge which was to mature in his own journalistic effort, the Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette (2.2).

From 1828 to 1833 the Register was indeed a register of facts and not a "vehicle for controversy." The Register declared it would take no sides on the free trade argument and devoted large portions of its space—after the price current and shipping information had been recorded—to translations from the Chinese. Some controversy did develop through the "letters to the editor" column, with William Wood contributing under the signature "X." But editorially the Register remained so aloof that editor Keating felt forced to counter criticism by stating that "...the Editor of the Register, and the writer of the commercial remarks, are both commercial men, neither of them servants of the East India Co., nor in any way influenced by that body...." As attacks from William Wood in his new Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette became more personal, Keating replied in kind, but the Register kept the controversy restricted solely to personalities and denials of influence by the East India Company, which, in view of the Matheson ownership, might have appeared superfluous.

News of the abolition of the Company's monopoly reached Canton in August 1833, and was greeted with restraint in both newspapers. After several months of irregular publication, the Register came out in December 1833 as a free trade paper, advocating abolition of the Company's Canton agency. In December 1844, the new editor, John Slade, became a founding member of the British Chamber of Commerce, which the paper thereafter supported. Opposition was provided principally by non-British merchants and ex-servants of the East India Company but also by those British, e.g. Thomas
Dent, in disagreement with the Jardine Matheson group. The violent split in the mercantile community was partially healed in 1836 with the formation of the more general Chamber of Commerce, but there was still scope for disagreement. The Register was highly critical of the policies of both Lord Napier and Captain Elliot, advocating from the first a more severe policy toward the Chinese but objecting when such a policy proved temporarily unsuccessful.

With the arrival of Slade as editor, Morrison ceased his contributions. Slade was himself competent in Chinese, and although the volume of translations diminished with the increase in the scope for policy discussion, Slade made significant contributions. He was an advocate of the blockade of Canton, and by 1840 had developed an anti-American editorial attitude, the excesses of which were criticized by the proprietor, James Matheson. At one point the members of the American community canceled their subscriptions.

The Register moved to Macao in 1839 and to Hong Kong in June 1843. The following month Slade died, and the history of the paper is better continued in the Hong Kong section below.

The Register was first intended as a fortnightly, but through Wood's editorship it published only five issues irregularly, owing to the death of a printer as well as to Wood's unpopularity as editor and consequent lack of support and community contributions. For the next nine months the publisher attempted a weekly edition; actually 'extras' were published of what was still a bi-weekly. From September 1828 to August 5, 1833, the paper was again a bi-weekly; from 1834 it was changed permanently to a weekly. From November 1828 the price current, which had formed a large portion of the early Register, was published separately.

Volume 16 extends through the full year 1843 but with the transfer to Hong Kong in June the name was changed to Hong Kong (late Canton) Register (3.3.1).
2.2 **Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette, 1831-1833**

*Hua ch'ai-pao yu Tung ch'ao-pao* 華差報與東鈔報

Publisher: T. Poole; editor: William W. Wood

Contemporary sources give the publisher as T. Poole, who may have previously issued a price-current, converted under Wood's editorship into a weekly newspaper. Wood had been in the employ of the American firm Russell and Company, and account books in the Forbes Collection record regular payments to Wood for subscriptions, advertising, and unspecified purposes. This is evidence that the company supported and may have subsidized or even published the *Chinese Courier*. One authority (Britton) believes that the paper was merged with the *Register* (2.1.2) for the last few issues, but there is no contemporary confirmation of this, and it seems most improbable.

**History**

William Wood intended a frankly free trade paper, presenting his case with characteristic bluntness: "We have entered upon discussions relative to the East India Company, because it is a field from which our brother editors within the jurisdiction of the monopoly are excluded." Wood's editorial policy tended to criticism of other British policies, and his American citizenship was advertised by his rival. As his attacks became more violent, in early 1832 the Company canceled its subscriptions, to which action some, including Cordier, ascribe the failure of the newspaper. This is undoubtedly based on confusion as to the year, for the paper actually lasted some eighteen months more; but the story has nevertheless been perpetuated. A more likely explanation of the paper's eventual closing stems from Wood's personal involvement with the young niece of a prominent American merchant and Wood's subsequent departure from Canton. The *Chinese Courier* had also, of course, lost its principal cause with the ending of the Company's monopoly, and the *Register* itself had been unleashed.
Now that Western merchants were writing on China and on the Chinese, a new account of this civilization would be available to Europe and America, one differing considerably from that furnished by the Jesuits and eighteenth-century philosophers. The Protestant missionaries, seeing a people without God, could find nothing contemporary to praise. Wood’s views may have been typical of many American merchants and are instructive for the balance they attempted to strike. In his Sketches of China (pp. x-xi), he wrote:

Prejudiced originally in favour of the Chinese, and very much influenced by the [Catholic] missionary travels, I was, as may be imagined, infinitely mortified to find on my arrival, that instead of exceeding the expectations which I had indulged, they fell considerably below the standard which I had formed of their moral and physical character. Although obliged to abandon my very favourable ideas of this people, and to reduce my estimation of their worth to a very low grade, yet I can by no means agree with those who deny them the possession of any good quality and declare them gifted with such dispositions, and vicious propensities, as to degrade them below the ordinary degrees of evil intention which characterize the most uncivilized nations.

This was in part, of course, an attack on the excesses of those commenting on the China scene for the Register.

2.3 Canton Press and Price Current, 1835-1844
Kuang-tung pao 廣東報

Publishers and editors: W.H. Franklyn (1835), then Edmund Moller

The newspaper was under the direct influence, if not ownership, of Thomas Dent and Company, but Edmund Moller may have obtained control and certainly exercised an independent, but anti-Matheson, editorial policy.

History

Through 1835 the editorial policy of the Canton Press under Franklyn was dominated by a pro-East India Company sentiment which
reflected the editorial influence of James N. Daniell and possibly other ex-servants of the Company. Both the Company's last policies and the maintenance of its Canton agency were defended.

Daniell left Canton in February 1836, and the new editor, the Prussian merchant Edmund Moller, directed a free trade, anti-East India Company policy, but one which also attacked the British Chamber of Commerce and the leading group of British merchants. Controversy between the Register (2.1.2) and the Press developed immediately, but even without the support of the dominant group, the Press was able to maintain itself in the limited foreign community. Indeed, it flourished and in September 1836 was enlarged. A preliminary judgment would ascribe its success, at least in part, to more thorough news coverage, sound editorial comment, and better management.

To state that Press had better news coverage is merely to conclude that it made better use of extremely limited sources. The Ch'ing government gave no press conferences, and despite the number of translations from the Chinese, a staple of China-coast journalism from the earliest days, very little was understood of contemporary Chinese affairs. Thus the Press covered the Texas revolution with a great deal more consistency and understanding than it did the changing Chinese attitudes to, for example, the opium trade. Indeed, both the Register and the Press assumed that considerable progress was being made toward the legalization of the opium trade; when a Peking gazette recorded that opium imports had on the contrary been forbidden (July 24, 1836), the Canton Press was sufficiently surprised to issue a special edition or "extra" (October 13, 1836). Again, neither paper was prepared for actual war with China; neither anticipated Commissioner Lin Tse-hsü's 林則徐 actions of March 1839, and his name was not mentioned until that month.

When war came, however, the Canton Press wished the British success in overcoming the obstructions to the China trade; it was similarly pleased with the ultimate results as embodied in the treaties. But the Press, which itself condemned the opium trade,
considered the war itself as wholly a British affair. With the cession of Hong Kong, of course, the scene of foreign activity shifted to the new colony, although the Press, which had moved to Macao at the end of 1839, remained there until it ceased publication in March 1844.

Although remaining in Macao, the Press showed a mildly skeptical interest in Hong Kong and is a source of considerable information relative to its founding and first years. It was, indeed, the first paper to consider itself damaged by the Hong Kong government's decision to award the contract for printing its gazette to a rival firm.

2.4 **Friend of China**, 1842,* 1860-1861 (see also 3.1 and 5.4)

Publisher and editor: William Tarrant (1860-1861)

The early years of this newspaper (1842-1859) are described under Hong Kong. Released from debtors' prison, William Tarrant moved to Canton and reestablished his newspaper on a weekly basis. "Canton," he wrote, "had too long been without a reporter." In changing the place of publication Tarrant wrote that he could not do better than "still further imitate the Friend of India, after which this journal was originally named." The *Friend of China* debated with the *Hongkong Daily Press* (3.5.1) the prospects of Canton's revival as a trade center and took the position that it would soon replace Hong Kong in importance.

Publication was renewed in Shanghai in 1863 (5.4.1).

2.5 **Daily Advertiser**, 1851-1852

2.6 **Celestial Times**, Jan.-Mar. 1855

2.7 **Canton Observer**, 1865

2.8 **Canton Daily Shipping News**, 1872-1874

*For information on the 1842 issue, see 3.1.1.*
2.9  Canton Press, 1874
Published by the da Silva e Sousa of O Echo do Povo (4.2).

2.10  Canton Daily Advertiser, 1875
2.11  Canton Daily News, 1882

3.  HONG KONG: ENGLISH

3.1  Friend of China group
For comment on this group, see text below 3.1.3. See also
2.4 and 5.4.

3.1.1  Friend of China, 1842
Chung-kuo chih yu 中國之友

3.1.2  Friend of China and Hongkong Gazette, 1842-1859
Chung-kuo chih yu 中國之友

3.1.3  Overland Friend of China, 1845-1859
Chung-kuo chih wai-yu 中國之外友

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Richard Oswald</td>
<td>James White and J. Lewis Shuck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>John Carr(?)</td>
<td>John Carr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td></td>
<td>Luiz d'Azevedo (acting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850 (Aug.)</td>
<td>William Tarrant</td>
<td>William Tarrant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ownership of the Friend of China was first vested in the Hong Kong merchant, Richard Oswald. How long he remained as proprietor is unknown, but he had left the Colony by 1847 and may have sold to John Carr sometime between 1843 and 1847. There is no contemporary evidence to support the claim (advanced by Cordier and Couling) that the paper was first edited by J.R. Morrison and a Dr. Satchell. The American Baptist missionary, J. Lewis Shuck, was associated with the journal for probably not more than a year and appears to have been principally responsible for production. The British merchant, James White, probably remained until Carr took over in 1843.
D'Azevedo, who remained with the *Friend* throughout the fifties, edited the journal during Tarrant's absences in 1857 and 1859.

**History**

The first issue of the *Friend of China*—and its only one under this simple title until 1860—was published March 17, 1842 in Macao, as Vol. I, No. 1. The second issue, published March 24, 1842, under the title *Friend of China and Hongkong Gazette*, was also numbered Vol. I, No. 1, the editors stating that the previous issue should be considered a prospectus. Three policy sources were thereby incorporated: first, the Hong Kong government, which ceased publication of its own gazette and incorporated it into the *Friend of China*; secondly, the missionary influence, both publications being connected with the missionary press in Macao and the assistant editor himself being a missionary; thirdly, the British merchant in the person of White, the editor.

The *Friend of China* was named after the already well-known *Friend of India*. Its policies were declared in the first of its first issues: it was pro-free trade, supported the British plenipotentiary and administrator of Hong Kong Sir Henry Pottinger, was cautiously anti-opium, and pro-Hong Kong. The opinion on opium stated precisely the views of many moderates:

In common with every philanthropist we deeply deplore the addiction of the Chinese to the fascinating vice, and whilst we share such sentiments we are still not so over zealous and blinded by our regrets as not to acknowledge the utter inadequacy of all attempts to suppress the cultivation, sale and use of this potent exhilarant, hitherto attempted by the Chinese Government.

The early *Friend* was, then, a friend of the Hong Kong government, publisher of its official gazette, and an advocate of direct action to open up China.

In 1843 John Carr initiated a pro-merchant policy and consequently came to oppose the policies of Sir John F. Davis, Sinologist and governor of Hong Kong and Superintendent of Trade, 1844-1848, and
a former East India Company servant. Carr's attacks on the government led him in 1845 to be charged with libel, specifically for accusations against William Caine, a notorious government official; Carr was, however, discharged. The Friend lost the government gazette contract to the Hongkong Register (3.3.3) from April to September 1844, and in March 1845 lost it permanently to the new China Mail (3.4.1). The Friend, however, retained the title. By 1849 it had become further involved in the controversies surrounding government officials and was defending William Tarrant, who may already have been playing an editorial role in the paper.

It is with William Tarrant that the name of the paper is usually associated; he became its editor and publisher in August 1850, and continued editing it in Hong Kong until jailed for criminal libel in September 1859. Although the Friend continued throughout its history to attack the corruption and injustice then rife in the government, and although this may have been the more colorful aspect of both editor and journal, the scope of the Friend is considerably broader and of greater significance to the student of history. For Tarrant, while continuing to write in his own defense and supporting the mercantile community of which he was a member, developed a considerable range of Chinese sources which became particularly useful during the Taiping rebellion.

The Friend under Tarrant is important because of its China coverage. Earlier editions of the newspaper had covered the traditional China-coast subjects—first, mercantile, problems arising from the Treaty of Nanking, with important documents from both sides being reprinted in full; secondly, missionary and Sinological, with Dr. James Legge's early work, especially his arguments in support of shang-ti 上帝 for "God." But in 1850 Tarrant alone of Hong Kong editors considered significant the disturbances in Kwangsi; in 1851 he noted their resurgence; in 1852 he reported the Ningpo riots; and by 1853 he was ready to declare the overthrow of the dynasty. The Friend of China, first to report the fall of Nanking, remained pro-Taiping to the end, despite the increasing reports of
ruthlessness and questionable administrative abilities of the "patriots." Tarrant was not sympathetic to missionaries and therefore was not upset by later reports on Taiping "Christianity"; he was anti-Manchu and believed that the reform of China could not be secured without the dynasty's overthrow.

To keep the journal informed, Tarrant set up a network not only of Chinese informants but also of part-time correspondents. I.J. Roberts reported with a pro-Taiping bias from Nanking, while D.J. MacGowan and William Lobscheid also contributed on the rebellion. In a nineteenth-century context Tarrant was considered "pro-Chinese," an attitude reflected in his willingness to report that the lorchu "Arrow" was flying no British flag when boarded, a report referred to by the Earl of Derby in the House of Lords. Tarrant was, however, opposed to the attitude of Yeh Ming-ch'en 葉名琛, considering him arrogant—an official typical of the Manchu dynasty. Despite these eccentricities Tarrant maintained a considerable following in the British community, even during the jingoistic war period. The harsh conditions of his imprisonment enlisted further sympathy, and Tarrant was eventually released from debtors' prison by a public subscription sufficient to enable him to reestablish in Canton.

Other information

Until 1844 the regular edition of the Friend of China was published weekly, on Thursdays, and thereafter it was published semi-weekly on Wednesdays and Saturdays. When in 1859 Tarrant advertised the journal for sale, he claimed £1000 clear profit for the first quarter of the year—a sum which appears excessive. He claimed that the advertising paid all but editorial expenses. The overland edition was published monthly to coincide with the mails; during 1853-1854 and 1857-1859, when the mails were experimentally increased in frequency, it was published twice monthly. Beginning with four pages, the overland edition was enlarged to as many as 14-16 pages by supplements, unfortunately not paginated with the regular edition. The Friend contained market and shipping reports;
news from beyond Hong Kong was handled both by correspondents and by extracts from the other newspapers.

3.2 **Eastern Globe and Commercial Advertiser**, June-Dec. 1843

No copies of this short-lived newspaper have been found, and there is at least the suspicion that it may never have been fully functioning.

Somewhat later, January 1, 1847, the "New China Mail, Hongkong Monitor, and Philosophical Gazette" was announced. But there is no evidence that even one issue of this ambitiously titled publication was printed.

3.3 **Register** group

For comment on this group, see text below 3.3.9.

3.3.1 **Hongkong (late Canton) Register**, July-Dec. 1843

3.3.2 **Hongkong Register**, 1844-1859 (except as noted in 3.3.3)

3.3.3 **Hongkong Register and Government Gazette**, Apr.-Sept. 1844

3.3.4 **Overland Register and Price Current**, 1845-1859; July 1860-1861

3.3.5 **China Chronicle, Hongkong Register and Eastern Advertiser**, Jan.-June 1860

3.3.6 **Overland China Chronicle**, Jan.-June 1860

3.3.7 **Hongkong Register and Daily Advertiser**, June 1860-1861

3.3.8 **The Register's Advertiser**, 1853-1854(?)

3.3.9 **Hongkong Register Daily Supplement**, 1859

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Jardine Matheson and Co. (proprietors)</td>
<td>John Slade, then (July) John Cairns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Robert Strachan</td>
<td>William H. Mitchell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thurston Dale (June)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td></td>
<td>William F. Bevan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Publishers</td>
<td>Editors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Malcolm MacLeod (Jan.-June), then Robert Strachan</td>
<td>Malcolm MacLeod, then J.C. Beecher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Henry M. Levy</td>
<td>James Jeffrey, then James L. Brown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jardine Matheson and Company continued to have a financial interest in the *Hongkong Register* throughout its life, but after 1849 they were no longer the proprietors, although they did hold a substantial mortgage on the property—$14,500 in 1859, with Strachan's house security for $8,000. The notice announcing the sale to Strachan was co-signed by Andrew Shortrede, publisher of the *China Mail* (3.4) but his connection with the *Register*, if any, is not known. Strachan, then in poor health and anxious to leave Hong Kong, sold to Phillips in 1859, but as the terms of the contract were violated, Strachan recovered possession later in the year.

At this time the paper was probably managed by the printer, Manoel L. Roza Pereira (1.9.57). Beginning in 1860 the *Register*, then under the control of MacLeod, a Canadian protege and employee of Jardine Matheson and Company, was published as the *China Chronicle, Hongkong Register* and *Eastern Advertiser*. By mid-June Strachan had again recovered possession, although this time not without financial loss, and Pereira took charge. Strachan left the Colony in 1861, by which time he appears to have sold to Henry M. Levy, with James Jeffroy and then James Brown as editors and probably part owners.

**History**

Following the death of Slade in July 1843, editorship passed to Cairns, who like Slade maintained a generally independent editorial policy. The first issues printed materials neglected during Slade's illness, which makes them useful sources. From April to September 1844, the *Register* obtained the government gazette contract, but dropped it voluntarily, the editor protesting
that the government notices arrived in such poor shape and required so many corrections that it was impossible to issue the newspaper on time. The Register began publication in Hong Kong with all the prestige of the title "oldest newspaper" on the coast. Cairns continued to support the mercantile community editorially, but was relatively restrained in his criticism of Governor Sir John F. Davis (1844-1848).

The Register, in common with other Hong Kong newspapers, at first published little European news. This may appear surprising, but in fact the problem was typical of those facing China-coast journalists. Since news came only by mail, the editors were reading their news at the same time that other foreign residents were reading their letters. It was the custom for London mercantile correspondents to write lengthy and informative letters to the merchant houses by every mail; thus all received the news simultaneously. Cairns solved the problem by arranging with the Straits Times to print the European news for circulation by the Register while the mail ship was in Singapore harbor. Thus, when the ship arrived in Hong Kong, Cairns could immediately distribute the Singapore-printed news-sheet, before post delivery.

Although editorial policy after 1849 was under the direct control of the publisher, Robert Strachan, it was influenced by the views of the editors themselves since Strachan was primarily concerned with the business side.

The Register became a supporter of the government under Sir George Bonham (1848-1854), despite the fact that the editor, William Mitchell, had previously written letters to the editor of the Friend of China (3.1) which were highly critical of both the government and the pro-government China Mail. In 1850 Mitchell was appointed a magistrate, and the Friend commented: "The sub-editor of the 'Register' has got his reward; and truly--considering the government under which he serves--the offices are fit for the man, the man fit for the offices."

In 1853 the government gazette contract was awarded to the Register, but the gazette itself was published separately. In the
same year the Register began thrice-weekly publication of a supplement, the Register's Advertiser, distributed gratis to subscribers; publication of this supplement probably ceased in 1854. The Register lost the government contract in 1855, and there is a suggestion that personal factors influenced the new governor, Sir John Bowring (1854-1859), in this decision. As the Register then turned anti-government and especially anti-Bowring, contemporaries naturally connected the two events.

Robert Strachan was himself a merchant with considerable commercial interests and his own advertisements appeared frequently. Not surprisingly, he pledged the paper to render services as a market record and general "Mercantile Journal." In addition the Register contained copious translations from the Chinese, including a complete translation of the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms." Under the editorship of William Bevan, the Register became especially critical of the Chinese and, typically, ignored for many years the development of the Taiping's Heavenly Kingdom. During the fifties, indeed, the Register developed generally into an opposition paper--anti-Bowring, anti-Chinese, anti-French, and anti-missionary, although as a result of its anti-Chinese government position, it had by 1860 become reconciled to the Taipings. Unfortunately, Strachan's opposition had little of the violence or interest of Tarrant's, and there is evidence that the journal lost both prestige and subscribers during this period.

In 1858 Strachan decided to sell, but his difficulties with prospective publishers further damaged the reputation of the newspaper which failed finally between 1861 and 1863--probably in 1861. The first would-be publisher was Richard Augustus Long Phillips, whose extravagance and poor business methods made it impossible for him to keep the financial terms of the contract. Phillips did, however, make the necessary shift from a weekly to a daily issue through publication of the Hongkong Register Daily Supplement. Strachan regained possession but was still in poor health and, under Jardine Matheson pressure, yielded the paper to MacLeod. With the exception of a
single mutilated copy of the overland edition, no copies of the Chronicle appear to have survived, but the style and pretensions of the editor were criticized sharply both by Strachan and by the Chronicle's rivals, all of the latter laying stress, of course, on the assumed policy direction by "East Point," i.e. Jardine Matheson. Surviving examples of MacLeod's writing support this general opinion. The last act was Strachan's resale, probably to Levy. By this time the Register itself was a daily with the additional sub-title, "and Daily Advertiser."

3.4 China Mail group

For comment on this group, see text below 3.4.11.

3.4.1 China Mail, 1845-1911
Te-ch'en (hsi) pao 德臣 (西) 報

3.4.2 Overland China Mail, 1848-1909

3.4.3 Dixson's Hongkong Gazette, 1850

3.4.4 Dixson's Hongkong Recorder, 1850-1859
Hsiang-kang Te-ch'en tsa-hsiang chi-lu 香港德臣雜項記録

3.4.5 Hongkong Recorder, 1859
Hsiang-kang tsa-hsiang jih-pao 香港雜項日報

3.4.6 Hongkong Shipping List, 1855-1857
Hsiang-kang hang-yün lu 香港航運錄

3.4.7 Hongkong Shipping List and Commercial Intelligencer, 1857-1862

3.4.8 Evening Mail and Hongkong Shipping List, 1862

3.4.9 Evening Mail, 1863-1867

3.4.10 Chin-shih pien-lu 進時編錄 (Hong Kong News), 1864- (?)

3.4.11 Chung-wai hsìn-wen ch'i-jih pao 中外新聞七日報 1871-1872
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers*</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Andrew Shortrede</td>
<td>Andrew Shortrede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>A. Shortrede and Co.</td>
<td>Andrew Dixson (Te-ch'en 德臣)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>James Jeffrey (Andrew Dixson sole owner)</td>
<td>Andrew Wilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>James Kemp</td>
<td>James Kemp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>(James Kemp)</td>
<td>Nicholas B. Dennys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>(Kemp died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>(Nicholas B. Dennys)</td>
<td>Nicholas B. Dennys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Charles A. Saint</td>
<td>Charles A. Saint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>George Murray Bain</td>
<td>Nicholas B. Dennys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td></td>
<td>James Bulgin (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td></td>
<td>George Murray Bain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas H. Reid</td>
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<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
<td>William H. Donald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>China Mail Co.</td>
<td>A. Bellamy Brown</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The China Mail was originally published by a single proprietor, Andrew Shortrede, although there appears to have been some support from Thomas Dent and Company, who had previously supported the Canton Press (2.3). From 1856 the paper was owned by A. Shortrede and Company with Andrew Dixson and possibly others as partners with Shortrede; Dixson had been effectively in editorial control since 1854-1855. Shortrede was absent from Hong Kong from May to December 1854, leaving permanently in 1856; he died in 1858, in which year Dixson became sole owner of A. Shortrede and Company but with James Jeffrey as publisher of the newspaper. James Kemp continued publication under the name of A. Shortrede and Company and secured the services of Nicholas Dennys as editor, but the exact date is not known. After Kemp's death in November 1865, George B. Falconer,  

*In this column, names in parentheses are those of owners of A. Shortrede and Company, which published the China Mail from 1856 to 1867.
his executor, sold to Edward Andrews in April 1866, who in turn sold to Dennys before June for $28,000. Dennys, a prolific writer and editor, was apparently not a sound manager; he borrowed heavily from Jardine Matheson and Company, and in 1867, when he was unable to pay $720 interest on the debt, James Whittal took over the responsibility for management on behalf of the mortgagor. Whittal secured the services of Charles A. Saint, the latter buying the paper from Dennys for $12,000 in August 1867, at which time the name of A. Shortrede and Company was dropped. George Murray Bain became the publisher in 1872 and was thus for a little over a year publisher of both the China Mail and the Daily Advertiser (3.7.1); he sold the latter in early 1873. Dennys was Bain's partner from 1873 to 1875, at which time Bain became sole proprietor. In 1906 the China Mail became a private company. Upon his death in 1908 or 1909, Bain was succeeded as chairman of the board of directors by his wife.

History

The China Mail was founded on February 20, 1845, by Andrew Shortrede, as a weekly; it became a daily on February 1, 1867. Publication of an overland edition, the Overland China Mail, began in 1848; it was at first a bi-monthly and then a weekly.

In 1850, Andrew Dixson, an original employee of Shortrede's, began a commercial publication on his own account, Dixson's Hongkong Gazette. After putting out two issues, he changed the name to Dixson's Hongkong Recorder to meet the objections of the Friend of China and Hongkong Gazette (5.1.2). The paper lasted until 1859--Dixson dropping his name from the title shortly after he became sole proprietor of A. Shortrede and Company in 1858--and was absorbed by the company's Hongkong Shipping List and Commercial Intelligencer, which since 1857 had replaced the less ambitious Hongkong Shipping List, another publication for which Dixson's initiative was responsible. Dixson's Recorder was primarily a commercial journal almost entirely devoted to advertising, from which all revenue was derived. It was distributed gratis to some
500-600 subscribers, three times weekly. Some shipping news was included and a minimum of space devoted to contributed feature articles. The Recorder had a brief existence as a daily in 1859 with the same coverage as before, plus an occasional selection of important edicts from the Peking gazettes. Advertising was accepted in Chinese as well as English, and a Canton agent was retained to secure Chinese patronage. That an independent advertising venture of such size and frequency of publication—the Recorder at one time ran to some four foolscap pages—could flourish in a colony where three other journals with high advertising content also existed is an important comment on commercial practices of the time.

Judging from the prospectus, the Hongkong Shipping List was intended as a definitive list based upon the findings of a European staff member who would go out in the company's own boat to meet and then board every ship entering the harbor. The List was to be sent to Canton and Macao every evening. The change of name in 1857 probably indicates a change in scope, for some time before 1859, the List had become a daily in embryo, including at least part of a column of news. In 1862 this change was acknowledged and the name was changed to Evening Mail and Hongkong Shipping List, at least partly in response to the competition of the Daily Press and the Hongkong Register, both of which had had daily editions since 1857 and 1859 respectively. In 1863 James Kemp shortened the title to Evening Mail, a title retained until 1867, when the weekly edition or China Mail was stopped—probably as an economy move on the part of James Whittal, Jardine Matheson's representative—and the daily took over the original "China Mail" title. Whether or not this change was undertaken for reasons of economy, it was justified in that the increased frequency of the mails resulted in an obvious duplication between the China Mail and the Overland China Mail. Thereafter, the China Mail became the daily with the Overland as the weekly edition. Publication of the overland edition ceased in 1909.

As but one product of a printing establishment, the China Mail was from the outset part of a larger operation. Moreover, its
proprietor, Andrew Shortrede, most probably had journalistic as well as printing experience; he also had a larger staff at his command, including Dixon as overseer and three other Britons, a bookkeeper, a chief compositor and seven Portuguese compositors. In 1864 the China Mail establishment began publication of the Chinese-language daily, Chin-shih pien-lu 進時編錄, which was sold to a group of Chinese in 1883 but which did not survive the century.

In 1872, another Chinese daily, Hua-tzu jih-pao 華字日報 (Chinese Mail), was published. Certainly at first the editor of the China Mail exercised some editorial supervision, but the Hua-tzu jih-pao was soon considered an independent newspaper, that is, one with its own editorial policy. Thus we have not listed it as a China-coast newspaper. Nicholas Dennys was responsible for further expanding the publishing activities of the China Mail; these included the relatively short-lived Notes and Queries, China Punch, and Papers on China. In addition to these periodicals, the China Mail, in common with other large newspaper establishments, published occasional books, guides, and, specifically, a Who's Who.

**Policy**

The newspapers previously mentioned in these annotations, like others founded later, were "personal" organs, reflecting decided opinions of the single man who dominated the paper, or of the interests which supported it. The China Mail was more institutionalized; for part of the period 1845-1858 it was so much a government gazette that it had hardly room for its own reporting, while under Dennys in 1866 it was accused by the Hongkong Mercury (3.6) of being more a literary journal than a newspaper. But there were personal periods—for example, Dixon's activity in the mid-fifties as investigator of the Hong Kong government's seammier side, an activity arising from the China Mail's opposition to Governor Sir George Bonham (1848-1854). And it must also be remembered that the China Mail held the contract for printing the government gazette from 1845 to 1853 and from 1855 to 1858.
The early China Mail was principally composed of advertising and officially published government proclamations and notices. There were, in addition, feature articles contributed by experts, missionaries, and Sinologues; some typical subjects include mining in China (July 9, 1846), the Triad Society (August 20, 1846), the finances of China (January 21, 1847). The journal retained a correspondent in Canton in the forties and in 1851 concluded an agreement with the London Daily News for an exchange of news, with Shortrede contributing to the Daily News on his return to Scotland in 1856. During this early period the China Mail was characterized as pro-Hong Kong government by its rivals. In the sense that it supported the principal acts of Governors Davis and Bowring (1844-1848 and 1854-1859), this is a reasonably fair characterization, but it does not follow that the paper was a tool of that government. Indeed, in 1848 the government began proceedings against the China Mail for failing to register under the provisions of the Registration Ordinance; in the 1850's Dixon's investigations were hardly manifestations of subservience; and as has already been stated, the journal did not support Governor Bonham, who in 1853 transferred the gazette contract to the Hongkong Register (3.3).

The China Mail has also been characterized as pro-American and even pro-Chinese, although this latter judgment must be understood in a relative sense. Certainly the newspaper did not express merchant views; in 1847 the Canton merchants canceled their subscriptions over editorial in the China Mail which accused them of wishing to force entry into Canton, even at the cost of destroying the population. This milder policy toward the Chinese and opposition to the merchants' demands gave the paper some considerable influence in Great Britain, which was, according to Dennys, its principal market.

