

The Chinese name for Australia¹

David L B Jupp
Final Penultimate Version, June 2013.



Figure 1 The Australian Pavilion at the Shanghai World Expo of 2010.

Table of Contents

1	INTRODUCTION – WHAT’S IN A NAME?	2
2	AN EARLY CHINESE MAP OF AUSTRALIA	3
3	WHO DISCOVERED THE CHINESE NAME FOR AUSTRALIA?.....	7
4	“AUSTRALIA” IN THE WORLD’S MAPS.....	9
5	OPENING CHINA TO COMMERCE AND CHRISTIANITY	15
6	THE PROVISION OF USEFUL GEOGRAPHIC KNOWLEDGE IN CHINESE.....	19
7	THE CHINESE MAGAZINE AND THE NAME FOR AUSTRALIA IN CHINESE.....	22
7.1	THE “CHINESE MAGAZINES”	22
7.2	WALTER MEDHURST’S NAME FOR AUSTRALIA IN CHINESE	26
8	LIN ZEXU AND THE FORCED OPENING OF CHINA	31
9	THE STORIES OF WEI YUAN, LIANG TINGNAN AND XU JIYU	37
9.1	WEI YUAN COLLECTS ALL OF THE INFORMATION.....	37
9.2	LIANG TINGNAN DISCUSSES THE NAME FOR AUSTRALIA	42
9.3	XU JIYU PUTS AODALIYA ON THE MAP.....	43
10	CHINESE FIND OUT MORE ABOUT AUSTRALIA	47
11	THE CHINESE NAME FOR “AUSTRALIA” BECOMES “CHINESE”.....	53
12	CONCLUDING SUMMARY.....	57
13	REFERENCES.....	59
14	END NOTES	64

¹ This document can be found at the Qinling Plank Roads to Shu [Web Site](#) and also has a web page outlining its background and providing access to other documents [HERE](#).

1 Introduction – what’s in a name?

When the Shanghai Exposition opened in June 2010, the Australian pavilion was a popular one for the large crowds of predominantly Chinese people who streamed through the gates. Australia’s Shanghai Expo Pavilion was an unusual and striking rusty brown building with simple lines and its central piece (Figure 1) was the name for Australia in English and Chinese.

The Chinese name for Australia has four characters (澳大利亚) and is written in Pinyin and pronounced using Mandarin (or “Putonghua”) as Aodaliya. The pronunciation is easier to gauge if it is written as Ao-da-li-ya with strong downward emphasis (fourth tone) equally on all four characters (see Endnote ^① for a discussion of conventions used in the following for Chinese language). The Chinese name also matches the English name quite well as it is often pronounced by Australians as something like “Ost-Ray-Lee-Yah” with almost equal emphasis to each component. Chinese also use a two character name, 澳洲 or Ao Zhou, for Australia where the character Zhou (洲) can mean a continent. So, it would seem that Aodaliya could be taken as the Chinese name for the world’s largest island and Ao Zhou could be taken as the Chinese name for the world’s smallest continent.

Names for foreign countries, places and geographical features, overseas companies, or anything else that has not previously been named in Chinese history, need to be converted into characters to be used in written Chinese. The choice of characters usually indicates the sound as the foreign people would say it and, in the past, was occasionally also influenced by the spoken Chinese dialect of the person suggesting the characters. That is, they are often simply phonetic “transliterations” of the foreign name rather than “translations”. But meaning is not insignificant, even in the names of foreign places. For example, it is better if the characters chosen are respectful and have few if any bad uses. It is also possible and sensible to use common Chinese characters such as when words like “new” or “west” or “island” occur in the name or when parts of the name have been used by Chinese before. For example, the former name for the Australian continent was “New Holland”. In Chinese this became Xin Helan (新荷兰) where “xin” is Chinese for “new” and “helan” is a phonetic transliteration but is also the Chinese name used for the Netherlands. This kind of choice is more consistent and meaningful than using only phonetic characters. A selected Chinese name is, however, by far the best if the characters chosen also have some meaning associated with the object or place taking the name or make some clever comment about it. In such a case there is an aspect that is “translation” as well. Of course, this is the ideal and in most cases a name is (as Chinese people often say when asked what something means) “just a name”. One of the most famous examples of a superior name is that for “Coca-Cola”. The Chinese name is Kekoukele (可口可乐 or ke-kou-ke-le). The original English name also has four parts and the first and third are the same, as in the Chinese name. It sounds like the original name and its meaning can be translated as something like “if you taste it you will like it”, which is quite close to “just for the taste of it”. It is hard to find a better example of a name that is both a transliteration and a translation.

With some imagination, the name for Australia can also be associated with meanings as well as sounds. For a start, as indicated above, the character Zhou (洲) can mean a

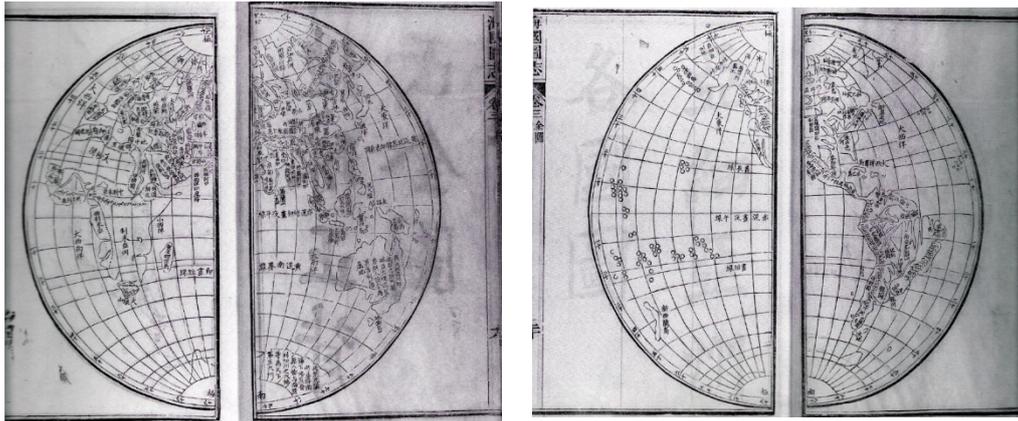
continent and Australia is a (small) continent. But there is more to it. The character Ao (澳) with its “water” radical (氵) can describe bays and inlets on a coast and da (大) is simply “big”, which is not inappropriate for the world’s largest island. The character li (利) can mean “lucky” and ya (亚) is often associated with names of places in Asia. The present Chinese name for the Asian continent is Ya Zhou (亚洲) and the old name (used in the maps and books we will meet later) was Yaxiya (亚细亚 or Ya-xi-ya). A “large and lucky place with bays and inlets in Asia” seems to fit the “Lucky Country” well. But some people may grumble about imaginations running wild and suggest that “Liya” (利亚) has often been used in names of countries to simply represent –lia or –ria. For example, the Chinese name for Bavaria (which was a small country when the name was chosen) is Bafaliya (巴伐利亚) and is not in Asia but could well be “lucky”. The academic battleground surrounding geographic “terms” is well avoided (as is the even fiercer area of religious “terms”) but for anyone interested it is discussed further in the present context in Endnote^②.

Meanings behind Chinese names exist in a rather fluid region where imagination, associations and cryptic references can usually go further than logical translation. So, we will not spend more time on it – except to suggest that the present Chinese name for Australia is well balanced and has appropriate and pleasant interpretations. The two commonly used names (Aodaliya and Aozhou) sit well with Australia’s dual nature of largest island and smallest continent and are well identified in China with the great southern land and its peoples. The Chinese name is certainly one that could be displayed with pride and without fear of confusion at the Shanghai Expo in 2010. And not even confused with Austria whose Chinese name of Ao-di-li (奥地利) is suitably similar in sound (as it is in English) but easily distinguished in Chinese.

But underneath this easy conclusion lies a deeper question that has some interesting places to go to find answers. The “question” is really a set of questions that emerge when you ask when the present Chinese name for Australia was derived, in what circumstances did it arise, who chose the characters in use today and when was it first used by Chinese in print and/or on a map?

2 An early Chinese map of Australia

The questions arose for the present author from annotations that were legible on a Chinese map originally published more than 150 years ago. It was in a book on Chinese cartography from ancient times to the present. The title of the book was “Treasures of Maps: A collection of maps in ancient China” (Yan et al., 1998). “Treasures of Maps” was published in China in English and Chinese and also separately in Britain in English in the same year of 1998. One of the maps included was in the “two hemispheres” form that had been commonly used by European map makers up to and into the 19th century. It is shown in Figure 2 as it appeared in the original printed version.



(a) Eastern Hemisphere

(b) Western Hemisphere

Figure 2 Wei Yuan's Eastern and Western Hemispheres from his maps in the 3rd Edition of the "Illustrated Geography of the World" (1852).

The description of the Hemisphere map in "Treasures of maps" is: "Map of the world in two hemispheres, from the 'Illustrated Geography of the World' (海国图志, Haiguo Tuzhi)² compiled by Wei Yuan, printed in three editions in 1842, 1847 and 1852 in fifty, sixty and 100 volumes respectively." Figure 1 above shows four pages with the Hemisphere maps from the 3rd (1852) Edition of "Illustrated Geography of the World".

The year quoted above for the first publication, 1842, was no ordinary year. It was the year when the first "Opium War" ended with the Treaty of Nanjing. This treaty was the first of the "Unequal Treaties" and as a result of this first skirmish, the first five Treaty Ports opened on the coast of China. The author of the map, Wei Yuan (魏源, 1794-1856), was a Qing period scholar-official who undertook the development of a compendium of information about the "western foreigners" (西夷, xi yi, see Endnote © for discussion of objections to the use of the character "yi" at this time and its eventual ban by the British). The western foreigners were providing an immediate threat by ravishing China's coast, but Wei Yuan and others recognised that the bigger issue was the changed world in which China had suddenly found itself (Leonard, 1984). To Chinese, the troublesome western foreigners came from "maritime nations" (海国, haiguo) in places beyond the more familiar Asian maritime region. At the time, they were using superior force to open China as well as Asia, Africa and the Americas for trade, exploitation and conversion to Christianity. The scope of the gazetteer therefore included the lands, history, customs, languages, religions and almost everything else that could be collated about the outer world. Wei Yuan's compendium included maps covering the world and its different countries at various scales. The maps were rather poor when judged by western cartographic standards but incorporated material based on both western and Chinese sources and were revised with each edition and annotated with additional place names and information in Chinese as knowledge expanded. Among the western sources was a three volume set by the British geographer Hugh Murray (1779-1846) called "An Encyclopaedia of Geography" (Murray, 1834, 1837). A significant amount of western geographic information in the first draft of Wei Yuan's gazetteer was based on translations of

² A more literal translation of the book title may be "An illustrated account of the Maritime Nations". In the rest of the document we will use "Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations" being a compromise of various choices found in English language publications.

sections of Murray’s Encyclopaedia by Chinese employed by a scholar official called Lin Zexu (林則徐, 1785-1850, often called “Commissioner Lin” by western writers), who was prepared to confront the western foreigners and precipitated the first opium war by destroying a large quantity of their valuable but illegal opium. Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan also made use of a significant amount of material in Chinese published by Protestant Missionaries and information available in Chinese provided by Chinese travellers. Wei Yuan claimed his book was about “how western people perceive the west” whereas previous Chinese books had been about “how Chinese people perceive the west”.³



Figure 3 Detail of characters drawn on the Australian continent in Wei Yuan’s Hemisphere maps of the 3rd Edition

The eastern hemisphere of Wei Yuan’s map accurately depicts the complete coast of the large island of Australia. Tasmania (called Dimian Dao, 地面島 or [Van] Dieman’s Island) is present as a separate Island and the map also incorporates general information about the southern coastline and Bass Strait. The information came from discoveries made during Matthew Flinders’ circumnavigation of the continent between 1798 and 1803. The first voyage with George Bass established that Van Dieman’s Land was a separate island and the second voyage completely circumnavigated the continental mainland which was then, without any remaining doubt, a very large island. However, his official maps were not published until the period 1815 to 1822 and his information was only used by the majority of the world’s cartographers well after that time.

An interesting feature of this map (see Figure 3 for the detail from the main map) is the set of characters “Aodaliya Zhou” (奧大利亞州) amongst other annotations on the southern continent. This name is very close to the modern Chinese name for Australia which, as discussed before, is “Aodaliya” (澳大利亞) for the large island and “Ao Zhou” (澳洲) for the small continent. The full set of information written in Chinese

³何以異於昔人海圖之書，曰，彼皆以中土人譚西洋，此則以西洋人譚西洋也

(to be read from top to bottom and from right to left in the block of characters on the map) can be re-ordered to a modern format and roughly translated as:

Australia [or Australasia] ⁴ Also called south Nova Hollandia; Mostly desolate and Devoid of people; Nowadays a colony of Britain.	奧大利亞州， 即南國之新荷蘭地亞， 大塊俱荒杳， 無人物， 今為英吉利藩屬地
---	--

This description includes opinions of Terra Australis formed by Dutch explorers (such as “a vast and desolate place” etc) and also records the name previously in use on Chinese maps of New Holland or Nova Hollandia (新荷蘭地亞 or Xin (new) Helandiya). “New Holland” was the English version of the name in official use on Chinese maps until at least the early part of the 19th Century. The Chinese name for “New Holland” had first come into use much earlier when, in 1674, the Belgian Jesuit missionary Ferdinand Verbiest, with the approval of the Kangxi Emperor, published an updated map of the world including recent Dutch discoveries. However, Verbiest used the name Xin A’landiya (新阿蘭地亞) which remained a common alternative Chinese name to “Xin Helandiya” until at least the 1850’s⁵.

Wei Yuan’s two hemisphere map differs from earlier traditional Chinese maps firstly by its use of a Chinese name for “Australia” and secondly by making reference to the presence of British colonies. In these colonies, the English name “Australia” had been in use since 1817, when some years after being suggested by Matthew Flinders and following his publication of maps of the coastline, it was first used by Governor Macquarie in official correspondence, but it was only officially accepted by the British Admiralty in 1824. As we will see, the use of the English name “Australia” was much slower to be taken up by the rest of the world than by the British, so that when Wei Yuan started to seek out and publish maps in the 1840’s, it was only at much the same time as the English name was becoming accepted and used in maps produced by the world’s cartographers.

The overall style of presentation of the world in two hemispheres (Eastern and Western Hemispheres) had been used in China since Jesuit missionaries introduced modern mapping and cartography at the beginning of the 17th century. Of course, “two hemisphere” maps had been used by European map makers long before their introduction to China and were still a common framework for presenting the most recent knowledge of the globe by western map makers when Wei Yuan published his maps⁶. For example, the German “Historische Weltkarte” map of the world (Figure 4) published in 1828 uses the same geographic layout as Wei Yuan’s representation while still using “New Holland” for the name of the present Australian mainland.

⁴ Additions in [square brackets] in translations are not separate text but provide possible alternative interpretations of the Chinese.

⁵ Chinese names can be influenced by the pronunciations of both the Chinese and foreign people involved in the choice. In this case, Verbiest’s pronunciation of “Nouvelle Hollande” would have been more like his choice than the alternative.

⁶ In early times, this form was not a true projection and largely drawn by eye. Later the “Nicolosi Globular Projection” was somewhat more standardized and formalized for drafting. It used circular arcs and central meridians at 110°W for the Western Hemisphere and 70°E for the Eastern Hemisphere.

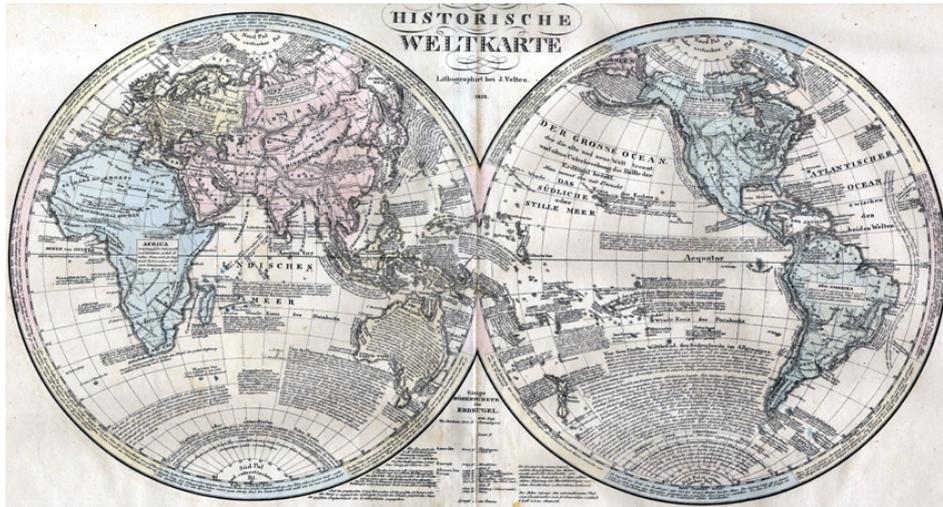


Figure 4 “Historische Weltkarte” two-hemisphere map published in 1828

It would seem, therefore, that by sometime between the publication of the “Historische Weltkarte” map and those of Wei Yuan, “Australia” had become established as the name for the great south land in place of New Holland in both western and Chinese maps and in both languages.

3 Who discovered the Chinese name for Australia?

These observations lead to an apparently simple question. That is: “was the map presented by Wei Yuan in his 3rd Edition of 1852 (Figure 5) the first use of the modern Chinese name for Australia?” We will expand this question to ask when was the first time it was used by Chinese if that is not the same. Indeed, we will find that various suggestions were previously made by western missionaries writing in Chinese but will refer these as “names for Australia in Chinese” rather than “Chinese names for Australia”. So, the question is, “who discovered the Chinese name for Australia”?

As we will see, it was only in Wei Yuan’s 3rd Edition that his maps and text included reference to the modern Chinese name for Australia. So the search for answers to this question must delve into the period between 1840 and 1850 and widen to include other Chinese geographers. The search certainly uncovers a decided lack of interest in the southern lands in China before that decade when there was also a rapid change in interest and knowledge of the outside world in general. Since the time of Jesuit influence on China’s maps, the accepted name had been “New Holland”. This name continued to be used by many in the world well after Matthew Flinders officially suggested his large island be known as “Australia” in 1815. The continuation of its use apparently included some official uses of “New Holland” in the Colony of New South Wales until nearly 1850 in reference to the areas west of New South Wales. Given this situation among westerners, it was hardly therefore surprising that Chinese did not see much need for a different name for “Australia” before 1840.



Figure 5 Cover and title pages of “Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations” (Wei Yuan’s book) 1852 Edition. Books 1 and 2.

In identifying this period as the one of rapid change in the situation we will be in agreement with previous studies that also go on to examine interactions between Chinese and Australians after this time. These include the book by Zhang Qiusheng (1997) (“History of overseas Chinese and Chinese people in Australia.” Foreign Languages and Research Press. In Chinese) and those by Eric Rolls such as Rolls (1992) (“Sojourners: The epic story of China’s centuries-old relationship with Australia. University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland). These books go on from where the present discussion finishes and can be recommended as important discussions to help understand how the two nations view each other today.

In subsequent sections, we will examine the background to the questions posed above and then provide some of the answers. First, we will examine the slow uptake of the name “Australia” by the world’s map makers. This slow uptake meant that it was only in the 1830’s or beyond that Chinese map makers or western map makers using Chinese language would have even begun to see a need to devise and use a Chinese name for “Australia”. Next, we will look at the collision between east and west that resulted in the first Opium War and occurred in the years between 1840 and 1842. These events resulted in an enhanced and urgent interest among Chinese concerning the activities of foreigners in China’s traditional areas of maritime interest. Prior to the Opium Wars, there had also been an increasing arrival in China of western protestant missionaries, some of whom were determined to learn and use Chinese language to speak with Chinese and write texts for them to read. The material they produced was primarily religious but (as had occurred previously with Jesuit missions) included a significant volume of writing aimed to introduce Chinese to the advanced state of western civilisation and the new geography of the world it had created. This material included reports of the islands making up Australasia and the Pacific. The availability of this information in Chinese language, when combined with increasing interest among Chinese in world geography, was of great significance for our questions.

