

# Afterword to “The Chinese name for Australia”

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(Details and additional discussion for the background research regarding authorship of “the name for Australia in Chinese” as discussed in [CN4A](#), April 2013.)

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## 1 The Question that remained

The document called “The Chinese name for Australia” (abbreviated to CN4A in the following) remained “in draft” for nearly 18 months while a remaining question was resolved. This was the question of “who discovered the name for Australia in Chinese?” Following research into many texts, a best selection has been proposed, The discoverer seems to have been the Englishman Walter Henry Medhurst who came to Malacca as a printer and missionary in 1817. The present document has previously recorded the progress of the investigation and now includes the results of the more recent research that has led to the choice we made. It was not easy to decide and is still not decided beyond all possible doubt. However, in the present author’s opinion, it is beyond reasonable doubt! This document of background discussions developed and grew as the investigation progressed and so it may be found to contain some apparently redundant sections – but we think they are useful to record in order to show they have been investigated and eventually rejected. Also, because this discussion is based on CN4A there are many statements and names that assume CN4A has been read by the reader. In case that is not true, the PDF of CN4A can be conveniently found along with others (including, recursively, this discussion) at the web site:

[http://www.qinshuroads.org/Chinese\\_Australia/Oz\\_Name\\_dj.htm](http://www.qinshuroads.org/Chinese_Australia/Oz_Name_dj.htm)

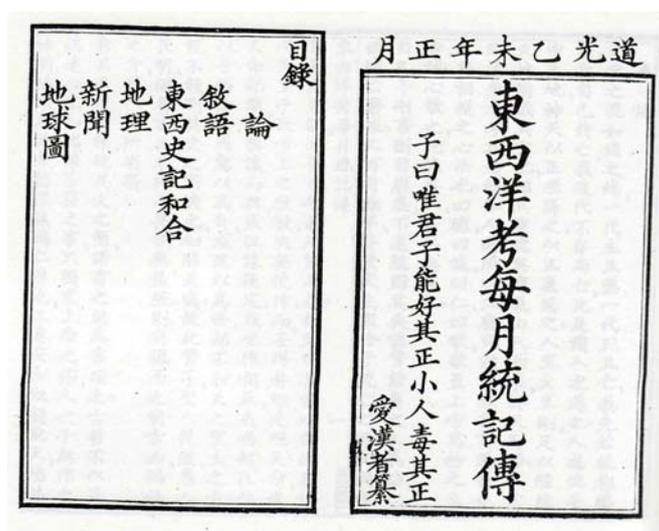
CN4A investigated in some detail where and when the “Chinese name for Australia” both arose and came to be used by Chinese. The name involved is “aodaliya” (in Pinyin transliteration) or “澳大利亚” (using simplified characters). CN4A investigates the history of the name and concludes that “the name for Australia in Chinese” was one first suggested and used by a Protestant missionary before 1840 and then accepted and used by Chinese scholar officials such as Liang Tingnan, Xu Jiyu and Wei Yuan after 1840. In the decade after the first Opium War (ending with the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842) these three Chinese scholars had been inspired to study the

western foreigners by the example of Lin Zexu, or “Commissioner Lin”. Because of their acceptance and use of the name, CN4A concluded that by the early years of the 1850’s it had finally become “the Chinese name for Australia”.

The presence of the current name for Australia in Chinese characters and its recognition of Australia as the both the largest island and smallest continent in two articles written for Gutzlaff’s “Chinese Monthly Magazine” (DXYK) in 1834 and 1835, when it was still being printed in Canton, was the basis for the conclusion. The full reference for the DXYK is:

The “Chinese Monthly Magazine” Dongxiyang kao meiyue tongji zhuan 東西洋考每月統計傳 (Alternate more literal translation: East-west Examiner and Monthly Recorder, or Magazine), compiled by Karl Gutzlaff, (Canton, 1833-1835; Singapore, 1837-1839). Simplified Chinese: 东西洋考每月统记传.  
<http://nla.gov.au/nla.cat-vn3039985>

An example of the first two pages of one of the editions of DXYK was included in the CN4A and is repeated below:



Cover page for the edition of the first month of the 25<sup>th</sup> Daoguang year (1835) of DXYK

The page on the right (the text and issues are read from back page to front page and from right to left on a page and down each column) is headed by the date (January 1835) and from right to left is the title (DXYK) followed by a learned saying from the Confucian Analects (论语, Lúnyǔ), and the signature of the compiler, in this case Gutzlaff who called himself Ai Hanzhe (愛漢者) or lover of the Han people. We will come back to this structure later.

In 1834 and again in 1835, two articles (the same two in each year as they were reprinted later with only a few typographic corrections) were written using the modern name for Australia. One was about the globe, the principles of latitude and longitude and the five major continental divisions of the world. It included the smallest continent among the five named as 澳大利亞, (Àodàliyà or Australia). The other article in each year followed in the next monthly issue and listed the major

countries of the same five regions. It listed Australia as a single “country” with some useful and accurate (but limited) information that is discussed in CN4A and can be translated as follows:

澳大利亞為曠荒，土番無帝君，但大英國挪移新民在東南方及西方矣。  
“Australia is a vast uncultivated land, whose people have no monarch; however, Britain has sent many immigrants to the southeast and western areas.”

For some time, the person who wrote these articles was not clear due to the difficulty of accessing original sources. To some extent, this was because they are only available in a few places in the west – probably because they were written in Chinese language. In the end, it was to materials from China and Taiwan in Chinese language that we needed to turn to find the most detailed information. It seems that the Chinese language “gifts” from the early missionaries have now also become Chinese. The following discussion records the issues and lists the source books that have (in many cases) now been used to help identify or eliminate possible people and also finally reach the conclusion that is now embedded in CN4A.

## 2 Possible paths followed to find an answer

The detailed discussion that follows has been put together with much of the material and source locations provided through research carried out by Ouyang Di at the National Library of Australia (NLA).

### 2.1 Wei Yuan or his sources as possible originators

Wei Yuan published a two hemisphere map with Australia shown and annotated with a transliteration of “Australia” that is close to the modern name. This was done in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition of his work. The subset showing Australia is included below.



Wei Yuan published his book in three editions.

First Edition, 1842, in 50 volumes; Second Edition, 1847, in 60 volumes; Third Edition, 1852, in 100 volumes.