During the fifties the paper built up a corps of contributing correspondents in the outports and also in Labuan, Calcutta, and San Francisco. Andrew Wilson, editor from 1858 to 1860, became the London correspondent. Although the China Mail noted the Kwangsi
disturbances, it did not follow the Taiping rebellion as closely as did the Friend of China, was surprised by the fall of Nanking, translated Taiping documents and decided in 1854 that the movement had no Christian basis, and received information from such correspondents as I.J. Roberts, William Lobscheid, and S.n. Bonney. In the sixties correspondents wrote from Japan and Paris.

After Dennys left the editorship in 1873 (?), the paper became less sympathetic toward the Chinese government, although it noticed and considered the qualifications of Chinese as individuals. The general policy appears to have been to avoid controversy with Shanghai, to support the Hong Kong government, to fight and fight hard against the Macao slave trade in coolies, and to voice severe criticism against the policy of British ministers in Peking. The China Mail had indeed become a strong advocate of intervention, basing its criticism of official policy on the supposition that the Treaty of Tientsin had reduced China to the status of an Indian principality. With this assumption granted, it is easier to understand how the journal could have castigated Sir Rutherford Alcock as a traitor for giving up British "rights." Similarly, the China Mail was hostile to Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs, and opposed Sir Thomas F. Wade's policy—although it did register surprise that the Wade of the Margary Affair could also negotiate a Chefoo Convention. Given this view of the Chinese, it is not surprising that the China Mail bitterly attacked the policies of Governor Sir John Pope Hennessy (1877-1882), who attempted to treat the Hong Kong Chinese as partners and undo the stringent legislation of 1857. Hennessy, unfortunately for him, combined good intentions with poor administration, and the China Mail hounded him long after he had left the Colony. With the arrival of Sir George F. Bowen (1883-1885), the China Mail again supported the administration.
3.5 Daily Press group

For comment on this group, see text below 3.5.5.

3.5.1 Daily Press, Ships, Commerce and Colonies, 1857-1861

Tsu-tz' u pao 子刺報

3.5.2 Hongkong Daily Press, Ships, Commerce and Colonies, 1861-1911

3.5.3 China Overland Trade Report, 1857-1888

3.5.4 Hongkong Weekly Press and China Overland Trade Report, 1869-1911

3.5.5 Hsiang-kang ch'un-t'ou huo-chia chih 香港船頭貨價紙，1857(?) - 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>George M. Ryder</td>
<td>Yorick Jones Murrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>A. L. Agabeg, Yorick Jones Murrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>William Harvey Bell (lessee)</td>
<td>Alfred P. Sinnett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td></td>
<td>William Harvey Bell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alfred C. Dulcken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td></td>
<td>R. Chatterton Wilcox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>W. Pustan and Co.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>R. Chatterton Wilcox</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>D. Wares Smith (manager)</td>
<td>George C. Cox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>D. Wares Smith (joint lessee with Cox)</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
<td>T. Wright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td></td>
<td>B.A. Hale (managing editor)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first publisher of the Daily Press, George M. Ryder, appears to have been an American. From the first, however, Murrow was the dominant figure, although he obtained full ownership only in 1858. Murrow retained the proprietorship of the Press throughout his life and, after his death in 1884, ownership remained in the family. In 1911 the heir was a son, Colonel H.L. Murrow, then in Hong Kong.
Murrow gave up direct control of the Press, however, at the end of 1865, leasing the newspaper to William H. Bell. Murrow left Hong Kong in 1867 and founded the London and China Herald (8.2), which he also edited. Bell's lease expired in 1876 and the paper was managed by Murrow's solicitors, H. Pustan and Company, until 1878. D. Wares Smith, formerly of Shanghai, appears to have been connected with the Press as early as 1870, for he was manager in Bell's absence both then and in 1876. Smith moved from manager to joint lessee with George C. Cox sometime between 1889 and 1900, remaining in this latter role through 1911.

Beginning in 1860 the Daily Press then published a full-scale Chinese newspaper, Chung Ngei San Po (Chung-wai hsiao-pao 中外新報), but this cannot be considered a "China-coast newspaper" and, therefore, is not listed. Its first editor was Wong Shing (Wang Sheng 黃勝), described by Murrow as "cautious to timidity," although if this judgment is relative to Murrow's editorial policy, Wong Shing might still have been adventurous by modern standards. The policy of the Chinese newspaper was not that of the Daily Press itself, for which see below.

From November 1859 to May 1861, the overland edition carried a local news supplement of four pages, an unusual and valuable source.

Policy

Sir Robert Hart is quoted as saying, "There is no public opinion in China, save Murrow's." Certainly the Daily Press was founded as the personal vehicle of an aggressive China merchant. Murrow was typical of the individualistic, aggressive, and intelligent Britisher encountered in the East during the early nineteenth century. Indeed, only when Murrow's enterprises suffered a temporary setback during the second Sino-British War did he commit himself to journalism and publication of the Daily Press. Immediately he entered the bitter conflict which characterized the first period of Hong Kong journalism and caused the imprisonment of Tarrant of the Friend of China (3.1). Murrow first made an enemy of Tarrant
by following a policy sympathetic to Cheong Ah Lum, owner of the bakery which sold poisoned bread to the Hong Kong foreign population in January 1857. Tarrant had suffered personally. But Murrow refused to approve the resulting panic measures the colonial government under Bowring thought necessary. Indeed, Murrow opposed Bowring on other grounds and in April 1858 was imprisoned six months for libel; he had accused the governor of favoring Jardine Matheson and Company, where Bowring's son was employed. Murrow edited his paper from jail and on his release condemned the harsh treatment meted out to Tarrant for a similar offense. But against Caldwell and Bridges, the principal characters in the early Hong Kong drama, Murrow was more successful, testifying against the former in the Civil Services Abuses Enquiry which caused Caldwell's dismissal from the public service.

This first stage ended, Murrow continued a highly personal policy. He continued to criticize Jardine Matheson, attempted but failed to have the case against the retired Colonel William Caine reopened, pursued an anti-China Mail (3.4.1) campaign, and attacked W.T. Mercer, nephew of former governor Sir John F. Davis (1844-1848), colonial secretary and, from March 1865 to March 1866, administrator of the Colony. But perhaps Murrow's bitterest attacks--and greatest public service--were directed against the increasingly notorious Macao slave trade in coolies.

The Daily Press pursued a milder policy under subsequent editors but continued to attack the China Mail. With the editorship of Alfred C. Dulcken, the newspaper became more critical of the Chinese and especially of the Manchu regime. On this basis the Daily Press supported the Nien-fei 捲匪 rebels and opposed those foreigners employed by the Chinese government, including Sir Robert Hart and others in the Imperial Maritime Customs. Dulcken also developed an anti-missionary position, while becoming less critical than his predecessors of the Hong Kong government itself.

The student who has first read the files of the China Mail may perhaps be excused for reaching the conclusion that the Daily Press is too irresponsible to be worth serious consideraton. But this
obvious contrast again is but a reflection of the different approaches to journalism, and it should not result in this valuable source being ignored; well-written and thoughtfully edited, the Daily Press provides an essential balance. By the late sixties it had an extensive coverage of the China coast and had direct connections with the London and China Herald. The newspaper continued to expand in scope and through 1911 stands as one of the important sources for China-coast history.

3.6 *Hongkong Mercury and Shipping Gazette*, June-Dec. 1866

Publisher: G.M. Bain; editors: W.F. Ferris, then (Oct.) G.M. Bain

Both Bain and Ferris appear to have had a financial interest in the newspaper from the start, and there is some question as to who was actually in control. Ferris had been the *Daily Press* (3.5) court reporter and responsible for some of the more lively articles. When Sinnett became editor in 1866 and the paper's approach to problems became somewhat more tame, Ferris determined to establish a new newspaper and enlisted the support of the newly-arrived George Murray Bain. On October 29, 1886, Ferris, apparently without warning, sold his interest in the Mercury and left his post as editor. Bain declared his intention of holding on and actually took over the editorship. The paper failed, however, at the end of the year.

As regards policy, the *Mercury* was critical of demands for the opening of the Yangtze to trade on the basis of British right and objected to the extreme position of the British press in China with regard to Rutherford Alcock and others who either supported his position or were themselves employed by the Chinese government. The paper has a professional appearance and, should 1866 be important to the student, might well provide important supplementary information in support of its unusually mild views.
The Advertiser series

For comment on this series, see text below 3.7.4.

3.7.1 Daily Advertiser, 1869-1871
Hsiang-kang kuang-kao pao 香港廣告報

3.7.2 Daily Advertiser and Shipping Gazette, 1871-1873

3.7.3 Hongkong Times, Daily Advertiser and Shipping Gazette, 1873-1876

3.7.4 Hongkong Times Mail Supplement, 1873-1876 (?)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>H.P.C. Lassen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>G.M. Bain (Oct.)</td>
<td>Nicholas B. Dennys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872 (Mar.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dennys transfers to China Mail (3.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>George Duddell and William Curtis</td>
<td>William Curtis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>(Curtis dies)</td>
<td>Thomas Preston</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The publication began as an advertising sheet, but news was added with the change of proprietors in October 1871. In March, the publisher, G.M. Bain, acquired the China Mail and transferred Dennys to edit that newspaper. Duddell and Curtis transformed the sheet into a regular daily newspaper in 1873. After the death of Curtis the interests of Duddell were handled by Jardine Matheson and Company, through whom all letters between Preston and Duddell passed. Since the survival of these letters permits of more precision in describing the business aspects of the Hong Kong Times than perhaps any other China-coast newspaper of that period, a part of the information preserved in the archives will be considered below.

In 1872 there appeared, bound in with the Advertiser, a quarter-page size Chinese supplement of one leaf. The first is dated June 17 and one or two issues survive--in the British Museum holdings at least.
Policy

Through 1871 the publication was little more than an advertising sheet. Under Bain policy was coordinated with that of the China Mail.

William Curtis was a newcomer to the Colony, and he took the rather unusual position that the Macao coolie trade was not as bad as supposed. In any case, as the Times often pointed out, the plight of the poor in Hong Kong was sufficiently terrible to exhaust the moral indignation of any single person. By September 1873, Curtis had so far modified his position as to agree in the iniquities of Macao, changing his objection to Hong Kong anti-coolie trade legislation from disapproval per se to questioning its effectiveness. In other editorial matters Curtis's lack of background in the Hong Kong scene was apparent, and after his death in August 1875, his assistant Thomas Preston found it impossible to salvage the newspaper's editorial reputation. A preliminary reading suggests, however, that the newspaper was improving, and perhaps Curtis was justified in his claim that the Hongkong Times at least "stimulated the local press."

The Preston-Duddef correspondence

In 1875 the Hongkong Times was owned by two partners—George Duddef, publisher of the Brighton Daily Mail and Oriental, then resident in Brighton, and William Curtis, the editor, who lived in Hong Kong. The remainder of the staff consisted of Thomas Preston, who handled the "literary side," B.G. Emanuel, a local Portuguese who acted as accountant and shipping reporter, and two European printers. At the end of July, Curtis, who was in poor health, turned over the acting editorship to Preston and left the Colony, dying only three days out to sea. Preston thereupon began corresponding with the surviving partner, who, feeling himself unable to cope with so complex a matter from that distance, appointed Jardine Matheson as his representative.

Thomas Preston was then responsible for a considerable organization. He hired at $150 a month J.W. Terrey, a resident of Hong Kong with some experience on American newspapers, to write leading articles
and perform other reporting chores, despite his duly-noted lack of shorthand. (In a colony where verbatim court reports were considered by the local subscribers to be a very important feature of a newspaper, shorthand, a traditional but currently neglected journalistic skill, was of course especially important.) There is also independent information that M. Machado, recently dismissed from the China Mail, was employed on the Times in 1873. Preston soon had difficulties with Emanuel, whom he fired; bearing in mind the Hong Kong atmosphere, however, there is no necessary reason to suppose that Emanuel had gone mad, as Preston claimed. Machado may have been a replacement. In any case, a financial statement reveals that the Times was valued at £1,000 for type and furniture and £1,252 for the presses, and that Preston's salary was £300 a year. Despite the presence of two European printers, job printing accounted for but 12 per cent or so of total gross receipts.

In addition to the Hong Kong establishment, Preston had regular correspondents: in Bangkok, P.C.C. Kobke; in Tientsin, H. Beveridge; in Canton, James Parker; and reciprocal arrangements existed with newspapers beyond China. For China outstations, the Times sent a free subscription to a leading merchant house in return for their filling out of a standard information form. The new editor was sufficiently concerned with the quality of his newspaper to realize that with the cable through to Hong Kong, certain changes were required. As for the European news supplied to Hong Kong subscribers, Preston was critical of the dependence on copying from the London and China Express (8,1,4) which, he claimed, copied in turn from the London Times. He urged Duddell to send him copies of the London Times directly and to consider providing Reuters cable service. As far as news for the overland edition was concerned, Preston realized that commercial information would go by private cable, and he therefore urged substitution of other local news in the special mail supplement.

But the Hongkong Times was, after all, a small newspaper with total subscriptions under 400. Preston claimed that if he could top 500 he would have the largest circulation of any China-coast
newspaper—a statement which places these newspapers in proper journalistic perspective, although it hardly affects their interest to the researcher.

By March 1876, it became apparent that the Hongkong Times could not, despite the editor's efforts and financial injections from Jardine Matheson, expect to be a commercial success. Duddell's agents ordered an immediate closedown with six months' wages paid. At Preston's request the paper was permitted to continue publication but, failing to find a purchaser, it was closed at the end of April 1876.

3.8 Hongkong Telegraph, 1881-1911
Shih-mi hsin-wen or Hsi-pao 西報 or Hsiang-kang tien-wen pao 香港電聞報

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Robert Fraser-Smith</td>
<td>Robert Fraser-Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Shih-mi 士蔑)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>J.J. Francis, Q.C.</td>
<td>Chesney Duncan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>E.F. Skertchly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901(?)</td>
<td>Chinese syndicate,*</td>
<td>E.A. Snewin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga (manager)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td></td>
<td>A.W. Brebner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Dr. J.W. Noble</td>
<td>E.B. Helme, F. Lionel Pratt, A. Hicks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Hongkong Telegraph marked a return to the personal journalism of earlier years, and within the first few years of its existence was sued twice for libel. The publisher was released from jail in 1890 on the sole grounds that he was supposedly dying from a disease contracted in Hong Kong. Fraser-Smith's policy was pro-Hennessy (1877-1882) and anti-Bowen (1883-1885), in direct opposition

*The Chinese group included Lau Chu Pak and Ho Fook as directors and (Sir) Robert Ho Tung and Chau Siu-ni as shareholders. They probably had control of the paper until 1910 or 1911.
to the policy of the China Mail (3.4). The newspaper was, therefore, relatively sympathetic to the Chinese and tolerant of their resistance to modernization. Fraser-Smith himself opposed a Hong Kong tramway project on grounds which one might have expected from a worried Hunan taotai. Later policy under the Chinese syndicate is an important subject awaiting thorough research.

The following assessment of the Hongkong Telegraph has been provided by J.M. Braga, whose father, J.P. Braga, was for a time editor and manager of the paper:

My father took charge of the Hongkong Telegraph at the request of a group of Chinese, led by [Sir] Robert Ho Tung, and the policy of the paper seems to have been to stress Hong Kong's place in the scheme of things, with emphasis--where possible and considering the general feelings at the time--on the increasing infiltration of the Chinese into Western-style business. But the paper was not to lose sight of the fact of British control of Hong Kong's activities. The paper was sympathetic to the minorities--Catholics, Portuguese, Eurasians, Indians, Parsees, etc.--but had to keep an eye on the advertisers' feelings. They were mainly British.

At least in the first years of publication, the Telegraph published no overland edition, but rather reprinted important articles in the regular edition before departure of the mails.

In 1911 J.W. Noble, a director of the South China Morning Post (3.9), appears as publisher, foreshadowing the subsequent merger of the two papers.

3.9 South China Morning Post, 1903-1911
Nan-hua ch'en pao 南華晨報

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers and editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1903  | Directors: C. Ewens, A.G. Ward, G.W.F. Playfair  
Editor and general manager: Alfred Cunningham  
Sub-editor: Douglas Story  
Compradore: Tse Tsan Tai 謝震泰 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers and editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1904 | New director: J. Scott Harston  
Sub-editor: George T. Lloyd |
| 1906 | New director: J.W. Noble |
| 1907 | New directors: Father Robert, R.G. Shewan  
General manager and secretary: G.T. Lloyd  
(succeeded Cunningham as editor later in the year) |
| 1911 | Editor: A Hamilton, then Thomas Petrie |

The *South China Morning Post* developed from plans formulated by Alfred Cunningham, then on the staff of the *Hongkong Daily Press* (3.5), and Tse Tsan Tai, later to become the newspaper's compradore. The original policy intention was for the newspaper to support the reform movement in China, but the extent to which it actually carried this through must be the subject of further research. The prospectus, as drawn up in February 1903, indicated that the new company planned to absorb the Victoria Lithographic Company of A.G. Ward. Playfair, another director, was manager of the National Bank of China, which had been established in the early 1890's to associate Chinese and foreign capital in a local bank--thus its representation on the Board of Directors was another potential source of pro-Chinese influence.

Within a year of publication the company claimed its newspaper had the largest circulation in Hong Kong. In 1904 the paper was advocating self-government for Hong Kong; between 1906 and 1910 it criticized the government for not preventing the influx of Chinese subsidiary coins, accusing it of fearing to displease the Canton Viceroy whose mint was profiting thereby; in 1911 the paper sided with unofficial members of the Hong Kong Legislative Council in criticizing the conduct of the Public Works Department. Although the paper did not stoop to personalities, and handled these criticisms as substantive issues, they were hardly of sufficient significance to brand the paper a crusader. The company also issued the *South China Weekly Post*, but this was more a weekly magazine than an "overland" edition.
Despite promising beginnings the company underwent difficulties and in 1907 brought about a change in management. Cunningham was dismissed, an action which he unsuccessfully contested. The presence of J.W. Noble as a director of the South China Morning Post and (from 1911) publisher of the Hongkong Telegraph (3.8) indicates that a connection had already been made between the two former rivals. By 1915 at least they were published by the same company.

3.10 Catholic newspaper group

3.10.1 Hongkong Catholic Register, 1878-1880

3.10.2 Catholic Register, 1881-1888 (?)

These papers, published by F.D. Guedes, deal principally with Church matters and contain important news letters from missionary stations. Although of only marginal interest here, they do include regular news items and comments on local personalities, events, and other newspapers.

4. HONG KONG: PORTUGUESE

4.1 Newspapers formerly published in Macao or Canton

4.1.1 A Voz de Macaista, 1846(?)-(?)
    Editor: Manuel M. Dias Pegado. See group 1.5 (especially 1.5.4), and 4.1.6.

4.1.2 Verdade e Liberdade, 1852-(?)
    Editor: José Maria da Silva e Souza. See 1.20.

4.1.3 O Noticiario Macaense, circa 1870
    See 1.10.

4.1.4 O Independente, 1869-1873, 1880-1882
    Editor: José da Silva
    For the Macao periods, 1867-1869, 1873-1880, 1882-1898, see 1.9.2. The editor maintained his reputation for outspokenness in Hong Kong and was involved in libel suits. The newspaper was,
however, a popular one. The publisher is listed as E. Ferreira, with C.M. Chaves as assistant.

4.1.5 O Porvir, 1897-1907

Publisher: Lisbello J. Xavier; editors: M. Fernandes Carvalho, then (1902) L.M. Xavier

This newspaper represented the young Portuguese who had been emigrating from Macao in increasing numbers since the 1880's, seeking the more favorable economic opportunities of growing Hong Kong. O Porvir's policy tended to foster the split developing between these newcomers and the older Portuguese residents of Hong Kong, who were British subjects, educated in British schools. For the paper's brief Macao existence, see 1.15. For a reaction to O Porvir's policy, see O Patriota (4.7).

4.1.6 O Português na China, 1860(?). See 1.5.3.

4.2 O Echo do Povo, 1858-1869

Publishers and editors: João José da Silva e Souza (1858), António da Silva e Souza (1869)

O Echo was one of the more ambitious Portuguese newspapers, with correspondents in Macao, Manila, Yokohama, Shanghai, Bangkok, Bombay, Timor, and Lisbon. A portion of the paper was written in English. Unfortunately, the publisher became involved in libel suits and the paper suspended publication from September to December 1868. In January 1869, publication was resumed under the direction of José's brother, António. But another libel acton and António's failure to comply with the newspaper ordinance led to O Echo's closing later in the same year. (See also 2.9.)

4.3 O Movimento, 1863-? (a weekly)

4.4 O Amigo do Progreso, fl. circa 1868

One reference states that this journal was published in 1850.
4.5 Guedes sequence

4.5.1 O Echo da China, 1884-1885

Publisher: Florindo Duarte Guedes

One source gives the editors as "J.J. da Silva e Souza and, later, António José da Silva e Souza," but this seems to be the result of confusion with O Echo do Povo (4.2).

4.5.2 O Extremo Oriente, 1885-1898

Publisher: Florindo Duarte Guedes; editors: Guedes, and M. Fernandes Carvalho

The newspaper had financial difficulties and suspended publication in 1889, 1892 and 1898. Carvalho became editor of O Porvir (4.1.5).

4.6 O Honglong Alegre, 1889(?)-1890

Publisher and editor: J.D. dos Remedios

This may only have been a humor magazine.

4.7 O Patriota, 1900-1911

This newspaper sought to heal the differences between the pro-Portuguese and pro-British members of the Portuguese community in Hong Kong. Thus it sought to modify the effects of O Porvir's (4.1.5) policies.

5. SHANGHAI: ENGLISH

5.1 North-China Herald group

For comment on this group, see text below 5.1.8. Items 5.1.1-5.1.5 mark the evolution of the overland or mail edition; items 5.1.6-5.1.8, of the daily edition.

5.1.1 North-China Herald, 1850-1867

Pei-Hua chien-pao 北華捷報

5.1.2 North-China and Japan Market Report, 1858-1865
5.1.3 North-China Overland Herald and Market Report, 1865-1867
5.1.4 North-China Herald and Market Report, 1867-1870
5.1.5 North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette, 1870-1911
5.1.6 Daily Shipping News, 1856-1862
5.1.7 Daily Shipping and Commercial News, 1862-1864
5.1.8 North-China Daily News, 1864-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Henry Shearman</td>
<td>Henry Shearman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>J. Mackrill Smith, Charles Spencer Compton</td>
<td>J. Mackrill Smith, Charles Spencer Compton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Edwin Pickwoad</td>
<td>Samuel Mossman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Nichol Latimer</td>
<td>R. Alexander Jamieson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Pickwoad and Co. (J.B. Tootal, managing prop.)</td>
<td>Richard S. Gundry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
<td>George William Haden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>(Mrs. Janet Pickwoad, managing prop.)</td>
<td>John C. Thirkell (temporary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frederic H. Balfour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
<td>J.W. Maclellan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td></td>
<td>R.W. Little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td></td>
<td>H.T. Montague Bell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td></td>
<td>O.M. Green (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Henry Shearman died in 1856 and his executor, Smith, took over the paper for a month. Several of the editors had a financial interest in the company, including Mossman, Gundry, Haden, Balfour, and probably others. Latimer died in 1865 and Pickwoad in 1866; the controlling interest of the company was then in the hands of Pickwoad and Company, including Mrs. Janet Pickwoad, who conducted the business in the period after 1880, and Henry Morriss, son-in-law of Edwin Pickwoad. From 1866 to his death in 1878, John Broadhurst Tootal had an interest in the paper, and was managing proprietor.
History

The North-China Herald was founded by Henry Shearman; he was assisted by a staff of three, including printers. The paper was at first a weekly, containing extracts from other China-coast newspapers, a summary of the week's news, and commercial information. There was no overland as a separate publication, but a special edition was issued before departure of the mails. By 1863 the North-China and Japan Market Report was published for European subscribers and was included with the North-China Herald. There are grounds for assuming that at the end of 1865, material from the company's market report and the special edition of the weekly were combined into a specifically designated overland edition, the North-China Overland Herald and Market Report, while the original newspaper continued as a local weekly. Since 1856 the local weekly had been supplemented by the Daily Shipping News, designed chiefly as an advertising sheet, but in 1862 this had been expanded to the Daily Shipping and Commercial News, and in 1864 to a regular daily, the North-China Daily News.

The weekly North-China Herald was, therefore, something of a duplication; it served neither the European nor the local market. In March 1867 it ceased publication and the overland edition dropped the word "overland" to become simply the North-China Herald and Market Report; it was, in reality, the overland edition of the North-China Daily News. These title changes may be contrasted with those in Hong Kong's China Mail group. In 1870 the company bought the rights to the title "Supreme Court and Consular Gazette" (5.3.4) and a final change was made in the title of the "overland" edition.

early period, indicates the basis of the newspaper's reputation. These officials, businessmen, and missionaries wrote for the Herald largely as a public service, and the Herald on its side gave space to those of differing views, a unique feature of the paper's early policy.

Although there is no quantitative evidence, there is reason to suppose that the combined circulation of the company's publications was the largest in Shanghai and, therefore, in all ports except Hong Kong. (Comparison with Hong Kong newspapers remains a problem.) By 1906, for example, the company employed an editor, a sub-editor, and six reporters. It also published the Chinese-language Hu pao 澳報, which is not considered in this guide.

Policy

The meaning of "official" in the context of China-coast newspapers has been considered in Section II. Unlike the Hong Kong newspapers, where "official" was an epithet linking the publication with a none-too-savory government, in international Shanghai the connection was less to be avoided. But its significance was limited. The North-China Herald and the North-China Daily News were designated as the official organs for publication of consular and embassy notices, but any implication that this resulted in the newspapers' reflecting British opinion on the China coast—or even "official" British opinion—is manifestly false. Specifically, in 1859 the group was confirmed as the official publishers of notifications of the British Superintendent of Trade and the British Legation; in 1860 of the British Legation in Yeddo; in 1861—and in China only—of all official notifications from British authorities in Japan; in 1862 of Shanghai consulate notices.

Henry Shearman was a devout man, and the North-China Herald supported Protestant missionaries in China. By the late 1860's, however, criticism of missionaries can be found; the policy varied as the editorship changed hands. The newspaper first noticed the Taiping Rebellion in 1851 and by 1853 had become very interested in
the reported Christianity of the rebels. Disillusionment came in 1854, but the paper did not become anti-Taiping until Compton's editorship, with Mossman taking the extreme anti-Taiping position. Space was given to the Nien-fei in 1866-1867.

Editor Compton stated that there was no room for gossip in his paper, which would remain a record of passing facts. As the Shanghai community was still small, local news circulated in advance of a weekly newspaper, whose role was conceived almost in the simple terms of Matheson and the Canton Register (2.1.2) in the days of the East India Company. The growth of local news was stimulated, of course, both by the publication of the daily edition and by the growth, complexity, and diversity of the Shanghai foreign community itself.

Even a brief annotation should record these particular items of significance. On January 3, 1857, MacGowan noted the drying up of the old Yellow River bed. The Herald's Tientsin correspondent, J.A.T. Meadows, put the blame for the Tientsin massacre squarely on the Catholic missionaries themselves, but editor Gundry rejected this position and put the blame on the populace—not on the officials. Gundry's position was not anti-Chinese government, but it was far more conservative than that of his predecessor, Jamieson, who later edited the "pro-Chinese" Cycle (5.16). Under Gundry's editorship, the Herald was primarily a merchant's newspaper; yet Gundry did report such Chinese news as the activities of Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩 and Yakoob Beg 阿古柏帕夏, and he took gratification from the information that the newspaper was read in translation by Chinese officials, including Li Hung-chang 李鴻章. He was, however, enough of a realist to temper his pride with the recognition that the Chinese officials were probably not getting sufficiently accurate translations to permit them to understand the full import of the newspaper's articles.

The North-China Herald was not, then, the only company publishing newspapers on the China coast, but it maintained a reputation for comprehensiveness, and by the end of the century was certainly a
professionally-managed enterprise with some claim to the authoritative-ness which students have subsequently granted it. But the claim has not been fully substantiated, and we must state again that research should not lean too heavily on this single source. Thorough research into China-coast newspapers may permit a more definitive evaluation, but that is still to come.

5.2 Shanghai Times group*

5.2.1 Shanghai Daily Times, 1861-1862
Shang-hai mei-jih shih-pao 上海每日時報

5.2.2 Shanghai Weekly Times, 1861-1862

No copies of this short-lived newspaper have been located. It was edited by a Smith, presumably not D. Wares Smith of the later Supreme Court and Consular Gazette (5.3.4). The proprietors were W. Wynter and Company, and the newspaper closed following Wynter's departure from Shanghai with several debts unpaid. Reports in contemporary China-coast newspapers state that the Daily Times and its weekly mail edition contained trade, commerce, and market reports. The China Mail (3.4.1) considered it "a very respectable sheet."
The North-China Herald (5.1.1) was a target of considerable criticism from the Times.

5.3 Recorder group

For comment on this group, see text below 5.3.4.

5.3.1 Shanghai Recorder, 1862-1869
Shang-hai tsai-chi 上海載紀

5.3.2 Commercial Record, 1864-1866

5.3.3 Daily Advertiser, 1864

*The newspapers in this group are elsewhere referred to as "Shanghai..." and are indexed with this spelling.
5.3.4 **Supreme Court and Consular Gazette and Law Reporter for H.B.M. Supreme Court and Provincial Courts and the Consular Courts of China and Japan, 1867-1869**

Tsui-kao fa-t'ing yu ch'in-shih kung-pao 高等法庭與敘事公報

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Cope, Chesire and Co.</td>
<td>J.T.F. Bowker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>C. Treasure Jones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>C. Treasure Jones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>D. Wares Smith</td>
<td>A.C. Dulcken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *Shanghai Recorder* at first had both a daily and a weekly edition, and later added an overland edition, the *Commercial Record*, which was highly regarded by the *China Mail* (3.4.1). The weekly local edition was stopped in early 1865. The *Daily Advertiser* was circulated free of charge, with its revenue coming from advertising only; it was discontinued on the grounds that the older newspapers had monopolized the advertising. In 1867 the new publisher replaced the *Commercial Record* with the *Supreme Court and Consular Gazette* as the overland edition of the *Recorder*. The change was more than one of name only, however, as the *Gazette* published officially supervised transcripts of cases in the Shanghai law courts.

The newspapers were advertised for sale in 1868 and sold in December 1869 for 1,000 Shanghai taels. The *North-China Herald* (5.1) bought the title of the *Supreme Court and Consular Gazette* for 400 Shanghai taels and took over its functions.

5.4 **Friend of China group**

5.4.1 **Friend of China, 1863-1869**

Chung-kuo chih yu 中國之友

5.4.2 **Friend of China and Shipping Gazette, 1869**

Publisher and editor: William Tarrant (except 1868-late 1869, C. Treasure Jones)
William Tarrant brought his exiled Friend of China north from Canton and began Shanghai publication in January 1863 (see 2.4 and 3.1). Between July 1868 and late 1869 the paper was run by C. Treasure Jones, but Tarrant regained control after he became dissatisfied with the former's management policy, and sold the equipment that same year and returned to London. Jones may have initiated the alternative title, only one reference to which has been found. There is evidence that Tarrant on leaving Shanghai in 1869 sold the title to London's Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, which subsequently published a periodical by the same name.