We will next consider the influence of Lin Zexu on the opening of Chinese to the wider world and on Wei Yuan’s books. Lin Zexu was the scholar official who

confronted the British, destroyed their opium, precipitated the first Opium War in China and was punished to placate the foreigners when China was defeated. But he has also been called the first scholar official to open his eyes and look at the world. His efforts to gain knowledge of the outside world were possibly more successful than his attempts to control the flow of opium, and his determination to find out inspired others to complete the work. We will then move on to the subsequent activities of other scholar officials such as Wei Yuan (whose map led to this study), Liang Tingnan and Xu Jiyu. During the 1840's, these scholars followed Lin Zexu's example to find out everything they could about the outside world. Among this group, Wei Yuan combined his search for information with the geopolitical aim of using the knowledge to control or "tame" aggressive foreigners and regain China's influence in its wider region. As well as resisting the foreigners at grass roots level, Liang Tingnan provided information and engaged in background discussions and is most likely to have been the Chinese who promoted the present Chinese name for Australia to replace "New Holland". Xu Jiyu was a fine scholar who published geography with maps of high quality. He was interested in successfully managing the situation along the coast but also saw potential for China to benefit from coming to understand and learn from the west. He was punished for his more radical interest in the western nations in 1851.

Finally, we will bring the evidence together to propose that the modern name for Australia in Chinese was first suggested and made available to Chinese in two articles in Chinese language written by the linguist missionary Walter Henry Medhurst in 1834/35 with the Prussian missionary Charles Gutzlaff playing a significant role in its communication to Chinese. Gutzlaff was also to provide valuable information to Chinese about the developing British colonies that had appeared on Australia's coast. The suggested name for Australia in Chinese finally became the Chinese name for Australia when, during the 1840's, the Chinese scholar officials mentioned above considered the options and settled on it for their writings and maps. At the same time, they gathered additional material and interesting opinions about the great south land from many western and Chinese sources. It will then follow that by the time gold was discovered in Australia in 1851, and the (forced) availability of Chinese labour after 1868, Chinese people already had access to significant information in Chinese, geographic and otherwise, about Terra Australis as well as a name for their destination on maps in Chinese characters as they planned their journey and joined the rush.

4 "Australia" in the world's maps

The question of when Chinese names discussed so far were first used and Australia had its Chinese name is not easy to answer. However, the question of why it took until the mid-1830's for the name "Australia" to be transliterated into Chinese for the first time can be partly answered by examining the historical appearance of the English name "Australia" in western maps and geographical documents.

When the first fleet of English convict transports arrived in Botany Bay to start the colony of New South Wales (NSW) in 1788 it was to the east coast of the land mass called "New Holland" by Dutch explorers that they came. Captain James Cook sailed this coast in 1770, and had taken possession of it for Great Britain. Cook named the

land “New South Wales” and believed he was the first European to visit, map and possess it. As time went by the attention of the settlers shifted from the immediate vicinity of Sydney Town to the rest of the continent we now know as Australia. The name “Australia” is generally taken to be one coined by Matthew Flinders as the name for the continental island that he circumnavigated. The suggestion was made formally in 1815 when his maps were officially published although he had used the name on a draft map as early as 1804. Prior to this, in 1798, as part of the increasing exploration by sea and land, he sailed with George Bass to establish without doubt that Van Diemen’s Land (present day Tasmania) was separated from the mainland by what is now called Bass Strait. Between 1801 and 1803 Flinders, in command of *HMS Investigator*, circumnavigated and mapped the Australian mainland paying particular attention to bays and potential harbours for future settlements. Due to an error in the ephemeris he used, he needed to recompute the locations of the features of the map. This, and an unfortunate stopover in Mauritius, meant that it was only in 1815, soon after his death, that his final and official map of Australia complete with his new name was ready for the world. (See Figure 6)

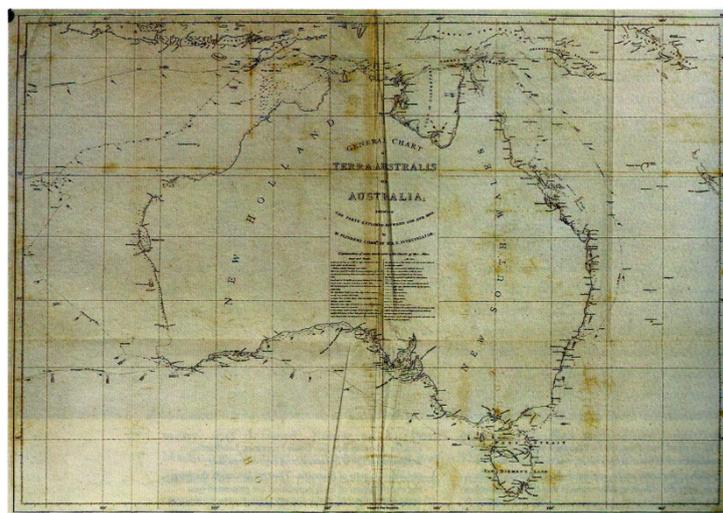


Figure 6 Matthew Flinders Map of 1815, using “Australia” for the continent, New South Wales for the eastern half and New Holland for the western half.

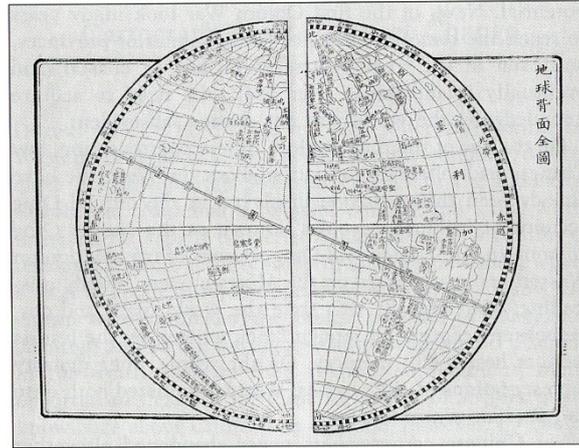
Flinders’ patron, Joseph Banks, who had sailed with Cook, did not support using the name “Australia”. Perhaps, like some Europeans at the time, he preferred the name told to Cook by New Zealand Maoris (which could have been uncomplimentary) of “Ulimaroa” or simply preferred something familiar like “Terra Australis”. Mapmakers continued to use “New Holland”. It was not until 1817, when the enlightened but despotic Governor Macquarie decided to start using it in official correspondence, that the name “Australia” gained some momentum – at least among English naval cartographers. The momentum increased further after the British Admiralty recognised the use of the name in 1824.

Flinders’ name had ancient roots but details of its long history and the progression of exploration and mapping by Europeans that preceded 1815 should be sought elsewhere. An excellent and detailed look at the long history of European exploration and mapping that concerned the great south land is the book by Robert Clancy (“The

mapping of Terra Australis”, Clancy, 1995). It is a good place to start. Endnote [©] also provides a brief summary of the main events.

Ancient Chinese maps of the world made no reference to southern lands such as “Terra Australis”. The first appearance of this region of the world into maps drawn by Chinese seems to have occurred after the introduction of western cartography into China at the beginning of the 17th Century. This was done by members of the Portuguese Jesuit mission led by an Italian missionary Matteo Ricci (利玛窦, 1552-1610). The Ricci maps of the world were in the form of traditional two hemispheres or extended globular projections as introduced by Ortelius. The voyages of Ferdinand Magellan had by then established that large areas of the Pacific Ocean had no lands. Spanish activity in the Pacific between the Americas and the Philippines also confirmed the region as ocean with scattered islands. The large, but still to be visited, area south of where Magellan sailed (including Terra del Fuego or the “Land of Fire”) became the last possible location for “Terra Australis”. It was named “Magellanica” by Spanish mapmakers and given the name Mowalanijia (墨瓦蜡泥加) in Chinese by Matteo Ricci (see Smith, 1996). Ricci proposed this large area of supposed land to the south of where Magellan sailed to be the 5th continent after Europe, Africa, America and Asia. Later, the Jesuit linguist missionary Giulio Alenio (艾儒略, 1582-1649) published a world geography with maps (Alenio, 1966), in 1623 to consolidate all of the new information. Alenio’s book became a standard Chinese geography in the following 200 years. However, the most comprehensive map arising from the Jesuit period in China, as judged by modern world knowledge and mapping, was the 1674 map published by Ferdinand Verbiest (南怀仁, 1623-1688). This map incorporated the most recent Dutch discoveries by Tasman and others that removed most of Magellanica and shows Australia to the extent known at the time (see Go et al., 2000). The Latinised version of the name Tasman gave to the continent was Nova Hollandia. Verbiest transliterated this into Chinese as 新阿兰地亚 or Xin (new) A’landiya. This Chinese name for Terra Australis, and variants of it (such as 新荷兰地亚 or Xin Helandiya), were still accepted in 1840.

Jesuit and other Christian missionaries were banned from preaching at the end of the Kangxi emperor’s reign following internal fighting between religious orders and the Chinese Rites Controversy. Subsequently, Chinese cartography progressed more slowly in its use of western cartographic methods and its inclusion of new information about the world outside China’s near regions. Although showing too much interest in the outside world risked being labelled a “traitor” to the Qing, the material developed for the Verbiest map continued to be used. For example, a map (see Figure 7) published by Li Mingche (李明彻) in 1819, (labelled as a “map of the western (back) hemisphere” or 地球背面图说) and included in Smith (1996), provides an example of the slower (but still steady) progress between 1674 and the early 19th Century. It also shows that the two hemisphere representation of the world continued to be used by Chinese. Further investigation (Li Mingche, 2000) of the Eastern hemisphere shows that the name of the large island is still the Verbiest name and the annotation still says it is devoid of people.



5.1 The western hemisphere, as depicted in Li Mingzhe's *Huantian tushuo*. Reproduced with permission from the Oriental and India Office, British Library.

Figure 7 Western Hemisphere included in a book on spherical geometry by Li Mingche in 1819.

Li Mingche's book was certainly not backward. The maps are used to illustrate the use of mathematics and geometric diagrams to describe the world and the movements of the heavens. It is a manual for the computation of eclipses and other events as well as accurate calendars. But it showed little interest in more recent discoveries around Australia such as the mapping and discoveries of Captain James Cook nearly fifty years earlier. To be fair, Chinese maps were not alone in showing little interest in the developments occurring in the great south land, as in 1819 very few western maps would have labelled the Australian continent as anything other than New Holland or the equivalent in the language of the cartographer. The name "Australasia" (Australasie) was appearing (mainly in French maps) but usually to mean the whole area including present day Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea and parts of Melanesia. In 1819, the name "Australia" was just at the very beginning of a slow acceptance among the world's cartographers.

In order to give some quantitative strength to the claim that "New Holland" changed gradually to "Australia" in the maps of the world between 1820 and 1850, it is possible to take published map collections as proxy for independent samples and tabulate the frequency of occurrence of the names with time. There exist a number of significant and accessible collections and references to maps of Australia and Australasia that can be used for such an investigation. These include the collection presented in Tooley (1979) (now held by the National Library of Australia) and the web based David Rumsey Historical map collection⁷ (Cartography Associates, 2009). For the results of an initial tabulation based on these sources, see the Endnote[©]. Briefly, on the basis of these map collections, and some textual information, it seems that between 1830 and 1840 the accepted name for the great south land among the collective of world map makers (not just the British) changed rapidly from being most commonly "New Holland" and becoming most commonly "Australia". It is thereby reasonable to assert that Chinese cartographers or western missionaries writing in

⁷ The David Rumsey collection (<http://www.davidrumsey.com/>) is an online collection of maps. It also has many historical maps that have been "rubber stretched" to a modern map projection and may be viewed in Google Earth. Old maps of China provided an excellent resource for the present study.

Chinese who were using western maps to provide information about the lands to the south would probably have reached different conclusions on the appropriate name depending on whether they were making the enquiry in 1830 or in 1840.



Figure 8 Map of Australasia in Hugh Murray's "Encyclopaedia of Geography (same in the 1834 and 1837 editions).

In 1829-1830, there was a significant series of events that may have awakened awareness of Australia in SE Asia and explain the significance of the year 1830 in the map statistics above. These events surrounded the founding of the first colony outside of the original colonies of New South Wales and Tasmania located generally in the South-east of the Island. The new area was in the west of Australia and was called "Western Australia". It was a privately settled colony but the British government used the opportunity to annexe the western side of the large Island. A small military contingent had occupied King George's Sound in 1826 and in 1827 while the Royal Navy had inspected the Swan River where the colony was eventually established. In 1828, instructions were sent for a battleship to proceed from the Cape of Good Hope (Capetown) to "take formal possession of the Western side of New Holland in His Majesty's name" (Thompson, 2010). After the colony was established in 1829, "Western Australia" had effectively pushed "New Holland" off the Island leaving it all to claim to be "Australia". This was very likely noticed with varying degrees of approval in Singapore, Malacca, Penang and Batavia. In 1835, another new colony called "South Australia" was founded, whose Surveyor-General Col. William Light had been born in Penang, further cementing the name "Australia" and increasing links with the north and west through shipping and trade. But in China, there does not seem to have been any interest in 1830 or 1835 for the changes occurring in the far south.

An example of the information that was potentially available to Chinese by 1839-1840 can be found in the massive Encyclopaedia published by the British geographer

Hugh Murray in England in 1834 and the USA in 1837. In this book, the names Australasia, Australia and New Holland are all used, and the whole region, which includes New Guinea, New Zealand and other islands of Melanesia, is called “Australasia”. In the text he states that the main island of the group is “New Holland” to which he adds “often called Australia”. In the accompanying map (Figure 8, which was present with little difference in the 1834 edition), however, the continental island is labelled “Australia or New Holland” with Australia as the predominant name. Even in 1837, it seems, the dominant name was not consistently settled even in British geography.

In the decade of change in the naming of Australia, between 1830 and 1840, it should be recorded that “Australia” almost got another Chinese name. But fortunately, it did not become official and was not used in later times. The collected reviews of the English “Monthly Review” for 1834 included a discussion of the book “Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir, Coast, Singapore, and China; being a Journal of a naturalist in those countries, during 1832, 1833 and 1834” by George Bennett, Esq., F.L.S. which included the following extract:

“A ship arriving at China from Australia, the commander, when asked by the Chinese where the ship came from, jocosely answered, ‘from New South Wales, where all the English thieves are sent.’ The Inhabitants of the Empire, taking the joke seriously, reported this and every other ship which arrived from that country to the Mandarin as ‘ship from thiefo country, one thiefo captain, three thiefo officers, twenty-five thiefo crew.’ And when the Hooghly arrived with the late Governor of New South Wales, it was ‘One thiefo viceroy of thiefo country, with several thiefo attendants; and the thiefo viceroy’s lady’, landing in Macao, and was not even reported to the Mandarins.”

It is possible that ships bringing convicts to New South Wales in the early days of the colony had gone back via Macao and Canton to take advantage of the opportunities of trade. Certainly, on October 22, 1831 the *Hooghley*, departed from Sydney with His Excellency General Darling (who had been recalled) on board. The Hooghley had recently brought another ship load of convicts to Sydney town. Clearly at least one other ship (with its jocosely Captain) had previously swung by China on the way home but the unimportance attached to the Great South Land is clearly indicated by the Mandarins not being informed that a “Thiefo” ship had arrived, even though it had a Viceroy who was also a ranking Officer of the English army aboard. It was not stated if Chinese had devised a name in characters in place of the demeaning pidgin “Thiefo”, but it is unlikely that George Bennett, Esq., F.L.S. was very interested whether they had or had not.

George Bennett also noted: “It has been said that formerly it was dangerous in England to inform a fellow-traveller of having just arrived from Botany Bay, as he will shun your acquaintance.” There seem to have been others of the same opinion. In 1835 an American missionary, Elijah Bridgman, reported his visit to Macao where he visited a school set up by the wife of a Prussian missionary, Karl Gutzlaff. He wrote (as quoted in Lazich, 2000, spelling, underlining and punctuation apparently as originally written): “I dined with Mr. Gutzlaff this afternoon; after dinner, visited Mrs. G’s schoolrooms. They live in their new house – which is well situated for their

purposes, a few doors distant north of Mr. Channary's⁸. Mrs. G had an usher! – a miss -----, from I believe, Botany Bay!!” We will meet these missionary gentlemen again.

Australia thankfully avoided being called Ulimaroa or, despite its bad reputation, “Thiefo” as the name “Australia” grew to being fully accepted by the end of the 1830's. By then “Australia” had replaced “New Holland” on most maps and in cases where “New Holland” was still used, had assigned the former name either to small print or to the western part of the continent. It also seems that there was no official interest in the great south land in China in 1831 and no official name in Chinese worth recording for a ship that came from there – not even using “New Holland” which already had an accepted Chinese name.

5 Opening China to Commerce and Christianity

The first Europeans to arrive by ship on the south China coast were Portuguese in the 16th century. Later Dutch, Spanish, English, French, American and other nationalities arrived in increasing numbers. The early arrivals were adventurers and traders and Chinese people judged them (often correctly) as little more than pirates and kept the door to China closed to their attempts to organise open trade or trade monopoly. Eventually, trade and foreign contact were allowed but only through Canton (广州, present day Guangzhou) and the original concession to the Portuguese at Macao (澳门, Aomen). Similar restrictions were in force for the growing number of European Missionaries who followed the traders. Between 1582 and 1705, the Portuguese Jesuit (Society of Jesus) mission overcame the restrictions to journey to Beijing and introduced many western ideas to China, including western cartography. As a result, by the end of the 18th Century, European maps of China were in excellent shape and included details of the inland areas of China and its eastern suzerainties as well as the coast. This is shown graphically by comparing maps by Martino Martini published in 1655 and that of Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, published in 1734, in Nebenzahl (2004). However, at the same time, neither Christianity nor trade had made significant advances into China.

Between 1711 and 1833, the British East India Company tried to open China to trade in English goods for tea, silk, porcelain and other Chinese products, but with limited success. The East India Company was the leading agent for the trade in Canton. Under a complex arrangement of trading houses (called “factories”) and dealing only with a specific group of Mandarins who set the prices, the trade was heavily controlled. To improve their terms of trade, (Fairbank, 1969) the East India Company had encouraged an unofficial trade in opium to develop in China. The Company had a complete monopoly in the sale of opium in India and it seemed to provide a way to obtain silver to pay for the legitimate goods at the Canton factories.

Meanwhile, the Church of Rome's Christian missions in China had struck problems as the Chinese Rites Controversy led to the Jesuit mission losing its favoured position at the Chinese court. The Chinese Rites Controversy arose when Pope Clement XI, following complaints by other orders about the approach being taken by Jesuits,

⁸ George Chinnery (1774-1852) was famous resident English artist at Macao who arrived in China in 1825 to escape his creditors and died there as a legend of the China Coast.

decided that no concessions were to be made to local customs or beliefs, especially in China. The Kangxi Emperor had become used to the respectful approach of the Jesuit missionaries and was annoyed when, in 1715, Clement XI dictated how Chinese Catholics in China must behave and what they must believe. In 1721, just before the end of his reign, the Emperor banned preaching by westerners. The controversy and bitter rivalries between religious orders (which led to the temporary dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773) hampered the growth of Roman Catholicism and all other denominations of Christianity in China. In 1812, following years of conflict, the Catholic missions were finally expelled from the interior of China but remained working through the original entry points at Macao and Canton.