The third edition is the largest, most quoted and most used. It can be downloaded from Google Books and an excellent modern character version (with all maps and place names translated) is available at the NLA at:

魏源全集: 第 4 册-第 7 册 海国图志  
<http://nla.gov.au/nla.cat-vn3524482>

Leonard (1984) gave the source and details for a Taiwan based reprinting of the second Edition in 7 volumes. This set of materials was subsequently purchased to support this study. Leonard suggests that the maps of the first two editions are identical and the Gutzlaff review of a copy of (apparently) the first Edition in the Chinese Repository in 1847 (Chinese Repository, Vol 16 Number 9, pages 417-424) certainly shows the version he reviewed had a similar structure to the reprinted second Edition. If this is truly the case, then it is clear from the text and maps in the second Edition that the modern name for “Australia” was NOT used by Wei Yuan (not even using “ao” without the water radical) until the 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. In that 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, Wei Yuan identified a number of sources for his material and he does clearly use the modern name (but using the version where “ao”, 澳 is NOT written with the water radical, as in 奧) both in the text and on maps. The three sources quoted extensively in the section on Australasia and Oceania are:

萬國地理全圖 (“Universal Geography”, Gutzlaff, Singapore, 1838)  
地理備考 (“A geographic reference”, Portuguese writer Marques, Martinho José, (1810-1867) (瑪吉士), 1847)  
外國史略 (“A Concise History of Foreign Countries”, three Morrissions, 1838-1847)

Lengthy quotations from Gutzlaff’s 1838 “Universal Geography” had already been included in the first and second Editions (1843, 1847). However, Gutzlaff resolutely and unerringly referred to the large island today called “Australia” as “New Holland”. This suggests the author of the two articles of 1834, 1835 was not Gutzlaff and in CN4A it is conjectured that his patronage by the Dutch Missionary Society and the Dutch Tract Society would certainly be consistent with a rejection of the English name of “Australia”. It was not until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, perhaps with the founding of the Commonwealth of Australia, that the Netherlands map makers and official documents started to use the name “Australia”.

Some similarities between material in quotations in Wei Yuan’s third edition taken from the “Concise History” and those in DXYK (such as the descriptions of indigenous people) suggest that the present Chinese name for Australia could possibly have been first used by one of the Malacca Missionaries who worked with Robert Morrison. An early version of the “concise history” seems to have been mentioned in the “Chinese Repository” of March 1837. Zou (2008) examined the background to the “Concise History” and concluded that three Morrissions (Robert Morrison until his death in 1834, John R. Morrison until his death in 1842 and Martin Crofton Morrison who probably completed it in the 1840s) contributed to it. This material does not seem to have been officially printed and is only known through its quotations by Wei Yuan

and indirect references to its material by Xu Jiyu. It provides extensive material of value on Australia, including use of the name Aodaliya Zhou (澳大利亚州) where the character for “Ao” does NOT have the water radical. As Wei Yuan seems to have used text and maps collated by the Morrisons, it is likely that their usage was the basis for the choice Wei Yuan made for “Ao”.

The Portuguese writer Maques was quoted extensively by Wei Yuan and had his own Chinese name of Ao-si-da-li-ya (奥斯塔里亚岛) for Australia. Not surprisingly, this name sounds like a Portuguese pronunciation. It was not used by anyone else but does also support the use of the character “ao” without the water radical. His geography was written and published after the first two Editions of Wei Yuan’s book as well as those of other foreigners were already in circulation. Liang Tingnan and Xu Jiyu seem to have been the main Chinese supporters of “ao” with the water radical as it had been written in the original DXYK article of 1834.

## **2.2 Gutzlaff and DXYK**

Gutzlaff published his “Universal Geography” (UG) in Chinese language with the support of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China (SDUKC). The first edition was possibly printed in Singapore in 1838. But some say (Lutz, 2008) it was not until 1843 or 1844 that it was finished, and then initially printed quickly and cheaply in China by Gutzlaff’s “Chinese Union”. Leonard (1972) suggests that the book may only have been finally published in 1843 (despite being listed as one of the books printed in Singapore in 1838) and felt that it was only known at all from the quotations by others – especially by Wei Yuan and (indirectly) by Xi Jiyu. However, an article written and published in Singapore (Zhuang, 2007) has discussed the contents of UG based on a photocopy made at the University of Leeds in the UK. So, a copy does exist to be viewed, copied and read.

A long section from UG was quoted and attributed to source by Wei Yuan in the 1843, 1847 and 1852 Editions of his “Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations”. Is clear in the quotation that Gutzlaff consistently labels the large island of Australia as New Holland (新荷兰 or 新荷兰地). The sections quoted in Zhuang (2007) also refer to the large island as “New Holland”. So it seems likely that neither the name nor the articles can be attributed to Gutzlaff. Another indication that Gutzlaff was not the writer of the articles in 1835 is that in the DXYK article on continents the coordinates bounding Australia are provided as:

Top Left: 10° 38’ S 114° 28’ E.

Bottom Right: 47° 17’ S 153° 23’ E.

In UG, based on the section quoted by Wei Yuan, Gutzlaff writes that New Holland lies between 10° S and 38° S in Latitude and 115° E and 150° E in Longitude. They are different and the DXYK coordinates are much better geographically. In the “Concise History” of the three Morrisons, the main coordinates are given as being between 10° S and 40° S in Latitude and 112° E and 150° E in Longitude which are not much better than Gutzlaff’s and may have been imported with only minor changes from UG.

Sections of the UG and other SDUKC books were supposedly pre-published in DXYK. DXYK is available at the NLA. It contains the articles using the modern name as discussed in CN4A. So Gutzlaff, as editor, would have come across the modern name presented in the 1834/1835 articles and decided not to use it – perhaps for the reasons indicated before. More work was done by the present author with DXYK to see if the author of the articles could be identified by style and separated from sections attributable to Gutzlaff and UG and from other people known to have contributed articles. The results of this investigation are discussed in the section to come on Walter Medhurst.