Reports of contemporaries are not flattering. Hong Kong newspapers despaired, urging that some one put Tarrant out of his misery. In the absence of any significant run of the Friend of China, too much credence should not be put in such general comments, however. Certainly under the editorship of C. Treasure Jones, there were probably both editorial excesses and mismanagement. But the Friend of China was quoted in other China-coast newspapers; it had regular reports from Tientsin; and it numbered among its correspondents Augustus F. Lindley and Colonel Schmidt, who served under Ward and Gordon during the Taiping rebellion.

5.5 Shanghai Evening Express, 1867-1871

Wan ch'ai-pao 晚差報

Publishers and editors: C. Treasure Jones and C. do Rozario, then C. Treasure Jones

After selling the Shanghai Recorder (5.3.1), C. Treasure Jones founded the Shanghai Evening Express with C. do Rozario in October 1867. It was Shanghai's first evening newspaper. Jones gained complete control of the paper but had to cease publication temporarily in April and May 1869 for financial reasons. Creditors forced Jones to accept the management of N.B. Bonney and Company. The paper ceased publication in 1871 and Jones left China a bankrupt.
5.6  Shanghai General Advertiser, f1. 1872
      This publication started as a mid-day advertising sheet but
      in 1872 is said to have contained items of local news.

5.7  Celestial Empire group
      For comment on this group, see text below 5.7.10.

5.7.1  Shanghai News-Letter for California and the Atlantic States,
       1867-1871
       Shang-hai t'ung-hsin 上海通信

5.7.2  Shanghai News-Letter, 1871-1873

5.7.3  Shanghai Evening Courier, 1868-1875
       Shang-hai ch'ai-pao 上海差報

5.7.4  Shanghai Budget and Weekly Courier, 1871-1873
       Shang-hai ching-lang yu mei-chou ch'ai-pao 上海錦囊與
       每週差報

5.7.5  Shanghai Budget and Weekly News-Letter, 1874-1875

5.7.6  Evening Gazette, June-Sept. 1873, 1874-1875
       Wan-pao 晚報

5.7.7  Morning Gazette and Advertiser, 1874

5.7.8  Celestial Empire, 1874-1911
       Hua-yang t'ung-wen 華洋通聞, or Tung-yang t'ung-wen
       東洋通聞

5.7.9  Shanghai Courier and China Gazette, 1875-1890

5.7.10 Shanghai Mercury, 1879-1911
       Wen-hui pao 天匯報

Publishers and Editors

Shanghai News-Letter: The newspaper, basically a mail edition,
      was founded by John Thorne and Howard Twombly and supported
      by American merchants. Hugh Lang bought the paper in 1871,
      and shortened the title, but he did not merge it with his
      Shanghai Budget until the end of 1873.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>C. do Rozario</td>
<td>Hugh Lang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Hugh Lang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Thomas Preston (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Thomas Preston (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gazette and Celestial Empire (to 1890):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Loureiro and Co.</td>
<td>Frederick Henry Balfour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Frederick Henry Balfour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>William Venn Drummond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>John S. Trenwith</td>
<td>John R. Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>John H. Johnson (May-Oct.), Athol Mayhew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Athol Mayhew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>John G. Thirkell</td>
<td>John G. Thirkell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mercury and Celestial Empire (after 1890):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Charles Rivington, John D. Clark</td>
<td>John D. Clark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>John D. Clark (ed.-in-chief), Henry O'Shea (ed.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Thomas W. Kingsmill (ed.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>John D. Clark (managing director)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>R.D. Neish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Balfour was probably the proprietor of the Courier to 1881, with Drummond and Trenwith as lessees. There is evidence that Mayhew and Thirkell, too, were lessees and that the paper was finally sold to Clark in 1890. Thomas Preston was actually manager and may have been the publisher from 1878 to 1880. Some sources state that he was editor in 1879, but if so, the appointment was probably temporary and acting. J.R. Black, editor of the Courier in 1878, is said to have been involved in the founding of the rival Mercury the following year. The year Rivington's interest in the Mercury ended is not known,
but it was before 1888. Carl Fink, editor of the German Shanghai newspaper Der Ostasiatische Lloyd (6.8.1), was a director of the Mercury at least from 1909 to 1911. This was a reflection of an old connection, because early issues of Der Ostasiatische Lloyd were printed as a supplement to the Courier.

**History of the group**

Unlike most previous "groups," the present group is not one of homogeneous ownership, but is based rather on subsequent amalgamation. This may be obvious from the list of publishers and editors—and it will require separate consideration of several of the papers under "policy" below. The grouping nevertheless is convenient, since it limits the number of unconnected Shanghai newspapers which this guide must consider.

The Shanghai News-Letter was founded first and remained throughout its independent existence solely a mail edition designed for an American audience. In the following year, 1869, the Shanghai Evening Courier and its overland or mail edition, the Shanghai Budget and Weekly Courier, were founded by Rozario after his break with C. Treasure Jones and his loss of control of the Shanghai Evening Express (S.5). When Hugh Lang decided to amalgamate his Shanghai News-Letter with the Courier series at the end of 1873, the Courier's overland edition was renamed the Shanghai Budget and Weekly News-Letter.

Meanwhile the Evening Gazette had been founded in June 1873, but it ceased publication temporarily in September when its offices burned down, resuming early in 1874. In April 1874 the Morning Gazette and Advertiser was circulated free to subscribers but probably did not last the year. Also in 1874 the Celestial Empire, with the sub-title "a journal of native and foreign affairs in the Far East," was founded as the mail edition of the Gazette. When Lang died in 1875, Balfour, publisher of the Gazette, bought the Courier and the titles of the daily represent this change—Shanghai Courier and China Gazette. The title of the Courier's mail edition was lost, however, being replaced by "Celestial Empire." In 1879 the Shanghai
Courier was enlarged to two daily editions—the principal one being published in the morning, with an evening supplement free to subscribers—but this experiment lasted only from April to September.

The Shanghai Mercury was founded as a rival daily newspaper in 1879. In 1890 it bought out the Courier-Gazette group. The daily kept the name of the Mercury; the overland or mail edition that of the Celestial Empire. The combination survived through 1911, the last year considered in this guide.

Policy

The Shanghai News-Letter, if the few surviving copies are representative, was designed by its two American merchant founders for readers in "California and the Atlantic States." One issue, for example, advocated the establishment of an American Far Eastern naval base; another discussed the merits of merchant-consuls as true representatives of the United States. The newspaper was opposed to the opium trade and welcomed the Burlingame Mission, suggesting that its advocacy of an American base was more in answer to the policy of European powers than evidence of advocacy of a "strong" China policy.

The Courier and, especially, the Mercury were major newspapers certainly of importance equal to that of the North-China Daily News (5.1.8). But just as the News is usually read and judged by its mail edition, the North-China Herald (5.1.1, 5.1.4, 5.1.5), so most of what follows is based on a survey of the Celestial Empire. The group had correspondents in Chinkiang, Chefoo, Newchwang, Kiukiang, Tientsin, and Hankow by 1873 and in Peking, Nanking, Mukden, and Kweichow by 1876. Contributors included Alexander Michie, William Mesny, Herbert Giles, and Baron von Richthofen in the early days; but the scope of coverage naturally grew with the years, and this remains a subject for further research. In 1889 a list of the Courier's staff included a Chinese reporter and translator, and such Chinese staff members became quite common with all China-coast newspapers by the turn of the century.
In general the Celestial Empire prided itself on its "independent" policy, and in 1877 the editor criticized the North-China Daily News for its presumption in assuming to be an "official" paper. As the Courier supported the Mitkiewicz banking schemes, however, there is a possibility that the American influence on policy, inherited from the Shanghai News-Letter, was continued. This would account for the severe criticism of the obviously British-oriented Herald and the Tientsin Chinese Times (7.1).

The scope of the Celestial Empire is described in an advertisement as follows:

The wide scope of this periodical, embracing as it does, information of the most varied nature on matters connected with China and the Chinese—their language, literature, customs and politics; local and foreign intelligence; a complete compendium of all the commercial news of the week, with the well-known Shanghai statistics of imports, and export-figures of tea; and summarizing the literary gossip of every European mail, upon its arrival from the best of London papers—renders it peculiarly adapted alike for circulation at the outports and in Japan, and for transmission to one's friends at home.

The weekly also reported fully on the local courts, including the U.S. consular Courts.

But with all this regular news coverage, the Celestial Empire, especially under Balfour, did not neglect Sinology or the arguments of the missionaries. John S. Roberts contributed articles on the meaning of "shang-ti" 上帝 in opposition to the views of Dr. James Legge. A revised and fully annotated translation of Fa Hsien's "Record of the Kingdom of Buddha," with criticisms of previous translations was, perhaps, the most ambitious Sinological contribution, but it is not an isolated example. Later the Celestial Empire watched China's progress in "Westernization," commenting that although readers might laugh at the thought of China's progressing too fast, such a danger was indeed looming in the distance.
The editor quoted wen-hsiang 文祥 to the effect that once the Chinese did industrialize, the West might not like the speed with which they did so.

As noted above, at least from 1909 the Mercury's board of directors included the editor of the German Shanghai newspaper Der Ostasiatische Lloyd, which was printed on the Mercury's presses. The policy significance, if any, of this connection has yet to be determined.

5.8 Cathay Post, 1885
Editor: F. Essex

5.9 China Gazette, 1894-1911
Chieh pao 捷報
Publisher and editor: Henry D. O'Shea (to 1909?)

5.10 Press sequence

5.10.1 Shanghai Daily Press, 1897-1901
I-hsin 益新

5.10.2 New Press, 1901-1903

5.10.3 Daily Press, 1903-1905

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Alfred Cunningham, then T.W. Kingsmill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>John Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>A. Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Thomas Cowen (also lessee of New Press with Chesney Duncan?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>C.A. Bond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>A.E. Werne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The original proprietors, probably through 1903, were J.M. Guedes and F.F. Ferris.

5.11 Shanghai Times, 1901-1911
T'ai-shih pao Sheng-pao 泰時報 申報 or T'ai-wu shih-pao 泰晤士報
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Frank B. Ball</td>
<td>Thomas Cowen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Willis P. Grey</td>
<td>W.N. Swarthout, then John O'Shea, V. Marshall, Henry O'Shea, George Collinwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Maitland</td>
<td>F.W. Eddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Oriental Press</td>
<td>A.W. Marnham, then John O'Shea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>John C. Ferguson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>John O'Shea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paper was founded to represent American interests and was throughout its history regarded as an American paper. However, should the ownership of the Oriental Press prove to be French, this assumption would require further study. According to William H. Donald, the *Times* was also "practically the official organ of the vice-regal government of Kiangsu." In 1905 it published a series of pro-Russian articles, forcing its removal from offices rented from a Japanese shipping company.

The high rate of editorial turnover, 1901-1902, began with Cowen's questioning Henry O'Shea's stories of Chinese atrocities in the Boxer siege of the Peking legations. He probably depended upon reports of his brother, John Cowen, special correspondent of the London *Times*. Thomas Cowen lost the resulting libel suit.

For at least part of 1902, with the partnership of Maitland and Henry O'Shea, the *Shanghai Times* and the *China Gazette* (5.9) were under O'Shea's control.

5.12 **Shanghai Free Press**, fl. 1909

*Shih-hsin pao* 時新報

Editor: Alfred G. Anderson

5.13 **China Press**, 1909(?)-1911

*Ta-lu pao* 大陸報

5.14 **China Weekly**, 1909

5.15 **Republican Advocate of China**, 1911
5.16 The Cycle, 1870-1871

Hsün-huan 循環

Publishers: C. and A.A. do Rozario; editor: R.A. Jamieson

This periodical only barely meets the requirements for inclusion as a China-coast newspaper. Its editor, R.A. Jamieson, formerly of the North-China Herald (5.1.5), had given a decidedly pro-Chinese flavor to that newspaper and with The Cycle went considerably further. The publishers, C. And A.A. do Rozario, also published the French weekly newspaper Le Nouvelliste (6.4.1), which evidently had a quite different editorial policy. No evidence has been found to support the view, widely assumed at the time, that Sir Robert Hart of the Imperial Maritime Customs was the "real" publisher of The Cycle. Still, there is every reason to suppose that Hart could have exercised and probably did exercise considerable editorial influence on Jamieson, who had shown himself previously in sympathy with Hart's approach to Chinese affairs. Typical of contemporary reaction was that of the China Mail (3.4.1), which regarded The Cycle with the utmost suspicion and considered it "conceited."

5.17 South-China Daily Journal, 1905-1907 (?)

Nanfangpao [sic] 南方報

The newspaper changed both editors and publishers as of July 13, 1907. The new editor of the English-language section was S. Tseng Laisun (Tseng Tzu-an 曾子安).

Although the Chinese-owned and edited South-China Daily Journal or Nanfangpao was a bilingual newspaper, its primarily Chinese-language content places it in the "border-line" category as far as the scope of this research guide is concerned. Nevertheless, this publication, being more substantial that the Chinese-owned China-coast newspapers of Peking (7.17), probably comes closest to meeting Wang T'ao's hopes--at least in our period.

The English-language section consists generally of two pages containing mild, but intelligently pro-Chinese editorials. The news almost without exception deals with Chinese internal affairs,
mostly in the form of straight news stories sent by telegraph from local correspondents. Edicts and other important official announcements are, however, included from time to time.

6. SHANGHAI: PORTUGUESE, FRENCH, AND GERMAN

A. Portuguese

6.1 O Aquilão, 1867-1868
   Editor: António José Diniz

   Although the majority of the articles printed by this newspaper were of a literary and social nature, there were some which were sufficiently controversial to result in the closing of the paper by the Portuguese Consul in Shanghai. Contents included articles on Macao. The principal contributors were Albina da Silveira and A. d'Encarnação; the paper was first printed and published by C. do Rozario.

6.2 O Progresso, 1888-1889
   Publisher: Guedes and Co.; editor: M. Fernandes Carvalho

   A political journal and critical of the Portuguese administration, O Progresso was apparently not popular and failed to receive sufficient support from the community. See also O Echo da China (4.5.1).

6.3 Rotunda, 1911
   Editor: Francisco Brito

B. French

6.4 Maitre sequence

6.4.1 Le Nouvelliste de Shanghai, 1870-1872
   Shanghai pao-chieh 上海報界
   Publishers: C. and A.A. do Rozario; editor: M. Beer
Le Nouvelliste is said to have been supported by the French community and to have represented "official" French thought, i.e. expansionary commercial policies and support of Catholic missionaries; but this view is placed in doubt by the fact that Beer appears not even to have registered with the French authorities as a French citizen.

6.4.2 Le Courrier de Changhai, 1873

Shang-hai ch'ai-pao 上海晨報

Editor: N. Virmêtre

The editor had been formerly on the staff of Le Nouvelliste. Le Courrier lasted but three issues.

6.5 Le Progrès, Journal de l'Extrême Orient, 1870(?)–1872

Chin-pu 進步

Editor: Émile Lépissier

Lépissier is said to have been a professor at the University of Peking; his policy is reported as bitter opposition to that of Le Nouvelliste (6.4.1).

6.6 L'Écho de Shanghai group*

For comment on this group, see text below 6.6.2.

6.6.1 L'Echo de Shanghai, 1886

Shang-hai hui-sheng pao 上海回声报

6.6.2 Le Courrier de L'Extrême Orient, 1886

Publisher and editor: S. Salabelle

L'Écho de Shanghai was a daily newspaper, the successor to L'Écho du Japon, formerly published in Yokohama by Salabelle. Le Courrier, the weekly edition, "is not only a resumé of the news and articles appearing during the week in L'Echo; it is

*Information for groups 6.6 and 6.7 was provided by Lucien Bianco, University of Paris. At the editor's request, he submitted his manuscript in French; when the decision to publish in English was reached, Catherine L. King translated and the editor made certain condensations subsequently approved by the author.
especially designed for European readers." Both the daily and weekly began publication in January 1886; although the last available copy of *Le Courrier* is dated October 13 of that year it contains no indication that the newspaper is about to cease publication.

Salabelle himself confessed to knowing little of China and his speculations relative to Chinese politics are few and cautious. He advocated "modernization" of the country, remained skeptical on the chances of rapid transformation, occasionally criticized the xenophobic sentiments of the Chinese and their "tired civilization," but made no systematic attack on the government or the Chinese people. Actually, Salabelle was less interested in China in particular than in the Far East in general, and especially the defense of French interests in the Far East. Indeed, the transfer from Yokohama to Shanghai was undertaken because of the better communications facilities in the latter city. Thus the newspaper contains numerous letters from Japan and even more numerous letters from Indochina. One of *Le Courrier's* principal preoccupations was the development of French commerce in Tonkin; to this end Salabelle advocated the establishment of an efficacious customs procedure.

6.7  **L'Écho de Chine** group

For comment on this group, see text below 6.7.2.

6.7.1 **L'Écho de Chine**, 1897-1911

Chung-Fa (hsin) hui-pao 中法 (新) 羣報 or Fa-hsing shih-wu pao 法興時務報

6.7.2 **L'Écho de Chine** (weekly edition), 1901-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Directors</th>
<th>Editors-in-chief</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Marcel Tillot</td>
<td>J. Emile Lemière</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(or 1898?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907 (or 1909?)</td>
<td>J.J. Chollot</td>
<td>A. Monestier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
History

This, the most important of the French-language newspapers, was founded in 1897 by Marcel Tillot and other French residents of Shanghai. Their avowed purpose was the defense of French interests in the Far East. Reversing the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century procedure, this group founded a printing press, Les Presses Orientales, from the profits of which they intended financing the newspaper. Throughout our period the newspaper was dominated by men of affairs whose principal activities appear to have been outside L'Echo de Chine—which was, indeed, a reflection of them.

Eugene Bard contributed regularly to L'Echo in 1898; Rodolphe Van Loo, in 1906-1907; and Jean Rodes and Jean Fredet were active through 1911. All were authors of book-length studies of China. An R.W. MacCabe was listed in one source as "editor-in-chief" in 1907, but this was not confirmed in the newspaper itself.

The contents of the newspaper, especially poor in 1898, improved rapidly through 1900. Coverage of the Hundred Days actually occupies less space than in the French newspaper Le Temps; much of L'Echo's material on this subject was copied from the Times. L'Echo was concerned with the daily life of French residents in Shanghai. The newspaper also reprinted extracts of novels from the homeland; these it considered its obligation to make available to its exiled compatriots. This was less an "echo of China" than an "echo of the French concession and, secondly, of France"!

By 1911, on the other hand, L'Echo had come to provide a not negligible source of information on the Chinese world. It analyzed internal Chinese politics and reported on internal disturbances and revolutionary agitation, while its local correspondence was as much concerned with the life and sentiments of the Chinese as with the receptions of consuls and the consecration of bishops.

Policy

L'Echo de Chine was founded to defend French interests; thus in 1898 it supported French official policies and Catholic missionaries, was hostile to the British and to their China-coast newspapers (from
which it nevertheless borrowed essential news reports), and despised
the Chinese. The business interests sought expansion of French
commerce in the Far East and opposed socialism at home.

Although these attitudes continued throughout Lémière's
editorship, they were expressed less bluntly in 1906 than in 1898.
As for Britain, the atmosphere of the Entente Cordiale was replacing
that of the Fachoda Affair, but the rapprochement in Shanghai was
slow and half-hearted. The French editors had difficulty in sur-
mounting their animosity toward the effective and dynamic British
colony of Shanghai.

Coverage of internal Chinese affairs expanded, especially during
the Boxer uprising, but incomprehension remained total. Not sur-
prisingly, L'Echo substituted bitter criticism of the Manchus for
the sarcasm which it had directed against Chinese blunders. With
the growth of the revolutionary movement in China, however, L'Echo
moved to support the imperial regime, hoping that it would undertake
the reforms necessary to modernize China.

With the editorship of Monestier in 1907 and especially with
the added influence of Jean Fredet, certain modifications of policy
became apparent. Although remaining hostile to the revolutionaries,
L'Echo daily published long extracts from Chinese newspapers openly
hostile to the Chinese Regent and friendly to the revolutionary
T'ung-meng Hui 同盟會 . While L'Echo continued to denounce
the xenophobia of the Chinese press it quoted, it nevertheless
indicated an interest in Chinese civilization and appeared determined
to show for the Chinese national character a respect which would have
been completely alien to L'Echo of the early years.

C. German

6.8 Der Ostasiatische Lloyd group

For comment on this group, see text below 6.8.3.

6.8.1 Der Ostasiatische Lloyd, 1887-1911
Te-wen hsin-pao 德文新報
6.8.2 *Shanghaier Nachrichten*, 1907-1911

6.8.3 *Handelsnachrichten*, 1907-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Bruno R.A. Navarra</td>
<td>Bruno R.A. Navarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889(?)</td>
<td>W. Schittler(?)</td>
<td>W. Schittler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
<td>F. Hoffert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(June-Oct.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902 (Oct.)</td>
<td>Carl Fink(?)</td>
<td>Carl Fink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Carl Fink and H. Lochlin were listed as proprietors in 1909, and it is likely that both Schittler and Fink were publishers during their editorships. An E. Finck has been mentioned as "managing editor" in 1900, but we have found no confirmation of this.

**Miscellaneous information**

The newspaper was first published as a weekly, then as a daily sheet of the *Shanghai Courier* (5.7.9), then independently. There may, however, have been a permanent connection with the *Mercury* group (5.7), at least on the business side.

The *Shanghaier Nachrichten* and the *Handelsnachrichten* were supplements, for local readers and of commercial news respectively, which were included with the parent newspaper. Some libraries, however, catalogue them separately.

The sub-title of *Der Ostasiatische Lloyd* is "Organ für die Deutschen Interessen im Fernen Osten," but the extent to which the editorial policy reflected this aim is yet to be determined.

The company appears to have been involved in the founding of two North China newspapers, *Tageblatt für Nordchina* (7.5) in Tientsin and the *Tsingtauer Neueste Nachrichten* (7.11). In both cases Carl Fink was active.
7. CHINA: OTHER CITIES

Tientsin

7.1 Chinese Times, 1886-1891  
T'ien-chin shih-pao 天津時報

Publisher and editor: Alexander Michie

The Chinese Times was founded and edited by Alexander Michie and ceased publication when he retired in 1891. The newspaper was accused of being subsidized by Jardine Matheson and Company, but Michie denied this—to which denial, contemporaries replied, "If not Jardine's, then by whom?" A Chinese source, Yen Chung-p'ing 譚中平, states that the newspaper was published by a German company, but this seems highly unlikely. However, Gustav Detring was connected with the Shih-pao 時報, the Chinese-language newspaper published by the Chinese Times. Detring acted for Viceroy Li Hung-chang in securing Timothy Richard as editor of the Shih-pao. German influence on the Chinese Times would also account for the strong German feeling against the later Peking and Tientsin Times (7.2).

The purpose of the Chinese Times, as stated by the editor, was not to compete with the Shanghai newspapers but rather to focus on news in the north. The newspaper would have leading articles, Michie wrote, but their purpose would be to "espouse progress." In general, the news would be allowed to tell its own story. Michie held to his purpose, and the Chinese Times may well be the best English-language newspaper in nineteenth-century China.

The Chinese Times tended to let the world-shaking problems which so upset its contemporaries pass it by. The newspaper did cover North China, and, when it editorialized, as in the case of the Mitkiewicz scheme, it appears to have had the facts, to have thought the matter out carefully before advising the foreign community, the Chinese and Japanese governments, and the world at large on the best course of action. It is also valuable for its
translations of articles from the Shih-pao, the Chinese newspaper which it printed but which followed an entirely independent policy. A casual reading of the Chinese Times might lead one to suppose the editor was an American, as reference to the United States is made as by one familiar with the country. Actually, Michie was English, although the newspaper did not present a narrowly English view of the North China scene.

7.2 Peking and Tientsin Times, 1894-1911
T'ien-chin t'ai-shih shih-pao 天津泰時士報

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>A. William H. Bellingham (d. 1895)</td>
<td>A. William H. Bellingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alice M. Vaughan Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alice M. Vaughan Smith and William McLeish (co-editors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alice M. Vaughan Smith (sole editor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td></td>
<td>H.E. Redmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>George Collinwood</td>
<td>David S. Fraser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(general manager)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Accurately reflecting the changed temper of the times, Bellingham stated that "in thought and opinion the Peking and Tientsin Times will be essentially British." This brought an immediate response from the German community and management came under attack from a German shareholder. After legal difficulties, however, the newspaper continued on a British basis. No doubt noting the success of Michie and his Chinese Times (7.1), Bellingham also stated his intention to concentrate on news of Chihli and certain of the northern treaty ports, and to add only a few of the most urgent telegrams from Europe.

The Times was highly critical of the Chinese-owned and edited Peking Daily News (7.16.2).
7.3 **Bolletino Italiano dell'Estremo Oriente**, 1898-1902

7.4 **China Times** group

7.4.1 **China Times**, 1902-1911
I-wen hsi-pao 益聞西報

7.4.2 **Evening Express**, 1902(?)-1911(?)
   Editor: John Cowen; publishers: William C.B. Cowen (1905),
   then (by 1911) Lt. Col. R. Bate

   Founded in Peking in 1901, the China Times moved its headquarters
to Tientsin in 1902. The paper was published daily in both Peking
and Tientsin; the company's registered office was Hong Kong. John
Cowen was deported from China in 1904 but returned in 1905. The
newspaper sided editorially with the Russians in the Russo-Japanese
War. (See also 5.11 for brother Thomas Cowen's policy.)

7.5 **Tageblatt für Nordchina**, 1904-1911
Pei-yang Te-Hua jih-pao 北洋德華日報

   Editors: Carl Fink (?1904), E. Klocke (1905), B. Petzold
   (1908), F.K. Dressler (1911)

   This German-language newspaper appears to have been started by
or with the cooperation of Shanghai's Der Ostasiatische Lloyd
(6.8). Carl Fink may well have established the Tientsin paper
and then returned to Shanghai, for in 1906 he continues to be
listed "on the staff" but in Shanghai. (See also 7.11.)

7.6 North China Printing and Publishing Company group

7.6.1 **China Review**, 1906-1909
Ching-wei pao 華偉報

7.6.2 **China Critic**, 1909-1911

   Publisher and editor: Lt. Col. Charles L. Norris Newman

   Founded and edited by a Britisher, this daily was established
to present Russian opinion on China affairs. The newspaper may have
received a Russian government subsidy at first. In 1911 it was
published by the North China Printing and Publishing Company, of which Norris Newman was chairman. In the absence of extant copies, it is not possible to assess the implications of the title change.

7.7 **Le Courrier** group

7.7.1 **Le Courrier de Tientsin**, 1903-1911

7.7.2 **Le Journal de Chine**, 1907-1910

*Editors: R. Chevalier (1904), Marcel van Leberghe (1906)*

*Le Journal* was a bi-monthly "overland" for *Le Courrier*, which claimed to represent both French and Belgian interests.

7.8 **L'Echo de Tientsin**, 1909(?)-1911

**T'ien-chin hui-sheng pao 天津回聲報** or **Ch'uan-wu pao 權務報**

*L'Echo* was reported to be the official organ for the French municipal government.

7.9 **Ostasiatische Nachrichten**, 1909-1911

**Ya-tung shih-pao 亞東時報**

*Editor and manager: J. Goennert*

The official translation of the title is "East Asiatic News."

**Tsingtao**

7.10 **Die Deutsch-Asiatische Warte**, 1899(?)-1911

*Publisher: Picart (1900); editor: Viktor Roehr (1903-1905)*

The newspaper was sub-titled "Wochenblatt des Deutschen Kiautschou-Gebietes"; it was a daily with a weekly edition. There is some evidence that it may have ceased publication as early as 1905.

7.11 **Tsingtauer Neueste Nachrichten**, 1904-1911

*Publisher: Carl Fink (see also 6.8 and 7.5); editors: H. von Kropff (1904), F. Walther (1908)*

7.12 **Die Welt des Ostens**, 1904-1907(?)
7.13  *Kiautschou-Post,* 1908(?)–1911
   Editor: H. von Kropff (1910?)
   This newspaper may not have commenced publication until 1910.

Peking*

7.14  *China Times,* 1901
   I-wen hsi-pao 益聞西報
   Publisher and editor: John Cowen
   The *China Times* began publication in the spring of 1901 and was heralded as the first Western-language newspaper in the capital. By 1902, however, its principal place of business was Tientsin, for which see 7.4.

7.15  *Pekinger Deutsche Zeitung,* 1901(?)–
   This weekly was sub-titled "Amtlicher Anzeiger der Kaiserlich Deutschen Behörden in Peking." There were two pages of news and proclamations in the second issue (January 13, 1901); by March, editorials and advertisements had been added. The dates suggest that this newspaper was a close contender for the title of first Western-language journal in the capital (see 7.14).

7.16  *L'Echo de Pekin,* 1905–1908
   Proprietor: Demoulain et Cie.

7.17  Chinese-owned sequence

7.17.1  *Chinese Public Opinion,* 1908–1909
   Ying-wen Pei-ching jih-pao 英文北京日報
   Publisher: Chu Ch'i 朱淇

7.17.2  *Peking Daily News,* 1909–1911
   Editors: Li Sum Ling (1909), Lo Sing Low (1911); manager: Li Tsing Chi

*For the *Peking and Tientsin Times,* published in Tientsin, see 7.2.
Both publications were Chinese-owned and edited; the Opinion was amalgamated with the News in 1909.

The motto of the News was "impartial but patriotic." It contained a summary of foreign news, some local news (e.g., the movements of foreigners and guest lists at the foreign hotels), translations of edicts, and extracts from the Peking Chinese-language press. The editor was critical of the editorial policy of the Peking and Tientsin Times (7.2.).

The publishers of the News also issued a Chinese newspaper.

7.18 Le Journal de Pekin, fl. 1910
Two of its ten pages were in Chinese.

7.19 Peking Post, Jan.-Feb. 1910

Manchuria (Harbin, unless stated)

7.20 Novyi Krai (New country), Port Arthur 1900-1906, Harbin 1907-1911
Editors: P.A. Artemev (1905-1910), S.V. Poletika (1910-1911)
Some English-language material was included.

7.21 Listok Ezhegodnykh Telegramm i Ob'yavlenii (Schedule of daily telegrams and announcements), 1902-1903, Oct.-Nov. 1905

7.22.1 Manchuria Daily News (Dairen), 1911(?)
The newspaper was Japanese-owned and survived into the 1930's. Some sources indicate it was founded in 1912. There was a monthly edition, Manchurian Month, but again it is not clear in what year it was established.

7.22.2 Man'chzhuriya, 1903 or 1905 (?)
Only five issues were published.
7.23 **Kharbinskii Vestnik** (Harbin courier), 1903-1911  
   Editor: I.A. Dobroslovskii  
   This was a publication of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and  
   carried the sub-title "Torogovo-promyshiennaia, literaturnaia i  
   obschestvennaia gazeta" (Trade, industrial, literary and social  
   gazette).

7.24 **Molodaya Rossiya** (Young Russia), 1906-(?)