In the early days of the 19th Century, Protestant Missionaries started to arrive at China's door. The Catholic missions made sure they were not welcome and the Qing dynasty had, by this time, decided all Christians were unwelcome. The first Protestant to arrive was a Scot by the name of Robert Morrison (Ma Lixun, 马礼逊, 1782-1834). Morrison was sent by the London Missionary Society (LMS) and he resolutely (even in London before he went to China) worked to read, understand and speak Chinese. His aim was to bring Christianity to Chinese through Chinese language and realise the objective of the LMS to see a Bible published in Chinese. Morrison's attitude to Chinese culture seems to have been more like that of the respectful Jesuit missionaries than that of many evangelists who arrived in the first half of the 19th century. Morrison's Chinese became proficient to the point where he was well regarded by scholar officials. But the early days at Macao were very difficult for Morrison. The East India Company did not encourage the presence of Missionaries, perhaps because the suspicion Chinese had of their presence was bad for business. Catholics at Macao certainly did not want any Protestants arriving in what was left of their "patch", and in the end it was only Morrison's capacity in Chinese and its value to the Company that allowed him to overcome these obstacles. In 1809 he married his first wife and obtained a paid position with the Company at much the same time.

A second British Missionary, William Milne (Mi Lian, 米怜, 1785-1822), a capable printer, arrived in 1813 but was told he must leave. He went to Malacca (in the Straits Settlements) where he could work without the restrictions and opposition that had to be endured in Macau and Canton. Morrison and Milne set about developing a base in Malacca for printing and educating young Chinese "off-shore" at what became the Anglo-Chinese College (Harrison, 1979). A second skilled printer named Walter Henry Medhurst (Mai Dusi, 麦都思, 1796-1847) arrived in Malacca in 1817 and by 1820 the printing press had been the source of a great volume of Christian broadsheets as well as educational material in Chinese. These were then shipped for distribution to Chinese in China. When writing in Chinese, Milne sometimes used the pen name (or style) Bo'ai zhe (博爱者 or "one who has universal love") and Medhurst the pen name (or style) Shangde zhe (尚德者 or "one who respects the virtuous").

In 1819, Morrison stated that the objectives of the College were to translate the scriptures into Chinese, compose a Chinese-English dictionary and communicate secular knowledge such as mathematics and English. The secular knowledge also included geography and examples of early geographical books from this period include Medhurst's "Geographical Catechism" (1819), Morrison's "Tour of the world" (1819) and Milne's "Brief sketch of all the kingdoms of the world" (1820).

But no copies of these texts have been sourced by the present writer. Instead, we will have to evaluate this early work indirectly through references to them in other texts. The chief Chinese printer at Malacca was known as Leang Ah Fa (梁发, Liang Fa, 1789–1855) who was Robert Morrison’s first convert. Liang Fa went to Malacca in 1815 to escape troubles in Canton brought about by his printing and distributing early Christian tracts. He went back to China on a number of occasions between 1820 and 1830 and later continued distributing Christian broadsheets and copies of Morrison’s translations of the two Testaments of the Bible. Some of the broadsheets, which may not have been very good translations or interpretations, later played a role in inciting the millennial pseudo-Christian Taiping rebellion led by Hong Xiuquan.



Figure 9 Rev Walter Henry Medhurst with Chinese transcriber and Malay servant in Malacca. (See

Due to barriers put in the way of Missionaries in Macao and Canton, not only by Chinese, missionaries went to various locations in South-East Asia, including Malacca, Singapore and Batavia, where they waited for an opportunity to enter China. Life in Malacca at this time was pleasantly illustrated by Walter Henry Medhurst in his book “China, its state and prospects” (Medhurst, 1838) in Figure 9. The Chinese with whom Medhurst is discussing some translation or other topic is Choo Tih-lang who went to England with Medhurst to help promote the need for a new translation of the Bible. More about this activity as well as indications of varying strong views of translation among missionaries are discussed in Endnote ⑥.

Despite the discouragements, Protestant Missionaries continued to arrive in Asia from Europe and America. Elijah Bridgman (Bi Zhiwen, 裨治文, 1801-1861) and David Abeel (Ya Bili, 雅裨理, 1804-1856) came to Canton in 1830 from the USA and set about learning Chinese. They came as part of an increasing interest in missions to the heathen by millennial evangelical Protestants, largely based in the New England area of the USA (see Endnote ⑦). Both were later involved in distributing geographic

information, such as recent maps, as well as Christianity. Another of the missionaries in waiting was the Prussian Karl Friedrich August (Charles) Gutzlaff (Guo Shilie, Traditional Chinese 郭實獵; simplified 郭实猎⁹; 1803-1851). Gutzlaff was a talented and energetic linguist and traveller as well as missionary. He was originally sent out to the east by the Dutch Missionary Society. Then, after working in Batavia, Bangkok, Malacca and Singapore, he went to Canton and joined three famous voyages along the coast of China in 1831, 1832 and 1833. Unfortunately, some of these voyages were for reconnaissance and mapping (espionage) as well as the marketing of Opium. But during the voyages he nevertheless enthusiastically distributed large numbers of Christian tracts in his still developing Chinese and embraced the advantages that commercial trade provided for the spread of the Gospel.

During the 1830's, Protestant missionaries impatiently occupied themselves in preparation for the imminent opening of China and their subsequent opportunity to spread the Gospels to the interior and the greater Chinese population. Then, at the end of the decade, the situation in Canton slid towards war over balance of trade and the consequences of the spread of opium. While this happened, Walter Henry Medhurst, Charles Gutzlaff, Elijah Coleman Bridgman and Robert Morrison's son John Robert (J.R.) Morrison (Mǎ Rúhàn, 馬儒翰, 1814-1843) were engaged in a joint translation of the Bible into Chinese using the (Robert) Morrison and Marshman¹⁰ Bibles as input material but attempting to improve the Chinese style and clarity (See Endnote ⑥ for Medhurst's appeal to the home missions for support). The work was started soon after Robert Morrison's death in 1834 but was not completed until 1840. The New Testament was primarily the work of Walter Medhurst and was published first in 1837. Gutzlaff, J.R. Morrison and Elijah Bridgman put together the Old Testament. Gutzlaff continued to revise the New Testament until 1850 and in each revision tried to more closely "steer a middle course between fidelity and comprehensibility" (Lutz, 2008). Unfortunately, in 1847, Gutzlaff's most recent revision of the New Testament was also adopted by the Taiping Tianguo (太平天国) rebels. Moreover, as the original joint effort was reaching its end point in 1839, the British arrived in force and J.R. Morrison and Gutzlaff became fully occupied in translating, interpreting and negotiating for the foreign forces. For these two, as well as for the others in time, missionary activity took back seat to military activity.

Throughout the 19th century, despite the increasing numbers of missionaries that arrived, the spread of Christianity to Chinese was limited, being continually handicapped by legacies and suspicion created originally by the Chinese Rites Controversy, as well as later missionary associations with the Opium Trade and invading foreign forces, and by the role of missionaries in circulating evangelical materials that helped fuel the mixture of ideas adopted by the pseudo-Christian Taiping rebels. Some missionaries initially strongly supported the millennial goals of the rebellion and hoped it to be the start of China's mass conversion to Christianity. Nevertheless, while progress in conversions was slow, out of the secular activity was

⁹ Apparently, he originally gave himself the name Guo Shili, 郭士立, but later changed to Guo Shilie as above and his Chinese name can also be found written as Guo Shila, 郭實臘 but it is hard to believe that Gutzlaff sanctioned this last form of his name!

¹⁰ Joshua Marshman (1768-1837) was a Baptist Missionary based in Serampore, India where he founded the Serampore College. He was a talented scholar and translated the Bible into Chinese as well as classical Indian literature into English.

to emerge a gift of valuable and unencumbered information written in Chinese language. Chinese were able to use this information to help open to the new, to modernise and to keep on their feet in a rapidly changing world.

6 The provision of useful geographic knowledge in Chinese

In the 1830's, missionaries and others were also pursuing secular and humanistic approaches to bringing western scientific and technical knowledge to China. Protestant Missionaries claimed to have little time for the approach taken by the Catholic Jesuit mission but were still as keen to enlighten China and inform its people of the benefits of western technology as had been the Jesuit missionaries. Among the publications recording the activities of this time was the English language "Chinese Repository", published in Canton between 1832 and 1851 (see Malcolm, 1973). Its aim was partly to unite and bring regional news to the many Missionaries waiting for China's opening in various locations in South-East Asia. It also sought to inform people at home in Europe and the USA of the state of China and its continuing need for conversion to Christianity. Amongst the articles at this time was the opinion:

"The favourable accounts of the Chinese empire, given by the Jesuits, have engendered in many the belief that the state of literature and morals in China is far superior to that of other countries. Hence, to attempt improvement here, would only serve to degrade a nation which has reached the climax of human perfection. On this misrepresentation, most absurd and mischievous theories have been built. Many scholars in the West have not hesitated to refer to the Chinese as the most civilized people in the world; and as the great source from whence other nations must derive the true principles of science and knowledge. While we must reject such views as false, we can not regard the Chinese as incapable of rising and vying with the most enlightened nations of the earth. Of all the Asiatics we regard them as the most prepared for the reception of useful knowledge." (Chinese Repository, V 4, 1835)

This paragraph was included in an article announcing an initiative to form the "Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China" (SDUKC; see Rubenstein, 1982). The suffix "in China" was significant as a "Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" existed in England as a liberal society which aimed to spread education to the masses as a way to better the lot of everyone. In particular, they produced high quality and low cost maps of the world that would likely have been already in Canton (Cartography Associates, 2009, search on SDUK). The SDUKC was supported by business as well as Missionaries. Its promoters included both William Jardine and James Matheson¹¹ who obviously felt it indeed had something of value for everyone. The proposal to found the Society was published in Volume 3 of the Chinese Repository in January, 1835. Robert Morrison had died the previous August and his son, John Robert Morrison, who was proficient in Chinese, was one of the proponents. The society held its first official meeting with William Jardine in the

¹¹ Jardine and Matheson were the founders of the modern multinational corporation Jardine Matheson Holdings. They started in Canton in 1832 and grew rapidly trading in opium, tea and cotton. The company ships traded illegally along the coast of China until the Opium Wars opened China to western traders. They were, from the start, leaders among the foreign merchants at Canton.

Chair on October 19th 1835. The members outlined their ambitions to publish a comprehensive list of Chinese language literature to educate Chinese people:

“Three works are in preparation for the press: 1st, a general history of the world; 2d, a universal geography; and 3d, a map of the world. These have been several months in hand, and will be carried forward and completed with all convenient dispatch. They are designed to be introductory works, presenting the great outlines of what will remain to be filled up. The history will be comprised in three volumes, the geography in one. The map is on a large scale – about eight feet by four, presenting at one view all the kingdoms and nations of the earth. The committee expect these three works will be published in the course of the coming year; and it is hoped they will soon be followed by others, in which the separate nations, England, France, America, &c., their history and present state, shall be fully described.”

Among these breathtakingly confident plans, the provision of a map of the world is obviously of interest to this discussion since it may have had a name for the Australian continent in Chinese. In a later paragraph in the same report (October 19th, 1835) it is reported:

“Three works have been presented to the Society: by James Matheson, esq. a manuscript of a treatise on political economy, written by Mr. Gutzlaff; by J.R. Morrison, esq., a geographical and astronomical work, entitled *Hwan Teen too shoo*; and the *Sze Shoo ching wan*, the well known Four Books. The former of the last two is the work of a Chinese who was educated by the Jesuits.”

The Chinese person who wrote the geographical and astronomical text called “*Hwan Teen too shoo*”¹² is unknown, but may have been a Chinese called Yuan Dehui who had previously attended the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca and was to be one of the four translators employed by Lin Zexu in Canton in 1839. He is said to have translated the “New Treatise on the use of the Globes” by Thomas Keith (Keith, 1826) in Malacca. Moreover, despite continual reporting of delays in carrying out the promised actions, it seems the promised large scale printed map eventually did exist. In a letter to his sister in December, 1835, James Calder Stewart wrote home enthusiastically about the Chinese Repository and the SDUKC and added:

“I am sending under the care of Lieutenant P. Nicolson by this opportunity, a small parcel to H’s address containing what I daresay will be a great curiosity to you both – a genuine Chinese Map of China, and eke of both hemispheres. The latter (the Old World at least) you will make out immediately. But the New World will be new to most Geographers who look at it. I am sorry I have not had time to search for some translation of the Chinese characters on it, but perhaps I may supply the want yet.”

“H” was an abbreviation for Sir John Frederick William Herschel (1791-1884), an astronomer whose father, Sir William Herschel, was a very famous astronomer. It is unlikely that this map (or these maps if they are different) can be found today. But we

¹² The name is very similar to the book of maps and geography published by Li Mingche in 1819. Its name was “Huan tian tu shuo” or in Chinese 圓天圖說 possibly “Illustrations of the structure of the heavenly spheres”.

may reasonably assume the choice of names made for the map above to be similar to those used in later maps or documents by members of the SDUKC.

Unfortunately, the annual reports of the SDUKC in the following years (1836-1838) make uncomfortable reading. They refer to factors, such as disagreements between the principals as to what Chinese dialect use for transliteration, the terms to use in Chinese language texts for ideas (especially religious ideas) and Chinese names for places in the west. They also refer to problems created by the ban on printing in China by Chinese and the fact that there were very few people with capacity in Chinese language to undertake their ambitious works. The combination of these factors led to each report apologizing for the lack of results from the previous year. In November, 1838, they reported:

“Of the works mentioned in former reports, the View of Universal History is about to be published, an edition of 300 copies having been ordered. The publication of the History of England has been accidentally retarded. The Description of the United States of America, and the History of the Jews, have been sent to press. The introduction to Universal Geography, with the treatises on Geography and on the Being of a God – the two latter by the late Dr. Morrison, are not yet fully prepared for publication. The Chinese Magazine has been continued, and four half-yearly volumes, in addition to the two published by Mr. Gutzlaff in 1833 and 1834, will soon be completed.”

There is evidence that by this time the SDUKC had lost some support from business and its other sources of funds. But there was enough funding left for a set of very useful and informative texts to be printed in Singapore in 1838 or 1839. These comprise an important achievement of the SDUKC and included extensive geographic information. Shen Guowei (2001) listed the following books which have geographic interest (for a complete list of the outputs at that time, see Endnote [®] and Rao, 1994):

1. The “Chinese Magazine” or Dongxiyang kao meiyue tongji zhuan 東西洋考每月統計傳 (East-west examiner and monthly recorder, or magazine), compiled by Karl Gutzlaff, (Canton, 1833-1835; Singapore, 1837-1839).
2. Wanguo dili quanji 萬國地理全集 (Universal Geography), (Singapore, 1838), by Karl Gutzlaff.
3. Meilige hesheng guo zhilüe 美理哥合省國志略 (Brief account of the United States of America), (Singapore, 1838), by Elijah C. Bridgman.

The “Chinese Magazine” which we will abbreviate as DXYK (dong xi yang kao), had an important emphasis on articles on Geography and printed articles on history and geography as well as other general subjects – such as astronomy, or possibly astrology. DXYK followed a similar pattern to the English language “Chinese Repository” with articles of general interest, news, background information to world events, features etc. The front page also had a list of the articles present to attract the interest of potential readers (see Chapter 3 of Lazich, 2000).

“Universal Geography” was partly a collation of work that had previously been published by Gutzlaff in the “Chinese Magazine” before 1838 and partly additional material contributed by Gutzlaff. Bridgman apparently pre-published material from his “Brief account of the United States of America” in DXYK but only after 1836. It

is not clear whether *Universal Geography* took account of this publication or not. There are questions as to when “*Universal Geography*” was truly first printed with some suggesting it was as late as 1843 (Barnett, 1972). Barnett also suggested that no copies of “*Universal Geography*” exist today and that it is only known from quotations in other sources. However, Zhuang (2007) reports that he found a copy at Leeds University in the UK and describes the contents and structure of a photocopy he made from the copy. We know that *Universal Geography* played a major role in providing information for Wei Yuan’s original editions and so it certainly seems to have been readily available well before 1844. Lutz (2008) notes that Gutzlaff had many of his publications printed locally as well as “officially” so there may have been a variety of versions in circulation at different times.

We will later return to this period of output by the SDUKC to consider the above publications and also a document that originated from Robert Morrison and had, in an early form, been printed at Malacca in 1819. Its updated and expanded existence was briefly mentioned in the SDUKC meetings as:

“A small work on general geography, in the form of a traveler’s narrative of what he had seen¹³, - as also a short treatise on the being of a God, adopting the principal arguments used by Paley, - both by the late Rev. Dr. Morrison, have been presented by the English secretary. These works will, after thorough revision, be sent to press.”

The geographic text mentioned described the journey of a Chinese from China to Europe and back to China by way of America. The path the traveller took was also followed by Robert Morrison who presented it in this way to interest Chinese in the outside world. The document continued to be developed by him until his death in Canton in 1835. It was then apparently further developed by John Robert Morrison until his early death in 1843 from sickness and beyond that by another son of Robert Morrison from his second marriage, Martin Crofton Morrison (Mǎ Lǐshēng, 马理生, 1826-1870). This book seems now to be known only from quotations in other texts (such as direct quotations in Wei Yuan’s 1852 edition and possible unacknowledged incorporation in Xu Jiyu’s geography) under the name the “*Concise Foreign History*” (《外国史略》). The book, a copy of which does not seem to exist today, was an important contribution of western geographic knowledge to Chinese in the Chinese language during the 1840’s. It was also to play a valuable role in supporting the modern choice for a Chinese name for Australia among Chinese scholar officials.

7 The Chinese Magazine and the name for Australia in Chinese

7.1 The “*Chinese Magazines*”

Gutzlaff’s Chinese magazine, or “*Dong xi yang kao mei yue tong ji zhuan*” in full (東西洋考每月统记傳, perhaps literally the “*Monthly East-West Magazine*” and

¹³ Xiyou diqiu wenjian lüezhuan 西遊地球聞見畧傳 [A brief account of things that I have seen and heard during a voyage westwards around the world]. By "Chenyou jushi" 塵遊居士 [Dusty Traveller].

referred to here as DXYK) has been called the first publication in Magazine format published in the Chinese language (Lutz, 2008)¹⁴. DXYK was published roughly monthly in Guangzhou (Canton) between 1833 and 1835 but with a ban on printing of material provided by foreigners coming into force after that time, its printing was only re-commenced from Singapore between 1837 and 1839 with one year (1836) having no issues.

A typical issue of the first (Canton) phase of DXYK had items of news and background to world events as well as articles on areas of interest involving world politics and geography as well as astronomy and literary reviews. For example, an article in the 1835 issue discussed below also covered the recent history of conflicts between Turkey and Russia and the events leading to the treaties of 1829 and 1833. DXYK was designed to interest and inform Chinese people in a way that would introduce them to the western world. The main contributor was Gutzlaff under the Chinese style (or pen name) of Ai Han zhe (愛漢者 or lover of the Han), but other missionaries seem to have been contributors, including, in particular, Walter Henry Medhurst.