## 2.3 The Bridgman hypothesis

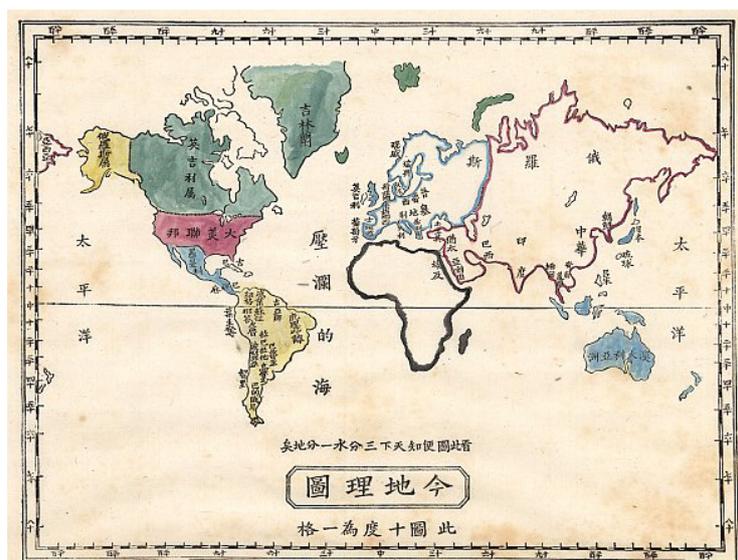
It is also, on the face of events, possible (Lazich, 2000) to suggest that Elijah Bridgman used DXYK to develop and pre-publish draft material for his books on the “Brief History of the United States of America”. However, this seems to have only been after 1836 and so later than the two articles in question. The third (1861) Edition of Bridgman’s book contained a map of the world shown below which uses the modern name (possibly adopted from Xu Jiyu) as well as a description of the “discovery” of the world (by Europeans) and the general geography of the New and Old Worlds. The 1861 edition is available as an eBook at the NLA website.

Da Mei lian bang zhi lue, 大美聯邦志略

Huyi [Shanghai]: Mo hai shu guan, [Xianfeng] xin you [1861]

滬邑 [上海]: 墨海書館, [咸豐]辛酉 [1861]

<http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/351522?lookfor=elijah%20bridgman&offset=3&max=5>



In the third edition, the map and its general geography are not discussed in the text except to refer the reader to Wei Yuan and/or Xu Jiyu for accounts of the world geography. Of course, it is still possible that his earlier editions of 1838 and 1844 had more than just a brief overview of world geography for the reader. The “Bridgman

Hypothesis” is that the DXYK articles are drafts of the original introduction and that Bridgman is the publisher of the name for Australia.

This could be pursued further by viewing the first two editions. Drake (1975) suggests copies of all three editions of Bridgman’s book can be found in the library at Harvard University. So the earliest sources exist to see if they become needed.

However, the Bridgman hypothesis has significant problems and is not treated here as a likely solution. It was not until the end of 1836 that Bridgman was apparently confident enough of his mastery of Chinese (Lazich, 2000) to undertake his history. Bridgman then helped Gutzlaff with the second printing of DXYK between 1837 and 1839 when it was printed in Singapore and when his history of the USA was written and published. The detailed description by Lazich (2000) of what seems to have been either the first (1838) edition or one of the reprints (1844 or 1846) does not seem to contain a general outline of the geography of the world but rather just refers to general discoveries and the New and Old worlds. The Singapore (post-1837) editions of DXYK certainly have articles that could be from Bridgman’s book and after 1837 the specific names used by Bridgman (eg) for the USA appear in DXYK whereas they never occurred in the Canton editions (1833-1835). Finally, Liang Tingnan, in his “Four essays on the Maritime Nations” quotes the DXYK article in full (and corrects what he takes as errors in the Chinese). He then discusses the article and compares it with Bridgman’s work such as comparing the way the “America” is transliterated. They are different and Liang Tingnan’s comments are different. So it seems Bridgman is not a strong candidate.

## **2.4 The three Morrisons hypothesis**

It is also possible to consider that the DXYK article was an early “detail” prepared for the Concise History. The original book involved was apparently:

Morrison, Robert (1819) *Tour of the world*, (xiyou diqiu wenjian luezhuan, 西游地球聞見略傳), Malacca.

[also listed as: 嘉慶廿四年己卯(1819)馬理遜(Robert Morrison)撰《西游地球聞見略傳》(Tour of the World), 二十九頁, 刊於馬六甲。]

(西游地球聞見略傳’ is apparently available at New York Public Library.)

The “Tour of the World” was an account of travels by a Chinese from China to England and Europe and then back to China via America. These paths were followed by Robert Morrison when he came to China and in his visit back to England in 1825. So perhaps the original draft was significantly updated after this time. The time is an issue as it seems unlikely that many people would be using the name “Australia” – even in English, at these early times.

Based on persuasive arguments provided by Zou (2008), the collated material in the “Concise Foreign History” (《外国史略》) seems to have been the combined efforts of the three Morrisons and possibly only have started life and evolution as the “Tour of the world”. Unfortunately, no copies of these documents seem to exist today. “Concise Foreign History” may only ever have been a draft and never printed

officially. But it is quoted extensively in Wei Yuan's third edition of 1852 and Zou (2008) has re-constructed its history from earlier drafts and texts. The "Tour of the world" of 1819 had apparently already been significantly updated and was scheduled to be published by the SDUKC at the time of Robert Morrison's death in 1834. His son, J.R. Morrison undertook to edit and complete it but he was engaged by the first Opium War and then unfortunately died of illness in 1843. It was apparently a second son of Robert Morrison, Martin Crofton Morrison (son of Robert Morrison's second wife, a different mother from J.R. Morrison), who finally completed it. It was by that time called "Concise history of the world" (Zou, 2008). It was extensively quoted by Wei Yuan in the new text of his third 1852 Edition. The extracts use the present name of Australia in Chinese but the water radical is NOT used in "Ao".

So, the "Morrison's Hypothesis" is that the articles in DXYK were drafts or "details" of sections from "Concise History". It seems likely that "Concise History" was used by Xu Jiyu for material as well as by Wei Yuan. But the sections used by Wei Yuan and Xu Jiyu are not similar to the articles in DXYK. Indeed, "Concise History" – at least in the section quoted about Australia, seems to be more an update of relevant sections of Gutzlaff's *Universal Geography*. The DXYK articles had a distinctive view and choices of names that few others, apart from Liang Tingnan, seem to have picked up. For more information see:

Zou, Zhenhuan (2008). On the "Concise Foreign History" and Its Authors. *Journal of Sun Yat-Sen University* (Social Science Edition), 48(5). 100-108. (In Chinese)  
《外国史略》及其作者问题新探, 邹振环作者, 中山大学学报 (社会科学版), 2008, 48(5).

## **2.5 The Malacca Connection & the Medhurst hypothesis**

The Anglo-Chinese College was established in Malacca in 1818 through the efforts and enthusiasm of Robert Morrison and William Milne. It educated a number of Chinese and western people in Chinese language and other things such as geography, history and mathematics. Another possibility that seems worth investigating is whether the names for Australia used in DXYK had originated in earlier publications by people at or from Malacca?