7.25 **New Life** group

7.25.1 **Vestnik Vostoka** (Eastern courier), Feb.-Nov. 1907

7.25.2 **Devyatyi Val** (Tempest), Aug.-Nov. 1907

7.25.3 **Novaia Zhizn'** (New Life), 1907-1911  
   Editors (1907): G.O. Levencigler (formerly publisher of 7.25.1),  
   Z.N. Aliorin (formerly with 7.25.2), S.P. Chernjavskij  
   **Novaia Zhizn',** an amalgamation of 7.25.1 and 7.25.2, was  
   published by Tovariscestvo **Novaia Zhizn'.**

7.26 **Kharbin**, (?)-1908

7.27 **Golos Man'chzhurii** (Voice of Manchuria), 1908  
   This publication lasted but a few months.

**Amoy**

7.28 **Amoy Shipping Report** sequence

7.28.1 **Amoy Shipping Report**, 1872-1878

7.28.2 **Amoy Gazette and Shipping Report**, 1878-1911  
   Publishers: Fu-chien yin-tzu-kuan 福建印字館 ; editors:  
   A.A. Marcal (1878), J.F. Marcal (1888)  
   In 1878 the shipping report was converted, according to con-  
   temporaries, into a "real" newspaper.
7.29 Amoy Times and Mercantile Gazette, fl. 1891
Proprietor and editor: W.J. Allen

Chefoo

7.30 Chefoo Daily News, 1904-1907
Publisher: R.R. McDermid (with J. McMillan?)

7.31 Chefoo Express, 1894-1897, 1902-(?)
Publisher: H. Sietas

7.32 Chefoo Morning Post, 1908-1911
Chih-fu ch'ai-pao 芝罘晨報
Proprietor and editor: James Silverthorne

 Foochow

7.33 Foochow Herald sequence
For comment on this group, see text below 7.33.4.

7.33.1 Foochow Advertiser, 1866-1867(?)
Fu-chou kuang-kao pao 福州廣告報

7.33.2 Foochow Daily Advertiser and Shipping Gazette, (?)-1873

7.33.3 Foochow Herald, 1873-1884(?)

7.33.4 Foochow Daily Advertiser, 1873-1875
Publisher: J.P. MacMahon (1873-1875); editor: John Patrick Lalor (late 1870's)
The Herald, which was a weekly, published a daily advertising sheet, the Foochow Daily Advertiser. The connection of this publication with the bi-weekly Foochow Advertiser is not known, but a possible chain of development is as shown above.

7.34 Foochow Daily Echo, 1873-1911
Fu-chou mei-jih hui-sheng pao 福州每日回聲報
Publisher and editor: D. Rosario (founder), then (1896) the widow of D. Rosario
7.35 **Foo-chow-fou Courier**, 1858-1859  
**Fu-chou-fu ch'ai-pao** 福州府差報

7.36 **Express and Shipping Gazette**, 1880

**Hankow**

7.37 **Hankow Times**, 1866-1868  
**Han jih-shih pao** 漢日時報  
Publisher and manager: F.W. Thomson  
Thomson also published a price current and market report.  
Publication ceased on March 28, 1868, because no editor could be found. Contemporary newspapers both praised and quoted the **Times**.

7.38 **Hankow Daily News**, 1906-1911  
Editors: J. Andrew (1907), then J. Ross-Reid (promoted from sub-editor 1909)

7.39 **Central China Post**, 1904-1911  
**Ch'u pao** 楚報, or **Chung-yang yu-pao** 中央郵報  
This newspaper may have been a Chinese-language publication.

**Weihaiwei**

7.40 **Lyre-Gazette** group

7.40.1 **wei-hai-wei Lyre**, (?)-1901

7.40.2 **wei-hai-wei Gazette**, 1901-(?)

This group apparently illustrates progress from a humor magazine to a daily newspaper. The only extant issue of the **Lyre** states that it "no longer professes to be funny"; it then consisted of only one page, containing news from abroad and telegrams. The **Gazette** was larger and printed on new presses; it was a newspaper and in its first issue stated its hope to enlarge, requested contributions, and declared that it was "non-political" but open to controversy. The address of the **Gazette's** office was "care of Lavers and Clark."
8. LONDON

8.1 Telegraph-Express group

For comment on this group, see text below 8.1.4.

8.1.1 China Telegraph, 1858-1859

8.1.2 London and China Telegraph, 1859-1911

8.1.3 China Express, 1858-1859

Hsin-wen chih 新聞紙

8.1.4 London and China Express, 1859-1911

These newspapers were published by the same company and followed identical editorial policies, the same editorials often being printed in both the Express and the Telegraph. The Telegraph was published on the day of the arrival of the overland mail and is especially important to the student of China-coast history because it contains extracts from newspapers no longer available and because it provides a single source for covering the general news of China as seen by the English-language press there. Early January editions of the Telegraph contain useful annual surveys and both the Telegraph and the Express carried trade statistics.

The Express was published on the day of the outgoing overland mail and contained news of Europe of interest to subscribers in China. It reported on developments in China policy as seen from European capitals and is therefore of more limited but still considerable interest to the student.

8.2 London and China Herald, 1867-1870(?)

Publisher: George Street; editor: Y.J. Murrow

This short-lived newspaper followed the form of the China Express and the London and China Express (8.1.3-4); it contained summaries of British opinion on China, commercial news, home news, and the like. It has especial interest in that its editor, Y.J. Murrow, was the proprietor and former editor of the outspoken Hongkong Daily Press (3.5). In the issue of June 17, 1870, Murrow stated that he had
plans for expansion, but no further copies of the newspaper have been located.

8.3 European Mail group

8.3.1 European Mail (for the East), 1870-1898

The purpose of the Mail resembled that of the Telegraph (8.1.1-2). Until July 1870, there was a special edition dealing with China, but after that date there was a combined issue for India and the Far East. The European Mail also had editions for other parts of the world; thus, "for the East" designates the edition.

8.3.2 Overland Mail, 1855-1911

8.3.3 Overland Mail, China, 1870(?)-(?)

These newspapers contained news of Europe for the Far East. The special China edition (8.3.3) was designed for transmission by the French mails.

8.4 Thacker's Overland News for India, China and the Far East, 1857-1864

Publisher: Edmund Pewtress

The paper contained only occasional news of China.

8.5 Homeward Mail from India, China and the Far East, and Official Gazette, 1857-1911

Publishers: Edward Ashmore, then Henry S. King and Co. (1870)

Like the Telegraph, this newspaper was published on the arrival of the overland mail and, especially prior to 1870, it contained a significant amount of China news, including appointments, deaths, births, and other statistics.

8.6 European Budget, 1872-(?)

Publisher and editor: C. Treasure Jones

Jones, who founded this "reverse overland," was a colorful China-coast journalist of considerable, but questionable, experience.
8.7 The Oriental Herald and Colonial Review, 1824-1829(?)

Although not devoted exclusively to China, this free-trade journal from time to time carried news of the China trade, and is a useful source for the very early period of Far Eastern journalism.
IV

BIOGRAPHIES OF CHINA-COAST PUBLISHERS AND EDITORS

The biographical material in this section will aid the researcher in tracing the careers of China-coast publishers and editors as they moved from one paper to the next. We are also concerned, of course, with any information which would reveal business connections or editorial bias, but this is not as readily available as one might suppose; editors, although probably well-known characters to their contemporaries, maintained the fiction of editorial anonymity. Those (like Tarrant) who achieved some independent notoriety have been frequently referred to in secondary sources, but little real evaluation has been made of their role. Who's Who's provide basic data for later journalists, but perhaps the most revealing sources are the signed articles and other publications of the editors and publishers, as these provide an independent check on the subject's more considered opinions. Representative publications of publishers and editors are listed in the Bibliography, Part B.

Since these biographical sketches concentrate on information having some bearing on the person as journalist, the biographies of men also well-known in other fields must be rigorously limited. The entries, which are arranged alphabetically, begin with birth and death information if available, continue with a listing of journalistic experience, and most of them conclude with a general sketch. In evaluating the journalistic experience, the reader should recognize that the distinction between "proprietor" and "publisher" is usually not clear, that an editor was often the publisher and proprietor as well, even though no information to this effect is available; and a man listed as editor of one newspaper, e.g. the North-China Herald, should be considered as editor of all contemporary publications in the group, unless it is otherwise stated.
AGABEG, A.L.
1858: prop. Hong Kong Daily Press (3.5.1)
   An Armenian merchant, he had been proprietor of Agabeg and Company
   since at least 1847.

ALLEN, W.J.
1891: ed. and prop. Amoy Times and Mercantile Gazette (7.29)

ANDERSON, Alfred G.
1909: ed. Shanghai Free Press (5.12)

ANDREW, J. (d. Hankow, 1907)
1907: ed. Hankow Daily News (7.38)
   Andrew was engaged in trade in Hankow.

ANDREWS, Edward
1866 (Apr.-June): prop. A. Shortrede and Co.
   Andrews bought the company which published the China Mail (3.4.1)
   from James Kemp's executor, George B. Falconer, and sold out to Nicholas
   B. Dennys for $28,000.

ARTEMEV, P.A.
1905(?)-1910: ed. Novyi Krai (7.20)

ASH, Arthur
1889: sub-ed. and manager, Chinese Times (7.1)

D'AZEVEDO, Luiz
1845-1849: asst. to John Carr, pub. Friend of China (3.1.2)
1850 (Jan.-Aug.): de facto ed. Friend of China
1850-1859: asst. to William Tarrant
1866: reporter, Shanghai Recorder (5.3.1)
   D'Azevedo came to Hong Kong in 1843 and worked on the Friend of China
   from 1845 to 1859, primarily as its printer but also as general assistant.
   In 1855 and again in 1859 when Tarrant was unable to edit the newspaper,
   D'Azevedo undertook this task. His life might be considered typical of
those of so many able Portuguese in a colony in which, outside their own community, the range of possible responsibility was strictly limited by custom.

BAIN, George Murray (b. Montrose, Scotland, 1842; d. Britain, 1909)

1864: sub-ed. China Mail (3.4.1)

1866: pub. Hongkong Mercury and Shipping Gazette (3.6); also prop., along with ed. W.F. Ferris; upon Ferris's withdrawal, also acted as ed. from Nov. 1

1867: reporter, China Mail

1871 (Oct.): purchased Daily Advertiser (3.7.1) and converted it to Daily Advertiser and Shipping Gazette (3.7.2)

1872: purchased China Mail from Charles A. Saint; concurrently prop. of Advertiser (until May)

1873: formed partnership with China Mail ed. Nicholas B. Dennys, under firm name of Bain and Dennys

1875: became sole prop. China Mail

1879: took over editorship of China Mail

1906-1908(?): chairman "China Mail" Ltd.

Bain was educated at Montrose Borough School and came to Hong Kong as a printer on February 9, 1864.

BALFOUR, Frederic Henry (d. 1889?)

1873-1878: ed. Evening Gazette (5.7.6), then Shanghai Courier and China Gazette (5.7.9) and Celestial Empire (5.7.8)

1874-1881(?): prop. Gazette and Celestial Empire

1875: purchased Courier and Budget (5.7.5) from Hugh Lang estate

1881-1885: ed. North-China Herald (5.1.1)

1881-1889: part owner, North-China Herald

Coming to China as a young man, Balfour was first a clerk in Schleiber, Matthaei and Company in Shanghai. A prolific writer whose works included fiction (pseud. Ross George Dering), he was also a Sinologue and served for a time as a professor at Peking University. Publications.
BALL, Frank B.
1901-1902: founder and pub. Shanghai Times (5.11)
Ball was "taipan" of the American Trading Company, and he founded
the newspaper to express American interests in China.

BASTOS, António Joaquim
1885-1886: ed. O Macaense (1.11.2)
Active in journalism, Bastos had strong political views. In
addition to the above-listed actual editorship, he was known as a
principal contributor to O Imparcial 1873 (1.11.1), A Voz do Crente
1887-1895 (1.11.3), and O Echo Macaense 1893-1899 (1.11.4). He was
probably active on O Macaense before 1885, succeeding to the editorship
on the death of Manuel José Maria Gonçalves da Silva. His contributions
to O Echo Macaense strengthened the political tone of that newspaper,
and led to its eventual suspension by the government.

BASTOS, Pinto
1872-1874: ed. (?) Gazeta de Macau e Timor (1.9.4)
Pinto Bastos was procurador; in the 1874 election he ran against
da Silva Magalhães and the coolie dealers, winning a disputed election
as deputy of Macao in the Lisbon parliament. It is probable that the
actual editor of the Gazeta was Francisco de Souza.

BATE, R.
1911: ed. China Times (7.4.1)
At the time of Bate's editorship he was referred to by the title
"Lieutenant-Colonel."

BEECHER, J.C.
1860 (June-Dec.): ed. Hongkong Register and Daily Advertiser (3.3.7)
Beecher, an American missionary related to Harriet Beecher Stowe,
was asked by Strachan to edit the Register after the Chronicle (3.3.5)
debacle. He carefully avoided all controversies.
BEER, M. (b. Lyon, France)
1870-1872: ed. Le Nouvelliste de Shanghai (6.4.1)

Beer was a native of Lyon, France, but as he did not register with the French Consulate in Shanghai, he was considered outside the community. Described as an adventurer, he came to Shanghai from Australia. In October 1871 he publicly assaulted Emile Lépissier, editor of Le Progrès (6.5), because of articles written by the latter. Lépissier fired a revolver at Beer and wounded him. This is the only physical assault recorded in the history of China-coast journalism— but for a near miss, see biographies of Wood and Keating.

BELL, Henry Thorburn Montague (b. 1873)
1895-1906: London Times (asst. correspondent in Berlin until 1898; then asst. correspondent in Balkans until 1900; then correspondent in South Africa, Boer War, until 1906)
1906 (June): ed. North-China Daily News (5.1.8)

Education: Cambridge, classical honors. Publications.

BELL, William Harvey (d. Marseilles, 1877)
1866-1876: lessee (from Y.J. Murrow), Hongkong Daily Press (3.5.2)
1868: took over ed. A.P. Sinnett's interest in the lease and became ed. until 1869

Bell was early connected with China through the trading activities of Bell and Company, which he directed from London. From 1867 to 1870 he acted as Y.J. Murrow's Hong Kong agent for the London and China Herald (8.2). He visited England briefly in 1870 and left again for England in 1877 but died en route.

BELLAMY BROWN, A.
1908-1911: ed. China Mail (3.4.1)

BELLINGHAM, A. William H. (d. Tientsin, 1895)
1894-1895: pub. and ed. Peking and Tientsin Times (7.2)

Bellingham was a Tientsin architect.

BEVAN, William Frazer (1819-1858)
1851-1858: ed. Hongkong Register (3.3.2)
Bevan worked in Hong Kong with Gibb Livingston and Company and later as Clerk to the Chief Justice.

BLACK, John Reddie (b. Scotland, 1827; d. Yokohama, 1880)
1861-1867: founder, ed. and pub. of Japan Herald, Yokohama; ed. Japan Gazette
1878-1880: ed. Shanghai Courier (5.7.9) and Celestial Empire (5.7.8)
Black emigrated first to South Australia where, finding business unprofitable, he earned a living by singing. He went bankrupt in 1867. He helped to establish the first Japanese-language newspaper "worthy of the name," Nisshin Shinjish (1872-1875). He was also editor of The Far East, an illustrated monthly magazine.

BOND, C.A.
1902: ed. New Press (5.10.2)

BONNEY, N.B. (d. Shanghai, 1874)
1869-1871: manager Shanghai Evening Express (5.5)
Creditors of the Express's publisher, C. Treasure Jones, forced Jones to accept the management of N.B. Bonney and Company until Jones left Shanghai a bankrupt in 1871 and the paper ceased publication. Bonney was connected with other journals.

BORGES, António
1887-1895: ed. A Voz do Crente (1.11.3)

BOWKER, J.T.F. (1819-1865)
1862-1864: ed. Shanghai Recorder (5.3.1)
He was the son of Captain John Bowker, R.N., of Greenwich Hospital.

BRAGA, J.P. (b. Hong Kong, 1871; d. Macao, 1944)
1896(?)-1899: ed. Odds and Ends (Hong Kong)
1902-1910: manager and ed. Hongkong Telegraph (3.8)
J.P. Braga was the grandson of Delfino Noronha, Hong Kong's first printer, with whom he worked for some ten years. He took charge of the
Hongkong Telegraph at the request of the Chinese owners under the leadership of (Sir) Robert Ho Tung. Braga died a refugee in Macao in 1944. His son, J.H. Braga, is a principal contributor to this research guide.

BRENNER, A.W. (b. Aberdeen, Scotland)
1895: sub-ed. Daily Gleaner, Kingston, Jamaica
then: special correspondent Daily Telegraph in Cuba, asst. ed. Bangkok Times, on staff Straits Times, Singapore
1906-1910(?): ed. Hongkong Telegraph (3.8)
Brebnner was educated at Robert Gordon's College.

BRITO, Francisco
1911: ed. Rotunda (6.3)

BROWN, James Layton
1861: co-ed. with J. Jeffrey, Hongkong Register
Brown later became a commissioner of customs and served at several ports in China. He returned to England and was called to the bar, practicing in the Midlands.

BULGIN, James
1879: on staff Japan Mail
1873(?)-1879: ed. China Mail

CAIRNS, John
1843-1849: ed. and pub. Hongkong Register (3.3.1-2)
Cairns was a member of the Morrison Education Society; in 1844 he protested with John Carr of the Friend of China (3.1.2) against taxation without representation in Hong Kong.

CARR, John
1843-1850: ed. and pub. Friend of China (3.1.2)
Carr reversed the pro-government policy of the newspaper; with John Cairns of the Register, protested taxation without representation; and began a series of attacks on government officers which brought him into
the court for libel against William Caine--Carr was, however, discharged. He espoused the cause of William Tarrant, who became the paper's editor and publisher after a brief interlude during which it was run by Carr's assistant Luiz d'Azevedo. Carr left for England in 1850 and in 1854, is known to have been engaged in commerce in Australia.

CARVALHO, M. Fernandes
after 1885: ed. O Extremo Oriente (4.5.2)
1888-1889: ed. O Progresso (6.2)
1897-1902: ed. O Porvir (1.15, 4.1.5)

The career of Carvalho is closely connected with Guedes and Company.
See F.D. and J.M. Guedes.

CHERNJAVSKIJ, S.P.
1907-1911: co-ed. Novaia Zhizn' (7.25.3)

CHILVALIER, R.
1904-1906: ed. Le Courrier de Tientsin (7.7.1)

CHOLLOR, J.J.
1907-1911: managing director L'Echo de Chine (6.7.1)

A civil engineer in the French Concession municipal services,
Chollot contributed technical articles. Publications.

CHU Ch'i 朱淇
1909: manager and pub. Chinese Public Opinion (7.17.1)

CLARK, John D. (b. 1842)
1873-1874: founder Rising Sun and Nagasaki Express
1879-1911: founder, ed., and part prop. Shanghai Mercury (5.7.10)
1906: managing director and ed. Shanghai Mercury
1909-1911: ed.-in-chief Shanghai Mercury

Educated in Norwich, Clark entered the Navy in 1861. He is known to have been in the East from 1865 and to have been engaged in trade in Shanghai during the late 1870's. Publications.

COLLINSWOOD, George
1902-1906: managing ed. Shanghai Times (5.11)
1909-1911: manager Peking and Tientsin Times (7.2)
COMPTON, Charles Spencer (b. 1799; d. England, 1869)
1856-1861: ed. and pub. North-China Herald (5.1.1)

Compton was really the newspaper's second editor, having purchased the property from Shearman's executor, J. Mackrill Smith, only a month after Shearman's death. Under Compton the paper took a definite anti-Taiping position. Compton himself had long been connected with the China trade through C.S. Compton and Company, established in Canton in partnership with Daniell Dickinson and Company of London and Liverpool. The partnership was dissolved in 1847, with the business continuing as C. Compton and Company. Compton, who had come to China in 1842, was first at Canton and later in Foochow, where he was not too successful. He returned to England in 1861 and worked as a commission agent.

DA CONCEIÇÃO, Frey José, O.S.A.
1824-1826: ed. Gazeta de Macau (1.2)

Frey José was prior of the Augustinians in Macao and presumably a supporter of the Conservative Party.

COWEN, John (b. England, 1867)
prior to 1895: on staff of newspapers in Newcastle-on-Tyne, Leeds, Hull, Preston, and London
1895-1897: sub-ed. London Times
1897-1900: private secy. to ed. Times
1901: special correspondent, Boxer uprising, Times
1901: founder and ed. China Times (7.4.1, 7.14) and Evening Express (7.4.2)

John Cowen was the son of an assistant editor of the Yorkshire Post and was educated at Leeds Grammar School. He was deported from China under the China and Corea Order in Council because of comments he had made in connection with the Russo-Japanese War. The sentence was quashed in 1904 and he returned; but his subsequent relationship to the newspaper is not known. See his brothers, Thomas and William C.B. Cowen, below.
COWEN, Thomas (d. Japan, 1906)
early 1890's: sub-ed. Hongkong Telegraph (3.8)
1894-1895: correspondent, the Times, Sino-Japanese War
1901: ed. Shanghai Times (5.11)
1901-1903: lessee and ed. New Press (5.10.2)

Thomas Cowen was the brother of John and William C.B. Cowen, both
China-coast editors. He accused Henry O'Shea of inventing stories of
Boxer atrocities, but O'Shea won the case, and this led to Cowen's
departure from the Shanghai Times, where he had been the original
editor. Chesney Duncan is also listed as lessee of the New Press
(at least in 1901). Publications.

COWEN, William Charles Baker (b. England, 1865)
1883: asst. sub-ed. Hull Eastern Morning News
1884-1900: asst. sub.-ed. Newcastle Daily Chronicle; then (1891)
     chief sub-ed., then (1896) asst. ed.
1900: ed. Lancashire Daily Post and Preston Guardian
1905-1909: ed. China Times (7.4.1)

The older brother of John Cowen and also educated at Leeds Grammar
School, William Cowen was a student of the development of the motor
industry. Information on his life after 1909 is lacking. Publications.

COX, George C.
1889-1892: ed. Hongkong Daily Press (3.5.2)

DA CRUZ, Felis Feliciano
1836-1837: ed. Macaista Imparcial (1.4.1)
1837-1838: ed. Macaista Imparcial e Registe Mercantil (1.4.2)
1841-1842: pub. (?), O Farol Macaense (1.4.3)
1843-1844: ed. and pub. A Aurora Macaense (1.4.4)
1848-1856(?): ed. Canton Commercial List

Da Cruz owned the printing company, Typographia Armenia, and may
have been the actual publisher of the four newspapers listed above--
the Canton Commercial List was not a newspaper. Hong Kong sources
state that he ran the Canton Commercial List "for most of its
existence."
CUDDINGHAM, Alfred (b. England, 1870)
1894-1896: sub-ed. and reporter Shanghai Mercury (5.7.10)
1897: manager and ed. Shanghai Daily Press (5.10.1)
1898: manager Shanghai Mercury
1899-1903: manager Hongkong Daily Press (3.5.2)
1903-1907: ed. and general manager South China Morning Post (3.9)

The son of a London journalist, Cunningham had general newspaper experience in the provinces, London, Singapore, and Shanghai before coming to Hong Kong. He was correspondent for the New York Journal in the Spanish-American War and in the Philippines; he was also special correspondent for the Daily Mail and the New York Sun. In 1899 he wrote a special series of articles on Siberia. He was a member of the Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Sanitary Conditions of Hong Kong, and wrote several articles on the subject. Cunningham was dismissed from the South China Morning Post in 1908 when a reorganization of the company proved financially necessary. Publications.

CURTIS, William (b. England, 1827; d. at sea, 1875)
1870-1872: ed. and pub. Brighton Gazette
1873-1875: ed. and pub. Hongkong Times (3.7.3)

Curtis took over as publisher of the Gazette on the death of his father. His connection with George Duddell, also with Brighton interests, resulted in their partnership on the Hongkong Times. Curtis, a leading Freemason, was married with five children. He was forced to leave Hong Kong because of poor health and died when only three days out to sea.

DALE, Thurston (b. 1819; d. Hong Kong, 1850)
1850: ed. Hongkong Register (3.3.2)

Dale had been a merchant with Bell and Company; he became publisher Robert Strachan's first editor for the brief period until his death on June 14, 1850.
DENNYS, Nicholas Belfield (b. 1840?)

1863-1866: ed. China Mail (3.4.1)
1866-1867: ed. and pub. China Mail
1867-1870: ed. China Mail
1871-1872: ed. Daily Advertiser and Shipping Gazette (3.7.2)
1872-1873(?): ed. China Mail

At least during the period 1866-1870, Dennys was also involved in the editing and publishing of such periodicals as Papers on China and Notes and Queries on China and Japan, which latter he incorporated into the China Review. In 1866 he bought the firm A. Shortrede and Company from Edward Andrews for $28,000. He was heavily indebted to Jardine Matheson and Company, and when he failed to pay interest due, was required to accept the business supervision of Charles A. Saint to whom he sold the company for $12,000 in August 1867. In 1866 he was charged with libel by the Reverend William Lobscheid; in 1873 he was before the Court for prejudging another libel case. His editorial policies were consistently sympathetic to the Chinese.

Born probably around 1840, Dennys spent the early years of his life in the Royal Navy, joining HMS "Victory" in 1853, serving under Sir C. Napier in the Baltic, and later cruising off North America. He came to China first in the Consular Service, learning fluent Chinese in Peking. From there he acted as China Mail correspondent. He returned to England in 1870 and received a Doctorate of Philosophy, was elected a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and became a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. On his return to China in 1871 he continued his career as Sinologue, editor, and writer. He was curator and librarian at Hong Kong's city hall and toured Hainan collecting information for the Chamber of Commerce, for which he was secretary, 1876-1877.

In 1877 Dennys moved to Singapore as assistant protector of Chinese immigrants. He was subsequently a justice of the peace and served finally as librarian and curator of the Raffles Library and Museum. His many publications include works on the Mongolian, Cantonese, and Malay languages (see bibliography).
DIAS PEGADO, Manuel Maria
1838-1839: ed. Boletim do Governo de Macau (1.5.1)
1839 (Jan.-Aug.): ed. Gazeta de Macau (1.5.2)
1839-1843(?): ed. O Português na China (1.5.3)
1844-(Sept.) 1845: ed. O Procurador dos Macaistas (1.5.4)
Sept.-Dec. 1845: ed. O Solitário na China (1.5.5)
1846(?)-(?): ed. A Voz de Macaíta (4.1.1)
1860-(?): ed. O Português na China (4.1.6)

DINIZ, António José
1867-1868: ed. O Aquilão (6.1)

DIXSON, Andrew (d. Scotland, 1873)
1845-1855: sub-ed. and manager, China Mail (3.4.1)
1850-1859: pub. Dixson's Hongkong Recorder (3.4.3-5)
1856-1858: ed. China Mail; partner, A. Shortrede and Co.
1858-1863: sole prop., A. Shortrede and Co.

Dixson, who had been educated as a printer, came to Hong Kong with Shortrede and acted as foreman, general manager, and assistant editor of the China Mail. He published the Recorder on his own account. He was in effective editorial control of the China Mail from 1854, and was in full control after Shortrede left China in 1856. A crusading editor, Dixson defended the rights of the Chinese in Hong Kong and was an enemy of the Macao coolie traders. He also contributed to the intellectual life of Hong Kong, serving as Secretary of the Reading Room and Library from 1851 to 1854. Upon Shortrede's death in 1858, Dixson hired an editor and did considerable traveling; while in Britain in 1860 he married. Ill health forced him to sell the company to James Kemp in 1863 and return to Scotland.

DOBROSOLOVSKII, I.A.
1903-1911: ed. Kharbinskii Vestnik (7.23)
DONALD, William Henry (b. Australia, 1875; d. 1946)

1898-1900: sub-ed. Bathurst National Advocate
1900-1903: on staff, Sydney Daily Telegraph and Melbourne Argus
May 1903-1904: sub-ed. China Mail (3.4.1)
June 1904-1906: managing ed. China Mail
1906-1908(?): managing director, China Mail Ltd.

During the Russo-Japanese War, Donald served as correspondent for both the China Mail and the London Daily Express. He early showed an intense anti-Japanese attitude, and his later work as "Donald of China" should be considered in, e.g., Earle A. Selle's biography (New York, 1948). Donald left the China Mail after a dispute with the other directors.

DRESSLER, F.K.

1911: ed. Tageblatt für Nordchina (7.5)

DRUMMOND, William Venn

1878-1880: lessee, Shanghai Courier (5.7.9)

There is evidence that Thomas Preston actually published and managed the newspaper during the period 1878-1880. Drummond was a barrister in Shanghai during the 1880's and 1890's.

DUDDELL, George

1875-1876: prop. (with William Curtis), Hongkong Times (3.7.3)

Duddell was in Hong Kong as early as 1845, for in March of that year he bought the government opium monopoly. He has also been referred to as a land speculator. During his co-proprietorship of the Times, however, he was living in Brighton, England.

DULCKEN, Albert Curtis

1868: ed. Shanghai Recorder (5.3.1) and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette (5.3.4)
1869-1875: ed. Hongkong Daily Press (3.5.2)

Dulcken was editor of the Recorder for perhaps less than three months. During his tenure with the Press, editorial policy tended to be less friendly to the Chinese, pro-Nien-fei, and less critical of
the Hong Kong government than previously. Before joining the Recorder, Dulcken had been a broker and commission merchant with Daly, Dulcken and Company. After leaving Hong Kong he married in Norwich and settled in the Cape Colony.

DUNCAN, Chesney (b. Scotland, 1854)

1883-1889: special correspondent, Seoul, Korea, for Hongkong Telegraph (3.8), Japan Gazette, Shanghai Mercury (5.7.10), Chinese Times (7.1)
1895-1899: ed. Hongkong Telegraph
1900: manager, Shanghai Daily Press (5.10.1)
1901: lessee, New Press (with Thomas Cowan?)
1903: founder and ed. Straits Echo, Penang
1905: ed.-in-chief Straits Echo
1907: ed. Times of Malaya, Ipoh

Duncan went to Korea with the Royal Corean Customs and from 1883 to 1889 served as an instructor in the Japanese School, Seoul. In 1900 he covered the Boxer Rebellion for the London Daily Mail and was mentioned in dispatches to the Colonial Secretary. While with the Hongkong Telegraph, he was also correspondent for the London Globe. He was the editor of Emilio Aguinaldo's The Truth about the Philippines. Publications.

EDDY, F.W.

1902: ed. Shanghai Times (5.11)

FERGUSON, John C. (b. U.S.A., 1866; d. 1945)

1909-1911: prop. Shanghai Times (5.11)

Ferguson had already had a distinguished career in China before entering the publishing business. He had also been editor of the Journal of China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was honorary secretary of the society. His other important activities were: president, Nanking University (1888-1897); president, Nanyang College, Shanghai (1897-1902); secretary, Chinese "Ministry of Commerce" (1902-1903); chief secretary, imperial Chinese railway administration (1903-1905). He was also adviser to the Viceroy of Nanking in 1898, adviser to the viceroy of Wuchang from 1901, and a member of the Commission for Treaty Revision in 1903-1904.
In 1900 he assisted the Shanghai taotai in arranging the Yangtze compact.
Publications.