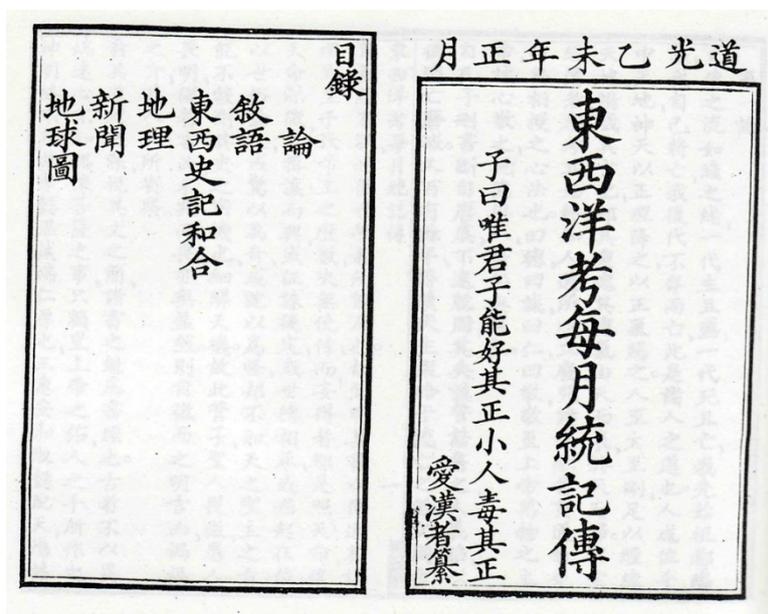


Figure 10 Cover page for the edition of the first month of the 25th Daoguang year (1835) of DXYK

A typical front page of DXYK (1835.1) is shown in Figure 10 and its contents translated in Endnote ①. From 1837, when DXYK was printed in Singapore, Bridgman and Gutzlaff were joint editors. Bridgman changed the style and content somewhat and almost certainly used the opportunity to try out sections for his history of the USA as articles in DXYK. However, since articles were not signed or attributed (an accepted convention at that time) the identity of the author of a particular article is not always clear except from style “signatures”.

A large number of copies of Gutzlaff’s Chinese Magazine were printed and distributed – especially by Gutzlaff and his people from the Chinese Union (Lutz,

¹⁴ This title has also been claimed for the magazine put out by Milne in Malacca on which Gutzlaff based DXYK. But Gutzlaff published DXYK in China which may give it the edge!

2008). It was distributed along with religious pamphlets and Bibles. DXYK was not specifically religious in its focus but was designed to interest, inform and educate. There had been at least two predecessors of DXYK, with the first published in Malacca by William Milne and Walter Medhurst between 1815 and 1821. This original “Chinese Magazine” is sometimes also called, in English, the “Chinese Monthly Magazine” or simply “Chashisu”:

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

Chashisu was primarily a publication designed to spread the gospel but also included articles of general interest and education including Walter Medhurst’s “Geographical Catechism” (Medhurst, 1819). After Milne’s death, Walter Medhurst produced a sequel or continuation from Batavia between 1823 and 1826 that included an increasing proportion of articles on geography and history (Medhurst, 1823-1826). The Chinese name of this second “Chinese Magazine” (特選撮要每月紀傳, Texuan cuoyao meiyue jizhuan) could possibly be literally translated as “Monthly Magazine of Selected Abstracts”.

The secular aspect of DXYK was attractive to the SDUKC which was the major financial supporter. Copies of all issues of DXYK are still accessible and have been organized into a very useful book by Huang Shijian (Gutzlaff & Huang, 1997). In addition to facsimile copies of the monthly editions, this book has a very good index. DXYK was a vehicle for publishing or re-publishing well known materials such as Walter Medhurst’s “Comparative Chronology of Eastern and Western History” (before 1836), Bridgman’s “Brief account of the USA” (after 1836) and sections from Gutzlaff’s books on “Universal History”, “The History of the Jews” and “Universal Geography” (Gutzlaff, 1838a, 1839, 1838b). There are certainly sections in DXYK that seem to match quotations provided by Zhuang Qinyong from an original copy of “Universal Geography” in Zhuang (2007).

The index provided in Gutzlaff & Huang (1997) also includes a number of references to the use of the modern Chinese name for Australia – Aodaliya (澳大利亞). The uses of the modern name can be found in two articles that are repeated in two volumes, both of which were published before 1836. One pair is 1834.2 and 1834.3 and the others in 1835.1 and 1835.2. There are some small differences between them so it is possible they were repeated with some editing and corrections. The first article is in the “Geography” section of the edition and is called “A general introduction to maps of the whole globe”(地球全圖之總論). It starts as a general introduction to the globe, sun position, day and night and seasons as well as the principles of Latitude and Longitude. It then lists the main continents of the globe and their bounding lines of latitude and longitude as if the reader had a globe before him:

亞細亞	Yàxìyà	Asia
歐羅巴	Ōuluóbā	Europe
亞非利加	Yàfēilíjiā	Africa
亞墨利加	Yàmòlǐjiā	America
澳大利亞	Àodàliyà	Australia

Australia is listed as a continent – the fifth continent. The names for the continents (apart from that for Australia which is new) are consistent with the Verbiest and Ricci maps which had become standard in subsequent Chinese maps: The writer gives the set of geographic coordinates outlining Aodaliya as:

Longitude: 114° 28' E to 153° 23' E.

Latitude: 10° 38' S to 47° 17' S.

These are a very reasonable set of limits as can easily be checked on the modern virtual “globe”, also called “Google Earth”¹⁵.

The second article is an introduction to the various countries of the world, grouped by the five “continents” introduced previously in the first article. The name of the second article is “A general introduction to the locations of various countries” (列國地方總論). The fifth region has only one country – Australia, and the annotation about the smallest continent is somewhat similar to that in Wei Yuan’s two hemisphere map:

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.”

(A full translation of this article on the various countries (back) into English is to be found in EndNote[®]). The article that follows this one is nominally about astronomy, but it is really about astrology. So, it appears DXYK was truly like a modern magazine – complete with an astrology article! Since these two articles are so important and for the evidence provided by other articles included at this time, a translation of the set of indexes for the issues of DXYK during the early period is provided as Endnote¹¹. This period (August 1833 to April 1835) also includes publication of a number of other articles provided to Gutzlaff by Walter Henry Medhurst. We will be making more use of this list of articles later.

The appearance of the modern name for Australia in DXYK is of great significance and shows that when Chinese people were ready to look for a new name for the Southern Land it was available in an accessible source. It was also provided in a framework consistent with accepted Chinese mapping and naming as it had developed under the influence of Jesuit missionaries. As to the identity of the author of these articles, it seems it was not Gutzlaff, since he continued to use “New Holland” in all of his contributions to DXYK and in “Universal Geography”. His insistence on using “New Holland” may have had something to do with the Dutch Missionary Society and Dutch Tract Society being the most significant supporters of the Chinese Union or some unknown reason of his own. Gutzlaff would certainly have known where “Australia” was and how rapidly it was developing. In his geographical book “Universal Geography” (Gutzlaff, 1938b) there is a section (included in all editions of Wei Yuan’s books and translated here as Endnote 19). Of Sydney he wrote:

“The present total population (of New Holland) is less than 100,000, with the capital being Sydney. Positioned at the entrance to the sea, it is one of the great sea ports.

¹⁵ See <http://www.google.com.au/earth/>

Trade is at significant levels, but it attracts drifters and criminals, and the local residents are badly influenced by their extravagant behaviour.”



Figure 11 Charles Gutzlaff in the dress of a Fujian sailor, drawn by George Chinnery

Near the end of his life, Gutzlaff’s opinion of Australia most likely deteriorated further. In the late 1840’s he invested much of the Chinese Union’s money in real estate in Australia and lost it (Lutz, 2008) as the bubble of the time burst. So, if it had been up to Gutzlaff to give Australia a new Chinese name, it could well have been “thief” or worse. Gutzlaff (see Figure 11) was a charismatic figure but not very popular with other Missionaries. He was later savagely criticized by other missionaries when they started to question the management and “governance” of his Chinese Union¹⁶. Lazich (2000) quotes Elijah Bridgman as writing (with only a little more generosity than others) about Gutzlaff that “perhaps it is well that there are such men in the world; & perhaps too it is equally well that they are few”. For his part in the development of a Chinese name for Australia, however, we must support that it is well there have been such people.

7.2 Walter Medhurst’s name for Australia in Chinese

The question remains: “who discovered the name for Australia in Chinese?” After some research, reported in more detail in a supporting document to the present one called “Afterword to ‘The Chinese name for Australia’” (web access can be found [HERE](#)), we have concluded that it was the English missionary Walter Henry Medhurst, who came to Malacca as a printer in 1817 to support the work of William

¹⁶ Gutzlaff believed that Christianity would only come to China through the intermediary of Chinese evangelists. These people formed his “Chinese Union”. Other Missionaries disagreed. His Chinese Union also claimed great success with conversions which contrasted poorly with the few converts made by others. The earlier Chinese Rites Controversy of the Church of Rome and the in-fighting of Protestants had many parallels.

Milne. Between 1823 and 1826, Walter Medhurst was actively printing both secular and religious texts in Batavia (present day Jakarta) and, following Milne's death in 1822 in Malacca, he produced a sequel to Chashisu (usually also called, in English, the "Chinese Magazine"). Issues of this publication either do not exist or are very hard to find today. Its reference details are:

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 (Leonard, 1985), 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."



Fig. 12 Front cover of Medhurst's "History of Java"

An image (see Figure 12) 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 and DXYK with a learned saying (in this case from the "Doctrine of the Mean"¹⁷ (中庸 or Zhongyong) on the right, the publication title in the middle and the writer's "signature" on the left.

¹⁷ 文理密察，足以有別也。 Translated by Legge (1893) as "accomplished, distinctive, concentrative and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination."

Medhurst's "signature" was 尚德者 (Shangde zhe or "One who respects the virtuous").

The name he used for "Java" (Jiaoliuba) in the title seems to be somewhat unusual. In later works like DXYK and Wei Huan's HGTZ, Batavia more often appears written as Badawei (巴达维). The present day name of this place is Jakarta (雅加达 or Yajiada). The use of "kou" (口) in front of characters to indicate a foreign name was common in the Qing period, so the actual character making up a transliteration in this case is mostly just the phonetic part. For example, the second character in Figure 12 uses an ancient form for "liu" (留) rather than the more modern component (留) but its combination with "kou" is not a known character, ancient or modern. In Mandarin, this character should be pronounced "liu". This is also why the first character should be pronounced "jiao" (交) (as in Leonard, 1985) rather than "yao" (咬) which in this case is also a valid character. In some places in older texts Batavia is written as 葛刺巴 or Gelaba and in others as 噶喇吧¹⁸ which should still be pronounced as Gelaba in Mandarin for the considerations discussed above. In HGTZ (Vol. 10, "Island Countries of the Southeast Sea") Wei Yuan wrote: "Some write Geliuba (葛留巴) for Lesser Java (小爪哇, or Xiao Zhaowa); others use Jiaoliuba (交留巴) and others again Jialiuba (加留巴)"¹⁹. Clearly, there were many variants in use, possibly as a result of there being different dialects of Chinese involved.

Later, Medhurst published another major work often referred to in English as the "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. In his English language memorial on the works of Medhurst, Wylie (1867) 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 also 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. Despite not mentioning it in the English language memorial for Medhurst, in the memorial for Charles Gutzlaff, Alexander Wylie also wrote: "Eastern Western Monthly Magazine, 4 vols. Canton and Singapore, 1833-1837. This periodical contains the substance of some works published separately by Mr Guzlaff, Medhurst's Comparative Chronology, (See Medhurst's works No. 16) and a great amount of other matter, religious, political, scientific, commercial and miscellaneous". So it is clear from this (as well as Wylie's Chinese language memorial to be discussed later) that Medhurst most definitely contributed articles to the Canton editions of DXYK, including his "Comparative Chronology". This occurred at the same time that our articles of interest appeared. There are also a number of articles concerning Batavia and other islands nearby that seem to be instalments or extracts originally from "History of Java". Of course, whatever was provided by Walter Medhurst, because of his profession as a printer, would have existed in the form of printing plates and been relatively easily re-printed.

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ Wei Yuan (1842, 1847, 1852) "Haiguo Tuzhi", Vol. 10, Chinese "一曰葛留巴即小爪哇也，一作交留巴，一作加留巴。"《海國圖志》卷十，東南海島之國。

It therefore seems possible that the DXYK material of interest was originally written by Walter Henry Medhurst, who had written articles on geographical subjects at Malacca prior to 1830 and was already supplying material to Gutzlaff in ready-to-print formats. Walter Medhurst joined the other missionaries in Canton in 1835 but did not stay there for long. At the time he had already been 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 prior to 1835 and prior to his visit. It is therefore also possible, despite his only being in Canton for a short time, that he contributed the other articles by correspondence. In Endnote ¹², 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 have been important enough for someone to seek its transliteration in Chinese. However, 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 possible that he came across information about Australia and its new English-supported name during those visits – which went as far as to Bali in 1829. We have already seen before that 1829 was a significant year in the development of the name for the southern land as Britain took possession of the west of New Holland, established the Swan River Colony and named the western region “Western Australia”. Perhaps this stimulated discussion in SE Asia – even if it was not noticed in China.

The Table in Endnote 11 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. Walter Medhurst therefore had the “Means, Motive and Opportunity” to be the contributor of the two articles in DXYK -- but were they his? Some stronger 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 12). It was probably not an uncommon expression in Chinese at the time but in all of the articles developed in Chinese by westerners it is (as far as the present author has found) only commonly used in this way by Walter Medhurst. 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 (using 總論) provides a possible “fingerprint” to support Medhurst being the author of them all.

But there is more. One of the most comprehensive discussions of the contributions 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 version of the “Geographical Catechism” as he describes it in some detail.

Zou (2003) describes how the book started with two maps, one being all of the countries of the world (perhaps presented in traditional Mercator projection 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 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. In these sections, Zou (2003) describes how a very large number of the questions involve religion, religious history or geographical religion – as may be expected from the name “Geographical Catechism”.

The two articles of particular interest in DXYK have a similar general structure to the Catechism. 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 much more on geography and much less on religion, so that if they are related then the later articles provided to DXYK are updated distillations of the geography from the Catechism. Of course, religion is not totally excluded and in the DXYK article on the countries of the world we find (see Endnote ⑩) “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。)

In the sections quoted by Zou (2003) there are also more “signature” phrases that point to Medhurst’s style in the later articles. One is a common use of the phrase “throughout the world” (普天下, putianxia) which occurs in the first of the two articles and also in the second article in the quotation above concerning Adam

(“...descendants spread out to every other place.”). Of even greater significance as a “signature”, is the representation of “Asia” as Ya-xi-ya which is written in the Catechism as 亞西亞. The DXYK article also uses this form in some places as well as (more commonly) the traditional form 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 residuals from the original Catechism. There are other examples, including transliterations of place names that are the same between the Catechism and DXYK but at this point we will stop and propose that we believe that there is already sufficient evidence to conclude that the two articles are a later distillation of Medhurst’s original Catechism.

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 in DXYK 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 of what had been “New Holland” 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 and its new name 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 author of the two articles and the person who “discovered the name for Australia in Chinese”.

Because of Gutzlaff’s sponsorship of Medhurst’s writings in DXYK, a modern name for Australia in Chinese existed and was ready for Chinese to take up, or not, when Australia became important enough to Chinese for them to seek a name. If more detailed information were needed about the great south land, it was also available in Chinese in “Universal Geography”. The activities and publications of the secular liberal western movement of the SDUK and its China branch, the SDUKC, were similar in intention and effect to those of the Portuguese Jesuit Mission whose earlier scientific and technological activities brought great respect, if few converts. Like the Jesuit mission, they gave China a significant base of geographic and historical information about the outside world. It may also have kept the door open for later Missionaries to pursue the development of Chinese Christian communities. In this way, by 1839, the SDUKC had provided, through its support for DXYK, a suggestion for “the name for Australia in Chinese” that has now become its Chinese name. But before the process was complete and the name could fully be Australia’s Chinese name, Chinese needed to be ready and willing to accept and use it, so it is to that we will turn.

8 Lin Zexu and the forced opening of China

An investigation of the origin and development of the Chinese name for “Australia” is not the place for any more than sufficient reference to a few particularly relevant events in the long and complex history of the entry of foreign trade into China, the Opium Wars, the unequal treaties, the Treaty Port system, and the activities of missionaries. To go beyond this limited selection of events, more scholarly and

readable sources such as Fairbank (1969), Chang (1964), Waley (1958) and Collis (1952) are the places to go, as are Liu (2004) for some different perspectives and Lutz (2008), Lazich (2000) and Harrison (1979) for the Missionary activity of the times. Nevertheless, because these events were so significant for our question and for all of the people involved in the Chinese name for Australia we will cover some of the most pertinent points here.

By the 1830's opium had moved from being a means to obtain Chinese silver to exchange for goods to being the major item being traded on the China coast by foreign ships (Fairbank, 1969). Private companies, the largest being Jardine and Matheson, had become rich and powerful and their ships sailed to many ports along the coast of China in breach of existing regulations of trade. As they went they also took soundings and bearings to develop accurate charts that were to become very useful later. In the wings, Missionaries waited for their chance to open (or, among the Catholics, re-open) China to their particular version of the "one true religion" and in preparation flooded southern China with religious tracts and pamphlets. Then, during the 1830's, the East India Company lost its monopoly and there was increasing tension between Chinese and traders who wanted freer access to China to trade and negotiate without Government interference. By 1838 the fundamentals of the first Opium War were established.

Lin Zexu was a distinguished and accomplished Qing scholar official who came to play a lead role in the events of the first Opium War. This war led, in 1842, to the Treaty of Nanjing. The Treaty of Nanjing was the first of the "unequal treaties" which opened the doors of China to growing foreign influence, as well as to trade, missionaries, and the Treaty Port system. The main events of Lin Zexu's life are summarised in some detail in Hummel (1943).



Figure 12 Lin Zexu (林則徐) – who confronted the foreign opium suppliers in Canton (Guangzhou)

Along the coast of China and inland, the problems following from opium addiction had reached alarming proportions. During the 1830s Lin produced a detailed memorial to the Emperor on the Opium problem, its extent in China and options for overcoming it. On the basis of the memorial, Lin was appointed to an official position

in Huguang (a Qing province roughly comprising present day Hunan and Hubei). There he tackled the problem of opium addiction with great success. Despite some attention being given to treating addiction as a medical issue, the main discouragement involved painful deaths for the people involved and this resulted in a rapid improvement in the situation. Following this success he was sent to Canton to confront the foreign suppliers of the drug (see Figure 12). But well before this time, Lin had been a prominent figure in a group of intellectuals who supported dealing proactively with foreign nations rather than ignoring them. Among the things that concerned them was the lack of accurate historical, geographic, political, strategic and even cultural knowledge of the rest of the world. But in overcoming this they had to be careful. To know too much about foreign countries, to have knowledge of a foreign language or (even worse) to have been overseas were all likely to create the suspicion that you were a “traitor” to the Qing.

Commissioner Lin came to Canton in March 1839 to clean up the Opium trade. He took a tough line against both Chinese involved and the western traders who were supplying the coastal ports. He demanded the surrender of, and then destroyed, a large amount of (illegal) opium creating great anger among the largely English merchants. In response, the British government sent a squadron of latest technology battleships, including steamships and shallow draft battleships suitable for river navigation, as well as Scottish and Irish marines and a large number of well trained Indian troops to China. In doing this, their aim was not only to punish Chinese for their injury to British property but to also open China to the terms of trade that British and other western nations had wanted for so long.

During this time in Canton, Commissioner Lin also made an intense study of foreign lands and people. He collected information, maps, books and any other information he could from the published works of both Chinese and foreigners. Among Chinese sources was recent information collected by a scholar official called Liang Tingnan (梁廷柟, 1796-1861, see Hummel, 1943). Liang had worked in the Canton Maritime Customs since 1838 and had taken a special interest in western countries. According to Lutz (2008) and as reported in the Chinese Repository in 1839, Lin also located and employed four Chinese previously trained in English by Missionaries in Malacca and Canton as the base for a translation team. Their job was to translate strategic foreign documents for Lin to use. One was Ya Meng (亞孟 or Aman in the local dialect) who had apparently been trained in Serampore in Bengal under Marshman, a second was Yuan Dehui (袁德辉) who was a graduate of the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca²⁰, a third, Ya Lin (亚林, or Alum in the local dialect), was apparently trained in the USA and the fourth was Liang Jinde (梁进德, sometimes written Leang Ah Te).