Secular studies and the diffusion of knowledge was certainly on the agenda. For example, there was Walter Medhurst's early geographical material such as:

Medhurst, Walter Henry (1819). A geographical catechism, (dili biantong lüezhuan, 地理便童略傳), Malacca.

[also listed more fully as: 嘉慶廿四年己卯(1819) 麥都思(Walter H. Medhurst) 撰 《地理使童略傳》 (Geographical Catechism), 二十頁, 刊於馬六甲。]

William Milne also developed some secular texts. For example, he also wrote a geographical text in Chinese:

Milne, William (1820 or 1821). Brief sketch of all the kingdoms of the world, Malacca.

[also listed as: 道光二年壬午(1822) 米憐(William Milne)之《全地萬國紀略》(Sketch of the World), 三十頁, 於馬六甲出版。]

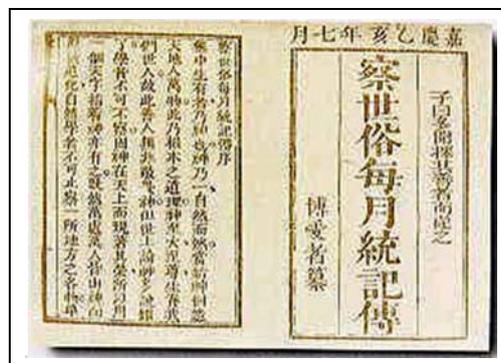
Some of these materials seem to have been published in serial form as articles in Milne's "Chinese Magazine". This original "Chinese Magazine" (preceding Gutzlaff's by almost 20 years), which will be abbreviated here as "Chashisu", was published in Malacca in the years 1815-1821. Its full title was:

察世俗每月統紀傳, Cha Shisu Mei Yue Tong Jizhuan, literally "Monthly Magazine of the World" (maybe "Life Magazine"?)

This publication was started by William Milne and included non-religious material as well as religious. It also had significant input from Walter Medhurst as printer and contributor during the years 1818-1821. The difficulty with the idea of this publication providing the name for Australia in Chinese is that in the period 1815-1821 the name "Australia" in English had not even been used officially at this time and it is unlikely anyone would have bothered thinking of a Chinese version of a yet little known or used name.

Di Ouyang of the NLA has discovered that '察世俗每月統計傳' (察世俗每月統紀傳) is apparently available at the National Library of Taiwan and the Cornell University. There is some information about it on the net:

<http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/%E5%AF%9F%E4%B8%96%E4%BF%97%E6%AF%8F%E6%9C%88%E7%B5%B1%E8%A8%98%E5%82%B3>



The above picture is a copy of one at the website above. The web site has broken links but despite the poor quality of the above image, it is clear Gutzlaff's DXYK kept the same general structure that was started by William Milne in 1815. There is a date at the top of the first page, July 1815 (the 20<sup>th</sup> Jiaqing year, which was 乙亥 or Yihai in the 60 year cycle), down the centre is the name of the publication, to the right is a wise saying of Kongfuzi and on the left is Milne's "signature" (博愛者, Bo'ai Zhe, "One who has universal love").

Between 1823 and 1826, Walter Medhurst was also actively printing both secular and religious texts in Batavia (present day Jakarta) and, following Milne's death in 1822, produced a sequel to Chashisu (usually also called, in English, the "Chinese Magazine") with reference details:

道光三年癸未(1823-1826) 麥都思(Walter H. Medhurst) 於巴達維亞(Batavia)主編《特選撮要每月紀傳》(A “Chinese Magazine”, or more literally “Monthly Magazine of Selected Abstracts”).

Another important publication of Medhurst’s at this time was his “History of Java” (咬留吧總論, Batavia 1824; ie 咬留吧总论 in simplified characters, or Jiaoliuba Zonglun in Pinyin). This title has a more literal translation as “A general introduction to Java [or Batavia]”. It was apparently written by 1824 and then published by instalments in Medhurst’s own “Chinese Magazine”. It was republished in 1825, 1829, 1833 and 1834. On this history, Jane Kate Leonard<sup>1</sup>, discussing Medhurst’s religious and secular publications wrote: “Medhurst appealed to Chinese readers by using a style in many ways similar to Chinese geographical writing. His account begins, for example, with a discussion of place-names used for Java from earliest times to the present. This is followed by a discussion of the sea route to Java from China. The place names are those traditionally used in Chinese geographical writing. Later he was to translate into English Wang Ta-hai’s (王大海) geography, the Hai-tao i-chih (海島逸志), which suggests that he was already familiar with this work and drew on it in preparing his account of Java.”



An image (above) of what seems to be a front page for this publication was obtained from a reference with no links to the original in Google Books. Assuming it is genuine, it is immediately clear it is in the same style as Chashisu with a learned saying (in this case from the “Doctrine of the Mean”<sup>2</sup> (中庸 or Zhongyong) on the right, the publication title in the middle and the writer’s “signature” on the left. Medhurst’s “signature” was 尚德者 (Shangde Zhe or “One who respects the virtuous”).

The name for “Java” (Jiaoliuba) may have been an older name than was commonly used at the time. The use of “kou” (口) in front of characters in foreign names was common in Qing China so that the combination of the “kou” and phonetic part of a

<sup>1</sup> Jane Kate Leonard, "W.H. Medhurst : rewriting the missionary message", Chapter 4 of Barnett, Suzanne Wilson, and John King Fairbank. Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings. Cambridge, MA: Published by the Committee on American-East Asian Relations of the Dept. of History in Collaboration with the Council on East Asian Studies/Harvard University, 1985, p 47-59.

<sup>2</sup> 文理密察，足以有別也。 Translated by Legge (1893) as “accomplished, distinctive, concentrative and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination.”

character may not necessarily be a real character. For example, the second character here uses an ancient form for “liu” (畱 rather than the more modern 留) but its combination with “kou” is not a known character, ancient or modern. This is also why the first character should be pronounced “jiao” (交) (as in Leonard, 1985) rather than “yao” (咬). In later works like DXYK and Wei Huan’s HGTZ, alternative names appear for Batavia such as Badawei (巴达维). The present day name is Jakarta (雅加达 or Yajiada). In some places in the older texts it is represented as 葛刺巴 or Gelaba and in others as 噶喇吧<sup>3</sup> which should still be pronounced as Gelaba in Mandarin for the considerations given above. In HGTZ Wei Yuan wrote: “Some write Geliuba (葛留巴) that is, Lesser Java (小爪哇, or Xiao Zhaowa); others use Jialiuba (交留巴) and others again Jialiuba (加留巴)”. Clearly, there were many variants in use, possibly as a result of different dialects of Chinese involved. Equally clear is that the appearance of these names in DXYK could indicate extracts from Medhurst’s “History of Java” were also reprinted by Gutzlaff in DXYK between 1833 and 1835.