FERNANDES, Francisco Hermenegildo
1893-1899: ed. and pub. O Echo Macaense (1.11.4)

FERREIRA, António Casimiro
1899-1901: ed. Jornal de Macau (1.17)

FERREIRA, E.
(?)-(?): pub. O Independente (4.1.4)

Despite his appointment as Portuguese consul to Shanghai in 1878, José da Silva appears to have been active in Hong Kong with O Independente. Nevertheless, the publisher is cited as E. Ferreira. No dates are given, but the newspaper was published in Hong Kong in 1869-1873, and again in 1880-1882.

FERRIS, W.F.
(?)-June 1866: reporter, Hongkong Daily Press (5.5.2)
June-Nov. 1866: founder and ed. Hongkong Mercury (3.6) then: reporter, Hongkong Daily Press

Ferris left the Press because of the policies of Sinnett, the new editor. He then founded the Mercury (with Bain as publisher) but withdrew at the end of October and later rejoined the Press.

FINK, Carl (b. Germany, 1861)
1894-1898: sub-ed. Die Post, Berlin
1902-1911: pub. (?) and ed. Der Ostasiatische Lloyd (6.8.1)
1904-(?): founder and pub. (?) Tageblatt für Nordchina (7.5) and Tsingtauener Neueste Nachrichten (7.11)
1909(?)-1911: director, Shanghai Mercury (5.7.10)

Educated in the universities of Leipzig and Berlin, Fink saw military service both in the United States and Mexico, 1884-1893. He may have been connected with Der Ostasiatische Lloyd as early as 1898, and he apparently had a financial interest in it from 1902. Certainly in 1909 he was co-proprietor with H. Lochlin. Fink was active in the founding
of two North China newspapers, but how involved he remained is yet to be determined. In 1905 he was listed as "on the staff" of the Tageblatt für Nordchina, but resident in Shanghai. His connection with the Mercury is evidence of a possible continuing relationship between the two papers. Publications.

FRANCIS, J.J.
1895-1901(?): prop. Hongkong Telegraph (3.8)
Francis was a Queen's Counsel.

FRANKLYN, W.H.
1835-1836: founder and ed. Canton Press (2.3)
Franklyn was a merchant.

FRASER, David Stewart (b. Aberdeen, Scotland, 1869; d. Washington, D.C., 1953)
1901-1911: associated with London Times
1911: ed. Peking and Tientsin Times (7.2)

After education at Channonry House, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh Institute, Fraser began as a clerk in London with the Bank of New Zealand, then went to Calcutta with the Bank of Bengal, where he began contributing articles to local papers. In 1900 he served in the Boer War and on his return to London sought employment with the Times. There being no vacancy, he went as a personal servant to the Times Far Eastern correspondent and supervised the setting up of a radio receiving station at Weihaiwei, China, to take news messages. In the Russo-Japanese War, which he reported from the Battle of the Yalu to the Battle of Shaho, his dispatches on General Kuroki's 黒木 artillery tactics made a contribution to military history. He subsequently traveled in the Middle East, returning to China in 1911. Fraser was a man of action. His obituary in the Times states that he "sat uncomfortably in the editorial chair of the Peking and Tientsin Times," and that he had a "wary though not immutable skepticism to 'Young Turkey' or 'Young China.'" Publications.
FRASER-SMITH, Robert (d. 1895)

1881-1895: founder, pub., and ed. Hongkong Telegraph (3.8)

Fraser-Smith was the last of that breed of China-coast editors which began with Wood and also included Dixson, Tarrant, Murrow, and José da Silva. In 1882 he was jailed for libel but given $1000 by admirers and a congratulatory address on his release. In 1883 Bulgin was awarded $100 damages in a second libel case, and Fraser-Smith was again in prison for libel in 1890, being released solely on grounds of health. His policy was tolerant of the Chinese and and their resistance to modernization; he was bitterly critical of the policies of Governor Sir George F. Bowen.

GOENNERT, J.

1911: ed. and manager, Ostasiatische Nachrichten (7.9)

GREATHEAD, Astle

1881: manager, North-China Herald (5.1.5)

GREEN, John

1899-1900: ed. Shanghai Daily Press (5.10.1)
1900: staff member Shanghai Mercury
1910-1911: sub-ed. Shanghai Times (5.11)

GREEN, Owen Mortimer

1909: asst. ed. North-China Herald (5.1.5)
1911: ed. North-China Herald (?)

Publications.

GREY, Willis P.

1902: pub. Shanghai Times (5.11)

Grey was involved in China railway enterprises.

GUEDES, Florindo Duarte

1884-1885: pub. and ed. (?) O Echo da China (4.5.1)
1885-1898: pub. and ed. O Extremo Oriente (4.5.2)
1888: pub. Catholic Register (3.10.2)
M. Fernandes Carvalho replaced Guedes as editor of *Extremo Oriente* at an unknown date. From 1878, Guedes may have been publisher of both the *Hong Kong Catholic Register* and the *Catholic Register* (3.10.1-2). Reference should also be made to the printing and publishing activities of Guedes and Company, which published *Progresso* (6.2) in Shanghai. This company may have been owned by J.M. Guedes. Information on his relationship with F.D. Guedes is not available, but that there was a relationship is borne out by the career of M. Fernandes Carvalho, who edited both Hong Kong and Shanghai publications for "Guedes."

**Guedes, J.M.**


J.M. Guedes was probably involved in the activities of Guedes and Company in conjunction with Florindo Duarte Guedes.


early 1860's: reporter, *North-China Herald* (5.1.1)

1866-1878: ed. and part-owner *North-China Herald* (5.1.1-5)

Gundry was active in the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and in the Shanghai Club. He first wrote on local affairs, but later traveled widely and was China correspondent for the *Times*. He probably left China about 1889 and became the honorary secretary of the China Association from its founding through 1901, and its president from 1905 to 1908. Publications.

**Haden, George William** (b. 1828; d. Shanghai, 1880)

1874-1878: reporter, *North-China Herald* (5.1.5)

1878-1880: ed, *North-China Herald*

Before 1878 Haden was acting editor of the *North-China Herald*; he replaced Gundry in August 1878, but died suddenly on March 14, 1880.
HALE, Bertram Augustus (b. 1870)
1895: reporter in Devonshire and London
1895: *Japan Chronicle*
1899: ed. and part-prop. *Hiogo News*
1903: manager, *Hongkong Daily Press* (3.5.2)
1908-1911: managing editor, *Hongkong Daily Press*

HAMILTON, A.
prior to 1904: Far East correspondent, *Pall Mall Gazette*
1911: ed. *South China Morning Post* (3.9)

HELME, E.B.
1910-1911: ed. *Hongkong Telegraph* (3.8)

HICKS, A.
1911: ed. *Hongkong Telegraph* (3.8)

HOFFERT, F.
1902 (June-Oct.): ed. and pub. (?) *Der Ostasiatische Lloyd* (6.8.1)

JAMIESON, Robert Alexander
1863-1866: ed. *North-China Herald* (5.1.1)
1870-1871: ed. and pub. *The Cycle* (5.16)

Jamieson was competent in Chinese before 1863 and had been contributing translations to the *Herald*. He left China in 1866, completed his medical course in Ireland, and was offered the Chair of Chinese in King's College, London. He returned to China in 1868, however, and became consulting surgeon to the Imperial Maritime Customs service. His policies both on the *Herald* and on the *Cycle* reflected a lifelong interest in and sympathy for things Chinese. He was a friend and associate of Sir Robert Hart. In addition to journalism he was active in the literary world of Shanghai, including the Royal Asiatic Society. Publications.

JEFFREY, James (b. Edinburgh; d. Shanghai, 1870)
1858-1861: printer and overseer, *China Mail* (3.4.1), also listed as pub. during Dixon's proprietorship
1861-(?): ed. (with James Layton Brown) *Hongkong Register* (3.3.7)
In 1866 Jeffrey was on the staff of the *North-China Herald* (5.1.1) and then with the Shanghai maritime customs office as a clerk.

**JOHNSON, John Henry**

1880 (May-Oct.): ed. *Shanghai Courier* (5.7.9)

Johnson had had previous newspaper experience on the *Sheffield Radical* and the *Sussex Daily News*. He was dismissed from his *Courier* editorship for failing to reveal that he was acting as Shanghai correspondent of the London *Standard*.

**JONES, Charles Treasure**

1864-1866: pub. and (1865-1866) ed. *Shanghai Recorder* (5.3.1)
1867-1871: prop. and ed. *Shanghai Evening Express* (5.5)
1869 (Jan.-May): ed. *Friend of China* (5.4.1-2)
1872(?): founder and ed. *European Budget* (8.6)

By 1860 Jones was a second assistant secretary with the British consular service in Shanghai and subsequently was acting vice-consul. In December 1864 he bought into the *Shanghai Recorder* and probably in the following year became sole proprietor. He sold the *Recorder* in March 1866 on the grounds that it was losing money and started Shanghai's first evening paper in 1867, with C. do Rozario. By 1868 Jones had gained complete control of the enterprise and do Rozario founded his own opposition newspaper, the *Shanghai Evening Courier*. During 1867-1868 Jones's editorial activities were checked by his having to face charges of embezzlement from consular funds; according to the charges, Jones had taken consular funds and deposited them in his own account, which he then used to finance his purchase of the *Recorder*. The first trial resulted in no verdict, however, and the verdict of the second was that he had merely been careless with the accounts.

William Tarrant, publisher of the *Friend of China*, was attempting to retire and in January 1869 asked Jones to edit the paper. He became dissatisfied with Jones's work, however, and regained control in May. In 1868 and again in 1869 bankruptcy proceedings were brought against Jones, and he also became involved in litigation with his compositors, which he lost, and in disputes with Tarrant. These proceedings forced
Jones to close down the *Express* in April and May 1869 and to open again under the supervision of N.B. Bonney and Company. In 1870 Jones was ordered to pay $25 a month to creditors. In 1871, in debt to D. Wares Smith of the *Recorder*, he left China and was declared a bankrupt. In England he founded and edited the *European Budget*, a "reverse overland" containing news for transmission by the mails to China.

**KEATING, Arthur Saunders**

1830-1833: ed. *Canton Register* (2.1.2)

Keating was an Irish merchant who had had long connections with both Jardine and the Mathesons in Magniac and Company. The *Register's* policy of staying clear of controversy made it the subject of increasingly personal attacks from W.W. Wood's *Chinese Courier* and *Canton Gazette* (2.2). Keating challenged Wood to a duel, but on Wood's acceptance, argued about the conditions and subsequently left Macao for Lin Tin Island, where he remained until tempers cooled.

**KEMP, James (b. Edinburgh, 1831; d. Hong Kong, 1865)**

1860-1863: ed. *China Mail* (3.4.1)
1863-1865: prop. A. Shortrede and Co.

Kemp had been a parochial schoolmaster in Scotland before coming out to Hong Kong as headmaster of St. Andrew's School in 1860; he began to edit the *China Mail* the same year. He had contributed articles to the *Stirling Journal* and may have been connected with the *Sydney Herald* before going to Hong Kong. He bought A. Shortrede and Company from Dixson in July 1863.

**KINGSMILL, Thomas William (b. 1837)**

1894-1897: ed. *Shanghai Mercury* (5.7.10)
1897-1899: ed. *Shanghai Daily Press* (5.10.1)

Kingsmill, who had been privately educated, was a civil engineer and architect, with long residence in Shanghai. He did considerable surveying work, especially in Shantung, and was a councillor of the Royal Asiatic Society. Publications.
KLIORIN, Z.M.
1907: ed. Devyatyi Val (7.25.2)
1907-1911: co-ed. Novaia Zhizn' (7.25.3)

KLOCKE, E.
1905-1908: ed. Tageblatt für Nordchina (7.5)

VON KROPPF, H.
1904-1908(?): ed. Tsingtauer Neueste Nachrichten (7.11)
1910(?)-1911: ed. Kiautschou-Post (7.13)

LALOR, John Patrick
late 1870's: ed. Foochow Herald (7.33.3)

LANG, Hugh (b. 1832; d. Shanghai, 1875)
1869: became connected with Shanghai Evening Courier (5.7.3)
1871: ed. Courier
1872-1875: ed. and pub. Courier and Budget

Lang apparently obtained control of the Shanghai News-Letter (5.7.2) in 1871 and used it as a mail edition until 1873, when it merged with the Courier and Budget group (5.7). Lang came to China in 1862, where he engaged in commerce and brokerage. He was also a classical scholar, did most of his own local reporting, and was well-known and liked in Shanghai. He suffered from poor health and died January 19, 1875.

Publications.

LASSEN, H.P.C.
1869-1871: prop. Daily Advertiser (3.7.1)

Lassen went bankrupt and was forced to sell his newspaper property, but one source gives the date as 1873, in which case Bain, the publisher of the enlarged Advertiser (3.7.2) 1871-1873, would have been only a part-owner.

LATIMER, Nichol (b. 1830; d. Shanghai, 1865)
1863-1865: part-owner, North-China Herald (5.1.1)
During this period, Latimer, a Shanghai merchant (Nichol Latimer and Company), was part-owner with Edwin Pickwoad of the newspaper and was probably listed as its publisher.

VAN LEBERGE, Marcel
1905-1911: ed. Le Courrier de Tientsin (7.7.1)

LEMÈRE, J.E.
1897-1907: ed.-in-chief L'Echo de Chine (6.7.1).

Lemière was also manager of Les Presses Orientales. He wrote numerous articles and editorials under the pseudonym "Nemo." Publications.

LÉPISSIER, Emile
1870-1872: ed. Le Progrès (6.5)

Lépissier was a bitter rival of M. Beer, the editor of Le Nouvelliste (6.4.1). On one occasion he was attacked by Beer and fired his revolver in return, for which he was penalized by a fifty-franc fine and the confiscation of his revolver. He subsequently brought a libel action against Beer.

LEVENCIGLER, G.O.
1907: pub. Vestnik Vostoka (7.25.1)
1907-1911: co-ed. Novaia Zhizn' (7.25.3)

LEVI, Henry M.
1861: pub. Hongkong Register (3.3.7)

LI SUM LING (1881-)
prior to 1906: "native note writer," China Mail (3.4.1)
1906(?)-1909: managing ed. Hua-tzu jih-pao 華字日報 (Chinese Mail)
1909: ed. Peking Daily News (7.17.2)

Li Sum Ling was educated at St. Paul's College, Hong Kong.

LI TSING CHI
1911: manager, Peking Daily News (7.17.2)
LITTLE, Robert W. (d. Shanghai, 1906)

1889-1906: ed. North China Herald (5.1.5)

Little, who came to China in the early 1860's, was well-known and loved, being referred to as "Uncle Bob." From 1871 to 1881 he was secretary of the Municipal Council.

LLOYD, George T. (b. Wales, 1872)

before 1900: general newspaper experience in South Wales; then ed.
   The Echo, Southend-on-sea

1900: ed. The Herald, Goole, Yorkshire
then: asst. ed. East London Advertiser and Essex Guardian
then: ed. Luton Reporter
1904: asst. ed. South China Morning Post (3.9)
1907: ed. and general manager and secretary, South China Morning Post, Ltd.

LO Sing Low

1911: ed. Peking Daily News (7.17.2)

LOCHLIN, H.

1909-(?): co-prop. Der Ostasiatische Lloyd (6.8.1)

LOUREIRO, Pedro (d. St. Paul de Loandes, Africa, 1876)

1873-1874: pub. and founder, Evening Gazette (5.7.6) and Celestial Empire (5.7.8)

After successfully founding these two newspapers, Loureiro sold out to Frederic Henry Balfour, his editor, at the end of 1874. He started business with Dent and Company in Macao, but in 1866 was accused of embezzling funds; the judge in the case was overruled by the Macao authorities and Loureiro was jailed for six months, receiving a full pardon in 1869 when the case was reviewed. He was later in business as Loureiro and Company in Shanghai and was secretary of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. He died on the west coast of Africa.

McDERMID, R.R.

1904-1907: pub. (with J. McMillan) Chefoo Daily News (7.30)
McLEISH, William (b. England, 1851)
1901-1903: ed. Peking and Tientsin Times (7.2)

McLeish was educated at the Royal Naval School, Greenwich, and took a B.A. at the University of London. Subsequently he was an assistant master at Dulwich College (1871-1886), from which post he went to China as Professor of Navigation and Nautical Astronomy, Imperial Naval College, Tientsin (1886-1900). He was secretary of the British Municipal Council (Tientsin) from 1903 to 1907. Publication.

MACLELLAN, J.W.
1883-1886: commercial ed. North-China Herald (5.1.5)
1886: sub. ed. North-China Herald
1886-1889: ed. North-China Herald

Maclellan first came to China in 1858 as sub-manager of the new Shanghai branch of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China. Publications.

McLEOD, Malcolm (d. 1874)
1859 (end)-June 1860: ed. and pub. China Chronicle (3.3.5)

McLeod was Canadian and had some writing experience before coming to Hong Kong in the late 1840's to join Jardine Matheson and Company. After Phillips's failure with the Register (3.3.2), Strachan regained possession and was persuaded to sell to McLeod by Jardine's, who held a mortgage on the property. Contemporary reports are highly critical of McLeod, and to judge from samples of his style, such criticism appears reasonable. Strachan regained possession once more in June, although not without compensating McLeod.

MacMAHON, J.P.
1873-1875: ed. and pub. Foochow Herald (7.33.3)

MacMahon is reported as commanding "some Chinese troops" around Foochow in 1875.

McMILLAN, J.
1904-1907(?): pub. (with R.R. McDermid) Chefoo Daily News (7.30)
MAITLAND, Frank J. (d. 1907)
1902-1906: prop. *Shanghai Times* (5.11)
Maitland was a merchant and senior partner of Maitland and Company. In the 1890's he had been proprietor of *Sport and Gossip*, the latter was sold in 1907 to the *Shanghai Mercury*, after having combined with the *Shanghai Times* in 1902. Maitland was in partnership with others, including Henry O'Shea, but he bought them out in 1902. After a disagreement with Collinwood, he sold out to the Oriental Press in 1906.

MALADE, G.
1906: manager, *Tageblatt für Nordchina* (7.5)

MARCAL, A.A.
1878-1888: printer and pub. *Amoy Gazette and Shipping Report* (7.28.2)

MARCAL, J.F.
1888-1911: pub. *Amoy Gazette and Shipping Report* (7.28.2)

MARNHAM, A.W.
1906: ed. *Shanghai Times* (5.11)

MARSHALL, V.
1902: ed. *Shanghai Times* (5.11)
1906: ed. *Bund*
In 1902 Marshall was involved in a slander suit brought by the American consul Goodnow. The *Bund* was a Shanghai magazine.

MATHESON, Sir Alexander (b. Scotland 1805; d. 1886)
1827-1828: pub. (?) *Canton Register* (2.1.1)
Alexander Matheson lent W.W. Wood the handpress on which were printed the first issues of the *Canton Register*. Wood may also have been publisher, but in any case, James Matheson was certainly the proprietor by September 1828.

MATHESON, Sir (Nicholas) James Sutherland, Bart. (b. Scotland 1796; d. 1878)
1828-1849: prop. (through Magniac and Company and Jardine Matheson and Company) *Canton Register* (2.1.2), then *Hongkong Register* (3.3.1-2)
Most sources state that James Matheson was publisher or proprietor of the Register from the beginning (see Alexander Matheson, above), but he was personally absent from Canton until September 1828. He kept editorial control until 1833. Jardine's had a financial interest through mortgage in the Register throughout its life. During the days of the East India Company monopoly, Matheson kept the Register out of the free trade controversy, and later, in 1840, objected to the violently anti-American slant which the editor John Slade was giving articles. His letter to the editor was printed under the pseudonym "A British Merchant."

MAYHEW, Athol
1880-1883: ed. Shanghai Courier (5.7.9)
1881-1883: Lessee, Shanghai Courier
Publications.

MICHE, Alexander (d. 1891)
1886-1891: ed. and pub. Chinese Times (7.1)
Michie had previously been a leading contributor to the Shanghai Courier (5.7.9), and he also wrote for the China Mail (3.4.1). He lived most of his life in China as both writer and merchant. In 1861 he was a partner of Lindsay and Company, then was with Chapman, King and Company. He served on the Shanghai Municipal Council and as chairman of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce. In the 1860's he traveled through Siberia.
Publications.

MITCHELL, William Henry
1849-1850: ed. Hongkong Register (3.3.2)
Mitchell came to China in 1843 as a merchant; he engaged in trade at Amoy, then held a position as clerk in the British Consulate. From 1846 to 1847 he directed Mitchell and Company but did not do well, and he began contributing to the Friend of China (3.1.2) and to Singapore newspapers. Under the pseudonyms Vindex and Fairplay, he contributed bitterly anti-government articles and letters to the Friend of China, but while editor of the Register, he directed a very pro-government editorial policy. Mitchell left the Register in April 1850 to accept
an appointment as assistant police magistrate and sheriff, in which positions he became notorious. In 1856 Hong Kong newspapers accused him of extorting money from prisoners; he was tried and acquitted. He later brought a libel suit against T. Chisholm Anstey, the reforming Attorney-General of the Colony, but it failed. By 1859 he had become acting chief magistrate, despite all attempts to remove him. Promise of coming investigations, however, influenced his decision to retire a few months after the arrival of Governor Sir Hercules Robinson (1859-1865). Mitchell was one of those civil servants involved in the bitter quarrels and rivalries which so disturbed the early years of the Colony.

MOLLER, Edmund
1836-1844: ed. Canton Press (2.3)

A Prussian subject and from Hamburg, Moller maintained an independent editorial policy, shaking the paper loose from its original pro-East India Company position. He first came to Canton in 1835 from Manila. In 1844 he returned to trade, remaining in Macao until the end of the year and then moving to Canton, where he entered into business with Arthur Agassiz. In 1847 he was secretary of the Canton Chamber of Commerce.

MONESTIER, A.
1907-1911: ed. L'Echo de Chine (6.7.1)

MORISS, Henry (1843-1919)
1866-1911: part-owner, Pickwoad and Company, pub. of North-China Herald (5.1)

On the death of Pickwoad, a share of the newspaper company went to his daughter Una, and her husband, Henry Moriss. Moriss came to Shanghai in 1866 with the Bank of Hindustan, invested well, and had his own brokerage business. In 1919 his share of the property (by then probably the majority holding if not complete ownership) passed to his sons. He apparently did not influence editorial policy.

MORRISON, Rev. Robert (b. 1782; d. Canton, 1834)
1828-1830: principal writer, de facto ed. Canton Register (2.1.2)
1833: co-ed. and pub. The Evangelist (with Charles Gützlaff)
After William Wood left the Register, Morrison was its principal contributor and was responsible for the Chinese translations. His attitude toward the Chinese reflected the prejudices of evangelical Christianity, and the newspaper began to have some of the aspects of a missionary journal. During Keating's editorship, Morrison continued to supply translations, but the next editor, Slade, was himself a Sinologist.

Morrison had come to China in 1807 as the first Protestant missionary; he learned Chinese and became interpreter for the East India Company, serving in 1816 on the Amherst mission, going in 1822 to Malacca, and, after a visit to England, returning in 1826 to Canton, where he lived until his death. Publications.

MOSSMAN, Samuel
1861: asst. to ed. North-China Herald (5.1.1)
1861-1863: ed. North-China Herald

Mossman came to Shanghai as an assistant to editor C.S. Compton in August 1861 and took over when the latter returned to England later in the year. He also had a financial interest in the newspaper.

Mossman wrote several books on life in Australia, where he had spent his early years. In the 1870's he visited and wrote on Japan; he subsequently returned to England and continued a literary career. Publications.

MURROW, Yorick Jones (b. Wales, 1817; d. Jersey, 1884)
1857-1866: ed. Hongkong Daily Press (3.5.1-2)
1858-1884: pub. or prop. Hongkong Daily Press
1867-1870(?): ed. and pub. London and China Herald (8.2)

Murrow was the founder of the Daily Press and probably had some financial interest in it from the first. In 1866 he leased it to W.H. Bell. On his death the property passed to his family. The heir in 1911 was Colonel H.L. Murrow of Hong Kong. As a merchant Murrow had contributed most of the statistical tables for the China Mail, at least in the early 1850's, and he was therefore especially bitter
against the Mail when in 1858 it supported the government's action in prosecuting him for libel. He continued to edit his newspaper from jail. Murrow sided with those attempting to reform the civil service, testified against D.W. Caldwell, and attempted to revive the case against the retired Colonel Caine. His attack on Colonial Secretary W.T. Mercer (who was the officer administering the Colony from March 1865 to 1866) resulted in Murrow's apology and departure from the Colony.

Murrow was the son of a Liverpool solicitor and started life as a merchant, coming to China in 1838 in the employ of Jamieson, How, and Company. He started Murrow and Company some time before 1844; it was based in Canton and was closed in 1849. Within two years Murrow was in partnership with the American firm James Stephenson and Company, engaged in the rice trade with California and, primarily, in the transportation of coolies. The partnership was dissolved in 1854, but Murrow carried on under the same name, until the firm, Murrow, Stephenson, and Company, went bankrupt in 1859. His coolie activities resulted in charges of abduction and slavery, and he was fined; subsequently he turned against the trade and carried on a violent anti-coolie trade campaign both in Hong Kong and in London. An enterprising and original businessman, Murrow introduced a fleet of specially adapted steamers on the Macao, Hong Kong, and Canton run. During the Second Sino-British War, trade on this run diminished and Murrow allowed the ships to be used by British forces operating in the north. He spent several years petitioning before he received compensation. Murrow married a Portuguese in 1861 and had four children; he returned to London a rich man.

Murrow held a grudge against Jardine Matheson dating back to 1844, when the company had refused to insure a ship in which he held an interest and subsequently foreclosed on a mortgage, whereby Murrow suffered financially.

A man of strong opinions, Murrow was typical of the personal journalism of the period. He was at odds both with the China Mail and with William Tarrant of the Friend of China; and his attacks on government, though often justified, were personal and forced his retirement from the editorship of his newspaper. Back in London he was an
adjuster of averages but remained at least until 1870 in the active journalistic world with his "reverse overland," the London and China Herald.

**Libel cases.** In 1858 Murrow accused Governor Bowring of favoritism to Jardine Matheson (Bowring's son was their employee). Jailed for six months and fined $100, he continued attacking government from jail; he again libeled Bowring, and apologized. Murrow then libeled Jardine Matheson (accusing them of insuring and sending out an unseaworthy vessel and then collecting insurance when it sank)—and apologized. At the end of 1859 he libeled the Reverend William Lobscheid, and apologized; in 1860 he libeled Caldwell and was bound over for one year; and, finally, there was the Mercer case described above. This list may not be complete.

**NAVARRA, Bruno R.A.**
1887-1889: founder, pub., and ed. Der Ostasiatische Lloyd (6.8.1)
Publications.

**NEISH, Robert Davidson (b. Scotland, 1864)**
1899: ed. and manager Walthamstow Herald
1900: joined Shanghai Mercury (5.7.10), serving as reporter, manager, sub-ed., acting ed., deputy managing ed.
1909-1911: ed. Shanghai Mercury
Neish received his early training on the Dundee Courier and Weekly News.

**DAS NEVES TAVARES, E.F.**
1898: ed. O Lusitano (1.16)

**NEWMAN, Charles L. Norris (b. England, 1852)**
1906-1909: ed.-in-chief China Review (7.6.1)
1909-1911: ed.-in-chief China Critic (7.6.2)
1906-1911: chairman, North China Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd. (pub. Review and Critic)

Educated for the Army at Sherborne, Lübeck, and Harrow, Newman went through the siege of Paris (1870-1871), served with Don Carlos in Spain, Gordon in Egypt, in South Africa, the Zululand campaign,
Madagascar, and Zanzibar. He was special war correspondent for the *London Times*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Standard*, and *Daily Mail*. He left for the Far East in 1900.

Newman's associations with the Russians began with his appointment as English instructor to the Russian Naval Staff at Port Arthur in 1902. In 1904 he witnessed the Japanese attacks and then traveled with the Russians as a special correspondent. He was appointed to bring out the "first Russian journal in the Far East," the presumably English-language *China Review*. No copies have been located, but in view of the existence of the Russian-language newspaper *Novyi Krai*, Port Arthur, either the Review was a journal rather than a newspaper or the statement excludes publications in purely Russian spheres of influence.

Publications.

**Noble, J.W.**

1906-1911: chairman, South China Morning Post, Ltd. (3.9)
1911: director, *Hongkong Telegraph* (3.8)

**Nolasco, Luiz**

1909-1910: director, *Vida Nova* (1.19)
1910-1911: ed. and director, *Vida Nova*

**O'Shea, Henry D.**

1891-1894: ed. *Shanghai Mercury* (5.7.10)
1894-1909: ed. *China Gazette* (5.9)
1902: prop. and ed. (with Frank Maitland) *Shanghai Times* (5.11)

**O'Shea, John (b. Dublin, 1869)**

1890-1891: reporter, *Shanghai Mercury* (5.7.10)
1894-1895: sub. ed. *China Gazette* (5.9)
1902, 1906-1911: ed. *Shanghai Times* (5.11)

O'Shea was educated at St. Patrick's, Druncondra, and privately.

**Oswald, Richard**

1842-(?): prop. *Friend of China* (3.1.1-2)
A partner in Oswald, Disandt, and Company, Oswald later had his own business as R. Oswald and Company. In 1847 he was not listed as resident in the colony. He was certainly the first proprietor of the Friend of China, but it is not certain when he sold to Carr, or even if he retained ownership until Tarrant's advent in 1850 (although the latter is highly improbable). He had no influence on editorial policy.

PARK, A.
1900: ed. Shanghai Daily Press (5.10.1)

PEREIRA, Carlos José
1822-1823: writer, A Abelha da China (1.1)

The frequency and importance of Pereira's contributions suggest that he had an important role—perhaps de facto editor—on the staff of this first China-coast newspaper.

PEREIRA, Manoel L. Roza
1875-1876: ed. Jornal de Macau (1.9.5)

Pereira worked first on the China Mail (3.4.1), probably from 1845, and then with the Register (3.3.2), aiding it after the Chronicle interlude in 1860 (3.3.7). In 1876 he went to Shanghai.

PETRIE, Thomas (b. Scotland)
(?)—1900: reporter, Dundee Courier and Argus
1900–1902: reporter, China Mail
1902: sub-ed. Siam Observer
1903: Japan Herald
1904–1907: sub-ed. South China Morning Post (3.9)
1907–1911: asst. ed. South China Morning Post
1911: ed. South China Morning Post

Petrie's move from Bangkok was made for health reasons.

PETZOLD, B.
1908–1911: ed. Tageblatt für Nordchina (7.5)
PHILLIPS, Richard Augustus Long
1859: ed. and pub. Hongkong Register (3.3.2)

Phillips's bad management and extravagance led to financial failure, and he was forced to leave Hong Kong with unpaid debts after Robert Strachan recovered the property.

PICART
1900: prop. Die Deutsch-Asiatische Warte (7.10)

PICKWOAD, Edwin (d. Southampton, 1866)
1861-1866: prop. North-China Herald (5.1.1)

On Pickwoad's death the property passed to his heirs as owners of Pickwoad and Company—principally to his wife, Janet Pickwoad, and his daughter, Una Pickwoad, who married Henry Moriss. Others, however, including editors, also had a financial interest in the company.