Liang Jinde was son of the Malacca printer and early convert Liang Fa (梁发, or Leang Ah Fa). Liang Jinde had followed his father as a printer and been taught English by E.C. Bridgman (See Endnote ¹³ for Medhurst’s description of Liang Jinde prior to his employment by Lin Zexu). Lutz (2008) suggests that Liang Jinde was able

²⁰ Harrison (1979) and Lutz (2008) provide various pieces of information and it seems this person studied at Malacca where he translated astronomical and geographical works into Chinese and left to become Imperial Interpreter of Western Languages at the court in Beijing. His knowledge and understanding would have been significant to process Lin’s geographic material.

to provide Lin with access to copies of the Chinese Magazine (DXYK), the Chinese Repository, Bridgman's early edition of his history of the USA and other publications by the SDUKC. Bridgman was initially very pleased at this situation and was impressed as well by the character of Lin Zexu with whom he shared a strong antipathy to the opium trade. However, Bridgman later felt Liang Jinde had been "well nigh ruined" by Lin as the high salary Liang obtained prompted him to seek a wife and family home rather than the life of an evangelist. Liang Jinde nevertheless treated Bridgman respectfully and faithfully as his "teacher" (老師) for the rest of his life (Lazich, 2000).

Lin obtained a copy of "The Encyclopaedia of Geography" by the British geographer Hugh Murray which had been first published in London in 1834 with a revised first US Edition printed in Philadelphia in 1837 (see Endnote ¹⁴ for a discussion of the differences between the editions). Hugh Murray's book was recommended by Elijah Bridgman and purchased through the American Missionary Society but it is not clear if Lin had a British or American edition. In Wei Yuan's preface to the 1842 Edition of his book he acknowledges that Lin Zexu had translated parts of Hugh Murray's book and Wei had made good use of them. Liu Jianhui in his paper "Birth of an East Asian Information Network" (in Fogel, 2000) directly attributes the translations of the Encyclopaedia to Liang Jinde. Murray's books were to provide the base for the draft book collated by Lin called "An Account of the Four Continents" (四洲志, Sizhou Zhi, see Lin and Zhang, 2002) and provided an important input to the subsequent publication by Wei Yuan. It may be that both Lin and Wei saw the three volume book by Murray as a model for what was needed in Chinese. Its scope was vast and its "sub-title" on the title page reads: "Comprising a complete description of the Earth, physical, statistical, civil and political: exhibiting its relation to the heavenly bodies, its physical structure, the natural history of each country, and the industry, commerce, political institutions, and civil and social state of all nations." Add military intelligence and strategy and this was indeed the formula they sought. The "Account of the Four Continents" was the first of four publications that between them brought the modern world to Chinese geography.

But for all his growing knowledge of and interest in foreign lands, Commissioner Lin also had some misconceptions. Firstly, he originally thought (but later modified) that among the major exports from China of tea, silk, porcelain and rhubarb, the English were addicted to tea and rhubarb and this could be used to gain advantage over them. More significantly, he believed the British were only formidable when they were on their ships. He also believed the ships, whilst all powerful on the ocean, provided no advantage in estuaries and shallow waters. He wrote of this to the Emperor and continued (quoting from Collis, 1952): "As to their soldiers, they do not know how to use fists and swords. Also, their legs are firmly bound with cloth and in consequence it is very inconvenient for them to stretch. Should they land it is apparent that they can do little harm. Therefore, what is called their power can be controlled without difficulty." (For full text see Endnote ¹⁵). Lin was right that the British Navy was the ruler of the high seas among all of the European countries, but his belief that Britain posed little threat away from sea-going battle ships or in shallow water areas proved fatal.

The British battle fleet, after destroying forts near Canton, sailed north in June 1840 under the command of one Captain Elliot. They took control of Zhoushan Island (舟

山], often written in English as “Chusan” from its pronunciation in the local dialect). Zhoushan was strategically located at the mouth of Hangzhou Bay near Ningbo and not far from Shanghai. Zhoushan had been a British port of call since the 18th century. During September 1840 the fleet reached the Bohai and sent messages to the Chinese court in Beijing making demands and threatening to march on the capital. The Emperor was angered by the failure of Lin Zexu to keep the foreign forces in Canton. He demoted Lin Zexu and appointed another official to “sooth the foreigners” and convince them to return to Canton. This they did, and after their return, there followed some rather unsatisfactory negotiations, further use of force by the British and a consequent supplementary treaty called the “Treaty of Chuanpee” (Chuanbi, 川鼻 or the “nose” of the river) which was signed on 20th January 1841.

Unfortunately, the War had hardly even begun, as it was then Elliot’s turn to be replaced by the British government because the treaty was too favourable to Chinese. Even Queen Victoria, it seems, was “not amused” and reportedly wrote (Collis, 1952) “*All we wanted might have been got, if it had not been for the unaccountably strange behaviour of Charles Elliot ... who completely disobeyed his instructions and tried to get the lowest terms he could*”. Elliot was replaced by a more aggressive frontline army officer from India, Sir Henry Pottinger, who arrived with re-enforcements in August 1841. The first thing Pottinger did was to send raiding parties north along the coast to test Chinese resolve. These raiders returned in January 1842 and their actions off Fujian were to shock a young scholar official called Xu Jiyu into finding out more about the west – so that China could better meet the threat in the future. In between then and May 1842 Pottinger received further reinforcements and it was eventually decided that the expedition should go to Shanghai and up river to Nanjing instead of overland to Beijing.

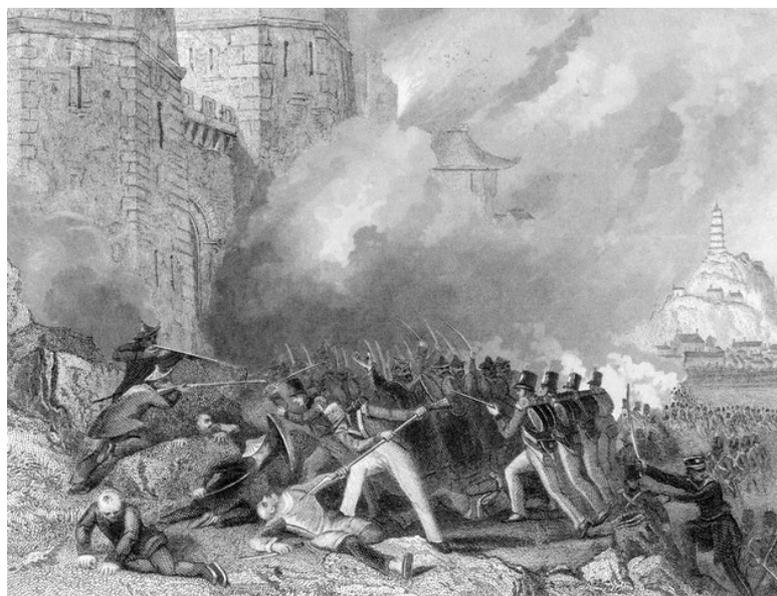


Figure 13 British Forces storm Zhenjiang in 1842 (from a contemporary woodcut)

In May, the main force was ready and went north to re-take Zhoushan Island after bombarding and occupying its capital, Dinghai. They then attacked and occupied Ningbo on the mainland. Chinese defenders counter-attacked at Ningbo but were repulsed after heavy fighting. The British then consolidated their position and made

Karl Gutzlaff magistrate of Tinghai and Ningbo in which position he happily continued to distribute Christian tracts, copies of DXYK and his secular histories and geographies as well as dispensing justice. Between 1840 and 1842, Gutzlaff and J.R. Morrison were supporting the British force as full-time interpreters and negotiators. The British forces, using shallow draft ships and steamers to advantage, entered the Yangzi to attack Shanghai. Moving up river, they took Zhenjiang, where there was heavier than expected fighting to their deaths by imperial Manchu forces (see Figure 13), but were eventually able to continue on and arrive at the gates of Nanjing.

At Nanjing, the British received the Chinese surrender on August 18th 1842. There they concluded the Treaty of Nanjing, the first of the “unequal” treaties, in which China was to pay reparations for the Opium destroyed (see End Note ¹⁶) and grant the British better access to China and Chinese through treaty ports at Shanghai (上海), Ningpo (宁波, Ningbo), Amoy (厦门, Xiamen) and Foochow (福州, Fuzhou) in addition to the original access port of Canton and a new concession on Hong Kong Island. They all then went back to Canton, leaving Gutzlaff as Governor of Zhoushan Island until the payment of reparations had been completed. Unfortunately, what the Emperor signed and thought was agreed and what the British thought he signed and had agreed to were not quite the same. This led to the destruction of more forts and Chinese naval vessels in Canton as well as another supplementary treaty. It was also during these continuing confrontations and negotiations that J.R. Morrison unfortunately died of malarial fever.

The ongoing issues of translation, interpretation, cultural viewpoints and confrontations will not concern us further here. There are many good books, such as those referred to before, to cover and interpret the historical details. To these you should turn if they interest you. But it may be interesting to briefly mention at least one residual “mystery”. This mystery concerns what was behind the decision to sail up the Yangzi to Nanjing rather than march overland to Beijing? Perhaps it was the unprecedented disaster that descended on the British in Afghanistan in January 1842 (Hopkirk, 1990) that made Chinese bolder and British more cautious? The British could sail to Nanjing under cover from their ships and maintain supplies and escape at all times. To go to Beijing required entering China’s interior and being separated from the covering fire of the battle fleet. Caution was probably the order of the day. For some further discussion, see Endnote ¹⁷

But what of Lin Zexu? Lin’s memorials to the Emperor from Canton often described defeats as victories, with the major exception of the partisan victory at Sanyuanli village which was on the land and outside the reach of Battleships. These overoptimistic memorials have been suggested as reasons for his dismissal and banishment to Yili in the north of Xinjiang near the border with Russia. However, using material from Lin’s diaries translated and presented in Waley (1958), Arthur Waley suggests that what finally made the Emperor angry was simply that Lin Zexu had not done what he said he would and did not stop the British sailing north. In addition, it seemed the British were demanding his punishment for destroying their opium as a pre-requisite for returning to Canton. Despite being stood down, Lin Zexu continued as an influential person and a fierce opponent of appeasement of the foreigners until his death in 1850. Leonard (1984) reports that before he left for exile, Lin met an admiring Wei Yuan and gave him the source material and draft for the book “An account of the Four Continents”. Wei Yuan, in his preface to his “Gazetteer

of the Maritime Nations” clearly acknowledges that his first edition of 1842 (in 50 parts) incorporated material from Lin’s draft as well as other Chinese and western material (Leonard, 1984). The selected translations from Hugh Murray’s “The Encyclopaedia of Geography” and the store of material Lin Zexu had such as DXYK and other materials provided by the Malacca Anglo-Chinese College and the SDUKC were to prove very valuable to Wei Yuan.

For the present work, however, it became clear with further reading that Lin Zexu had not, by this time, included much about south Asia, Australasia or the Pacific into his translated material. It was for Wei Yuan and others to fill this gap. An extant version of the “Account of the Four Continents” (Lin and Zhang, 2002) describes selected countries in the four main continents of Asia, Africa, Europe and America. Its structure certainly seems to follow that of Hugh Murray’s “The Encyclopaedia of Geography” except in some places where Lin and his team must have felt other sources already in Chinese were better (such as in Indo-China). Island South East Asia and the countries of South America were relatively briefly covered and information about Australasia and the Pacific (despite being included in Hugh Murray’s book) is not present at all. It may be that that countries in southern areas still needed to attract the attention of Chinese scholar officials or there may have been some other reason. One possibility is that the translation activity was suddenly halted when Lin was dismissed. Based on the order of countries outlined in the 1834 edition of Hugh Murray’s book, it may be reasonable to claim that this event occurred when Liang Jinde was still working through the countries of South America and before he had even started work on Australasia and the Pacific. But we may never know the truth.

It is clear, however, that intense interest was generated among Chinese scholar officials and the Court in the available Chinese language publications about foreign lands, and in translations of foreign language publications, by the shock of the first Opium War. South-East Asian states, including (eventually) Australia, with the growing presence of colonial strongholds and strategic harbours, were included or became included in this interest during the 1840s. It is because of Commissioner Lin’s key role in the change in Chinese focus that he is known in China as “The first Chinese to open his eyes and look at the world”²¹. Unfortunately, he and others opened their eyes too late to avoid fatal collision between China and the outside world and he had to watch as British forces opened China using gunboats and well trained troops armed with the best weapons that technology had produced since Chinese invented gunpowder.

9 The stories of Wei Yuan, Liang Tingnan and Xu Jiyu

9.1 Wei Yuan collects all of the information

During the 1840’s, Chinese gathered information about the foreign countries that were harassing the China coast and also about the changes foreigners were making in

²¹ 近代中国 “开眼看世界的第一人”

China's traditional tributary areas. Four books by Chinese make up the main geographic products of this endeavour. One, as we have already discussed, was that produced in draft by Lin Zexu. However, Lin Zexu did not include Australasia or the Pacific and the name for "Australia" in Chinese listed in the DXYK articles of 1834/35 was not put to use by Liang Jinde. Instead, it fell to three other scholar officials; Wei Yuan, Liang Tingnan and Xu Jiyu, to provide what became the start of modern Geography in China and to settle on a Chinese name for Australia.

Wei Yuan (魏源, 1794-1856) was a Chinese historian and geographer. He was born in Hunan and was, from a young age, a gifted academic. The breadth of his interests can be found from his entry in Hummel (1943) and in the comprehensive account of his development of the "Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations" by Leonard (1984). Using material gathered by Lin Zexu for his "Account of Four Continents" including the draft translations of Hugh Murray's "Encyclopaedia of Geography" and adding information gleaned from the SDUKC, including DXYK and Gutzlaff's "Universal Geography", Wei Yuan brought out his first edition of the "Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations" in 1842²².



Figure 14 Wei Yuan (魏源), the scholar official who compiled China's "Encyclopedia of Geography"

Wei Yuan (see Figure 14) was a member of a reformist Confucian group called the "modern text" school and met Lin Zexu through this activity. He was especially interested in military strategy. As the First Opium War reached its climax, he also published a book called "Records of the imperial wars" (圣武记, Shengwu Ji), ostensibly recording the military operations and accomplishments of the Qing, but which was also an instrument for reform and improvement to meet the new threats

²² Some people use 1842 as the date of the first publication but Leonard (1984) lists it as January 1843. Since this was before the start of the following year in the Chinese calendar the dates are compatible. However, Gutzlaff, in his review in the Chinese Repository claims the book was not in circulation until 1844.

faced by China. He published the first Edition of his “Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations” after the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842. The Gazetteer was subsequently published in three editions in 1842 (or January 1843 of the same Chinese year), 1847 and 1852 in fifty, sixty and 100 volumes respectively. The Gazetteer included descriptions of the geography of the world’s nations and maps at various scales. In addition to this output, he showed his great capacity by reaching the highest, hardest and most exclusive Jinshi (进士) level in the Imperial Examination system in 1844.

The scope of Wei Yuan’s book, as outlined in its preface, certainly makes it look as if it was to be China’s own “Encyclopaedia of World Geography”. But the Gazetteer had a more strategic aim and emphasis than Hugh Murray’s Encyclopaedia. Wei Yuan’s work set out to be the basis for a complete strategy by which China could control foreign traders, missionaries and armies and regain its former ascendancy in the east. One method of achieving this was to “learn the special skills of the Foreigners in order to control them” and to “use the Foreigners to control Foreigners”. This would be done by understanding and exploiting the areas of tension between them. Given the distrust between the European and American countries involved, if there had been more time this could well have proven successful.

The Gazetteer was partly geography and partly a geopolitical treatise. Wei Yuan, like Lin Zexu, opened his eyes to look at the western world. However, he had a specific philosophy that made his approach and work unique in its time. In the preface to the first edition he writes (Original preface to “Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations”):

“How does this book differ from previous similar ones? I claim, they were all about how Chinese people perceive the west, the principle here is (to understand) how western people perceive the west.”²³

The new approach was to control foreigners by understanding the way they perceived themselves. Fairbank (1969) summarises the situation that led to the need for this approach as: “In effect, during the 1840’s, the barbarians were a good deal more incomprehensible to Chinese observers than the “inscrutable Celestials” were to Western observers²⁴.” Wei Yuan saw the need to change this and to avoid clinging to long held stereotypes and preconceptions if the situation were to be improved. He especially wanted to improve on the current sources of material about the Nanyang (Island South East Asia) and the recent establishment of fortified naval bases in the region by western nations (Leonard, 1984). To do this, he made use of some recent western sources in Chinese as well as the Chinese “Maritime Record” (海录, Hai Lu) written by Yang Pingnan (杨炳南). The Hai Lu was based on stories from the traveller Xie Qinggao (谢清高) and was published in Canton in 1820. However, it was also a source of ideas about western countries built on traditional attitudes. That is, it was how a Chinese person of the time perceived the west.

²³何以異於昔人海圖之書，曰，彼皆以中土人譚西洋，此則以西洋人譚西洋也

²⁴ Fairbank’s book is scholarly and well balanced, however, he uses quotes for the western pejorative “inscrutable Celestials” but does not for the presumed Chinese pejorative “barbarians” translating the character yi (夷). Writing ‘Chinese’ for “inscrutable Celestials” and ‘foreigners’ for ‘barbarians’ changes the effect significantly. At very least it should have used “barbarians” in quotes.

No copies of Wei Yuan's first edition have been sourced by the present writer. However, Leonard (1984) made good use of a 1966 reprinting (Wei Yuan, 1966) of the second edition in seven volumes and sourced it in Taiwan²⁵. The reprinted version was also obtained by the present writer to help complete this study. Some additional information about the first edition can be inferred from its review in the Chinese Repository (apparently) by Charles Gutzlaff. Gutzlaff attributed the book wrongly to Lin Zexu, assigned Wei Yuan to be simply the compiler and claimed that the book was only finally circulated in 1844. Comparing the review with the extent copy of Lin Zexu's "An account of the Four Continents" (Lin and Zhang, 2002) and the reprint of the second edition, it seems that the geography section of the first and second editions used many of the translations from Hugh Murray's Encyclopaedia made by Liang Jinde. However, Wei Yuan significantly re-arranged the material and created a new structure based on six "seas" rather than continents. He also added maps and commentaries and additional material at the beginning and end and prefaces to each of the geographies. Further discussion of Gutzlaff's review can be found in End Note ¹⁸.

The general structure described by Leonard (1984) started with the four famous essays by Wei Yuan outlining his basic philosophy, then came the maps, the general geography and a final set of volumes of miscellaneous essays and translations. The final set covered religions, gunnery and gunpowder, ship building, steam power and many other useful and strategic topics. The material in the second edition that was not present in the first seems to have been mainly added at the end as additional sections. However, despite the extensive coverage of the world's geography in these volumes, closer inspection shows that the modern Chinese name for Australia was not included in the first two editions and was certainly not included in the original version of the two hemisphere maps (see Figure 15). The Australian continent and limited but accurate information about it was certainly included in the direct quotations from Gutzlaff's "Universal Geography", but in these quotations Gutzlaff continued to use name "New Holland" for the large island to the south of Indonesia.