Later, Medhurst published another major work usually referred to as “Comparative Chronology” (東西史記和合, Dongxi Shiji Hehe, or literally “Harmonization of Eastern and Western historical records”). This publication was printed from wooden blocks. Wylie (1867)<sup>4</sup> writes “It exhibits the Chinese and European accounts in parallel columns. The similarity between the more authentic records of the Chinese and the Scripture history is remarkable”. Wylie notes that it was reprinted in Malacca in 1833. Significantly, this series of articles formed a primary thread for the first set of issues of DXYK in the period 1833-1835. So it is clear that Medhurst most definitely contributed articles to DXYK at the same time that our articles of interest appeared. Of course, whatever was published by Walter Medhurst, because of his profession as a printer, would have existed in the form of printing plates and available for relatively easy re-printing.

It therefore seems it is possible that the DXYK material was originally written by Walter Henry Medhurst, who had already written articles on geographical subjects at Malacca prior to 1830 and was able to provide material in ready-to-print formats. Walter Medhurst joined the other missionaries in Canton in 1835 and at that time he was already cooperating by correspondence with Charles Gutzlaff, J. R. Morrison and Elijah Bridgman on the revision of the Morrison Bible. He seems to have contributed his printing blocks for “Comparative chronology of East and West” as well as other articles to the first printings of DXYK at Canton prior to 1835. Although he was only physically in Canton for a short time before moving on to travel along the China coast, his articles were ready to print and so perhaps his presence was not necessary.

In Endnote 1<sup>①</sup>, a Table of Walter Medhurst’s activities by year is provided. As argued in previous sections, it seems unlikely that before 1830 a name for Australia would be important enough for someone to seek its transliteration in Chinese. But between 1825 and 1832, Walter Medhurst made six major tours through the region generally covering the former Dutch East Indies and other near areas of SE Asia. It is certainly

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<sup>3</sup> Form used by Wang Dahai who wrote his account in the Qianlong Period and whose book was translated by Medhurst and later published in 1857 in Shanghai.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Wylie (1867). *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*. Giving a list of their publications and obituary notices of the deceased. Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867.

possible that he came across information about Australia and its new English-supported name during those visits – which were as far as to Bali in 1829. We have seen in CN4A that 1829 was a significant year in the development of the modern name for the southern land as Britain took possession of the west of New Holland, established the Swan River Colony and (re-)named the western region “Western Australia”. Perhaps this stimulated considerable discussion in SE Asia – even if it was not noticed in China.

In Wylie (1867) we find the itinerary for some these travels. Wylie writes: “In the beginning of August, 1828, he went to Singapore, from which he took his departure in a Chinese junk on the 22nd of that month, and visited several places on the Malayan Peninsula, but failing to find Messrs. Tomlin and Gutzlaff, of whom he was in search, he returned to Singapore on the 6th of October. He next proceeded to Borneo, where he visited a number of Chinese settlements, and returned to Batavia on the 18th of January, 1829. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of November of the same year, he left Batavia in company with the Rev. J. Tomlin, on a journey along the north-east coast of Java, to the island of Bali, returning to his station on the 24th of January, 1830.”

Although Medhurst’s time in Canton in 1835 was only brief, the established use of some of his blocks and previously prepared materials in DXYK over the time period in which we are interested is highly significant. A second Table in Endnote <sup>②</sup> lists the index from DXYK over the period in question, showing titles for the articles on the Comparative Chronology as well as others. There are a significant number of articles on Batavia and other areas of the Dutch Indies as well as the articles of interest to us, which could easily all have been contributed by Medhurst. It follows that if he provided the materials of some then he could easily have contributed others. Walter Medhurst therefore had the “Means, Motive and Opportunity” to be the contributor of the two articles in DXYK -- but were they his? Some support for the proposition that they were written by him occurs in titles of a number of articles about the islands of present day Indonesia. They sometimes took a form like “蘇祿嶼總論” which translates as “A general introduction to Suluwesi”. The characters translated here as “general introduction” are “總論” and were also used by Medhurst in the title for his “History of Java” (see Figure ). It was probably not an uncommon expression in Chinese at the time but in all of the articles developed in Chinese by the westerners we have met it is (as far as the present author has found) only commonly used in this way by Walter Medhurst. As noted above, it is also quite possible that the articles with this form of title in DXYK were previously published instalments from the “History of Java”. To emphasise the connections, the titles of the two articles of interest that included the modern Chinese name for Australia (in full form Chinese) were “地球全圖之總論” or “A general introduction to the map of the globe” and “列國地方總論” or “A general introduction to the various countries of the world”. This common form of title is a possible “fingerprint” to support Medhurst being the author of them all.

But there is more. One of the most comprehensive discussions of the general contribution of Walter Medhurst to the provision of secular and useful knowledge to Chinese at this time is an article written in Chinese by Zou Zhenhuan (Zou, 2003) called in English “Medhurst and His Early Historical and Geographical Works in Chinese”. Zou contends that three of Medhurst’s publications are especially important in this context, one was the “Geographical Catechism” published in Malacca in 1819;

a second was his “History of Java” and the third his “Comparative Chronology. The second and third have been discussed above. Zou’s paper provides a comprehensive discussion of all three and it seems he had access to an original printing of the “Geographical Catechism” as he describes it in some detail.

Zou (2003) describes how the book starts with two maps, one being all of the countries of the world probably presented in traditional Mercator with Europe in the centre and the other possibly a two-hemisphere map. It would be very interesting to view these maps. The book is organised as a “Catechism” in the form of questions and answers that a student would be expected to learn by heart and repeat back in a test. Zou (2003) writes that there are eight main sections and overall 70 questions. The first section (a translation of the relevant section of the paper and the Chinese text are included as an Endnote in CN4A) is of special importance as it covers “The divisions of the earth into four parts” (ie the continents) with the very first question being:

Q: What is Geography?