Pickwoad came to China from Australia, was elected secretary of the Municipal Council and was supervisor of the police. In 1865 he went to London, returning in 1866 to arrange affairs on the North-China Herald. He left for England in June and died six days after his arrival in Southampton.

In 1879 Mrs. Janet Pickwoad came out to Shanghai and in 1880 took over the conduct of the business.

POLETIKA, S.V.
1910-1911: ed. Novyi Krai (7.20)

POOLE, T.
1831: prop.(?) Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette (2.2)

PRATT, Frederick Lionel (b. Australia, 1872)
1905: leader writer, China Mail (3.4.1); ed. Who's Who
1911: ed. Hongkong Telegraph (3.9)

Pratt had a career in Australian and Far Eastern journalism.

PRESTON, Thomas
1875-1876: ed. Hongkong Times (3.7.3)
1878-1880: manager, Shanghai Courier (5.7.9)
Preston came to Hong Kong in 1874 and was assistant to Curtis when the latter died at sea. His letters reveal him as capable and conscientious but naturally unable to cope with an impossible situation. Later, on the Courier, he may have been considered "publisher," and at least one source gives his name as editor for 1879.

REDMOND, H.E.
1907-1909(?): ed. Peking and Tientsin Times (7.2)
Redmond was formerly with the London Standard.

REID, Thomas H. (b. Scotland, 1865)
1885: Free Press, Aberdeen
1891: joined staff China Mail (3.4.1)
1894-1904: ed. China Mail, also part-prop.
1905: news ed. The Standard
1906: managing ed. Straits Times, Singapore
Reid was also the Hong Kong correspondent of the London Times and Standard (1894-1904), of the New York Herald (1898-1904), and was with Dewey at Manila.

DOS REMEDIOS
1889(?)-1890: pub. and ed. O Hongkong Alegre (4.6)

RIVINGTON, Charles
1879-prior to 1888: founder and part-owner (with John D. Clark), Shanghai Mercury (5.7.10)
Rivington was a Shanghai share broker.

ROEHR, Viktor
1903-1905: ed. Die Deutsch-Asiatische Warte (7.10)
After 1907 Roehr was proprietor of a German printing house in Tsingtao.

ROSARIO, D.
1873-before 1900: prop. and ed. Foochow Daily Echo (7.34)
Rosario was the proprietor of the Foochow Printing Press. By 1900 his widow was in control as both proprietor and editor, and so remained at least until 1909.

ROSS-REID, J.
1907: sub. ed. Hankow Daily News (7.38)
1909: ed. Hankow Daily News

DO ROZARIO, C.
1867-1868: pub. Shanghai Evening Express (5.5)
1868-1872: pub. Shanghai Evening Courier (5.7.3)
1870-1872: pub. Le Nouvelliste de Changhai (6.4.1)
1870-1871: pub. The Cycle (5.16)

C. and A.A. do Rozario were printers and C. do Rozario had a financial interest in the above-listed newspapers. Judging at least from the diversity of the list, he did not attempt to control editorial policy. His first adventure with C. Treasure Jones was based on a poorly drafted agreement, and Jones obtained complete control in 1868, whereupon do Rozario founded the rival Shanghai Evening Courier.

RYDER, George M.
1857: prop. Daily Press (3.5.1)

An American merchant, Ryder had worked and written for both the Register (3.3.2) and the Friend of China (3.1.2). Murrow was from the first the dominant figure on the Press and may also have held substantial financial interests in it.

SAINT, Charles Abraham
1867-1872: pub. China Mail (3.4.1)
1870-1872: ed. China Mail

When the China Mail's publisher and editor Nicholas B. Dennys could not pay Jardine Matheson the interest on his debt, James Whittal secured the services of Charles Saint as manager, and later in the same year (1867) Saint bought out Dennys for $12,000, probably assuming part of the Jardine debt as well. After Dennys left the
editorship in 1870, Saint also took over that job. He sold out to G.M. Bain in 1872, at which time Dennys again assumed the editorship. Although it was Murrow who was best known for directing violent press attacks against the Macao coolie trade, Saint and the Mail also became heavily involved and were sued by Horta, the governor of Macao, and Amaral, the ex-governor. Saint pleaded justification and the case lasted over a year; Saint was discharged in October 1869.

SALABELLE, S.

prior to 1886: ed. and pub. L'Echo du Japon, Yokohama
1886: ed. and pub. L'Echo de Shanghai

Salabelle was mainly concerned with the promotion of French interests in the Far East, with one of his special concerns being the development of French commercial activity in Tonkin. He transferred his newspaper from Japan in order to take advantage of the improved communications facilities available in Shanghai.

DE S. GONZALO DE AMARANTE, Frey António, O.D.

1822-1823: ed. A Abélha da China (1.1)

Superior of the Dominicans in Macao, Frey António was a member of the Absolutist Party (Miguelites). With the advent to power of the Conservative Party, he and others fled Macao in 1823 for Canton and eventually Calcutta.

DOS SANTOS, Joaquim José

1822-1823: business manager (?) A Abélha da China (1.1)

Dos Santos' name is listed in each issue as the person to whom subscriptions should be addressed.

DOS SANTOS, Manuel Joaquim

1882-1883: ed. O Correio de Macau (1.12.1)

SCHITTTER, W.

1889 (?): ed. and pub. Der Ostasiatische Lloyd (6.8.1)
SERGEANT
1900: ed. Hongkong Daily Press (3.5.2)

SHEARMAN, Henry (b. Canada[?]; d. Shanghai, 1856)
1850-1856: founder, ed., and pub. North-China Herald (5.1.1)

Shearman came from Prince Edward Island to China in 1850 as an auctioneer. He was a very religious man and active in Shanghai Church life, and this served to establish him in the community and made possible the scope and reception of his newspaper. He was sympathetic to the Chinese, and his Christian and pro-missionary principles led him to support the Taiping cause, although disillusionment began in 1854.

SHORTREDE, Andrew (b. Scotland; d. Bavaria, 1858)
1845-1856: ed. and pub. China Mail (3.4.1)
1856-1858: part-owner, A. Shortrede and Co. (3.4)

Andrew was the sixth son of Robert Shortrede, sheriff-substitute of Roxburghshire. Although he was educated to follow his three brothers into the service of the East India Company, he instead became a printer and publisher. After his plans to publish for Sir Walter Scott fell through due to the failure in 1826 of Scott's publishing house, James Ballantyne and Company, Shortrede went into business in Edinburgh, but without success. He may then have gone to Sydney, Australia, and directed a newspaper there. In any case he was advised to establish in Hong Kong to recoup his fortunes, and in 1845 he established the China Mail, a most professional newspaper and a financial success.

Shortrede was an active member of the Hong Kong community. A member of the Morrison Education Society, he helped start St. Andrew's School and continued to contribute and help raise funds. In 1850-1853 he was secretary of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and a councillor in 1854. He was a life-long friend of Sir John Bowring (governor of Hong Kong, 1854-1859).

In 1850 he was involved in a libel suit brought by the officer of a wrecked ship; Shortrede apologized. In 1853 he made a trip to North China for reasons of health but while there he also gathered information
for the *China Mail*. In May 1854 he left for Australia to recover his health, but the ship was wrecked; he was rescued and taken to Singapore. Shortrede returned to Hong Kong in December 1854 and left for Edinburgh in 1856. There he wrote a number of controversial letters to the *Daily News*. From 1856 to 1858 he retained an interest in the *China Mail*, sharing the ownership of A. Shortrede and Company with Andrew Dixson, his associate from the first. He died on holiday in Bavaria.

**SHUCK, Rev. J. Lewis (d. South Carolina, 1863)**

1842: joint ed. (with James White) of *Friend of China* (3.1.1-2)

1855(?): on staff Tung Ngai San Luk 東涯新錄 (Tung-yai hsin-lu; the Oriental), a bilingual newspaper in San Francisco

One of the first American Baptist missionaries in China, Reverend Shuck was involved in missionary publishing ventures. He accepted White's offer to join the *Friend of China* as joint editor responsible for production, with the hope of using the paper as a missionary vehicle. He probably did not remain into 1843. In 1844 his wife died and he moved to Canton, then to Shanghai. The next reference to Shuck is in connection with his work on the San Francisco newspaper, but the year is not given. The paper, also known as the *Oriental*, began publication in 1855, probably as a weekly, with the Reverend William Speecker as editor of the English section. Shuck may have edited the Chinese section or joined the staff later. Publication.

**DA SILVA, Constancio José**

1889-1898: ed. *O Independente* (1.9.2)

1908-1911: ed. *A Verdade* (1.18)

Constancio was the son of José da Silva.

**DA SILVA, José**

1863-1866: ed. *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* (1.9.1)

1867-1880(?): ed. *O Independente* (1.9.2; 4.1.4)

José da Silva has been described as the "stormy petrel" of Macao journalism. His *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* was reportedly pro-government, and Hong Kong sources state that in 1868 he was editing the official
government "Boletim." But he bitterly opposed reform of the coolie trade and upheld Francisco da Silva Magalhães against the new government under Viscount de S. Januaria. The governor's aide-de-camp assaulted him physically. At the height of the controversy he had six libel cases pending against him, and in 1874 his editorial rival, Dr. Pinto Bastos, won a controversial election as Macao Deputy to the Lisbon parliament. In 1875, however, da Silva was elected president of the Macao Municipal Council. He was appointed Portuguese consul in Shanghai in 1878, having previously qualified for the legal profession.

His connection with O Independente after this date is obscure, but in 1880, while the newspaper was being published in Hong Kong, he was again sued for libel.

His son Constancio José da Silva succeeded him as editor and was later editor of A Verdade (1.18).

DA SILVA, José Cesario
1896-(?): ed. A Liberdade (1.13)

DA SILVA, Luis Ayres
1909-1910: ed. Vida Nova (1.19)

DA SILVA, Manuel José Maria Gonçalves (d. Macao, 1885)
1882-1885: ed. O Macaense (1.11.2)

DA SILVA, Miguel Aires
1869-1870: ed. O Noticiario Macaense (1.10; 4.1.3)

DA SILVA CATHERINO, Luiz
1899-1901: pub. Jornal de Macau (1.17)

DA SILVA MAGALHÃES, A.
1880-(?): ed. A Verdade (1.9.6)

DA SILVA MAGALHÃES, Francisco
1869-1870, 1872 (Jan.-Oct.): ed. O Oriente (1.9.3)
Magalhães, an army medical officer, was until 1872 medical surveyor of coolie ships. Originally in opposition to the coolie trade, he reversed his position in 1872 and, with Dr. António Frerreira de Lacerda, the Chief Justice, bitterly attacked the new governor's attempts at reform. Magalhães was then imprisoned for insulting the governor; on release he continued his attacks and, being an army officer, rendered himself liable to exile. He was exiled in Timor for six months, his attempt to resign his commission having failed. In 1874 he stood for the Lisbon parliament, opposed by Pinto Bastos, editor of the Gazeta de Macau e Timor (1.9.4). Magalhães was defeated in a close vote; further critical articles resulted in his suspension from medical office, his resignation from the military was finally accepted, and he left Macao for Manila in 1875.

DA SILVA E SOUZA, António José (d. Hong Kong, 1878)
(?)-1868: on staff, Japan Times
1868-1869: ed. and pub. O Echo do Povo (4.2)
António bought O Echo do Povo from his brother João José in January 1868. He carelessly permitted a libel to be printed; his conviction and concurrent failure to comply with the newspaper ordinance resulted in the closing of the newspaper in December 1869. He wore as foreman in the printing works of da Souza and Company until his death.

DA SILVA E SOUZA, João José
1850-1860(?): foreman, China Mail (3.4.1)
1859-1868: ed. and pub. O Echo do Povo (4.2)
1874: pub. Canton Press (2.9)
João José established a printing company in 1865, having worked five years for Delfino Noronha. He lost a libel case to M. Pereira, was fined heavily, and left the Colony for a time; it was presumably this which forced the sale of his newspaper to his brother, António.

DA SILVA E. SOUZA, José Maria
1852-(?): ed. Verdade e Liberdade (1.20; 4.1.2)

DA SILVA TELLES, António Gomes
1883-1889, 1890(?)-1891(?): ed. O Correio Macaense (1.12.2)
DA SILVA TELLES, Dr. J.C.
1838-1839: ed. O Correio Macaense (1.6)

SILVERTHORNE, James
1909-1911: prop. and ed. Chefoo Morning Post (7.32)

SINNETT, Alfred Percy (b. 1840; d. 1921?)
1866-1868: ed. Hongkong Daily Press (3.5.2)
(?): ed. Pioneer, India

Sinnett was educated at London University. He left China in July
1868 and in London wrote a series of articles for the Standard on men
and manners in Hong Kong. In India he became interested in occultism
and later became president of the London Theosophical Society. A pro-
fessional writer, he did not plunge into Hong Kong controversies and
thus his editorial policy, especially after Murrow's, appeared most
mild. He was for a time secretary of the Hong Kong Association.

Publications.

SKERTCHLY, E.F.
1899-1901: ed. Hongkong Telegraph (3.8)

SLADE, John (d. Hong Kong, 1843)
1834-1843: ed. Canton Register (2.1.2)

Slade maintained editorial independence over his newspaper despite
occasional opposition from James Matheson, the proprietor. An old resident
of China, Slade was associated with Magniac and Company and later with
Jardine Matheson and Company. He was in Canton from 1816 to 1824,
trading and learning Chinese, and for a time he may have been in the
employ of the East India Company. He returned to London in 1824 and
again to Canton in July 1831, but was absent from China in 1832 and most
of 1833, taking over the Register on his return. Slade was competent
in Chinese, the translations in the Register being mostly his during
the period of his editorship. As was the case with many other Westerners
of this period, however, his familiarity with the Chinese did not lead
to admiration for them, and he supported Jardine and other merchant
efforts to secure sounder trade relations with the Empire. Publications.
SMITH

?: ed. and manager, Straits Times, Singapore

1861: ed. Shanghae Daily Times (5.2.1)

The proprietor, W. Wynter, left Shanghai with unpaid debts and Smith was unable to continue the newspaper.

SMITH, Daniel Wares

1866-1869: pub. and manager, Shanghai Recorder (5.3.1)

1870-1911: with the Hongkong Daily Press (3.5.2)

Smith moved to Hong Kong after selling the Recorder property at auction and joined his former Shanghai editor, A.C. Dulcken, on the staff of the Press. He was manager at least through 1889, but by 1900 he was in London and listed as the lessee— from the Murrow family. He remained thus through 1911. In 1870 during Bell's absence he was sued for a libelous article written by Dulcken against the Registrar, C.C. Smith.

SMITH, J. Mackrill

Smith was Henry Shearman's executor and ran the North-China Herald (5.1) for a month after Shearman's death in 1856. He established in Canton in 1840 with Bell and Company, and then operated on his own as J.M. Smith and Company, Shanghai. Trading mostly with America, he added a partner; thus the firm became Smith, King and Company. Smith was in China until 1870.

SNEWIN, E.A.

1901-1906(?): ed. Hongkong Telegraph (3.8)

DE SOUZA, Francisco

1872-1874: ed. Gazeta de Macau e Timor (1.9.4)

The Daily Press (3.5.2) states that Pinto Bastos was editor, at least until his departure in 1874 for Lisbon. However, the key policy maker was Pedro Gastrão Mesnier, private secretary to the governor of Macao.
DE SOUZA, J.J.  
1909: general manager, *Shanghai Free Press* (5.12)

STRACHAN, Robert  
1849-1860: pub. *Hongkong Register* (3.3.2)

Strachan was also nominally editor, but although he kept control of policy, he was mainly concerned with the business side of the enterprise. In 1859 the paper was sold to Richard A.L. Phillips, but his extravagance forced Strachan to regain control. For five months in 1860 the paper, as the *Chronicle*, was again out of Strachan's control, and as his health was poor, he finally sold the property at the end of that same year and left the Colony in 1861. A merchant himself, Strachan ran a merchants' newspaper, although he was never able to clear the mortgage on the property with Jardine Matheson.

"Strachan" was a familiar name in the China trade. There had been a J. Strachan in the 1830's and 1840's, and A.F. Strachan, N. Strachan, and W.M. Strachan in the 1840's. There was also a "George Strachan," an architect, in Shanghai, but the specific relationships are not known. When Robert bought the *Register* in 1849 he was referred to as one of the oldest residents in China. He arrived on the China coast from Peru in 1838, was one of the first to move to Hong Kong, and was first associated with W.T. Gemmell and Company. In 1848 he attempted to establish himself as an agent for steamer companies.

Active in Hong Kong social life, Strachan married only in 1860. He was a Volunteer and a member of the Morrison Education Society. He was usually opposed to the policies of the government—except during the administration of Governor Sir George Bonham (1848-1854)—and was especially bitter toward Sir John Bowring (1854-1859) when the latter awarded the *Gazette* contract back to the *Mail*.

SWARTHOUT, W.N.  
1901-1904(?): ed. and/or prop.(?) *Shanghai Times* (5.11)

By trade a printer, Swarthout had been with the U.S. Army in Manila. His exact role on the newspaper is not known.
TARRANT, William (d. London, 1872)

1850-1869: ed. and pub. Friend of China (2.4; 3.1.2; 5.4.1)

According to some sources, Tarrant, with the financial assistance of friends, bought the Friend of China from Richard Oswald in June 1850. But since Oswald had left the Colony in 1847, the proprietor was presumably John Carr. In 1858 Tarrant began seeking a purchaser, hoping to retire to England; he found none and in 1859 was jailed after being convicted of criminal libel. Publication of the Friend ceased in Hong Kong September 21, 1859. After a year in jail Tarrant was released and published the Friend in Canton from October 13, 1860 to December 28, 1861. He then moved to Shanghai where the newspaper published from January 1863 to 1869. From January to May 1869 the newspaper was run by C. Treasure Jones, but Tarrant was dissatisfied, regained control, and sold the property, returning to England in 1870.

Although Tarrant was not a Chinese scholar and spoke the language but poorly, he had many Chinese friends and informants. Throughout his editorial career he championed grievances—including his own, and evidently antagonized everyone. He was not popular socially; typically, he was expelled from the reading room of the Hong Kong library once, and almost expelled a second time. He came to Hong Kong as steward of the ship "Alexander Baring," and there is just the suspicion that he was not gently bred. His brother, J. Tarrant, practiced law in Hong Kong and India and handled William's cases, but he was obviously not available in 1859. For all his sympathies with the Chinese people, Tarrant was in violent opposition to the Manchu regime and thus bitter over the events connected with the mass poisoning attempt in January 1857. Ah Lum, owner of the E-Sing Bakery, poisoned the bread—presumably on orders from the Canton Viceroy, and almost all foreign residents, including Tarrant, suffered. At the subsequent trial the accused were freed for lack of evidence. Tarrant accused the acting Colonial Secretary W.T. Bridges of accepting bribes to defend them; he was convicted of libel and his fine of $100 was paid by popular subscription. But Tarrant's reaction in immediately assuming bribery had a longer and deeper history.
After serving as a clerk with Charles Marwick in Hong Kong, Tarrant in 1843 entered the colonial government service as an assistant to the Land Officer acting as assessor and collector; in 1844 he was appointed Clerk of the Registry of Deeds and Keeper of Leases and Records in the Surveyor General's department. In this position he accused William Caine of allowing his compradore to squeeze Chinese merchants. Caine countercharged and Tarrant was dismissed, but was subsequently reinstated on the demand of the Secretary of State; his position had, however, been eliminated in the meantime and he was only partially compensated.

The Friend of China had in the late 1840's already begun to espouse Tarrant's cause. During the 1850's he used the paper as a vehicle for carrying on his struggle against corruption in the government, especially against Caine, W.T. Bridges, and D.W. Caldwell. In 1856 his charges found a champion in the newly arrived attorney-general, T. Chisholm Anstey, and Caldwell was investigated. Although Caldwell was found not free from censure, he was retained in his post. In 1857 a Chinese associate of Caldwell's, Ma Chow Wong, was found guilty of aiding pirates and Caldwell again was under suspicion. Allegedly, papers incriminating Caldwell were found in Ma's house, but the evidence was burned on the orders of Bridges. In the confusion which followed, Bowring seemed to lose control of the government, Anstey was dismissed, and Tarrant was finally convicted of libel against Bridges--after several attempts. The trial was a criminal one in which the entire Hong Kong bar was retained against Tarrant, who was thus forced to defend himself. After six months in felon's jail, where he received particularly brutal treatment, he was released on orders of the Colonial Office, but jailed again for debt to Bridges. Again a public subscription saved him, and he left for Canton.

This period is highly controversial, and although further research is required before a definitive conclusion can be reached, the weight of evidence now heavily favors Anstey, Tarrant, and Murrow against Bridges, Caine, Caldwell, Mitchell, and the lesser officials involved.

Publications.
THIRKELL, John George
prior to 1875: Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Liverpool Daily Post
1880: temporary ed. North-China Herald (5.1.5)
1883-1890: lessee and ed. Shanghai Courier (5.7.9)
Thirkell was engaged to come out to China as a reporter for the
North-China Herald and may have remained on the staff of that paper
as an assistant to F.H. Balfour until 1883.

THOMSON, F.W.
1866-1868: manager, Hankow Times (7.27)

THORNE, John
1867-1869: founder and co-prop. (with Harold Twombly), Shanghai News-
Letter for California and the Atlantic States (5.7.1)
Thorne, an American, came to China as an agent for Wells, Fargo
and Company, and was a general broker and merchant in Shanghai.

TILLOT, Marcel (b. Lyon 1867)
1897-1907: founder and director, L'Echo de Chine (6.7.1)
1889: ed. La Revue Philatélique
1901-1902: founder and ed. La Revue de l'Extrême Orient (weekly)
Tillot was also a legal advisor and merchant, head of the firm of
Tillot and Company. He was a member of the French Municipal Council
for six years, serving as its president in 1907; in 1899 he was appointed
Conseiller du Commerce Extérieur de la France. Publications.

TOOTAL, John Broadhurst (b. 1819; d. 1878)
1866-1878: managing prop. Pickwood and Company, which published
North-China Herald (5.1)
Tootal probably obtained his interest in the newspaper through
partnership in Nichol Latimer and Company in 1865. He was also concerned
with the Shanghai Wharf Company, which went bankrupt in 1867.

TRENWITH, John Stephan
1880: manager, Shanghai Courier (5.7.9)
Trenwith may have been lessee and/or publisher of the Courier. He had had twenty-five years of newspaper experience, including work as a compositor on the Standard and with the Times of India. His management of the paper was successful.

TSE Tsan Tai (Hsieh Tsan-t'ai, 謝贊泰, b. Australia, 1872)
1903: co-founder and compradore, South China Morning Post (3.9)

A successful businessman, civic leader, and inventor, Tse Tsan Tai was founder of the Chinese Patriotic Reform Association and an adviser to revolutionary leaders. Publications.

TSENG Laisun S. (Tseng Tzu-an 曾子安)
1907-(?): ed. English-language section, South-China Daily Journal (5.17)

TWOMBLY, Howard
1867-1869: founder and co-prop. (with John Thorne), Shanghai News-Letter for California and the Atlantic States (5.7.1)

An American merchant, Twombly was connected with Fogg and Company.

VASCO, João Pereira
1899: ed. O Lusitano (1.16)

VAUGHAN SMITH, Alice Mildred (b. 1861)
1889: leader writer, Japan Gazette; correspondent for North-China Mail (5.1.5), Japan Mail
1891: ed. Japan Gazette
1893-1894: in India; correspondent for North-China Herald, Chicago Daily News
1894: leader writer, North-China Herald and acting ed. during absence of Maclellan; war correspondent for Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore
1896: ed. Shanghai Times (5.11)
1897-1903: joint ed. Peking and Tientsin Times (7.2)
1903-1907: ed. Peking and Tientsin Times

Educated privately, Alice Vaughan Smith was the wife of W.H. Vaughan Smith, a printer and until 1906 manager of the Imperial Chinese Telegraph Administration. From 1898 to 1904 she was also correspondent of the London Standard. Publications.
VELHO, A.A. Martins
1880-(?): pub. A Verdade (1.9.6)

VIRMAITRE, M.
1873: ed. Le Courrier de Changhai (6.4.2)

WALTHER, F.
1909: ed. Tsingtauer Neueste Nachrichten (7.11)

WERNE, A.E.
1904: ed. Daily Press (5.10.3)

WHITE, James
1842: founder and ed. Friend of China (3.1.1)
White was assisted by the Reverend J.L. Shuck; neither of them
stayed long with the Friend. Elected an alderman of the City of London
in 1835, White came to China in 1841. He moved from Hong Kong to Shanghai
in 1844 and returned to England in 1851 after successful speculation in
silk and tea. The member for Plymouth in 1857, he was returned to Parliament
from Brighton in 1860. As an MP he was particularly interested in China
questions and was an influential member of the Hong Kong Association, London.
He visited China again briefly in 1876.

WILCOX, R. Chatterton
1875-1900(?): ed. Hongkong Daily Press (3.5.2)
1878-(?): lessee, Hongkong Daily Press
Wilcox left the Press sometime between 1889 and 1900.

WILSON, Andrew (b. India; d. England, 1881)
?: ed. Bombay Times
1857: joined staff of China Mail (3.4.1)
1858-1860: ed. China Mail
1873: ed. Times of India
Born in India of Scottish missionary parents and educated in Edinburgh
and Tübingen, Wilson was sympathetic to the Chinese and supported the
policies of Governor Sir John Bowring (1854-1859); he opposed the Arrow
War. These policies brought severe attacks from Murrow and Tarrant. Wilson was secretary of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was subsequently the London correspondent of the China Mail. Publications.

1827-1828: founder and ed. Canton Register (2.1.1)
1831-1833: founder and ed. Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette (2.2)

The first editor of an English-language, China-coast newspaper was an American, son of the famous actor-manager William Burke Wood (1779-1861) and his leading lady Juliana Westray. W.W. Wood came out to China, a gentleman adventurer, as a clerk with the American firm of Russell and Company. After three months as editor of the Register, his vigorous editing and anti-East India Company position forced his removal. He returned briefly to the United States, then returned to China in 1831 and founded the Chinese Courier, from which he continued his advocacy of free trade in China. His increasingly personal attacks on Keating, the editor of the Register, brought a challenge to a duel, which Wood accepted. Keating, however, left for Lin Tin. Wood then proposed to Harriet Low, niece of W.H. Low, a prominent American merchant in Macao. Her uncle refused his permission for the marriage to a "penniless adventurer" and Wood left for the Philippines in October 1833. His newspaper closed. After spending several years managing a coffee and sugar plantation in Jala Jala, he rejoined Russell, Sturgis, and Company in Manila.

W.C. Hunter wrote of him: "He abounded in wit, was well read, and of no fixed purpose." Hunter is incorrect in supposing his father to have been a tragedian, however. W.B. Wood's acting forte was genteel comedy.


WRIGHT, T.
1904-1907: ed. Hongkong Daily Press (3.5.2)
Wright had had previous newspaper experience on the North-China Herald (5.1.5) and in Japan.

WYNTER, W.
1861: founder, Shanghai Daily Times

Before the year was out Wynter absconded with the subscriptions, leaving his debts unpaid. He was the merchant proprietor of W. Wynter and Company.

XAVIER, L.M.
1902-1907: ed. O Porvir (4.1.5)

XAVIER, Lisbello J.
1897-1907: pub. O Porvir (4.1.5)
V

EXTANT COPIES OF CHINA-COAST NEWSPAPERS

Given the variety and dispersion of China-coast newspapers, one major problem is simply to find them.* This is a long-range task and one in which absolute accuracy appears impossible. The list of extant copies which follows was compiled from card catalogues, searches by the authors or contributors, and correspondence. This co-operation has yielded a list considerably more complete than would otherwise have been possible. At the same time, however, the diversity of methods of search and notation is hardly a guarantee of uniformity either of the degree of thoroughness or of the form in which the information was furnished to the editor. Readers are advised to consult with the particular library before passing final judgment on a collection.

The newspapers in the following list are arranged in the same order as in Section III. Holdings of any particular newspaper are arranged alphabetically by library, within groups as follows: (a) libraries with the largest runs; (b) libraries holding issues not found in (a); (c) libraries holding only duplicates of (a).

Holdings by a particular library are stated in as abbreviated a form as possible. The form is based on the generally accepted periodical system, with, for example, 1.1:1-5 standing for volume 1. number 1: pages 1 through 5 inclusive.

 Runs of newspapers are expressed thus: 1.1-5.4; w 3,2; w 4-4, 5, 7-9—that is, volume 1. number 1 to volume 5. number 4 inclusive; but excluding (wanting) volume 3. number 2; wanting volume 4. numbers 4 and 5 and 7 through 9 inclusive.

 Dates, where available, have been added in the following manner: 1.4-1.6 (1-15 Feb 1890). In cases where volume and issue numbers were not available or not reported, we have substituted dates for volumes and/or

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*The University of Kansas is sponsoring a project designed to insure the availability on microfilm of China-coast newspapers, 1822-1941.
issues but continue to follow the standard system. Thus, 1.2 Jan 1892-3.5 Jan 1894; 1895; 1899 w 1899.5 Mar would stand for volume 1. issue of January 2, 1892, to volume 3. issue of January 5, 1894; all of the issues for 1895; all of the issues for 1899 except that of March 5. A combination of dates and issues may be used where necessary.