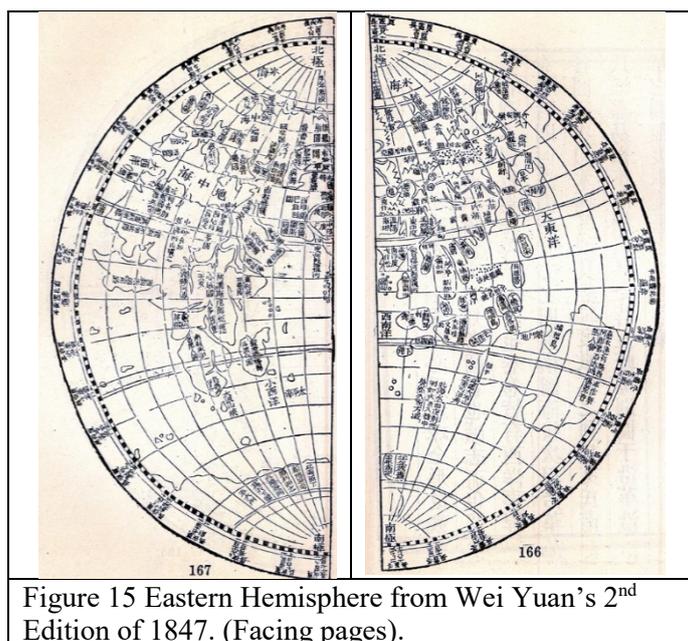


Figure 15 Eastern Hemisphere from Wei Yuan's 2nd Edition of 1847. (Facing pages).

²⁵ Chengwen Press, Taipei, Taiwan; 成文出版社, 臺北, 臺灣

It seems that the two-hemisphere maps included in Wei Yuan’s original two volumes were based on earlier Chinese maps and (based on a visual comparison between the maps) could well have been re-drafted from those used previously by Li Mingche in his 1819 book. They provide little additional map information to that already included in the Verbiest maps published in 1674.

On the Eastern Hemisphere map presented in Figure 15 there is a representation of the Australian land mass. The annotation on the land mass certainly has some similarities with the one described previously (see Figure 2) which was taken from the eastern hemisphere map in the final 1852 3rd Edition.

The earlier annotation reads as follows:

Carpentaria: To the west has become New Hollandia. Mostly desolate and; Devoid of people	嘉本達利亞 西志作 新阿[蘭地]亞， 大塊俱荒杳， 無人物
--	---

The characters in brackets were apparently wrong or misprinted as they also seem to be in Li Mingche’s book. Neither writer would have understood Verbiest’s rendition of “New Holland” or known much about the geography. However, better printed versions may help understand these modifications. Carpentaria was the name given by Dutch explorers to the northeast corner of Australia near to the present day Gulf of Carpentaria. But, based on these earlier maps, it seems clear that in 1844, the main part of the Australian continent was still “New Holland” to Chinese.

In the 1852 Edition, after Wei Yuan had travelled widely to find new material, every section of the previous edition was increased, corrected and updated. In the map section, in addition to the improved two hemisphere map shown at the beginning of this document (where the modern name for Australia had obviously replaced “New Holland”), Wei Yuan provided many more detailed maps of Australia and additional and up to date information about the country and the British colonies that had been established in its east, south and west. There was also a newly written section specifically on Australasia, Melanesia and Polynesia. The new section summarised information collated from both western and Chinese sources (including a relevant extract written by Xu Jiyu, whose book will be discussed next). Wei Yuan writes that this section is new to the Third Edition and not in previous editions. However, one significant part of the new section was previously included in the first two Editions under a general discussion of island South East Asia. This was a quoted section from Gutzlaff’s “Universal Geography” where New Holland and its British colonies are described accurately and (based on the information) up to date to at least 1834. The common text that was included in the first two Editions as well as the new section of the Third Edition is provided in full and translated as Endnote ¹⁹.

As an indication of the detail provided by Gutzlaff’s contribution to the three editions, it is interesting to record his specific ideas about Sydney as quoted by Wei Yuan:

“The present total population (of New Holland) is less than 100,000, with the capital being Sydney. Positioned at the entrance to the sea, it is one of the great sea ports. Trade is at significant levels, but it attracts drifters and criminals, and the local residents are badly influenced by their extravagant behaviour. Sometimes they waste their money, so that people close the shops and coinage is short. The population around the sea port is about 20,000, mostly in service trades. In the interior there are settlements but people are few. Some are engaged in agriculture, and more importantly herding. Every year new people are moving into this region, and in 60 years it will be a great country. At that time, all the places in the south seas will pay respects and serve its power, and shipping will spread to Guangzhou to trade.”

The new section in the 1852 edition on Island South-East Asia, Australasia and the Pacific includes attributed quotations from a number of western and Chinese books. All of these, apart from Gutzlaff’s “Universal Geography”, were published after the second edition of Wei Yan’s book had already been circulating. The nature of these sources and a brief summary of how their contribution helped Australia get its Chinese name are discussed in Endnote ²⁰. Wei Yuan often made direct and extensive quotations from other sources but always acknowledged the source. By including somewhat contradictory material and adopting the transliterations used by the sources within the quotations, he allows the reader to have access to different opinions and to decide among options as appropriate. In this approach, his work is like a marine “chart” that records all observations and makes few interpolations or selections among alternatives. In a marine chart, it is safer to record uncertainty than select the wrong observation. In keeping with this format, the first Edition preface records an interesting source for some of his maps as being obtained from:

“A Hong Kong British Company publication called the ‘World political map’, copied by Guangzhou security Chief Wu Yuancheng. It used five colours, like the outer title of a book, so it was (an example of) understanding how foreigners perceive foreign places.”²⁶

9.2 Liang Tingnan discusses the name for Australia

Liang Tingnan (梁廷柎, 1796-1861; Hummel, 1943) was a scholar official who came from Canton and was well known for his literary achievements including poetry and historical records of the southern China Kingdom of Nanyue (南粤). He was mentioned previously as he provided information to Lin Zexu about foreigners and foreign places when Commissioner Lin came to Canton in 1839. The information had previously been collected into a book outlining the foreign ships and traders who had visited Canton (Gazetteer of the Canton Customs, Yue haiguan zhi, 粤海關志). Later, he published the "Haiguo Sishuo" (海国四说) or “Four essays on the Maritime Countries” (Liang, 1846). This book is the third of four major books on the geography of the outside world by Chinese in the 1840’s. Liang’s “Four essays on the Maritime Countries” was published in 1846 and it provided information about South-East Asia and Australasia for the third Edition of Wei Yuan’s “Gazetteer of the Maritime

²⁶魏源说：各图皆“香港英夷公司所呈《大宪图》也”，“乃广州府经历婺源程承训所摹，饰以五色，因取以冠是书之首，斯纯乎以夷人谭夷地也。”

nations” in 1852. The book is in five sections, being one introduction plus the four “essays”:

1. “Difficulty of China accepting Protestantism” (耶稣教难入中国说);
2. “The United States of America” (合省国说);
3. “A general account of Great Britain” (兰仑偶说); and
4. “Foreign countries coming to Canton” (粤道贡国说).

In the essay on Great Britain, Liang Tingnan included information about Australia (he used the current Chinese name with the water radical, “氵”, for “ao”) and its annexation by Britain. He also recorded that westerners called Australia the fifth continent (see Zhang, 1997 and Endnote ²¹). He wrote:

“Australia (澳大利亚) is known to westerners as the fifth continent. Previously it was known as Magellenica, but in former times little human activity was reported. It is inhabited by strange animals, is vast and sparsely inhabited, but has no rulers, cities, palaces or systems of ethics. People have been encouraged to come [from Britain] by boat and spread to the southeast and to the west. Those willing to migrate, backed by the British government, have spread over its extent.”

This sentence has echoes of both Gutzlaff’s “Universal Geography” and also the article by Walter Medhurst in the DXYK article that named Australia in the modern Chinese style. In the essay on the USA, the general outline of world geography in Bridgman’s history of the USA was discussed and the article from DXYK in 1834/5 containing the modern name for the Australian continent and the brief description of as one of the significant countries of the world was quoted in full. Liang corrects some obvious errors, changing punctuation and removing some unacceptable terms. For example, in one case the printer of DXYK was assumed to have made a mistake with the name of Asia, putting Yaxiya (亞西亞) in place of Yaxiya (亞細亞)²⁷ and in all cases, the accepted name Yingjili (英吉利, or England) was substituted for the more challenging Da Yingguo (大英國, or Great Britain). Although a number of the names used in the article did not meet with his approval, Liang Tingnan seems to have approved of that for Australia and he is almost certainly the messenger through whom the name for Australia in Chinese suggested by Medhurst in the DXYK article in 1834 was accepted into the world of the scholar officials and became the Chinese name for Australia. Liang Tingnan’s version of the DXYK article is presented and translated in Endnote ⑩.

9.3 Xu Jiyu puts Aodaliya on the map

Xu Jiyu (徐继畲, 1795-1873) was born in Wutai in Shanxi. He was a Qing scholar official who picked up from Lin Zexu’s lead to bring together as much geographic information about the western foreigners as he could gather. He was a career administrator (Hummel, 1943 and Drake, 1975) and had a number of appointments in Fujian. In 1840 he was nearby when the Fujian port of Xiamen was laid waste by

²⁷ Strictly this not an “error” but more a residual transliteration from the original version of Medhurst’s “Geographical Catechism”.

British gunboats. This affected him greatly (Drake, 1975) and he was determined to improve China's capacity to respond. He got to meet and question a number of foreign missionaries, officials and businessmen when the port of Xiamen became one of the five new Treaty Ports in 1842 and he was appointed Governor. Among his contacts, the American protestant missionary David Abeel (1804-1846) was prominent. In 1843, Abeel helped Xu by locating modern maps, suggesting Chinese language transliterations for the names on the maps and translating various English language materials. Abeel and others also provided him with Chinese language materials written by foreigners such as Bridgman's "Brief account of the United States of America" and Gutzlaff's "Universal Geography". Abeel's Chinese name was Ya Bili, 雅裨理 which is a "nice" Chinese name.

Abeel published a diary outlining his interactions with Xu Jiyu in the Chinese Repository in 1844 (Chinese Repository, 13(5), 1844) in which he showed a high regard for Xu and his interest in the western world and S. Wells Williams published a review of Xu Jiyu's geography in the Chinese Repository in 1851 (Chinese Repository, Vol. 20, April 1851, No. 4). An extract from the geography was translated and presented by Williams. It is such a clear description of the background to Xu Jiyu's efforts that it has been reproduced as End Note ²². Abeel and Bridgman certainly held high hopes that Xu Jiyu would be influenced by the Chinese language Christian tracts they sent to him and would become the first convert among the scholar officials. But in this they were to be disappointed. Xu Jiyu's response to the growing influence of the foreigners was to seek out the truth, but not to change his Confucian principles. Following his collation of western material and reconciling the many different suggestions and opinions he found, he published the fourth of the major geographic works of the 1840's in 1848. It was called "A short account of the oceans and surrounds" (瀛环志略, Yinghuan Zhilüe) (Xu Jiyu, 1848).

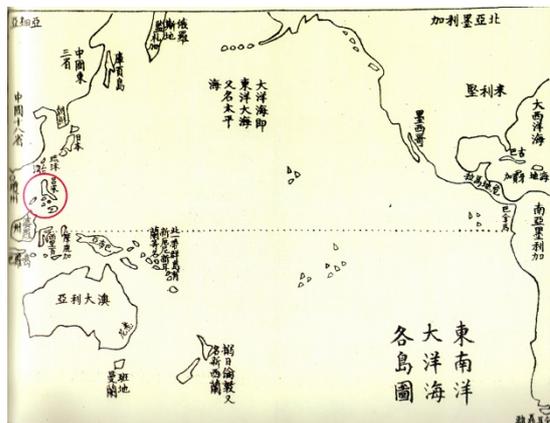


Figure 16 (a) Map by Xu Jiyu of the Pacific Ocean or "Oceania" showing Australia.



Figure 16 (b) Detail of Australia (from Go and Sy (2000) with Chinese name.

Xu Jiyu's book included maps (see Figure 16 (a) & (b)) showing the modern Chinese name for "Australia" clearly identified with the island continent of Australia and using the modern form of "ao" with the water radical (澳). He had a special interest in South-east Asia and the fact that the foreigners had established strong bases there. In this he was in accord with Wei Yuan and Liang Tingnan. In regard to Australia, he provided up-to-date information about its geography and its domination by the

British. The text suggests that he directly used material (without acknowledgement) from Gutzlaff's "Universal Geography" as well as material from the draft "Concise History" collated from earlier work by the combined efforts of three Morrisons²⁸. However, it is most likely that Xu's Chinese would have been much better to communicate the ideas to Chinese than the publications by westerners using Chinese language.

He, like Liang Tingnan, also addressed the issue of whether Australia should be regarded as the fifth continent as had been suggested in DXYK. This was discussed by Liang Tingnan in his "Four essays on the Maritime Countries". Liang Tingnan's opinions seem to have had a significant impact on Xu Jiyu. Since the time of Jesuit influence, the five contents were identified as Asia, Africa, Europe, America and the great south land (called Magellenica after Magellan). Xu Jiyu discussed the suggestion (made in the first of the articles naming Australia) that Australia was the fifth continent as Magellanica dissolved into islands. He was not convinced. Nevertheless, according to Drake (1975) it seems clear that Xu was the first Chinese to include Antarctica as a geographic entity and possible continent. In doing this, it is possible he made use of an article published in DXYK in August 1833 at about the same time as the Australia name was published by Walter Medhurst. It was entitled "New findings of a large land mass in the South Regions" (新考出在南方大洲).

In constructing his maps, Xu Jiyu clarified many names of places and countries balancing phonetics and meaning in a systematic way. In contrast to Wei Yuan he selected what he believed was the best from all of the options rather than record the diverse opinions. For example, Xu's name for the present island state to the south of Australia (now called "Tasmania") is Ban-di-man-lan (班地曼兰) which is a phonetic rendition of "Van Dieman's Land". The choice made by Wei Yuan (地面岛, di-mian-dao or Dieman's Island) is "neater" but the use of "-lan" (兰) for "land" is certainly consistent with many other Chinese names for countries (such as New Zealand) and for that reason would probably have appealed more to Xu. Xu Jiyu spent a lot of effort on his discussion of the United States of America. In this he had strong support from David Abeel and Elijah Bridgman who ensured he was well informed and had copies of all available western material written in Chinese, including Bridgman's history of the USA (Bridgman, 1838, 1844). In his maps he uses the traditional "Verbiest" name of Ya-mo-li-jia (亞墨利加) for the American continent but uses Mi-li-jian (米利堅) and Huaqi (花旗 or "Star-Spangled Banner") for the USA. In the 1840's, the names for America and USA were rather less well settled than were the names for Australia as discussed in Endnote ²³

The discussion by Xu Jiyu on the origins of "Australia" and its situation in the 1840's was included unmodified in the 1852 edition of Wei Yuan's "Gazeteer of the Maritime Nations"(See the complete translation in Endnote ²⁴). Xu's extract is juxtaposed with similar extracts from Gutzlaff's earlier "Universal Geography" and the later updates in "Concise foreign history" which is thought to have been written by the three Morrisons (Zou, 2008). Xu's opinion of Sydney seems to make selections

²⁸ To be clear, they were: Rev. Robert Morrison (Chinese name 马礼逊, Ma Lisun) before 1834, John Robert Morrison (son by first marriage, Chinese name 马儒翰, Mǎ Rúhàn) until 1843 and Martin C Morrison (Chinese name 马理生, Mǎ Lǐshēng) until possibly 1847.

from the two foreign contributions: “The main eastern English sea port and city is called Sydney, with 20,000 inhabitants. Whaling boats gather there and trade is flourishing. With many exiles and outlaws, drinking occurs to excess, and they do whatever they wish, so the population is rather rough.” Gutzlaff would have agreed. (See full translation in Endnote 19).

“A short account of the oceans and their surrounds” reached 10 volumes and underwent a number of re-printings. Since their two books were produced at the same time as revisions were being made to by Wei Yuan to the “Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations”, Xu Jiyu and Liang Tingnan were both able to contribute valuable corrections and additions to the previous editions of Wei Yuan’s book and help make the final third Edition a summary of knowledge to date. Xu’s geographic information was especially accurate and up-to-date. Liang Qichao (1873-1929), a leading intellectual of the first decades of the Chinese Republic, believed that Wei Yuan and Xu Jiyu’s books together provided Chinese with their first clues to western geography and thinking. They were both later reprinted a number of times and attracted great interest in Japan. They were used to effect by Japanese as Japan developed ways to handle foreigners, and also Chinese.

Lin Zexu was the first person to open his eyes and see the outside world in the way that foreign people viewed it and left a written record as a draft which we will regard as the first of four major books of the 1840’s. But it was Wei Yuan, Liang Tingnan and Xu Jiyu who followed on from his lead and example and provided three additional, and more comprehensive, geographic accounts of the world. These four books educated a generation of scholar officials as well as other Asian nations – particularly Japanese - in the history, geography and ways of thinking among the western countries. Lin Zexu was not very interested in Australia or the Pacific, despite the presence there of British colonies. The development of that interest was left to Xu Jiyu, Liang Tingnan and Wei Yuan.

Wei Yuan pursued knowledge of the west by seeking to understand “how western people perceive the west”. He did this in order to define strategies for “controlling the Foreigners using other Foreigners” and “studying the accomplishments of the Foreigners to control the Foreigners”. He hoped the rivalries between Britain, Russia and France could be used to advantage. The United States was seen as an independent nation not aligned with “old Europe” and a possible ally – especially against the opium trade. In the immediate neighbourhood, he saw the south-east Asian nations as China’s natural allies. His books covered every aspect of the western world and included many maps and extensive geographic information. He also included referenced material from varying sources rather than select from uncertain alternatives. But in the end his stratagems for the defeat of foreigners were to no avail as the empire of the Great Qing fell further and further to foreign domination.

Liang Tingnan was a renowned scholar official who carried out his offices with great merit and analysed the foreigners with great insight. When he had done his work for the Emperor he retired to scholarship and respected older years in his family home. It was Liang Tingnan’s patronage of Walter Medhurst’s name for Australia in Chinese that is most likely the critical step in the journey the name was to take. Xu Jiyu greatly respected Liang Tingnan and so felt no concern to use Australia’s (now) Chinese

name. Liang Tingnan may have, like Lin Zexu, under-estimated the foreigners or perhaps he would not have retired when he did.

Xu Jiyu was inspired by his mixed experiences of the west to write a book outlining the geography of the world. His academic and systematic approach and carefully prepared maps were praised by Kang Youwei as the most accurate among Chinese works at that time. He was neither a linguist nor a geographer but his contributions to both fields were important. He pursued his task with energy and became interested in the west. A eulogy he wrote of George Washington endeared him to American missionaries and envoys and resulted in his views being recorded on the Washington memorial in Washington DC (Drake, 1975). However, such accolades may not have impressed the Qing court as, with the help of Lin Zexu, Xu Jiyu received criticism for his lenient approach to foreign missionaries and lost his appointment in a purge in 1851.

Lin Zexu and Xu Jiyu have monuments in America, Lin in New York City and Xu in Washington on the Washington Memorial, but Wei Yuan and Liang Tingnan do not. Wei and Liang were both conservative scholars who took appointments that supported their scholarship and kept to tradition. Their views, like those of Lin Zexu, were always predicated on the sufficiency of the Confucian examination system, the superiority of Chinese culture, the necessity to resist the western foreigners and the primacy of the Qing Emperor. For this they got no memorial in America but avoided disgrace in China.