A: “Geography is the science that describes the dimensions, orientation, regions, boundaries, products, human nature and customs for every country throughout the world.”

Zou (2003) notes that in elaborating the form of the globe, Medhurst wrote “it is round like a ball, or an egg, and all of the countries are attached and spread like clothes around its outside”. Another question in this section asks:

Q: “The countries of the world have how many divisions?”

A: “The countries of the world have four main divisions, one in the east, is called Asia, one in the north, is called Europe, one in the south, is called Africa and one in the west, is called America”

After this introductory section, the countries of the world and their customs, religions etc follow in seven sections covering China, India, the Middle East (including Israel), England, Europe, Africa and America. It is clear from Zou (2003) that a very large number of the questions involve religion – as may be expected from the name “Geographical Catechism”. But it is also not hard to see that the two articles of interest in DXYK have a similar overall structure. The first is on the theory of the globe and its division of lands into continents and the second concerns the main countries in the continents. However, the DXYK articles focus more on geography and less on religion, so that if the two publications are related that in DXYK is a distillation of the geography from the Catechism. Of course, religion is not excluded and in the DXYK article on the countries of the world we find (see the Endnote in CN4A) “Asia is more than 20,000 Li in length and more than 24,000 Li wide, it is the largest of the five continents. In the west of Asia is the western heaven where God put the ancestor of all ages [Adam], from Asia the descendants spread out to every other place.” (由亞細亞普天下之宗支起而布散在各處也。)

But in the sections quoted by Zou (2003) there are also more “signature” phrases that point to Medhurst’s style. One is a common use of the phrase “throughout the world” (普天下, putianxia) which also occurs in the first of the two articles and also in the second in the quotation above concerning Adam (“...descendants spread out to every other place.”). Of even greater significance as a “signature”, the representation of

“Asia” as Ya-xi-ya is written in the Catechism as 亞西亞. The DXYK article contains this form of the name for Asia in some places as well as (more commonly) the more traditional 亞細亞. The Chinese scholar-official, Liang Tingnan, whom we will encounter later, gave a full quotation of the second article but corrected all of these “obvious errors”. Rather than being simply errors they should be seen as residual printings from what was in the original Catechism – but which did not appear consistently in the later text. There are other examples, including transliterations of place names that are the same between the Catechism and DXYK but we will simply at this point propose that we believe that there is already sufficient evidence to conclude that the two articles were a later distillation of Medhurst’s original Catechism and that Medhurst was the author.

Significantly, the original Catechism does not mention “Australia”. In fact, it only listed four continents. So, an obvious change that occurred was the addition of a fifth continent – Australia. In addition, if we look back at the translation of the short sentence in the second article concerning the country of Australia the author writes: “Australia is a vast uncultivated land, whose people have no monarch; however, Britain has sent many immigrants to the southeast and western areas”. The British only spread to the western area in 1829 and we will also propose that following his travels, when the news of Britain’s spread to the west of the great south land spread through SE Asia, Medhurst (as a patriotic Englishman) re-wrote his geography to take it into account. On this basis we will claim Walter Medhurst as the person who “discovered the name for Australia in Chinese”.

Zou Zhenhuan (2003). Medhurst and His Early Historical and Geographical Works in Chinese, *Fudan Journal (Social Sciences)*, No. 5 2003. (In Chinese)

麦都思及其早期中文史地著述，邹振环著者，*复旦学报(社会科学版)* 2003 年第 5 期

Mai Dusi jiqi zaoqi Zhongwen shi-di zhushu, Zou Zhenhuan zhuzhe, *Fudan Xuebao (Shehui Kexue Ban)*, 2003 nian, di 5 qi.

### 3 Conclusions

On the above grounds it seems reasonable to exclude Elijah Bridgman, Charles Gutzlaff and also the three Morrisons from the list – if only because of the fact the Morrisons seemed to have used “ao” without the water radical. Elijah Bridgman was clearly only confident in his Chinese to the point of attempting such articles after he joined Gutzlaff to edit the second phase of DXYK after 1836. He also at this time had only started on his major effort in the “Brief account of the USA” (a history of the USA in Chinese). The original DXYK article had appeared before he was ready for such work (Lazich, 2000). As for Gutzlaff, from excerpts in all editions of HGTZ and others quoted in Zhuang (2007), it appears he never ceased using the earlier Chinese name for “New Holland” (provided by Jesuit missionaries) and avoided the modern name for Australia in Chinese. Perhaps this was done to keep his Dutch sponsors on side or for reasons we do not know. If it was a “national” choice it suggests that the person who did introduce the name in DXYK was probably an Englishman.

Eliminating the Three Morrisons as they used “ao” without the water radical and also the documents written by others at Malacca (such as Chashisu) because they were written well before there was enough interest in “Australia” (in general) for it to need a Chinese name, we are left to propose the Englishman Walter Henry Medhurst as the most likely author. Based on various evidence of his use of names and from quotations from the “Geographical Catechism” in Zou (2003) we have proposed that following his travels of 1825-1832 and the British move to annexe and rename Wesern Australia, he wrote the articles in question as updates of the purely geographical parts of the “catechism” and provided them to Gutzlaff along with the Comparative Chronology and various articles about Batavia and other places in SE Asia to use in the early editions of DXYK.

David Jupp  
 April 2013  
 (Minor Edits 2015)

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**ENDNOTES**

① The Medhurst Comparative Chronology

29 April 1796	Born in London, went to St. Paul’s Cathedral School. Apprenticed in Glouster as a printer at age 14 (1810).
September 1816 – February 1817	Travelling from England via Madras to join Ultra-Ganges mission.
June 1817	Medhurst arrives at Malacca
1818	Milne ill so Medhurst takes over printing and teaching.
1818-1821	Engaged with <b>Chashisu</b> (察世俗每月統記傳, original Monthly Magazine published by William Milne at Malacca.)
1819	“Geographical Catechism” and ordination. First published in Chashisu.
September 1820	Goes to Penang with printing equipment and set up his own mission
End of 1821-1822	Left for Batavia in Java and set up the mission
1823-1826	Published <b>the Monthly Magazine</b> (intended to follow on from Dr Milne’s). Had various non-religious texts printed here. (持選撮要)
1824	Published <b>History of Java</b> with maps (first as serial in Monthly Magazine)
1825-1832	Make 6 major tours through SE Asia
January 1827	Met Gutzlaff in Batavia, inspired him with facility and activity
1828	Voyage along the coast of Malaya (August 1828). Medhurst’s voyage along the eastern coast of Malaya was reported in 1833 CR.
1829	Wrote and printed <b>Comparative Chronology</b> . (東西史記和合) Reprinted at Malacca in 1833 and included in Gutzlaff’s East-West Monthly Magazine in 1833-1834.
1829-1830	Journeys in Java and Bali with Rev. J. Tomlin
1831	Account of the island of Bali published.
1832	Dictionary of the Hok-keen dialect