### List of Libraries and Their Abbreviations

#### Britain and Northern Ireland (B)
- B.BIU: Queens University, Belfast
- B.C: Cambridge University
- B.L: British Museum
- B.LMS: London Missionary Society
- B.LOS: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
- B.O: Bodleian
- B.OA: St. Antony's College, Oxford

#### France (F)
- F.BN: La Bibliothèque Nationale
- F.LOV: L'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris

#### Germany (G)
- G.BIA: Bibliothek des Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart
- G.BSL: Bavarian State Library, Munich
- G.DB: Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig
- G.DS: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin
- G.DZ: Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Potsdam
- G.F: Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main
- G.H: Seminar für Sprache und Kultur Chinas, Universität Hamburg, Hamburg
- G.UB: Universitäts Bibliothek, Marburg/Lahn
- G.UH: Universitätsbibliothek der Humboldt-Universität, Berlin
- G.WD: West-deutsche Bibliothek, Marburg/Lahn

#### Hong Kong (HK)
- HK.SC: Hong Kong Supreme Court
- HK.U: Hong Kong University
Japan (J)

J.KU Kyōto Daigaku 京都大学 (Kyoto University)
J.ND Kokkai 國會 (National Diet)
J.TB Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 (Toyo Library)
J.TO Tōkyō Daigaku, Tōyō Bunka Kenkyujo 東京大學, 東洋文化研究所 (Tokyo University, Institute for Oriental Culture)

Portugal (P)

P.BN Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa
P.MP Macao Public
P.SG Sociedade de Geografia, Lisbon

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

USSR.L Gosudarstvennaia ordena Lenina Biblioteka SSSR imeni V.I. Lenina (Lenin State Library, Moscow)

United States (US)

US.CLU University of California, Los Angeles
US.CSt Stanford University
US.CStH Hoover Library, Stanford
US.CU University of California, Berkeley
US.DLC Library of Congress
US.EI Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts
US.H Harvard University
US.H(NEDL) Harvard--New England Deposit Library
US.ICN Newberry, Chicago
US.ICU University of Chicago
US.KU University of Kansas
US.MILC Midwest Inter-Library Center
US.MiU University of Michigan
US.NIC Cornell University, Wason Oriental Collection
US.NN New York Public
US.NYM New York Missionary
US.Y Yale University
1. MACAO: PORTUGUESE

1.1 A Abelha da China, 1822-1823
P.BN 1-67 (12 Sep 1822-27 Dec 1823)
P.SG 43-55, 64 (10 Jul-4 Oct, 6 Dec 1823)

1.2 Gazeta de Macau, 1824-1826
P.BN 1 Jan 1825 - 30 Dec 1826; w 6 May 1826

1.4.1 Macaista Imparcial, 1836-1837
P.BN 1-105 (9 Jun 1836-12 Jun 1837); w 3, 5, 7, 9-10, 14-17

1.4.2 Macaista Imparcial e Registe Mercantil, 1837-1838
P.BN 106-158 (5 Jul 1837-4 Jul 1838); w 112

1.4.4 A Aurora Macaense, 1843-1844
P.BN 1-56 (14 Jan 1843-3 Feb 1844); w 41 (21 Oct 1843)

1.5.2 Gazeta de Macau, 1839 (Jan-Aug)
P.BN 1-32 (17 Jan-29 Aug 1839)

1.5.3 O Portuguêz na China, 1839-1843(?)
P.BN 2.1-4.35 (3 Sep 1840-4 May 1843); w 4.12 (17 Nov 1842)

1.5.4 O Procurador dos Macaistas, 1844-1845
P.BN 1.1-2.29 (6 Mar 1844-22 Sep 1845)

1.5.5 O Solitário na China, 1845
P.BN 1.1-1.12 (29 Sep-18 Dec 1845)

1.6 O Correio Macaense, 1838-1839
P.MP

1.9.1 Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo, 1863-1866
P.BN 1.1-3.13 (8 Oct 1863-28 Dec 1865), and 5 Apr 1866; w 1.11, 12, 20-23, 26-29 (17, 24 Dec 1863, 18 Feb-10 Mar, 31 Mar-21 Apr 1864)
P.SG 1863.2, 6, 8-13; 1864.14-52 (7 Jan-29 Sep); 1864(ii).1-13 (6 Oct-29 Dec); 1865(ii).14-27, 31-33, 37-39, 41; 1865(iii).4, 5, 7-9
1.9.2 O Independente, 1867-1869, 1873-1880, 1882-1898
P,BN 17.3 (26 Sep 1867); 1.2 (29 May 1873); 5.168, 177 (25 Dec 1882, 21 Feb 1883); 7.277, 291 (22 Jan, 30 Apr 1885);
(iii) 11.1 (17 Jan 1889); (iv) 17.8 (31 Oct 1897); also
18 Apr 1886
P,MP (long runs)
P,SG 27-78 (7 May 1874-29 Apr 1875); w 46,47 (17, 24 Sep 1874)

1.9.3 O Oriente, 1869-1870, 1872
P,BN 1-37 (18 Jan-14 Oct 1872)
P,MP

1.9.4 Gazeta de Macau e Timor, 1872-1874
P,BN 1.1-2.26 (24 Sep 1872-20 Mar 1874); w 1.6, 8, 9, 16
(29 Oct, 10, 17 Nov 1872)
P,MP
P,SG 1.1-2.26 (20 Sep 1872-20 Mar 1874)

1.9.5 Jornal de Macau, 1875-1876
P,BN 1.16 (25 Aug 1875)

1.9.6 A Verdade, 1880-(?)
P,BN 1.1 (2 May 1880)

1.10 O Noticiario Macaense, 1869-1870
P,MP

1.11.2 O Macaense, 1882-1892(?)
P,BN 1.1, 31, 45 (28 Feb, 7 Dec 1882, 22 Feb 1883); 2.86
(6 Dec 1883); 4.170 (1 Apr 1886); 5.1 (10 Jun 1886);
fourth series, 4.1, 6 (26 Nov, 31 Dec 1896); and 1.1 (1892)
P,MP
P,SG 1882.13 Jul-10 Aug

1.11.3 A Voz do Ciente, 1887-1895
P,BN 1.1, 25 (1 Jan, 11 Jun 1887); 2.68 (7 Apr 1888)
P,MP
P,SG 1-262 (Jan 1887-26 Dec 1891)
1.11.4  O Echo Macaense, 1893-1899
P.BN   1.1, 13 (18 Jul, 10 Oct 1893); 5.95, 97 (8, 22 May 1898)
P.MP   (almost complete)

1.12.1  O Correio de Macau, 1882-1883
P.BN   1.13, 19, 20 (7 Jan, 18, 26 Feb 1883)
P.MP

1.12.2  O Correio Macaense, 1883-1889, 1890(?)-1891(?)
P.BN   3.113 (3 Nov 1885)

1.13   A Liberdade, 1896-(?)
P.BN   1.1, 2, 7, 21 (19, 26 Jul, 30 Aug, 6 Dec 1896)

1.14   O Oriente Português, 1892-1894
P.BN   1.1, 2 (24 Apr, 3 May 1892)

1.15   O Porvir, 1897(?)
(See 4.1.5.)

1.16   O Lusitano, 1898-1899
P.BN   2.54 (1899)
P.MP

1.18   A Verdade, 1908-1911
P.BN   1.2-1.5 (26 Nov-17 Dec 1908)
P.MP   (complete)
P.SG   30-107 (10 Jun 1909-1 Dec 1910); w 93, 94 (25 Aug, 1 Sep 1910)

1.19   Vida Nova, 1909-1910
P.BN   1.1 (5 Jan 1909)
P.MP
P.SG   1-100 (3 Jan 1909-27 Nov 1910)
2. CANTON AND MACAO: ENGLISH

2.1.1 Canton Register and Price Current, 1827-1828

2.1.2 Canton Register, 1828-1843

3.3.1 Hongkong (late) Canton Register, 1843

(a) B.L  1-10 (1827-1837); 12, 12 May 1839; 13, 25-31, 34-48, 50-52; 14, 1-23 (8 Jun 1841), includes extraordinary numbers 26 May 1831, 26 July 1834

HK.U  1.5-16. end (15 Jan 1828-26 Dec 1843); w 1.6, 7, 27; w 5.8-25; w 7.1, 12, 13, 21, 32, 33; w 15.40

J.TB  1-16.1 (8 Nov 1827-3 Jan 1843)

US.EI  1-5.16 Aug 1832; 6, 7; 8.28 Apr, 12 May, 23 Jun, 20 Oct, 1, 29 Dec 1835; 9, 10, 11; 12, 1, 29 Jan, 19 Mar, 11 Jun, 23 Jul 1839; 13 (1840); w 5:47-55, 71-72, 105-106, 119-120; w 6:45-46, 59-60; w 9:24-27, 44

(c) B.BIU  8 (1835)

B.LOS  1.7-41; 2.1-2; 7; 8 w 8.24

US.DLC  2-3.15 Feb 1830; 8 w 8.7 Jul 1835; 9.5 Jan 1836; 13, 7 Jul 1840; 15 w 15.9-30 Aug, 13 Sep, 13 Dec 1842; 16.24, 31 Jan, 28 Feb, 30 Jun-4 Jul, 14, 21 Nov, 5, 26 Dec 1843

US.H  2-4; 7-9

US.MILC  8-9 (1835-1836)

US.NIC  1-3; 5; 7-10 (1827-1830, 1832, 1834-1837)

US.Y  3-4; 15.13 Sep, 11, 18, 25 Oct 1842

2.2 Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette, 1831-1833

(a) B.L  1 w 1.32, 33, 42-45; 2 w 2.1, 2, 22, 29-31; 3.1-6 (28 Jul 1831-Sep 1833)

(b) US.EI  1.1-36

2.3 Canton Press and Price Current, 1835-1844

(a) B.L  1-9.13 (12 Sep 1835-30 Mar 1844); w 3,26; w 4.6, 7, 24-28, 30, 45, 48; w 5.12; w 7.63; includes extraordinary numbers 13 Oct 1835, 20 Mar 1839, 27 Feb, 22, 31 Mar 1841

(b) US.EI  1 (12 Sep 1835-3 Sep 1836); 4 w 4.19, 29, 30, 31 (Sep 1838-Oct 1839)
2.4 **Friend of China, 1842, 1860-1861**

(For 1842 issue, see 3.1.1.)

HK.U 19-20 (6 Oct 1860-2) Dec 1861)

3. **HONG KONG: ENGLISH**

3.1.1 **Friend of China, 1842**

HK.U 1,1 (17 Mar 1842)

3.1.2 **Friend of China and Hongkong Gazette, 1842-1859**

(a) HK.U 1,1-17.end (24 Mar 1842-Sep 1858)

(c) B.L 12 Jul 1846 (extraordinary number), 10.77
(24 Sep 1851); 17.24 (24 Mar 1858)

G.BSL 11.104; 12 (3 issues)

US.DLC 1844.2-12, 23 Mar, 2, 13, 24, 27 Apr, 4, 8,
15 May, 1, 15 Jun, 13, 27 Jul, 14 Aug; 1845.19 Mar,
9 Aug; 1853.5 Oct; 1855.8 Aug; 1856.1 Nov; 1857.9
May, 30 Sep; 1858.3 Jul

US.EI 1845.9 Apr, 1 Nov

US.ICN 1849.27 Jan-26 Sep; 1850-1851

US.Y 1842.3, 10

3.1.3 **Overland Friend of China, 1845-1859**

(a) B.L 1847.21 (25 Apr)-26; 1848.52 (29 Nov); 1849.53-56,
59, 61-66; 1851 w 1851.4, 6, 11-12; 1852-1859.18

HK.U 1845-1858

(c) US.DLC 1845.30 Aug; 1855.15 Nov, 15 Dec; 1856.15 Jan,
10 May, 10 Jul, 15, 24 Nov; 1857.14 Feb, 9, 21 May,
10, 25 Aug, 30 Oct
3.3.1 Hongkong (late Canton) Register, 1843 (Jul-Dec)
(See also Canton Register, 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 above.)

3.3.2 Hongkong Register, 1844-1859 (except as noted in 3.3.3)

3.3.3 Hongkong Register and Government Gazette, 1844 (Apr-Sep)

(a) HK.U 17-31 (1844-1858)

(c) B.L 31.12; ns 1.281 (23 Mar 1858)

B.LMS 1859.27 May, 2 Jun-31 Aug

US.DLC 1844-1847; 1853.27 Sep-8 Nov; w 1844.6, 13, 27 Aug, 10 Sep-1 Oct, 10, 17 Dec; w 1845.7 Jan; w 1846.19 May, 2 Jun, 1, 8, 29 Sep, 6, 20 Oct, 3, 17 Nov, 8 Dec; w 1847.5, 26 Jan, 16 Feb, 9, 16, 30 Mar, 4, 18 May, T-15, 29 Jun, 6, 13 Jul, 10 Aug, 7, 28 Sep, 23 Nov; 1853 w 11 Oct

US.EI 1844.21 May, 25 Jun, 13, 27 Aug, 17 Sep; 1859.10 Nov, 2, 3, 5, 7 Dec


US.Y 1847.5 Jan-28 Dec; 1852.13 Apr-15 Jun, 22 Jun

3.3.4 Overland Register and Price Current, 1845-1859, 1860 (Jul)-1861

(a) B.L (series i) 1-13; w 1.1-9, 12; w 5.10; w 13.15
(series ii) 1 (1859)
(series iii) 1.12-20, 22-24 (23 Jun 1860-Jan 1861)

HK.U 1-10 (1845-1855), 13 (1858)

(b) B.LMS 1859.4 Jun; 1860.13 Oct, 31 Dec

(c) US.DLC 1847.29 Mar-25 Apr; 1853.27 Sep-11 Oct, 27 Oct; 1857.15 Feb; 1859.15 Feb

3.3.6 Overland China Chronicle, 1860 (Jan-Jun)

B.LMS 1860.27 Feb

3.3.7 Hongkong Register and Daily Advertiser, 1860 (Jun)-1861

B.L ns 1.281 (24 Nov 1860)
3.4.1 China Mail, 1845-1911
(a) B.L
1845.20 Feb-1858; 1863 w 1863.19 Mar; 1864 w 1864.Aug-Sep; 1866 w 1866.5 Apr, 14 Jun, 9 Aug (vol 22); 23-29 (1867-1873); w 23, 9 Feb, 11 May, 29 Jun, 12 Jul, 20, 27 Aug, 2, 21 Sep 1867; w 24, 13, 21 Mar, 15 Jun, 22 Jul, 6, 7, 14 Aug, 26 Dec 1868; w 25, 13, 23 Apr, 18, 19 May, 24 Jul, 1 Nov 1869; w 26,25, 31 Jan, 15 Jul, 14 Sep 1870; w 27, 20 Feb, 11 Mar, 8, 22 Apr 1871; w 28, 1 Oct 1872; w 29, 31 Dec 1873; and 1874-1885.24 Sep; 1886-1888; 1901.4 Nov-1904.26 Aug
HK.SC 1876.Jan-Jun; 1877-1909; 1910.Jan-Sep; 1911
(b) HK.U
1853-1855; 1861-1865; 1867; 1870-1875
US.CLU 1845.20 Feb-1849.21 Jun (positive microfilm)
US.DLC 1845-1860; 1900.18 Jan; w 1853.10, 17 Mar, 14, 21 Apr, 10 Nov; w 1854.20 Jul-3 Aug; w 1856.20 Mar-10 Apr, 20 Nov, 18 Dec; w 1859.29 Dec
US.Y 1845.20 Feb-1857
(c) B.LMS 1845.3 Apr; 1846.12 Feb, 10 Dec; 1849.15 Mar; 1858.23 Dec; 1859.8 Sep; 1860.6 Dec
J.ND 1895.14 Feb-17 Jun
J.TB 1-4 (20 Feb 1845-1848)
US.CU 1845-1857
US.EI 1854.21 Sep
US.ICN 1848.13-20 Jan, 20 Feb, 23 Mar-13 Apr
US.MILC 1846.19 Feb-1847.11 Feb
US.NIC 1845-1849

3.4.2 Overland China Mail, 1848-1909
(a) B.L 1-2 (1848-Mar 1849); [numbers on "3" and "4" were omitted to bring volume numbering into line with that of the China Mail]; 5 (Apr-Dec 1849); 6-38 (1850-1882); 1883-1909; w 6, Feb, May, Nov 1850; w 10. part of Jan 1854; w 13, Feb-Apr 1857; w 14,10 Aug 1858; w 15,183; w 17,228-230, 241-243; w 18; w 19,15 Jan, 1 Oct, 15 Dec 1863; w 20,298 (15 Jan 1864), 300, 302, 310, 314, 316, 320; w 21,324 (17 Feb 1865), 329, 334, 339, 344; w 22,351 (1 Apr 1866), 352, 354, 356, 359, 360, 368; w 23,369 (1 Jan 1867), 377, 387, 390, 393; w 24,394, 395, 401; w 29,15 Aug 1873; w 30,10 Dec 1874; w 31,589 (3 Jul 1875), 595, 596, 602; w 32,603-607, 610-616 (1876)
3.4.3 **Dixson's Hongkong Gazette**, 1850

3.4.4 **Dixson's Hongkong Recorder**, 1850-1859

3.4.5 **Hongkong Recorder**, 1859

- **B.LMS** 1859.3 Aug

- **HK.U** 1-10 (17 Jun 1850 specimen issue, 18 Jun 1850-31 Dec 1859); 1. 1.21 Jun, 5 Jul, 5 Aug, 25 Sep, 16, 23, 25, 27 Oct, 22, 24, 29 Jan 1851, 19 Mar, 2, 16 May 1851; 2. 1.13 Aug 1851, 1, 3 Dec, 16 Jan 1852; 3. 3.20 Dec 1852, 10, 12 Jan 1853, 23 Feb, 2 May; 4. 4.18 Nov 1853; 6. 6.14 Jan 1856; 8. 8.21 Aug 1857

3.4.6 **Hongkong Shipping List**, 1855-1857

3.4.7 **Hongkong Shipping List and Commercial Intelligencer**, 1857-1862

- **HK.U** 1855.1 Aug-1861

3.4.11 **Chung-wai hsin-wen ch'i-jih pao** 中外新聞 七日報

(See 3.4.1 during 1871-1872.6 Apr.)

3.5.1 **Daily Press, Ships, Commerce and Colonies**, 1857-1860

3.5.2 **Hongkong Daily Press, Ships, Commerce and Colonies**, 1861-1911

- **B.L** 1864; 1866-1867; 1868-1911; 1864.2 Jan, 9 Feb, 7 Apr, 13 Jun; 1866.1 Mar, 2, 5, 9-14, 20, 21, 27 Apr, 19, 23, 26 May, 7-9 Jun; 1867.1 Mar
3.5.3 China Overland Trade Report, 1857-1888

(a) B.L 1858.11 Sep-1861; 8-15.1 (1864-4 Jan 1871); 22-32 (1878-1887); w 8.3, 5, 6, 17, 18, 21, 23; w 9.27, 29, 32, 38, 40, 43; w 10.2, 11, 14-16; w 11.19; w 12.9, 12; w 13.9, 15; w 14.11; w 22.26 (Dec 1878); w 23.2, 7, 18; w 24.9 May; w 27.14 Jul; w 32.20

(b) US.DLC 1858.9 Aug, 27 Sep; 1859.14 Mar, 9 Aug, 11 Sep, 12, 28 Oct, 14, 20 Nov, 14, 29 Dec; 1860.14 Jan-1861.30 Nov

3.5.4 Hongkong Weekly Press and China Overland Trade Report, 1869-1911

(a) B.C 1893-1896; 1898

iIK,SC 1895-1909

(c) B.L 1904-1907

B.OA 1904-1907

3.5.5 Hsiang-kang ch'uan-t'ou huo-chia chih 香港船頭貨價紙

(See US.EI entries for 3.5.1.)

3.6 Hongkong Mercury and Shipping Gazette, 1866 (Jun-Dec)

B.L 1.1-162 (1 Jun-31 Dec 1866); w 1.8, 11-13, 19 Jun, 12 Jul, 28 Aug, 5-31 Dec

3.7.1 Daily Advertiser, 1869-1871

B.L 2,589-613 (2-30 Oct 1871)

3.7.2 Daily Advertiser and Shipping Gazette, 1871-1873

B.L 2 (2 Jan-12 Dec 1872); w 2.15 Feb; [vol 3 was not issued]; 4-6 (12 Dec 1872-30 Apr 1873); w 5.2 Jan
3.7.3 Hongkong Times, Daily Advertiser and Shipping Gazette, 1873-1876
(a) B.L 1-3 (1 May 1873-29 Apr 1876); w 1.7, 8 Nov 1873; w 3.15 Nov 1875, 3 Apr 1876
(c) US.EI 1874.12 Nov; 1875.4 Feb

3.7.4 Hongkong Times Mail Supplement, 1873-1876(?)
US.EI 1874.12, 26 Nov; 1875.4, 18 Feb, 22 May, 19 Jun
Others may be found bound with 3.7.3.

3.8 Hongkong Telegraph, 1881-1911
(b) B.L 1881-1883; w 1881.1, 20, 32, 34, 59, 60, 67, 89;
     w 1882.8-22 Jan, 9, 18 Feb, 7 Apr, 13 Jun, 17 Jul,
     31 Dec; w 1883, 8 Feb, 23, 26 Mar, 30 Oct, 31 Dec;
     also 1885.26 Mar; 1886.26 Mar; 1888.14 Jan; 1897-1903;
     w 1897.4, 5, 9, 13, 15, 30 Jan, 2, 6-8, 10-11, 16 Feb,
     9 Apr, 24 May, 7, 22-23 Jun; w 1898.22 Jan, 8 Apr,
     23 Jun, 28, 29 Nov; w 1899.10, 11 Feb, 31 Mar, 24 May,
     26 Jun, 15 Dec; w 1900.31 Jan, 13 Apr, 24 May, 1-9 Sep
US.DLC 1900-1911; w 1907.31 Oct; w 1908.17 Apr, 10 Oct; w 1909.
     6 Jan, 16 Aug, 5, 17 Sep, 15 Nov, 2 Dec; w 1910.6 Jun;
     w 1911.16, 27 Feb, 28 Apr, 30 Sep, 12,19 Oct, 13 Nov

3.9 South China Morning Post, 1903-1911
(a) B.L 1-9 (1903.16 Nov-1911)
US.DLC 1-9; w 1906.2 May, 2 Aug, 24 Nov; w 1907.25 Jan, 2 Aug;
     w 1908.3 Nov; w 1909.4 Jan, 10 Jun
(c) HK.SC 2-9 (1904-1911); w 2.120, 202; w 3.311, 312, 363;
     w 8.392, 393, 403, 404, 500, 587; w 9 (10 issues)

3.10.1 Hongkong Catholic Register, 1878-1880
B.L 1.15-16, 18, 20-36 (11 Mar-Aug 1878); 2 (2 Sep 1878-
     Aug 1879); 3.1-7, 9-17 (3 Sep-27 Dec 1879); 4.13
     (30 Nov 1880)

3.10.2 Catholic Register, 1881-1888(?)
B.L 6.28 (17 Mar 1883), 31, 34, 44; 7.3 (22 Sep 1883),
     14, 15; 8.23-25; 9.5 (7 Nov 1885), 6, 21, 26; 10.2
     (9 Oct 1886), 9-11, 17, 19, 20, 22-24, 27 (17 Sep 1887)
4. **HONG KONG: PORTUGUESE**

4.1.4 **O Independente**, 1869-1873, 1880-1882

P.BN 1.1-36 (18 Sep 1869-31 May 1870); w 1.18, 19 (15, 22 Jan 1870); 11.1 (7 Jan 1880)

P.MP

4.1.5 **O Porvir**, 1897-1907

P.BN 1-163 (20 Nov 1897-29 Dec 1900); w 11, 12, 15, 16, 106, 160, 161 (29 Jan, 5, 26 Feb, 5 Mar 1898, 25 Dec 1899, 8, 15 Dec 1900); 422-482 (6 Jan 1906-2 Mar 1907); w 441, 442, 453-456, 459-460, 476 (19, 26 May, 11 Aug-1 Sep, 20, 27 Sep 1906, 26 Jan 1907)

P.MP

4.1.6 **O Português na China**, 1860- (?)

P.BN 1.2 (13 Aug 1860)

4.2 **O Echo do Povo**, 1859-1868, 1869

B.L 8.361 (27 Feb 1866)

P.BN 1.7, 16, 18, 19, 26, 31 (15 May, 17, 31 Jul, 7 Aug, 25 Sep, 30 Oct 1859); 4.27 Apr 1862

P.MP

5. **SHANGHAI: ENGLISH**

5.1.1 **North-China Herald**, 1850-1867

(a) B.L 1-7 (Aug 1850-Jul 1856), 11-16 (7 Jan 1860-16 Dec 1865)

US,CStH 1-18 (3 Aug 1850-30 Mar 1867); also micro: reel 1, 1852.24 Apr, 5, 22 Mar; 6-7 (1856): reel 2, 9-10 (1859)

US,DLC 1.1 (3 Aug 1850), 1853.28 May, 17 Sep; 1854.4 Mar, 10 Jun; also positive micro 1852-1861

US,H 1-16; w 2.53, 55, 56; also micro 1850-1861; 1864-1865

(c) B.OA 14-17 (1863-8 Apr 1867)

G.BSL 3.129 (1853)

HK,U 10.471-12.27 Dec (6 Aug 1859-27 Dec 1862)

US,EI 1-3,124; 5.23, 30 Sep 1854, 24 Mar, 7, 21, 28 Apr, 5 May 1855; 12.566 (1 Jun 1861); 13.4, 18 Jan, 22 Mar 1862
US.IGN 1850.3 Aug-1851; 1854-1855
US.KU 17 (1866-1867)

5.1.2 North-China and Japan Market Report, 1858-1865
B.L 140, 143, 145 (8 Jan, 21 Feb, 25 Mar 1863)
B.OA There are copies bound with 5.1.1.

5.1.3 North-China Overland Herald and Market Report, 1865-1867
B.OA There are copies bound with 5.1.1.
US.H See micro holdings 1867.8 Jan-25 Mar with vol 1 of
North-China Herald and Market Report.

5.1.4 North-China Herald and Market Report, 1867-1870
(a) B.OA 1-3 (3 Aug 1867-30 Mar 1870)
HK.U 1-3
US.CStH 1-3 also on positive micro
(c) B.L 2.72, 77-78 (5 Sep, 13 Oct-28 Dec 1868); 3
US.Y 1; 3

5.1.5 North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette, 1870-1911
(Volume numbers follow on from 5.1.4.)
(a) B.L 4-88 (Apr 1870-1911); w 17.30 Sep 1877; w 20.22 Jun
1878; w 22.3 Jun 1879; w 36.31 Mar 1886; w 42.29
Jun 1889; w 55.5 Jul 1895; w 56.29 May 1896; w 58.1
Jan 1897
B.OA 4-88; w 1888; w 1890; w 1905-1906
HK.U 4-88
US.CStH 4-88 also positive micro 1883, 1886, 1888, 1893, 1899,
1904, 1906, 1907
US.DLC 4-88; w 1872.11 Jan, 14 Mar, 16 Aug; w 1873.19 Jul,
9 Aug; w 1875.28 Oct; w 1876.6 Jan, 17 Feb, 30 Mar; w
1879.7 Mar; w 1880.10 Aug; w 1882.12 May, 7 Jul; w
1883.21 Mar, 6 Jul, 10 Aug, 29 Sep; w 1884.25 Apr, 11,
18 Jul; w 1885.18 Apr; w 1889.6, 27 Jul, 3, 10, 24,
31 Aug, 7 Sep
US.EI 4-8 (1870-Jun 1872); 13-14 (Jul 1874-Jul 1875); 18-21
(1877-1878); 66-88 (1901-1911)
US.H 1870, Jul-Dec; 9-31 (Jul 1872-1883); 33 (Jul-Dec 1884),
35-39 (Jul 1885-1887); 40-42 (1888-Jun 1889); 52-53
(5 May 1894-Dec 1894); 54 (4 Jan-1 Mar 1895); 54-56
(29 Mar 1895-11 Sep 1896) w 1499, 1500, 1510, 1512;
65-67 (11 Jul 1900-1901) w 1724, 1725, 1730, 1731,
1738, 1745, 1749, 1751, 1755, 1757, 1766, 1777;
68-88; also micro 1889.6 Jul-1900, Jun
US.KU 67-70 (Oct 1901-Feb 1903); 76-77 (Jul-Dec 1905);
84-88 (Jul 1907-1911)
US.NYM 16-86 (1877-1910); w 1877, Jul-Dec; w 1878, Jul-Dec;
w 1880; w 1881, Jul-Dec
US.Y 4-12; 26; 35-50; 56; 85-88
(c) B.LMS 1890-1892
B.O 1883.825; 1891-1911
F.BN 77.991 (6 Oct 1905)
G.BSL 1890, Jul-Dec
H.K.SC 1906
J.TB 4-7 (1870-1871); 56; 59; 61; 64; 67-69; 72-88
J.TO 44-88; w 73, Jul-Dec 1904
US.CU 1896-1911
US.ICU 1909, Jul-1911
US.MILC 86-91 (1908-Jun 1909)
US.MIU 1910-1911

5.1.7 Daily Shipping and Commercial News, 1862-1864

(a) B.L 1862, 27 Jan, 3, 21, 24, 28 Feb, 11, 24, 27-29 Mar,
9 Apr, 30 May, 3 Jun, 7 Jul, 8, 15, 20 Aug, 6, 24,
26-27, 29 Sep, 2, 9 Oct, 22 Nov, 1, 13 Dec; 1863.7-8,
15, 17, 24 Jan, 14, 17-18, 23 Feb, 7-11, 22 Apr, 11,
13-14, 20-21, 23, 26-27, 30 May, 3 Jun

(c) B.OA 9,2880 (10 Mar 1864) bound with North-China Herald
(5.1.1) of 1864

5.1.8 North-China Daily News, 1864-1911

(a) B.L 1869; 1871; 1872, Jul-1874; 1875, Jul-1877, Jun;
1878-1879, Jun; 1884, 15 May; 1889-1893, Jun
US.CStH 1866, Jul-1867; 1871-1873, Jun; 1874-1875, Jan;
1877-1879, Jun; 1880-1881; 1883-1884; 1886-1891
5.3.2 Commercial Record, 1864-1866
F.LOV 1865

5.3.4 Supreme Court and Consular Gazette, 1867-1869
F.LOV 1-6 (1867-1869) [This set belonged to Augustine Heard, Jr.]
US.DLC 1-6; w 1867.12-26 Jan, 6, 27 Jul, 3, 31 Aug-21 Sep, 5, 12-Oct, 9 Nov; w 1868.25 Jan, 14 Nov-26 Dec

5.4.1 Friend of China, 1863-1869
US.EI 21.12 (18 Feb 1863)

5.7.1 Shanghai News-Letter for California and the Atlantic States, 1867-1871
US.DLC 1.3 (16 Jan 1868)
US.EI 1868.14 Jul

5.7.2 Shanghai News-Letter, 1871-1873
US.EI 1871.12 Jun; 1872.25 Jul; 1873.11 Sep

5.7.3 Shanghai Evening Courier, 1868-1875
B.L ns 7.274-8.575 (3 Jan-31 Dec 1874)
US.EI 1873.30 Jul

5.7.4 Shanghai Budget and Weekly Courier, 1871-1873
US.EI 1873.17 Apr, 3, 17, 24 May, 7 Jun-9 Aug, 30 Oct, 6 Nov, 31 Dec

5.7.5 Shanghai Budget and Weekly News-Letter, 1874-1875
US.EI 1874.Jan-18 Jul

5.7.6 Evening Gazette, 1873 (Jun-Sep), 1874-1875
B.L 1874.15 Jan-Dec
US.DLC 1.56 (3 Aug 1873)
5.7.8 Celestial Empire, 1874-1911

(a) B.L 1-27 (4 Jul 1874-Jun 1886) w 23.1-16; ["28" is skipped in the volume numbering]; 29 w 29.2 Jul, 1 Dec 1886; 30 w 30.5 Jan, 10 Jun 1887; 31 then 18-19 with 19 becoming 21 (1888); 22 w 22.1 Feb 1889; 23 (Jul-Dec 1889); 24 ["35" is on the index]; 36-50.27 (Jul 1890-1897); 1908.17 Oct

US.DLC 1900.11 Jul-1909.26 Jun; w 1900.23 Jul, 6 Aug; w 1901.25 Sep; w 1902.25 Feb, 16 Apr; w 1909.2 Jan

US.NIC 1902-1911

(b) J.TB 1-7 (1874-1877)

(c) HK.U 7 (Jul-Dec 1876); 10 (Jan-Jun 1878); 15 (Jan-Jun 1880)

US.CStH 51.11-13; 52.1-2, 5-12; 53.1-13; 54.9-22; 70.1-2

US.EI 38. Jan-16 Oct 1891

US.H 81-88 (1907-1908); w 84.21 Dec 1907

5.7.9 Shanghai Courier and China Gazette, 1875-1890

US.DLC 1876.11 Mar

5.7.10 Shanghai Mercury, 1879-1911

US.DLC 1879.17-23 May

5.9 China Gazette, 1894-1911

US.DLC 1907.3 Nov-1911; w 1907.5-7 Nov, 12-14 Dec; w 1908.1-6 Jan, 25 Mar, 10 Oct; w 1909.8, 22 Apr, 1-5 May, 2, 24, 27 Jun; w 1910.2, 3, 11, 12 May, 8, 9 Jun, 1-7 Jul, 10-11 Aug, 2, 3, 8 Sep, 3, 4, 25 Oct, 6-9 Nov, 11, 19, 28 Nov, 19, 21, 24, 27-29 Dec; w 1911.6, 19, 20-30 Jan, 24 Feb, 22 Mar, 14 Apr, 9-12 Jun, 28-29 Aug, 1-4, 8, 9, 22, 24 Nov, 6, 7, 27, 28 Dec

US.H 5 (Jul-Dec 1901) w 23 Sep, 4, 25 Nov 1901; 6 (Jan-Jun 1902)

US.H 6 (Jul-Dec 1902) w 21 Jul, 4 Aug, 15 Sep, 8 Dec; 7 (Jan-Jul, 31 Dec 1903) w 9 Feb, 19 Mar, 23 Apr, 14, 28 May, 11, 16 Jun

5.11 Shanghai Times, 1901-1911

US.NN 1909.21 Sep-13 Oct, 15-31 Dec; 1910-1911.19 Jul
5.16 **The Cycle**, 1870-1871

B.L 1 (May 1870-Jun 1871)
J.TB 1
US.EI 1

5.17 **South-China Daily Journal (or Nanfangpao)**, 1905-1907(?)