10 Chinese find out more about Australia

Despite the story of the pidgin name “Thiefo” being given to Australia by Chinese before 1834, there was unlikely to have been a genuine Chinese name associated with the great south land at that time other than some transliteration of “New Holland”. From the discussion above, it has emerged that the first published suggestion of a name for “Australia” in Chinese was very close to the one used today and included in articles published in Gutzlaff’s DXYK in 1834 and 1835. The geographic information provided in that article about Australia was brief but accurate and it was most likely written and contributed by Walter Henry Medhurst. But a name is only a name, and repeated use and the information that becomes attached to a name are what generally decide its being accepted, rejected or forgotten.

Gutzlaff went on to publish his comprehensive “Universal Geography” in 1838. This book has been described by some scholars as one collated from articles previously in DXYK (Lutz, 2008) but it went well beyond being a collation of articles. Gutzlaff’s book was a major contribution to world wide geographic knowledge in Chinese Language. It was known to Lin Zexu and also used extensively by Wei Yuan (in all editions of his work), as well as by Liang Tingnan and Xu Jiyu as they developed their geographies in the 1840’s. It appears it was also an important source for the three Morrisons in their “Concise history of foreign countries” which was most likely in existence and completed by 1847. Karl Augustus Gutzlaff’s direct and indirect contributions to the geographical knowledge that developed in the 1840’s in and among Chinese was fundamental and there is no doubt it was “well” for Chinese that there was such a man in the world in that place and at that time.

As influential instruments in the development that led to Chinese becoming the “owners” of a name for Australia, we have identified four major publications by Chinese. Lin Zexu combined confronting the opium suppliers with strong support for studies of western documents and maps. With the help of a team of four mission-trained Chinese translators, he produced the “Account of the four continents” (四洲志) in late 1839 or 1840. But although the source book for this first look at the world, Hugh Murray’s “Encyclopaedia of Geography” (1834 or 1837), included a fifth “continent” for Australasia and the Pacific and named its largest island “Australia” in preference to New Holland, Lin Zexu did not include this information in his account. Lin’s work was passed on to Wei Yuan who, adding a number of additional western and Chinese sources, including extracts from Gutzlaff’s “Universal Geography”, compiled the second significant publication to world geography in Chinese in his “Illustrated Geography of the World” (海國圖志, 1843, 1847 & 1852).

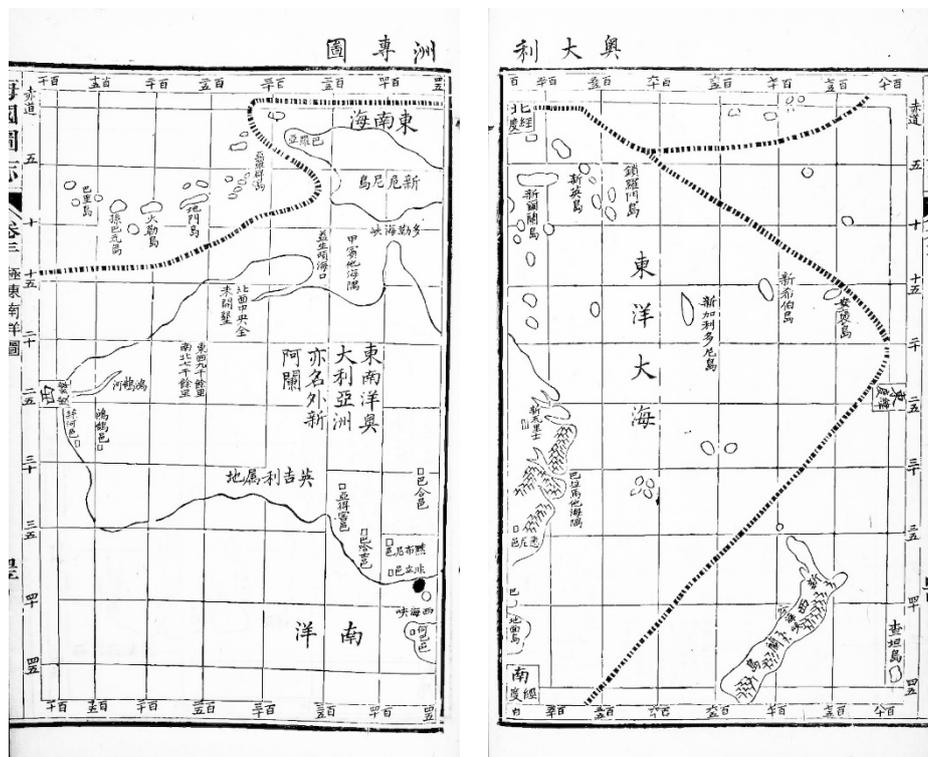


Figure 17 Map of Australasia in Wei Yuan’s 3rd Edition of 1852. Possibly from a document written by the three Morrisons and including the use of “ao” without the water radical

But the frantic activity of the 1840’s does not, by itself, imply “acceptance” of the new information by Chinese. Rather, it is fairer to point to Wei Yuan’s third Edition as the complete summary of the preceding 10 years of searching. Wei Yuan gave special attention to mainland and island South-East Asia in all of his editions, but in the third Edition, and on the two hemispheres map there was certainly a Chinese name for “Australia” (奧大利亞州 or “Aodaliya Zhou”) that had not been there in his earlier editions. As described by Leonard (1984), Wei Yuan’s books gave special attention to the penetration of the west into South-East Asia, the establishment of fortified naval bases and the displacement of China’s influence since the Ming period by foreigners. Wei Yuan travelled through China in 1847 to gather information for the

1852 edition. The final version collates all of the work we have described and also (in relation to our question) confirms that “New Holland” had finally changed to “Australia” in Chinese as well as in English.

Between the first Edition in 1843 and the last in 1852 there was also a dramatic change in available information about the western nations in general and about the countries of south and south-east Asia and Australia in particular that had been included from western and Chinese sources. Wei Yuan responded to this change with additional maps at varying scales. Figure 17 shows an example from Wei Yuan’s collection in the 1852 edition. Most of the main colonial settlements of the time are located in the right “general” part of the continent but some are not especially accurately placed. In the west, Perth, which at the time was called the Swan River Colony is present as Swan Town (鴻鵠邑) but its location is too far north. Above the Bight is written “English dependencies” (英吉利屬地) to indicate the additional area that had been claimed by the founding of the colonies of Western Australia in 1829 and South Australia in 1835. In the far north is a town labelled Yi-sheng-dun (益生頓) which is obviously Port Essington. This garrison was established in 1838 to exploit the north but was abandoned in 1849 due to the harsh climate and isolated conditions that (without modern air conditioning) Europeans found very difficult to manage.

There is an annotation in the centre of the continent that says:

東南洋奧 大利亞洲 亦名外新 阿蘭	South-East Sea’s Australian continent (Australasia?) also called outer New Holland
----------------------------	---

The name for Australia in Chinese in this annotation (奧大利亞洲) uses Wei Yuan’s choice of “ao” without the water radical “氵”. This and many of the names used in the maps, together with Gutzlaff’s quotations, suggest he may have taken this suggestion from the three Morrison’s publication of the “Concise History” from whence the maps may also have originated. In southern Australia, present day Adelaide is labelled as Yadehai (亞得害邑) which is not an especially “nice” name and differs significantly from the “very nice” present day Chinese name for Adelaide (阿德萊德 or A-de-lai-de) which is an exceptional and near perfect transliteration when Pinyin and Putonghua are used!

In the east, the map includes names representing Port Phillip and Botany Bays, an early form of the present name for Melbourne (默布尼, mo-bu-ni compared with present day 墨尔本, mo-er-ben) as well as the (modern) name for Sydney (悉尼, xi-ni) and Hobart Town (何巴邑, He-ba-yi) in Van Dieman’s land (地面島, or Di-mian dao, present day Tasmania). In outback NSW we can also find a town called Bahe town (巴合邑) which may be Fort Bourke. This outpost had been established in 1835. For further discussion on these names and those of nearby countries and islands see Endnote ²⁵ and the end notes in Wei Yuan’s Collected Works (Wei Yuan, 2004).

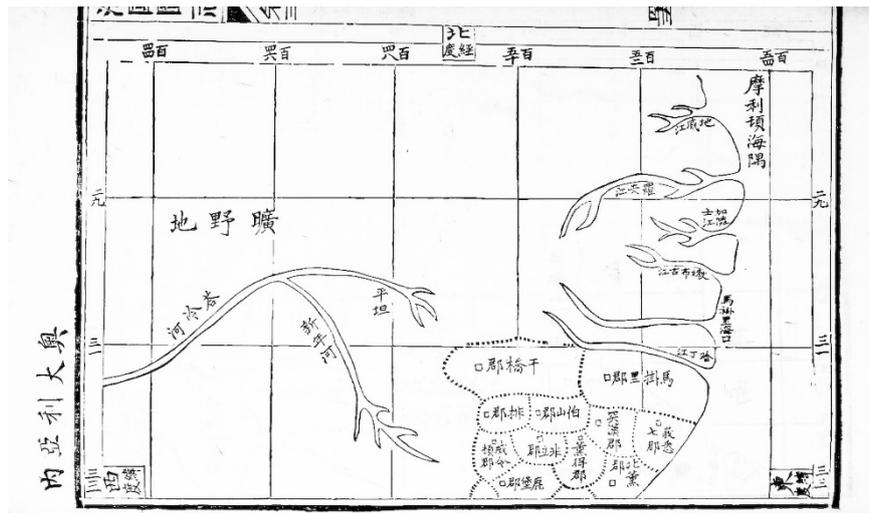


Figure 18 (a) Northern part of the Wei Yuan's map of New South Wales

At the more detailed scale, the two maps in Figure 18 (a) and (b) from the 3rd 1852 Edition show New South Wales (NSW, transliterated as “Xin Walishi”, 新瓦里士 or New Wales) and the major branches of the Murray and Darling Rivers in the Murray Darling Basin. These rivers provided important means for people to find their way to the diggings in the Gold Rush period. The small administrative areas clustered around Sydney are the original 19 counties of NSW. The outer boundary of these counties marked the edge of the administrative zone of the original colony of NSW, but by the time the map was produced, people had spread far from the original 19 counties. In the south, both Melbourne and Port Phillip are named with Melbourne having a much closer to modern transliteration as “mòběn yì” or Melbourne Town (墨本邑). The cartography in these maps is not of high precision or quality but the information content has certainly increased dramatically since the time of the first Edition²⁹.

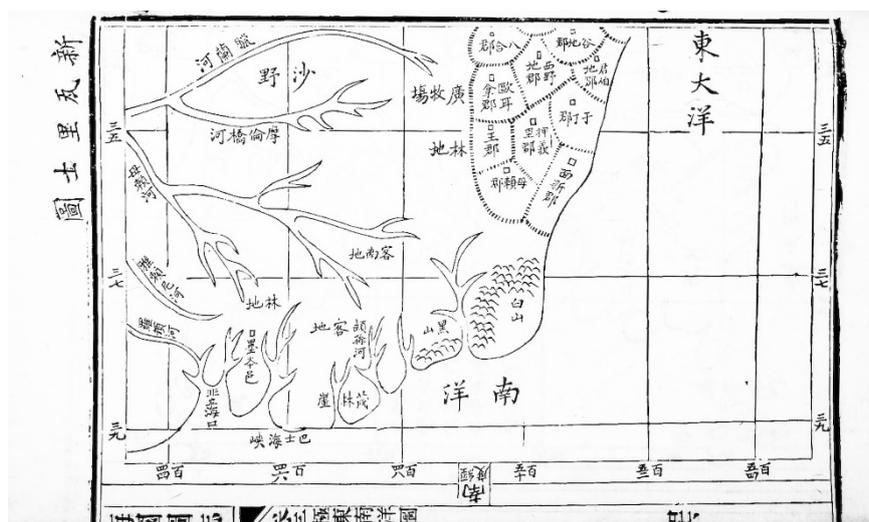


Figure 18 (b) Southern part of Wei Yuan's map of New South Wales

The information presented in these maps and in the associated text arose between 1840 and 1850 and is quite detailed. But to what extent did this information flow into

²⁹ For a list of the modern names for Australia and its states and capitals see ENDNOTE 27.

the base of Chinese knowledge about the great south land? Liang Tingnan published his "Four essays on the Maritime Countries" in 1846, as well as information he had gathered since the 1830's in Canton. Using DXYK and Bridgman's book as additional source materials, Liang's book used the modern Chinese name for the large island of Australia including the character “澳” (Ao) as well as the name Ao Zhou (澳洲) for the smallest continent which distinction he had learnt from Medhurst's DXYK article. He provided a basic summary of what he had learned about Australia. He wrote: “It is inhabited by strange animals, is vast and sparsely inhabited, but has no rulers, cities, palaces or systems of ethics. People have been encouraged to come [from Britain] by boat and spread to the southeast and west. Those willing to migrate, backed by the British government, have spread over its extent.” Liang Tingnan obviously has a very good claim to being the first Chinese to pick up and use the suggestion made in DXYK and show interest in the descriptions of Australia provided by the various Missionaries prior to 1846.

Xu Jiyu's classic “A short account of the oceans and their surrounds” was the fourth major geographic book published by Chinese in the 1840s. It was published in 1848 and included information about most, if not all, areas of the world, including Polar Regions. Xu Jiyu took the approach that names should be consolidated and only the best and most suitable selected for use. He held the same opinion about information. The result was an accurate and concise geography that represented Xu Jiyu's choice among the many options that existed at the time - including the available material from various Missionaries. His name for the largest island was the modern name of Aodaliya (澳大利亚). Xu Jiyu used the present day choice of the character “澳” (Ao) which means coastal bays and harbours rather than the character “奥” (used by Wei Yuan and also pronounced Ao) which could possibly be claimed to make some reference to the previous “unknown” nature of the southern land. It is significant that Xu Jiyu and Liang Tingnan were consistent in their choices for the names of the continents and well known countries.

Xu Jiyu also made an interesting summary of the present situation in Australia which seems to have had strong influence from the corresponding discussion in the “Concise History”. He reported: “The English have established garrisons to prevent invasion. Taking over the whole of Australia, they have secured the borders, which are all shorelines, but occupy just a few percent [of the land]. The hinterland is filled with grasslands and thick forests. The natives are primitive, and do not live to an old age. Not only are local conditions difficult, with difficult terrain, but also there is no means of transport to use to travel. In regard to this land, the English say that although it is now desolate, in 100 years it will be known as a great country.” The extract from which this was taken was included in full by Wei Yuan in his 1852 Edition. It seems that Xu Jiyu must have a very strong claim to being influential in the acceptance of the modern Chinese name for Australia and to be the first Chinese to use it on a map.

Wei Yuan's approach was to include all opinions and alternatives and let the reader decide what to use. This is not a bad strategy when much of the information is suspect. However, many people may prefer to be led in their choice among possible alternatives. For these, Xu Jiyu's book will have proved the most convenient. In the new section on Australasia and the Pacific in the 1852 Edition (Chapter 16), Wei Yuan provides evidence of his sources and lists the base of foreign input that helped him complete his summary. He quoted directly from Gutzlaff's “Universal

Geography” (as he had in the early editions as well), from the three Morrisons “Concise history” (Zou, 2008), from Xu Jiyu and from a Portuguese writer, Jose Martinho Maques (Zhao and Wu, 2006) (see Endnote 20 for further information).

Maques, who was neither a missionary nor a Protestant, used his own transliteration of a name for Australia as Ao-si-da-li-ya (奧斯达里亚) although it did not persist or be used later by Chinese. But he was clear in his suggestion that the general geographic designation “Oceania” (which he transliterated as A-sai-ya-ni-ya or 阿塞亚尼洲) was a good candidate for the fifth “continent” that included all of the many islands. Wei Yuan’s style of maintaining the transliterations and usage (ie the characters) of the people he quoted is especially helpful to us for establishing sources. It is only recently that “Universal Geography” has been sourced to an existing copy (Zhuang, 2007) and the books by the Morrisons and Marques still seem to be unavailable or not now existing. It is mainly from Wei Yuan that they are known. The three Morrisons description of the Australasian region follows the structure of the original 1836-38 discussion in “Universal Geography” very closely. But it is more up to date, as indicated by its corrections of Gutzlaff’s text and addition of new information. It gives the geographic coordinates of Sydney as 33° 51' S and 151° 16' E which are very accurate today. A selection from its information about Sydney translates back into English as:

“The geography of NSW is similar to North America and it will equally be a great country, at this time it is just established and building up materials, but in the future will be the most prosperous place in the SE sea. The capital is called Sydney with a population of 20,000 people. It is a beautiful city with wide streets, a sheltered bay with deep water where ships can be moored. (Nearby) is Balamata Harbour with a population of 3,000 people.”

The harbour seems to have been called “Paramatta” which is the name of the river but Sydney Harbour has always been Port Jackson. The population count may include the upriver settlement of Paramatta and it seems from some of the local familiarity shown in these names that they may have been established during a short visit to Sydney. However, of particular interest is that in the “Concise History” of the three Morrison’s, the names given for the capitals of the colonies and other features are identical with those on the map presented previously in Figure 17. Based on dates in the text, it seems that the information on the maps is up to date at least to 1840. In addition, the name for Australia in the text and in the map is of the style where the character for “Ao” (奧) does not contain the water radical “氵”. Wei Yuan’s preference for this form may show his respect for the information, and possibly the maps, he found in “Concise History” and for the status of its authors.

So, while we can reasonably give Liang Tingnan the credit of being the first Chinese to accept the modern name for Australia in Chinese and to Xu Jiyu the credit of promoting the modern name and being the first to include it on maps, it is fair to credit Wei Yuan with being the Chinese who took all of the extant information and collated it to accept both name and knowledge of Australia on behalf of Chinese.

11 The Chinese name for “Australia” becomes “Chinese”

By 1850, Australia had a good candidate for an accepted Chinese name and there was a solid base of geographic information about Australia in Chinese language, but in an unstable world of ever changing terms and translations, its position was not yet secure. In 1851, China changed Emperor and Xu Jiuyu was punished for being too close to foreigners. The Taiping had started their rebellion in 1850, Wei Yuan passed away in 1856 and the major powers continued to harass China throughout the decade. This turbulent period ended with the Second Opium War (or Arrow War) and the Treaty of Tienjin in 1858. It was this subsequent unequal treaty that allowed workers to stream overseas to dig for gold and build railways in Canada, the USA and also in Australia.



Figure 19 Cover from the fourth Edition of the “Shanghae Serial” edited by Alexander Wylie and published in 1857-1858.

In 1856, after long years of work for the LMS, Walter Henry Medhurst returned to England where he passed away in 1857. In this year, a young China scholar missionary of the next generation, Alexander Wylie, published a more modern “Chinese Magazine” called the “Shanghae Serial”. It reached 15 monthly editions between January 1857 and June 1858 and included articles on geography, literature, history, theology and news from various places. Apart from a rather brief English version of its index on the cover, it was a completely Chinese magazine. Its cover for the 4th Month of the 7th year of the Xianfeng Emperor (1857) is shown in Figure 19. The Chinese name for the publication was 六合叢談 (simplified characters, 六合丛谈, Liuhe Congtan) or “Selected General Topics” and it was published by the LMS Press with its Chinese name of 墨海書館 (Mohai Shuguan). The Press was located in the Shanghai area of the Songjiang County of Jiangsu Province³⁰.

³⁰ Today, the place where the press was located is in a suburb of Shanghai called Songjiang and it is in Shanghai City of the Shanghai Special Zone – which has the status of a Province.