1833	Parapattan Orphan Asylum established by Medhurst in Batavia.
1833-1834	September 1833, Comparative Chronology in DXYK as a series. Continues to end of 1834.
1834-1835	Revision of Morrison Bible with JR Morrison, Gutzlaff and Bridgman. Medhurst in Canton during later period.
July 1835	At Canton following death of Morrison.
August 1835	Journey along the coast of China Canton to Tientsin
1835-1836	Back to Batavia to get ready for England.
1836-1838	Visit to England (left Batavia April 1835), wrote "China, its state and prospects" and also finished the New Testament section of the Revision (see above).
November 1838	Back in Batavia
1839-1841	Not known
1842	Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect (translated from Dutch) and Chinese and English Dictionary. (by radicals).
1843	Moved to (Sent to?) Shanghai after Opium war.
June 1844	Delegate's bible started and continued. Wrote "Chinese Dialogues" to teach Chinese. Later revised by his son.
1845	Shanghai to interior of China (Silk and Green Tea Country)
1846	Condensed statement of Christianity. Included details of Nestorian Tablets and Catholic missionaries.
1847-1848	English and Chinese Dictionary in two volumes. Also, Reply to Dr Boone.
1849	The Chinese Miscellany, only four numbers. Produced his own travels and translations, including "The Chinaman Abroad".
1850-1852	Missing years
1853	Taiping review
1855	Delegate's bible finished (New Testament in the Mandarin Language) Accounts of travels also published.
1856	Leaves to England from Shanghai
1857	Dies in England succeeded in China by his son.

② Index for Editions of DXYK between August 1833 and April 1835

Characters	General Translation	Page
土耳其國事	National affairs of Turkey (土耳其, Tǔěrxī)	28 下
	[NOTE: One of the articles of interest (列國) has 歐邏巴洲南有土耳其國、以大里亞國 could be same person]	
荷蘭國事	National affairs of Holland (荷蘭, Hólán)	28 下
大西洋即葡萄庫耳國事	National affairs of Portuguese Canary Islands in the Atlantic	28 下
新考出在南方大洲	New findings of a large land mass in the South Regions (Antarctica)	29 上
敘語	Religion	29 下
癸巳年九月	1833 September	31 上

論	Discussion	33 上
(東西史記和合)	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
商朝 -- 以色列神朝	Shang Dynasty -- Israel Prophets	34 上
地理	Geography	
蘇祿嶼總論	A general introduction of Suluwesi	36 下
芒佳武大洲總論	A general introduction to the Macassar province (of South Suluwesi)	36 下
美洛居嶼等與吧布阿大洲	The island province of Molucca, nearby islands and Papua	37 上
波羅大洲總論	A general introduction to the Island province of Borneo (Boluo here not Poluo as in Gutzlaff SE Asia map).	37 上
新聞	News	
越南即安南國事	National affairs in Vietnam (ie Annam) [Note use of “modern” name].	38 上
蘇門答刺州事	Situation in Sumatra (Sumendaci used in Gutzlaff SE Asia Map)	38 上
煞語	Religion	38 下
大清一統全圖說	Explanation of the “Qing Unified Map” (used later in “Sketch of Chinese History”).	39 上
大清一統天下全圖	The Qing Unified Complete Map (1817) (Not Chinese but Gutzlaff!)	40

癸巳年十月	1833 October	41
論	Discussion	43 上
(東西史記和合)	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
周紀 -- 以色列王朝	Zhou Dynasty -- Israel Kings	44 上
(地理)	Geography	
蘇門答刺大州嶼等總論	A general introduction to the province of Sumatra (Sumendaci Islands?)	45 下
新埔頭或息力	Xinputou (new Putou – a place in Fujian) or Xili? (old names for Singapore)	46 上
天文	Astronomy	
論月食	Treatise on Lunar Eclipses	47 上
新聞	News	
孟買用炊氣船	Steam Boat trial in Bombay	48 下
煞語	Religion	50 上

癸巳年十一月	1833 November	51 上
論	Discussion	53 上
東西史記和合	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
(周紀 -- 以色列王朝)	Zhou Period -- Kings of Israel (以色列, Yì sī liè, Israel used now)	54 上
地理	Geography	
呀瓦大洲	Yawa (Java) Archipelago	56 下
附麻刺甲	Surrounding areas of Malacca	56 下
新聞篇	News Articles	
英國之東地公司	English Companies in the East	58 上
西洋國事	Situation in the Western World	58 上
越南國事	Situation in Vietnam	58 上

荷蘭國事	Situation in Holland	58 上
敘語	Religion	59 上
俄羅斯國通天下全 國	Complete map of Russia	59 上

癸巳年十二月	1833 December	61 上
(論 - 敘語)	Discussion and Narrative	63 上
(正文題作敘話)	Main article (Editorial)	63 上
(東西史記和合)	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	63 上
秦紀、漢記 -- (以 色耳王朝)、羅馬 朝	Qin and Han Histories -- Kings of Israel to Roman times	63 下
地理	Geography	
暹羅國志略	A general description of the Kingdom of Siam	65 上
(新聞)	News	
新聞紙略論	Brief News Items	66 上
蘭墩十咏(詠?)	10 Songs from London	67 上
北極星圖記	Discussion of the North Star Map	68 上
北極恆星圖	The North Star Map	69

甲午年正月	1834 January	71 上
(論 - 敘語)	Discussion and Narrative	73 上
(正文題作敘話)	Main article (Editorial)	73 上
(東西史記和合)	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
秦紀、漢紀 -- (以 色耳王朝)、羅馬 朝	Qin and Han periods -- Kings of Israel to Roman Empire	73 下
地理	Geography	
暹羅國志略	A general description of the Kingdom of Siam	75 上
新聞	News	
新聞紙略論	Brief News Items	76 下
蘭墩十咏	10 Songs from London	77 上
北極星圖記	Discussion of the North Star Map	78 上
北極恆星圖	The North Star Map	79
(市價篇)	Current Market Prices	80 上