US.MILC 282 (7 Jun 1906); 358-748 (28 Aug 1906-30 Sep 1907);
\( w \) 1906.7 Sep, 1 Oct, 27 Nov, 18, 20, 26, 30, 31 Dec;
\( w \) 1907.1-2, 15 Jan, 6, 9-15, 20-21, 29-30 Feb, 11, 20,
30 Mar, 18, 21, 28 Apr, 12, 25 Sep

6. **SHANGHAI: FRENCH AND GERMAN**

6.6.2 **Le Courrier de l'Extrême-Orient**, 1886

F.BN 1.1-1.38 (1886)

6.7.1 **L'Echo de Chine**, 1897-1911

(a) F.BN 1898-1900; 1901.23 Mar-1903; 1904.16 Mar; 1905; 1906.
2569 (13 Jan), 2579-94, 2601 (23 Feb), 2612, 2775
(22 Sep), 2813 (5 Nov), 2815-16, 2819-20, 2822, 2825-26,
2829-32, 2835, 2837-38, 2840-46, 2848-49, 2854-55
(29 Dec); 1907; \( w \) 4.1093, 1102-1153, 1158-59, 1161-70,
1173-77, 1186-97 (24 Jul 1901), 1200, 1216, 1218-21,
1228, 1250-37 (8 Sep 1901), 1256, 1270-73, 1291, 1297,
1328-40 (17 Jan 1899), 1350, 1370-74, 1382-93, 1399,
1410, 1417-22, 1446-58; \( w \)
5.1573, 1575-93, 1596-98, 1600-04, 1611-16, 1622-24,
1629-85 (26 Aug-30 Oct 1902), 1687-92, 1695-1736 (11
Nov-31 Dec 1902), 1750-60, 1769-70, 1774, 1779-90
(9 Mar 1903), 1792-99, 1803-07, 1809, 1811-14, 1816-17,
1826-38, 1887, 1897, 1899-1909, 1911, 1925-30 (21 Aug
1996, 2007 (20 Nov 1903), 2015, 2022-23, 2025, 2036,
2039 (30 Dec 1903); \( w \) 1905.1 Jan-20 May, 2375, 2377-78,
2380-81, 2386, 2393-94, 2397-2413, 2446 (16 Aug), 2449-50,
2452, 2456, 2459, 2461-97, 2499-2501 (22 Oct-31 Dec);
\( w \) 1907.1-3 Jan, 16-29 Mar, 2-4 Apr, 14 Apr-31 Dec

(b) US.DLC 1905.1 Apr-30 Dec \( w \) 7, 9, 10 May, 15 Jul, 1-3 Nov,
5, 4, 22 Dec

US.EI 1898.11-17 Jan
6.7.2 L'Echo de Chine, 1901-1911
   F.BN  1.14 (29 May 1901), 1904-1911

6.8.1 Der Ostasiatische Lloyd, 1887-1911

   G.UH  1888-1890; 1900-1905; 1906.Jan; 1907.Feb; 1908; 1909.Jan-Feb; 1910
   (c) G.UB  1908
   G.WD  1905.44, 50; 1910.24-52; 1911.1-5, 35-51
   J.KU  17.27-25.52 (3 Jul 1903-24 Dec 1911)

6.8.2 Shanghaier Nachrichten, 1907-1911
   G.BIA  1908-1911
   G.UB  1908-1911
   US.MILC  1-5 (1907-1911)

6.8.3 Handelsnachrichten, 1907-1911
   G.BIA  1908-1911
   G.UB  1908-1911

   Additional and uncatalogued issues of 6.8.2 and 6.8.3 may be found with the holdings of the parent newspaper 6.8.1.

7. CHINA: OTHER CITIES

Tientsin

7.1 Chinese Times, 1886-1891
   B,L  1-5; w 3.26 Jan, 16 Feb, 30 Mar 1889
   B,LOS  1-5
   J,TB  1-5
   US.CStH  1-5 (6 Nov 1886-28 Mar 1891)
7.2 **Peking and Tientsin Times**, 1894-1911
   B.L  1-9.9; 9.11-9.24 (Mar 1894-18 Oct 1902 but 1900-1902 in very poor condition)
   US.DLC  1900-1901.6 Apr; w 1900.27 Oct; w 1901.12 Jan, 23 Mar

7.5 **Tageblatt für Nordchina**, 1904-1911
   G.BSL  1915.111 (As the library catalogue was destroyed, it is possible that pre-1911 issues are here.)

**Tsingtao**

7.10 **Die Deutsch-Asiatische Warte**, 1899(?)—1911
   G.H  1904
   J.KU  5.1-6.53 (3 Jan 1903-31 Dec 1904)

7.11 **Tsingtauer Neueste Nachrichten**, 1904-1911
   (a) G.BIA  1904.Oct-1911
   (c) G.F  1909; 1910 (incomplete); 1911
   G.WD  1908; 1909.Jan-Mar; 1911.Jul-Dec
   J.TU  1910.14, 21 Jan

7.13 **Kiautschou-Post**, 1908(?)—1911
   G.F  1908-1911
   J.KU  1908.Aug-1911

**Peking**

7.14 **China Times**, 1901
   US.EI  1.106 (3 Jun 1901)

7.15 **Pekinger Deutsche Zeitung**, 1901—(?)
   B.L  2, 11 (13 Jan, 17 Mar 1901)

7.17.1 **Chinese Public Opinion**, 1908-1909
   B.L  1-151 (5 May 1908-29 Apr 1909)

7.17.2 **Peking Daily News**, 1909-1911
   B.L  1,5-43, 45, 46, 49 (8 May-22 Jun, 25, 26, 30 Jun 1909)
7.19 Peking Post, 1910 (Jan-Feb)
B.L 1-22 w 2 (14 Jan-8 Feb 1910) in very poor condition

Manchuria

7.20 Novyi Krai, Port Arthur 1900-1906, Harbin 1907-1911
USSR.L 1900.1 (1 Jan); 1901-1904; 1907; 1911
US.CStH 1902.27 Sep; 1903.20 Aug; 1904.1, 3 Jan
US.DLC 1902.23 Jan-1904.25 Apr; w 1902.29 Jan-3 Feb, 21 Feb, 24 Mar, 28 Apr, 25 Sep; w 1903.30 Mar-4 Apr, 22 Aug, 19 Nov, 26-31 Dec; w 1904.26-30 Jan, 12, 13 Feb, 5 Mar

7.23 Kharbinskii Vestnik, 1903-1911
USSR.L 1903-1905; 1911
US.DLC 1904.7 Apr-1905.13 Nov; w 1904.17, 23 Jun, 20 Aug, 28 Oct; w 1905.7, 13, 14 Jan; 22, 26 Oct (dates are old style)

7.25.3 Novaia Zhizn', 1907-1911
USSR.L 1911

7.40.1 Wei-hai-wei Lyre, (?)-1901
B.L 73 (28 Feb 1901)

7.40.2 Wei-hai-wei Gazette, 1901-(?)
B.L 1.1 (19 Mar 1901)

8. LONDON

8.1.1 China Telegraph, 1858-1859

8.1.2 London and China Telegraph, 1859-1911
(a) B.L 1-53 (30 Nov 1858-1911); w 13.22 May 1871; w 19.22 Jun 1877 [Vols 1-4 are Nov-Oct; vol 5, Nov to following Dec; thereafter, calendar year.]

(c) F.lov 1866-1876; 1893-1900; 1901-1904 [This holding has a considerable number of missing issues.]

8.1.3 China Express, 1858-1859
8.1.4 *London and China Express*, 1859-1911
(a) B.L 1-53 (30 Nov 1858-1911)
     B.LOS 1-53
(c) F.LOV 1884 (2 issues only); 1894-1911
     US.EI 3.52, 67-69, 71-75 (10 Jan-26 Dec 1861)
     US.MILC 13-15 (13 Oct 1871-10 Oct 1873)

8.2 *London and China Herald*, 1867-1870(?)
     B.L 1-3 (10 Oct 1867-17 Jun 1870)

8.3.1 *European Mail (for the East)*, 1870-1898
     B.L 7.368 (15 Apr 1870-9 May 1898)

8.3.2 *Overland Mail*, 1855-1911
     B.L 1-2958 (1855-1914)

8.3.3 *Overland Mail, China*, 1870(?)-(?)
     B.L 1010-1113 (8 Jun 1877-27 Dec 1878)

8.4 *Thacker's Overland News for India, China and the East*, 1857-1864
     B.L 1857.10 Jan-1864.26 Dec

8.5 *Homeward Mail from India, China and the Far East and Official Gazette*, 1857-1911
     B.L 1857-1911

8.7 *Oriental Herald and Colonial Review*, 1824-1829(?)
     B.L 1-23 (1824-1829)
CHINESE-ENGLISH GLOSSARY
OF CHINA-COAST NEWSPAPER TITLES

In this glossary, the Chinese titles are arranged alphabetically by the standard Wade-Giles system, and each is followed by the name of the China-coast newspaper to which the Chinese is known to refer. It is always possible, however, that the same characters may have been used to designate a similar Western-language title, especially one in the same group. Official Chinese names, even where established, were not always used, and undoubtedly other Chinese variations exist.

Ao-men ch'ao-pao 澳門鈔報 A Chronica de Macao (1.3)
Ao-men hsin ching-pao 澳門新鏡報 Vida Nova (1.19)
Ao-men hsin-wen chih 澳門新聞紙 Gazeta de Macau e Timor (1.9.4), through Apr. 29, 1873
Ao-men ti-men hsin-wen 澳門地們新聞 Gazeta de Macau e Timor (1.9.4), from May 6, 1873

Chieh pao 捷報 China Gazette (5.9)
Chih-ai-kuo che 直愛國者 O Verdadeiro Patriota (1.7)
Chih-fu ch'ai-pao 芝罘晨報 Chefoo Morning Post (7.32)
Chin-pu 進步 Le Progrès (6.5)
Ching-Chin t'ai-shih shih pao 京津泰時士報 Peking and Tientsin Times (7.2)
Ching hai ts'ung-pao 鏡海叢報 O Echo Macaense (1.11.4)
Ching-wei pao 警備報 China Review (7.6.1)
Ch'u pao 楚報 Central China Post (7.39)
Chung-Fa (hsin) hui-pao 中法 (新) 稱報 L'Echo de Chine (6.7.1)
Chung-kuo chih wai-yu 中國之外友 Overland Friend of China (3.1.3)
Chung-kuo chih yu 中國之友 Friend of China (2.4; 3.1.1; 3.1.2; 5.4.1)
Chung-yang yu-pao 中央郵報 Central China Post (7.39)
Ch'Ulan-wu pao 權務報 L'Echo de Tientsin (7.8)

Fa-hsing shih-wu pao 法興時務報 L'Echo de Chine (6.7.1)
Fu-chien yin-tzu-kuan 福建印字館 (publishers) Amoy Gazette and Shipping Report (7.28.2)
Fu-chou-fu ch'ai-pao  福州府差報 Foo-chow-foo Courier (7.35)
Fu-chou kuang-kao pao  福州廣告報 Foochow Advertiser (7.33.1)
Fu-chou mei-jih hui-sheng pao  福州每日回聲報 Foochow Daily Echo (7.34)
Han jih-shih pao 漢日時報 Hankow Times (7.37)
Hao ching hsin-pao 豪鏡新聞報 O Macaense (1.11.2)
Hsiang-kang hang-yu'n lu 香港航運錄 Hongkong Shipping List (3.4.6)
Hsiang-kang kuang-kao pao 香港廣告報 Daily Advertiser (3.7.1)
Hsiang-kang Te-ch'en tsai-hsiang chi-1u 香港德臣雜項記錄
   Dixon's Hongkong Recorder (3.4.4)
Hsiang-kang tien-wen pao 香港電聞報 Hongkong Telegraph (3.8)
Hsiang-kang tsai-hsiang jih-pao 香港雜項日報 Hongkong Recorder (3.4.5)
Hsin-wen chih 新聞紙 China Express (8.1.3)
Hsü-n-huan 循環 The Cycle (5.16)
Hua ch'ai-pao yu Tung ch'ao-pao 華差報與東鴨報 Chinese Courier
   and Canton Gazette (2.2)
Hua-yang t'ung-wen 華洋通聞 Celestial Empire (5.7.8)
I-hsin 益新 Shanghai Daily Press (5.10.1)
I-wen hsi-pao 益聞西報 China Times (7.4.1; 7.14)
Kuang-tung chi-1u 廣東紀錄 Canton Register (2.1)
Kuang-tung pao 廣東報 Canton Press and Price Current (2.3)
Mi-feng Hua-pao 蜜蜂華報 A Abelha da China (1.1)
Nan-hua ch'en-pao 南華晨報 South China Morning Post (3.9)
Pei-Hua chieh-pao 北華捷報 North-China Herald (5.1.1)
Pei-yang Te-Hua jih-pao 北洋德華日報 Tageblatt für Nordchina (7.5)
Shang-hai ch'ai-pao 上海差報 Shanghai Evening Courier (5.7.3) or
   Le Courrier de Shanghai (6.4.2)
Shang-hai ching-lang yu mei-chou ch'ai-pao 上海錦囊與每週差報
   Shanghai Budget and Weekly Courier (5.7.4)
Shang-hai hui-sheng pao 上海回聲報 L'Echo de Changhai (6.6.1)
Shang-hai mei-jih shih-pao 上海每日時報 Shanghai Daily Times (5.2.1)
Shang-hai pao-chien 上海報界 Le Nouvelliste de Changhai (6.4.1)
Shang-hai tsai-chi 上海載紀 Shanghai Recorder (5.3.1)
Shang-hai t'ung-hsin 上海通信 Shanghai News-Letter for California and the Atlantic states (5.7.1)
Shih-hsin pao 時新報 Shanghai Free Press (5.12)
Shih-mi hsin-wen or Hsi-pao 士蔑新聞 or 西報 Hongkong Telegraph (3.8)

Ta-hsi-yang-kuo 大西洋國 Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo (1.9.1)
Ta-lu pao 大陸報 China Press (5.13)
T'ai-shih pao Sheng-pao or T'ai-wu shih-pao 泰時報中報 or 泰晤士報 Shanghai Times (5.11)
Te-ch'en (hsi) pao 德臣(西)報 China Mail (3.4.1)
Te-wen hsin-pao 德文新報 Der Ostasiatische Lloyd (6.8.1)
Ti-kuo Ao-men ren 帝國澳門人 Macaista Imparcial (1.4.1)
T'ien-chin hui-sheng pao 天津回聲報 L'Echo de Tientsin (7.8)
T'ien-chin shih-pao 天津時報 Chinese Times (7.1)
T'ien-chin t'ai-shih shih-pao 天津泰時士報 Peking and Tientsin Times (7.2)
Tung-yang t'ung-wen 東洋通聞 Celestial Empire (5.7.8)
Tsu-tzu pao 季報 Daily Press, Ships, Commerce, and Colonies (3.5.1)
Tsui-kao fa-t'ing yu ch'in-shih kung-pao 最高法庭與欽事公報 Supreme Court and Consular Gazette (5.3.4)
Tzu-lin pao 字林報 North-China Daily News (5.1.8)

Wan ch'ai-pao 晚差報 Shanghai Evening Express (5.5)
Wan-pao 晚報 Evening Gazette (5.7.6)
Wen-hui pao 文匯報 Shanghai Mercury (5.7.10)

Ya-tung shih-pao 亞東時報 Ostasiatische Nachrichten (7.9)
Ying-wen Pei-ching jih-pao 英文北京日報 Chinese Public Opinion (7.17.1)
APPENDIX

A. Other China-Coast Periodicals Published through 1911

The editor recognizes that the dividing line between newspapers and other periodicals has, in some cases at least, been necessarily arbitrary. A simple, alphabetical list of late Ch'ing "other China-coast periodicals" may, therefore, be of use to the student of modern China, if only to confirm that a certain title did indeed exist although excluded from consideration in this guide. The following list includes periodicals of the same general scope as the China-coast newspapers; it excludes annuals and specialized scientific and Sinological periodicals. Certain borderline periodicals have been included. Readers will also wish to consult Kwang-Ching Liu, Americans and Chinese, especially for missionary periodicals and material published in the United States. Items preceded by an asterisk (*) are referred to elsewhere in the guide and may be located in the bibliography or through the index.

American Association of China, Journal (Shanghai), 1899-1911(?)
Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Kiautschou (Tsingtao), 1902-1911
Asiatic Society of China, Journal; then, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, China Branch, Transactions (Hong Kong), 1848-1855.
Boletim do Governo Ecclesiastico da Diocese de Macau, 1903-1911
*Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Macau (title varies), 1839-1911
*Bund (Shanghai), 1867, also 1906
*Canton Commercial List, 1848-1856(?)
Canton General Price Current, 1834-1839
Canton Miscellany, 1831
Canton Price Current, 1828-1833
Canton Weekly Prices Current, 1831
Capital and Commerce (Shanghai), 1911
Catholic Circle (Hong Kong), 1883
O Catholico (Macao), 1872-1873
Central China Record (Shanghai), 1898-1906
China Magazine (Hong Kong), 1868-1870
*China Punch (Hong Kong), 1867-1868, 1872-1876
China Record (Hong Kong), 1861
*China Review, or Notes and Queries on the Far East (Hong Kong), 1872-1901
La Chine Nouvelle (Paris), 1899-1901
Chinese and Japanese Repository of Facts and Events in Science, History, and Art relating to Eastern Asia (London and Paris), 1863-1865(?)
Chinese Illustrated News (Shanghai), f1. 1893
Chinese Miscellany (Shanghai), 1849-1850
Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal (Foochow; then, after 1873, Shanghai), 1869-1911
Chinese Repository (Canton), 1832-1851
Commercial Price Current (Canton, then Macao), 1835-1843
Commonwealth (Shanghai), 1875-1876
Customs Gazette (Shanghai), 1871-1911
East of Asia Magazine (Shanghai), 1902-1906
Eastern Sketch, An Illustrated Weekly (Shanghai), 1904-1909
*Evangelist: and Miscellanea Sinica (Canton), 1833
*Far East (Shanghai), 1876-1878 (also Yokohama, 1870-1871)
Far East (Shanghai), 1905-1906
Far Eastern Review (Shanghai), 1904-1911
*Der Ferne Osten (Shanghai), 1902-1911
Flying Dragon Reporter for China, Japan, and the East (in Chinese and English; London), 1866-1870
Foochow Market Report, 1870-1881(?)
Foochow Weekly Market Reports, 1870-1893
*Friend of China (London), 1875-1911
Fuhkien Witness (Foochow), 1902-1906
Hankow Price Current and Market Report, 1866-1881(?)
*Hong Kong Government Gazette, 1853-1911
*Hongkong Gazette, 1841
Hongkong Monthly Magazine, 1857-1858(?)

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Hongkong Philatelic Journal, 1895

Impulso às Letras (Hong Kong), 1865-1866
Indo-Chinese Gleaner (Malacca), 1818-1821

Journal Asiatique (Paris), 1822-1911

*Malacca Observer and Chinese Chronicle, 1826-1829
*Manchurian Month (Dairen), 1911(?)
Mesny's Chinese Miscellany (Shanghai), 1895-1911
Missionary Recorder (Foochow), 1867

*Municipal Gazette (Shanghai), 1908-1911

National Review (Shanghai), 1900-1911

*Notes and Queries on China and Japan (Hong Kong; a monthly digest of press opinion), 1867-1870

*Odds and Ends, An Illustrated Journal (Hong Kong), 1896-1899
Omnibus (in German; Hong Kong), 1867

*Oriental, see Tung Ngai San Luk
Ostasiatische Rundschau (Shanghai and Tsingtao), 1900-(?)
Owl (Canton), 1866

*Papers on China (Hong Kong), 1867-1870(?)
Peking Gazette (reprints of translations in the North China Herald; Shanghai), 1873-1900

Peking Oriental Society, Journal, 1885-1898
Puck or the Shanghai Charivari, 1871-1872
Punch (Shanghai), 1865, 1867

Quarterly Record of the Christian Literature Society for China (London?), 1902-1911

Rattle (Shanghai), 1896-(?)
Relatório do Governador da Província de Macau e Timor (Lisbon), 1880-1889
Review of the Far East (Hong Kong), 1906-(?)
Review of the Times (Shanghai), f1. 1893
La Revue de la Semaine (Shanghai), 1911
*La Revue de l'Extème Orient (Shanghai), 1901-1902
La Revue Philatélique (Shanghai?), f1. 1889
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, [North] China Branch, Journal (Shanghai), 1858-1860, 1864-1911 (see also Asiatic Society of China, Journal)
Saturday Review (Shanghai), 1906-1909; then National Review, 1909-1911
Shanghae Commercial List, f1. 1863
Shanghae Market Report, 1857-1865(?)
Shanghae Shipping List, 1861(?)-1864(?)
Shanghai Chronicle of Fun, Fact and Fiction (Shanghai), 1859
Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society, Journal, 1858 (for continuation, see Royal Asiatic Society..., Journal)
Social Circle (Shanghai), 1878-1879
Social Shanghai, and Other Parts of China (Journal de Dames), 1906-1911
South China Weekly Post (Hong Kong), 1903-1911
Spectator (Hong Kong), 1854
Sport and Gossip (Shanghai), 1895(?)-1902
Sportsman's Pocket Book (Hong Kong), 1895-1896
Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo (Lisbon), 1899-1902
Temperance Union (Shanghai), 1879-1911
Tientsin Daily Shipping Report and Customs Report (of the Imperial Maritime Customs), f1. 1893
Tientsin Sunday Journal, 1911
Tientsin Young Men (Y.M.C.A), 1902-(?)
Trudui Chlenov Rossyskoi Dukhovnoi Missii v Pekine (papers by the members of the Russian Church Mission at Peking), 1907(?)-1910
Tung Ngai San Luk 東涯新錄 (The Oriental, a bilingual publication; San Francisco), 1855-(?)
Union (Shanghai), f1. 1893
Vestnik Azii (Asian bulletin; Harbin?), 1909-1911
Waffles' Bi-monthly (Amoy), 1875-1878(?)
Weekly Review of the Far East (Shanghai), Vol. 17 in 1921
West China Messenger (Chungking), 1902-1910
Wochenblatt für die Angehörigen der Ostasiatischen Besatzungs-Bregade (Tsingtao; pub. by German military forces, Sunday), 1902-(?)
B. Japanese-Language Newspapers Published in China through 1911*

ANTUNG

Antō maiyū shinbun 安東毎夕新聞, 1908-1911
Editor: Kanō Sanji 嘉納三治

Antō shinpō 安東新報, 1906-1911
Editor: Kaneko Yahei 金子彌平
In 1912 this newspaper merged with Antō maiyū shinbun.

Antō Times [sic] 安東 Times, 1907-(?)
Editor: Kaneko Chō 金子長

Mankan nippō 滿瀋日報, 1907-(?)
Editor: Noguchi Tanai 野口多内

Manshū jitsugyō shinpō 満州實業新報 (daily), 1907-(?)
Editor: Tsubakii Hitsuji 植々必治

Tōhen jihō 東邊時報, 1908-(?)
Editor: Kaneko Chō 金子長

CHANGCHUN

Chōshun nippō 長春日報, 1909-1911
Editor: Hakoda Takuma 箱田琢磨

CHIEN-TAO

Kantō jihō 関東時報 (weekly), 1910-(?)
Editor: Yamazaki Keinosuke 山崎慶之助

*The information for this appendix was collected by Chūzo Ichiko and his colleagues. The romanization was undertaken by Motoi Hiramatsu.
DAIREN

Manshū nichinichi shinbun 滿州日日新聞，1907-1911

Publisher: Manshū nichinichi shinbunsha 滿州日日新聞社；
Editor: Hoshino Shaku 星野錫

Extant copies: Tokyo University Law School, Nos. 1-1214 (Nov. 1907-
Feb. 1911); Tokyo University Library (July-Nov. 1910, Jan.-Apr. 1911);
National Diet Library, Nos. 752-6994 (Nov. 23, 1909-Oct. 30, 1927)

This newspaper combined with Ryōto shinpō in 1927.

Manshū shinpō 滿州新報，1909-(?)

Ryōto shinpō 遼東新報，1905-1911

Editor: Suenaga Jun'ichirō 末永統一郎

HANKOW

Kankō nippō 漢口日報，1907-(?)

Editor: Oka Kōshichirō 岡幸七郎

HONG KONG

Honkon nippō 香港日報 (Hong Kong daily news)，1909-1911

Founder, publisher, and editor: Matsushima Shūe 松島宗衛，
formerly assistant editor of Manshū nippō (Mukden).

LIAOYANG

Ryōyō mainichi shinbun 亜陽每日新聞，1908-(?)

Editor: Watanabe Tokushige 渡辺德重

MUKDEN

Manshū nippō 滿州日報，1907-(?)

Publisher: Manshū nippōsha 滿州日報社

Extant copies: National Diet Library, Nos. 1-103 (Dec. 5, 1907-
Apr. 19, 1908)

Nanman nippō 南滿日報，1908-1911

Editor: Yano Kan 天野勘
Tairiku nichinichi shinbun 大陸日日新聞，1909-1911
Editor: Yoshino Naoji 吉野直治

SHANGHAI

Atō jihō 亞東時報，1898-(?)

Shanghai jihō 上海時報，1892-(?)
Publisher: Nipponjin seinenkai 日本人青年會

Shanghai jiji 上海時事，1896-(?)

Shanghai nippō 上海日報，1904-1911
Publisher: Shanghai nippōsha 上海日報社；editor: Nagashima Kōren 永島高遠
Extant copies: Tokyo University Law School, Nos. 1-546 (Mar. 1904-Jan. 1906)

This is a sequel of Shanghai shinpō (see below).

Shanghai shinpō 上海新報 (weekly), 1890-1904
Publisher and editors: Shūbun shokan 修文書館，Matsuno Heizaburō 松野平三郎 (1890); Shanghai shinpōsha 上海新報社, Sugio Katsuzō 杉尾勝三 (1903)
Extant copies: Tokyo University Law School, Nos. 1-8 (Dec. 1903-Feb. 1904)

This newspaper became Shanghai nippō on March 16, 1904.

Shanghai shūhō 上海週報，1894-(?)
Publisher: Kyōdō Kappansho 共同活版所 (1894-1904); editor: Takegawa Tōtarō 竹川藤太郎 (1903)
Extant copies: Tokyo University Law School, Nos. 1-3

TIEHLING

Tetsurei jihō 鉄嶺時報，1911
Editor: Nishio Shin 西尾信
TIENTSIN

Hokushin jihō 北清時報, 1902-1909
Publisher: Hokushin jihōsha 北清時報社; editor: Nishimura Hiroshi 西村博
Extant copies: National Diet Library, Nos. 554-784 (Mar. 24-Dec. 23, 1909)
This newspaper merged in 1910 with Kitashina mainichi shinbun and was retitled Tenshin nippō (see below).

Kitashina mainichi shinbun 北支那毎日新聞, 1903-1909
Editor: Toyooka Yasuhei 豊岡保平
This newspaper merged with Hokushin jihō in 1910 and was retitled Tenshin nippō (see below).

Tenshin nippō 天津日報, 1910-(?)
Editor: Shindo Suteo 真藤貴生
This newspaper was a result of the merger of Hokushin jihō and Kitashina mainichi shinbun.

YINGKOW

Manshū shinbō 滿州新報, 1908-1911
Editor: Okabe Jirō 岡部次郎
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1862 3.4.1, 3.4.2, 3.4.7 becomes 3.4.8 (Evening Mail and Hongkong Shipping List), 3.5.2, 3.5.3; 4.2; 5.1.1, 5.1.2, 5.1.6 becomes 5.1.7 (Daily Shipping and Commercial News), 5.2.1, 5.2.2, 5.3.1 (Shanghai Recorder); 8.1.2, 8.1.4, 8.3.2, 8.4, 8.5

1863 1.9.1 (Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo); 3.4.1, 3.4.2, 3.4.9 (Evening Mail), 3.5.2, 3.5.3; 4.2, 4.3 (O Movimento); 5.1.1, 5.1.2, 5.1.7, 5.3.1, 5.4.1 (Friend of China); 8.1.2, 8.1.4, 8.3.2, 8.4, 8.5

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1865 1.9.1; 2.7 (Canton Observer); 3.4.1, 3.4.2, 3.4.9; 3.5.2, 3.5.3; 4.2; 5.1.1, 5.1.2 becomes 5.1.3 (North-China Overland Herald and Market Report), 5.1.8, 5.3.1, 5.5.2, 5.4.1; 8.1.2, 8.1.4, 8.3.2, 8.5

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1869 1.9.2 (moves to 4.1.4), 1.9.3 (O Oriente), 1.10 (O Noticiario Macaense); 3.4.1, 3.4.2, 3.5.2, 3.5.3, 3.5.4 (Hongkong Weekly Press and China Overland Trade Report), 3.7.1 (Daily Advertiser), 4.1.4 (O Independente), 4.2; 5.1.4, 5.1.8, 5.3.1, 5.3.4, 5.4.1 becomes 5.4.2 (Friend of China and Shipping Gazette), 5.5, 5.7.1, 5.7.3; 8.1.2, 8.1.4, 8.2, 8.3.2, 8.5
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1872 1.9.3, 1.9.4 (Gazeta de Macau e Timor); 2.8 (Canton Daily Shipping News); 3.4.1, 3.4.2, 3.4.11, 3.5.2, 3.5.3, 3.5.4, 3.7.2; 4.1.4; 5.1.5, 5.1.8, 5.6 (Shanghai General Advertiser), 5.7.2, 5.7.3, 5.7.4; 6.4.1, 6.5, 7.28.1 (Amoy Shipping Report); 8.1.2, 8.1.4, 8.3.1, 8.3.2, 8.5, 8.6 (European Budget)

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