甲午年二月	1834 February	83 上
(論 - 敘語)	Discussion and Narrative	
第一論	First discussion	85 上
第二論	Second discussion	86 上
(東西史記和合)	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
西漢紀、後漢 (紀)、西晉紀、 北宋朝、齊紀、梁 紀、陳紀、隋紀 -- (羅馬朝)、英吉 利撒孫朝	Western Han, Later Han, Western Jin, Northern Song, Qi, Liang, Chen, Sui Dynasties -- Roman Times to England Saxon Times	87 下

地理	Geography	
地球全圖之總論	An introduction to the map of the globe	90 上
新聞之撮要	News Summary	92 上
(市價篇)	Current Market Prices	93 下

甲午年三月	1834 March	97 上
(東西史記和合)	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
唐記 -- (英吉利撒孫朝)	Tang Dynasty -- England Saxon Times	99 上
史記	History	
萬代之始祖	First ancestor of all ages (Adam)	100 上
(地理)	Geography	
列國地方總論	An introduction to the various countries of the world	101 上
天文	Astronomy	
黃道十二宮	The 12 signs of the Zodiac	101 上
金銀論	An essay on gold and silver (economics)	102 下
太孝	Great Piety (ancient book)	103 上
新聞	News	
英國之東地公司	English Companies in the East	104 上
西洋即葡萄雅國事	Situation in the Atlantic country of Portugal	104 上
荷蘭國屬地葛拉巴事	Situation in the Dutch dependency of Batavia (present day Jakarta) [Note: 3 transliterations for Batavia in these volumes!]	104 上
越南國事	Situation in Vietnam	104 下
(市價篇)	Current Market Prices	105 上

甲午年四月	1834 April	
子外寄父	A son abroad writes to his father.	111 上
史記	History	
始祖之愆	The fall of the first ancestor (Adam and Eve banished from Paradise)	111 下
(東西史記和合)	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
五代紀、宋朝 -- (英吉利撒孫朝)、哪耳慢朝	Five Dynasties and Song vs England Saxon and Norman Times	113 上
地理	Geography	
(噶喇吧洲總論)	General introduction to Batavia	114 下
(以至比多)	Egypt (includes English and French activities)	116 上
	[NOTE: 以至比多國 is where Egypt is geographically in the other article]	
煞語	Religion	116 下
新聞	News	117 上
(市價篇)	Current Market Prices	117 下

甲午年五月	1834 May	121 上
亞非利加浪山略說	A brief discussion about Africa's Cape Colony (English colony)	123 上
史記	History	

洪水先世記略	A discussion of the Great Flood (God did it)	123 下
(東西史記和合)	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
宋紀、元紀 -- (英吉利哪耳慢朝)	Song and Yuan Histories -- England Norman Times	125 下
葡萄牙國京都里錫門地震略	The earthquake in the capital of Portugal at Lisbon	126 上
(火蒸水氣所感動之機關)	Thoughts on the production of movement by steam from water	126 下
煞語 -- 神天上帝不偏愛	Religion -- Impartiality of God the Holy Spirit	128 上
(市價篇)	Current Market Prices	128 下

乙未年正月	1835 January	131 上
(論 - 敘語)	Discussion and Narrative	
第一論	First discussion	133 上
第二論	Second discussion	134 上
(東西史記和合)	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
西漢紀、後漢(紀)、西晉紀、北宋朝、齊紀、梁紀、陳紀、隋紀 -- (羅馬朝)、英吉利撒張朝	Western Han, Later Han, Western Jin, Northern Song, Qi, Liang, Chen, Sui Dynasties -- Roman Times to England Saxon Times	135 上
地理	Geography	
地球全圖之總論	Introduction to the complete map of the world	138 下
新聞之撮要	News Summary	140 上

甲午年二月 (乙未刊)	1834 February (Printed in 1835 February)	
(東西史記和合)	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
唐記 -- (英吉利撒孫朝)	Tang Dynasty -- England Saxon Times	145 上
史記	History	
萬代之始祖	First ancestor of all ages (Adam)	146 上
(地理)	Geography	
列國地方總論	An introduction to the various countries of the world	147 上
天文	Astronomy	
黃道十二宮	The 12 signs of the Zodiac	147 下
金銀論	An essay on gold and silver (economics)	148 下
太孝	Great Piety	149 上
新聞	News	
英國之東地公司	English Companies in the East	150 上
西洋即葡萄雅國事	Situation in the Atlantic country of Portugal	150 上
荷蘭國屬地葛拉巴事	Situation in the Dutch dependency of Batavia	150 上
越南國事	Situation in Vietnam	150 上

甲午年三月（乙未刊）	1834 March (Printed in 1835 March)	151 上
子外寄父	A son abroad writes to his father.	153 上
史記	History	
始祖之愆	The fall of the first ancestor (Adam and Eve banished from heaven)	153 下
〔東西史記和合〕	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
五代紀、宋朝 -- （英吉利撒孫朝）、哪耳慢朝	Five Dynasties and Song vs England Saxon and Norman Times	155 上
地理	Geography	
〔噶喇吧洲總論〕	General introduction to Batavia	156 下
〔以至比多〕	Egypt	158 上
煞語	Religion	158 下
新聞	News	159 上

甲午年四月（乙未刊）	1834 April (Printed in 1835 April)	161 上
亞非利加浪山略說	A brief discussion about Africa's Cape Colony (English dependency)	163 上
	[NOTE: 亞非利加洲南有大浪山，大英國之屬國兼荒地 is the statement in the article quoted by Liang Tingnan - maybe same person]	
史記	History	
洪水先世記略	A discussion of the Great Flood	163 下
東西史記和合	Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History	
宋紀、元紀 --（英吉利哪耳慢朝）	Song and Yuan Histories -- England Norman Times	165 下

Note: There are a number of Chinese names on the SE Asia map that is presented here. It includes:

蘇門答刺州 Sumatra Island  
 呀瓦洲(島) Java Island  
 婆羅州 Kalimantan (former Borneo)  
 波羅州 Borneo (Kalimantan)  
 噶喇吧 Galaba (Batavia) (噶喇吧京 on map)  
 葛刺巴 in other places Gelaba  
 葛留巴 also occurs (HGTZ)  
 芒佳虱 Macassa  
 蘇拉威 Suluwesi  
 蘇祿嶼 Suluwesi  
 美洛居 Molucca  
 吧布阿 Papua  
 麻刺甲 Malacca  
 馬六甲 Malacca