A “Geography” article occurred in about one half of the editions. It is given in the English index on the left as “Physical Geography” and was a serialized version of William Muirhead’s 地理全志 (Dili Quanzhi, or “Complete account of Geography”). This text was written in Chinese in 1853-54 and based on three English geographical texts. William Muirhead’s work was also strongly influenced by Walter Medhurst in his final years. However, in his articles Australia (sadly) is no longer a continent but rather it is present as a very large Island called “澳大利” (Aodali) but its name uses the water radical as was introduced by Walter Medhurst and preferred by Xu Jiyu. In the issue shown above there was also a comprehensive “Memoir of Rev. Dr. Medhurst”³¹. It is a long and detailed Memorial to the life of Walter Henry Medhurst as a Missionary and scholar. It is also a primary source for the study made by Zou (2003) on Walter Medhurst’s contributions to Geography. It is certainly much more substantial than the brief English language Memorial in Alexander Wylie’s “Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese” (Wylie, 1867). That this information is now only available to us in Chinese suggests that, by this time, the contributions of the scholar missionaries to China in Chinese had, like the Chinese name for Australia, also become “Chinese”.

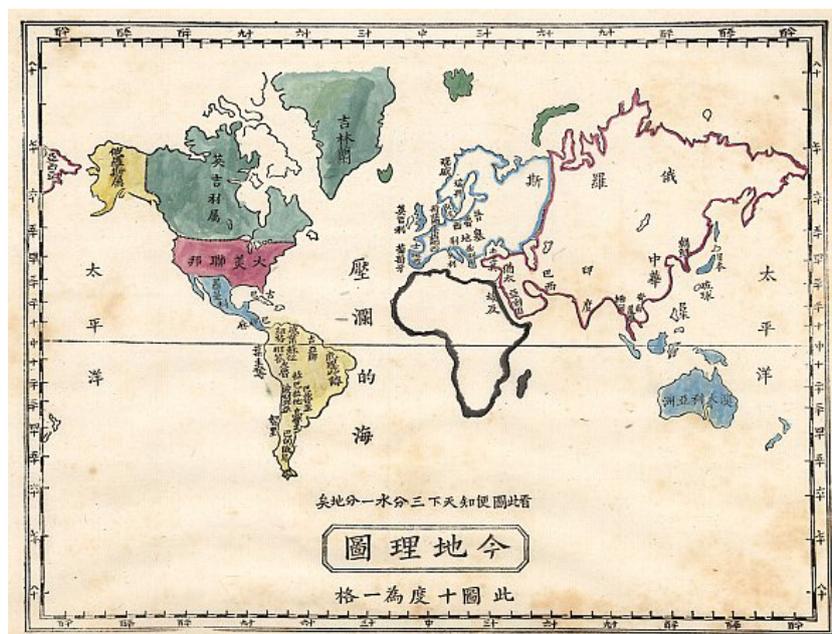


Figure 20 Elijah Bridgman’s Map of the New World Geography

Possibly the last publication originally associated with the SDUKC was printed in 1861 in the year of Elijah Bridgman’s death. It was the final Edition of Bridgman’s “A brief history of the United States of America”. In it he provided a general map of the world showing the old and new worlds. But instead of describing the maps himself, he refers to the excellent books by Wei Yuan and Xu Jiyu as the most useful sources of detailed general information about the world written in Chinese. He then focussed on the USA and its history to that time, which was just prior to the American Civil War. The map is shown in Figure 20. Bridgman’s map is Mercator projection and labels Australia with its present Chinese name, including using the modern choice for “Ao” that had been promoted and accepted by Liang Tingnan and Xu Jiyu.

³¹ In Chinese language it was called 《麦都思行略》. See Zou (2003).

In the 1860's, China formed a diplomatic bureau (the Zongli Yamen, 總理衙門) and looked to open a number of foreign embassies. Xu Jiyu was called out of retirement to provide scholarship and experience in its formative years. One of the first major translations undertaken by the Zongli Yamen was Wheaton's "Elements of International Law" (Wanguo Gongfa, 萬國公法, see Liu, 2004). This translation was carried out by a small team of Chinese scholars and the American linguist Missionary William Alexander Parsons (W.A.P.) Martin. The Chinese Edition of 1865 started with a two hemisphere map of the world (see Figure 21) showing China's "place on the new scientific map". Lydia Liu in Liu (2004) writes: "The cartographic representation, which was not uncommon at the time, seeks to introduce a new order of universal knowledge and global consciousness to the Chinese elite so that this ancient civilization might be persuaded to join the family of nations". The two hemisphere map seems to be an improved (and better drawn) version of Wei Yuan's final map and also use Wei Yuan's version of "Aodaliya" (奧大利亞) as the name for the smallest continent.

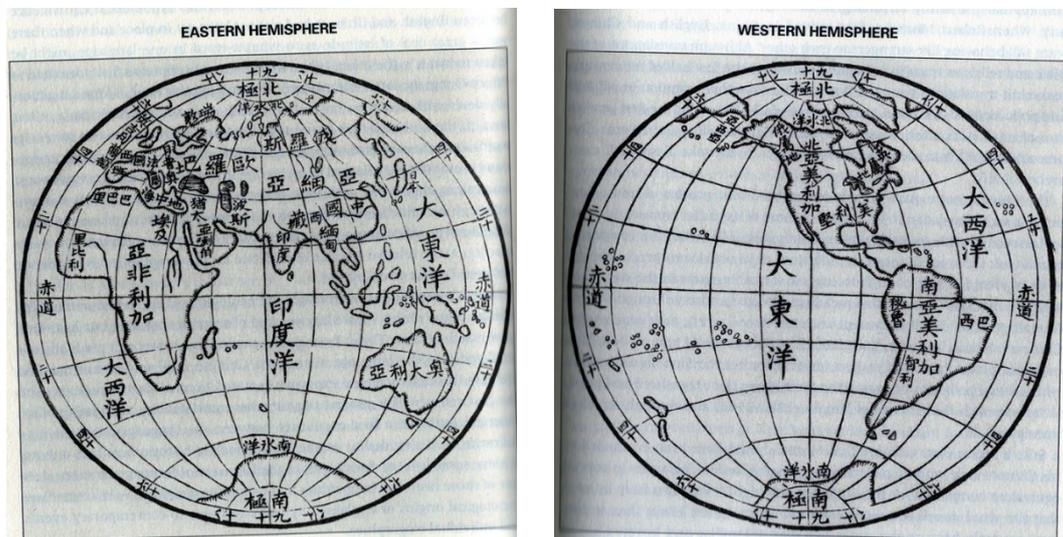


Figure 21 Hemisphere maps from Chinese translation of Wheaton's "Elements of International Law", by the Zongli Yamen in 1865

After this name was officially used by the Zongli Yamen it was probably safe to say that Australia's Chinese name was finally established and secure and had truly become "Chinese". But of all the people we have met and discussed for the part they played in the Chinese name for Australia, only Xu Jiyu was still alive when this occurred. He did not leave the stage until 1873 at the good age of 79 and as a respected member of the Zongli Yamen. For unknown reasons, and despite the dangers of working for the Emperor, the scholar officials we have met almost all lived significantly (on average 20 years) longer than the missionaries.

The impact of the Opium wars and the profound effects that the opening of China had on Chinese people's view of the west as they moved into the world through the opened doors have played a significant part in defining the time base for the emergence and acceptance of a Chinese name for Australia. They are particularly underlined in the later experiences of Chinese in Australia in a source document with an interesting viewpoint. It arose in the context of the treatment of Chinese citizens

who responded to this opening and their new knowledge of the outer world by coming to Australia. In 1879, Chinese Australians named Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy presented a petition for improved treatment of Chinese in Australia. In part (using only four selected quotations from the original text) they wrote (a more complete version of this rather long petition is attached as Endnote ²⁶ or see Welch, 2003):

Let us remind the people of these colonies of the circumstances under which emigration from China commenced. Up to the year 1842, we lived in contented isolation from the rest of the world. The nations of Western Europe - England more particularly - said, "This shall not be." By force of arms, a treaty was extorted from the Government at Peking, in virtue of which a certain number of Chinese ports were thrown open to British commerce."

In 1868, the Government of the United States concluded with the Emperor of China what is known as the "Burlingame Treaty," which assured to Americans the same access to our country which was already enjoyed by the English and French, and which as was only just and equitable - opened the United States to Chinese immigration. And we beg it to be particularly remembered that this outflow of our population was never sought for by us. Western powers, armed with the formidable artillery with which modern science has supplied them, battered down the portals of the empire; and, having done so, insisted upon keeping them open. They said, in effect, "We must come in, and you shall come out. We will not suffer you to shut yourselves up from the rest of the world."

"Therefore, when we heard, about five and twenty years ago [approx 1854], that there was a great continent nearly half as large again as China, and containing only a few hundreds of thousands of civilized people thinly scattered around the coast; that it was rich in the precious metals and very fertile; and that it was only a few weeks' sail from our own country, numbers of Chinese immigrants set out for this land of promise. They came to work, not to beg or to steal."

Judge, then, of our painful disappointment, our astonishment, and our sorrow at what followed. An encampment of Chinese was formed on a newly found goldfield in the Ovens district, known as the Buckland. They were laborious and inoffensive men, who wished to live at peace with their British neighbours, and to pursue their avocation as gold miners quietly and orderly, like good citizens and law-fearing colonists. But what followed? They were set upon by the other diggers, chased from their claims, cruelly beaten and maltreated; their tents plundered and then burnt down. We do not think this was doing as you would be done by."

12 Concluding Summary

There is little more to say, except to summarise what has come out of the journey presented here. It is clear that the modern name for Australia in Chinese appeared in the mid-1830's among articles provided by Chinese literate Protestant missionaries who aimed to diffuse western geographical knowledge for the benefit of Chinese. In particular, two articles in Gutzlaff's DXYK in 1833 and 1834 contain the present name for Australia and these articles were to be later picked up by influential Chinese. We have provided evidence that the author of the articles was the British missionary Walter Henry Medhurst who seems to have been recognised since that time for his contributions to geography and information about the world in Chinese with more appreciation by Chinese than western historians.

From the material gathered in this document we can conclude that Chinese and western use of the names "Australasia" and "Australia" on maps and in documents both became established at much the same time – between 1830 and 1850. In China it also occurred when forward thinking Chinese intellectuals, of whom the first was Lin Zexu, strove to "understand how western people perceive the west". In this they were provided with information in Chinese language by the secular efforts of western Protestant missionaries. Amongst the missionaries, the most prominent in the diffusion of useful knowledge was probably Karl Friedreich Augustus Gutzlaff. Just as the name "New Holland" in Chinese had first been suggested by Jesuit missionaries, the modern name for "Australia" in Chinese and information about Australia arose from a similar contribution by early Protestant missionaries. These included Walter Henry Medhurst and Charles Gutzlaff within the context of Gutzlaff's "Chinese Magazine" in 1835. Chinese acceptance, use and eventual "Sinification" of this name occurred as Wei Yuan, Liang Tingnan and Xu Jiyu followed Lin Zexu to assemble information and maps of the world during the 1840's. It is very likely that Xu Jiyu in "A short account of the oceans and their surrounds" in 1848 first used the modern name for Australia in Chinese on a map. Xu Jiyu's choices of names were influenced by Liang Tingnan who analysed the DXYK articles and added further information about Australia, as well as using the modern name. So it seems that Liang Tingnan can claim to be the first Chinese to pick up the suggestion from the DXYK and promote it on behalf of Chinese people. The most comprehensive compilation of Chinese maps, textual information and transliterations of western names as they developed over the 1840's was certainly the 3rd Edition of Wei Yuan's book published in 1852 and its place was made firm as China developed external diplomacy with the outside world in 1865. By then, Aodaliya (澳大利亚 or sometimes 奥大利亚) had become the accepted Chinese name for "Australia".

The strategic efforts of Lin, Wei, Liang and Xu were too late and too little to help China defend itself as a technologically superior British navy and army forcibly opened China to the world and extracted reparations for China's "injury" to the Opium Trade. But the intense interest these events created among Chinese scholar officials and the Court about how much the adjacent seas had changed since the last time Chinese fleets had sailed them did not go away. While further "Opium Wars" rumbled on, discovery of gold in the US, Canada and Australia and other metals in Malaysia led to a new era of Chinese history as Chinese "Coolie" (苦力 or Kuli, "bitter strength") labourers left China to make fortunes (usually not their own) in

foreign mines. Those who went to Australia, because of the efforts of Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan, Liang Tingnan, Xu Jiyu and the Protestant Missionaries who helped them, had maps of where they were going, some general knowledge of what would be there and knew what to call their destination in both English and Chinese (for a list of names of Australia and its States and capitals in modern official Chinese see ENDNOTE ²⁷).

In 1851, Lin Zexu had already passed away but with his honour restored and during this year he was canonized into the “Temple of Eminent Officials” in Yunnan. In the same year, Wei Yuan was preparing his final and largest edition of “Illustrated Geography of the World” for publication, Liang Tingnan was helping compile a Gazetteer for his home county after retiring with honour for his work training volunteer corps in Canton and Xu Jiyu was being criticised for being too close to westerners. In China, with a new Emperor, the interest in foreign places and the world’s geography initially slowed. But it was to soon increase again with the discovery of Gold in the New World. In London, the British Empire seemed invincible and at zenith as the first “Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations” (Great Exhibition) of 1851 started at the Crystal Palace. Among the Empire’s exhibits were some contributions (mainly agricultural) from Britannia’s colonial “children” in the great south land of Australia. At the most recent of the Great Exhibitions in Shanghai in 2010, the relationships between China, Britain and Australia were obviously quite different from those of 1851 and the next 150 years of relationships are also likely to be quite different from the previous.

In Shanghai, Australia had its own pavilion and its name was displayed in Chinese as it had been established by 1851 - “a large and lucky place with bays and inlets in Asia”. As it had been in the 1850’s, a relatively short term mineral boom was fuelling the relationship between China and Australia. But perhaps now, in order to prepare for a different and longer term future, it is time for Australians to think differently about the relationship as Wei Yuan did in 1842 and attempt to understand “how Chinese perceive China”. This is not about how Australians perceive China, nor how Australia’s neighbours perceive China, nor even how Australia’s allies perceive China, but truly how Chinese perceive China³². Perhaps it is only with this knowledge that Australians may possibly influence how China and Australia can both benefit in that future.



David L B Jupp
Initial Version: November 2011
Final Penultimate Version:
June 16, 2013

³²以中土人譚中土

13 References

Alenio, Giulio (1966). *A record of the situation in foreign lands*. Taiwan Commercial Press. Ai Rulüe zhuan, Zhi fang wai ji, Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, Taipei shi, minguo 55, 1966.

艾儒略撰，職方外紀，臺北市，臺灣商務印書館，民國 55 (1966)

Barnett, Suzanne Wilson (1972). Protestant Expansion and Chinese Views of the West. *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1972), pp. 129-149.

Bennett, George Esq., F.L.S. (1834). "Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir, Coast, Singapore, and China; being a Journal of a naturalist in those countries, during 1832, 1833 and 1834". Reviewed in the "*Monthly Review*" for 1834.

Bridgman, Elijah C. (1838). Brief account of the United States of America. (Meilige hesheng guo zhilüe, 美理哥合省國志略), (Singapore, 1838).
道光十八年戊戌(1838)高理文之《美理哥國志略》即《亞美理格合省志略》刊於新嘉坡堅夏書院。

Bridgman, Elijah C. (1844). A short record of the United States of America. (Ya-mo-li-ge he-sheng-guo zhilüe, 亞墨理格合省國志略). Hongkong, 1844.
道光廿四年甲辰(1844)高理文於香港重刊《美理哥合省國志略》易名為《亞墨理格合眾國志略》。

Bridgman, Elijah C. (1861). A short account of the Commonwealth of America. (Da Mei lianbang zhilüe, 大美聯邦志略). (National Library of Australia, available as electronic book via the internet, <http://www.nla.gov.au/>)

Cartography Associates (2009). David Rumsey Map Collection. (Web Address), <http://www.davidrumsey.com/>

Chang, Hsin-pao (1964). *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Clancy, R. (1995). *The mapping of Terra Australis. A guide to early printed maps of Australia, Antractica and the South Pacific*. Universal Press, Sydney.

Collis, M. (1952). *Foreign Mud. Being an account of the Opium Imbroglia at Canton in the 1830's and the Anglo-Chinese War that followed*. Faber and Faber Ltd, London.

Drake, Fred W. (1975). *China Charts the World. Hsu Chi-Yü and his Geography of 1848*. Harvard East Asian Monographs, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Fairbank, J.K. (1969). *Trade and diplomacy on the China coast. The opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854*. Stanford University Press.

Go, Bon Juan and Joaquin Sy (Eds) (2000). *The Philippines in ancient Chinese maps*. (中國古代地圖中的菲律賓). Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran Inc. Manila.

Gützlaff, Karl Freidrich (1833-1835). The Chinese Monthly (Dongxiyang kao meiyue tongji zhuan 東西洋考每月統計傳) (East-west examiner and monthly recorder, or magazine), (Canton, 1833-1835; Singapore, 1837-1839).

Gützlaff, Karl Freidrich (1834). Comprehensive account of Great Britain, (Da Yingguo tongzhi 大英國統治) (Malacca, 1834).

Gützlaff, Karl Freidrich (1838a). Notes on the past and present of the countries of the world. (Gujin wanguo gangjian lu 古今萬國綱鑒錄), (Singapore, 1838).

Gützlaff, Karl Freidrich (1838b). Universal Geography. (Wanguo dili quanji 萬國地理全集), (Singapore, 1838).

Gutzlaff, Karl Freidrich (1839). A history of the country of the Jews. (Youtai Guoshi 猶太國史), (Singapore, 1839).

Gutzlaff, Karl Freidrich (1840). A general account of trade. (Maoyi tongzhi 貿易通志), (Singapore, 1840).

Gutzlaff, Karl Friedrich August, & Huang, Shijian. (1997). *Dong xi yang kao mei yue tong ji zhuan / Aihanzhe deng bian, Huang Shijian zheng li Zhonghua shu ju*, Beijing. 東西洋考每月统计傳 / 爱漢者等编, 黃時鑑整理.

Harrison, B. (1979). *Waiting for China*. Hong Kong University Press.

Hopkirk, Peter (1990). *The Great Game. On Secret Service in High Asia*. John Murray (Publishers).

Hummel, A.W. (1943). *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*. 2 Volumes. Original edition US Gov Printing Office Washington, Reprinted 2002 by SMC Publishing House, Taiwan, ROC.

Keith, Thomas (1826). *New treatise on the Use of the Globes, or a philosophical view of the Earth and Heavens*. Samuel Wood & Sons, New York. (available from Google Books: <http://books.google.com/>)

Lazich, Michael C. (2000). *E.C. Bridgman (1801-1861), America's first missionary to China*. E. Mellen Press, Lewiston, N.Y.

Legge, James (1893). *The Chinese Classics: with a translation, critical and exegetical notes prolegomena, and copious indexes*. Vol. 1, Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean, Clarendon, Oxford.

Leonard, Jane Kate (1984). *Wei Yuan and China's rediscovery of the maritime world*. Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, Distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Leonard, Jane Kate (1985). *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.

Li, Mingche (2000). *Explanation of the heavenly spheres*, Beijing Press, Beijing. Li Mingche zhuan, Huan tian tu shuo, Beijing chu ban she, Beijing, 2000.
李明徹撰，天圖說，北京，北京出版社，2000。

Liang, Tingnan (1846). *Four essays on the maritime nations*. Liang Tingnan, 1846, "Hai Guo Si Shuo"
梁廷楠撰，《海國四說》1846

Lin, Zexu and Zhang, Manping (2002). *An account of the four continents.*, Beijing Huaxia Press.
《四洲志》林則徐著；張曼評注，北京：華夏出版社，2002。

Liu, Jianhui (2009). Birth of an East Asian Information Network. In *Demon capital Shanghai: The "modern" experience of Japanese intellectuals*, trans. Joshua A. Fogel. *Sino-Japanese Studies* 16, article 5. Also at <http://chinajapan.org/articles/16/5>.

Liu, Lydia H. (2004). *The clash of Empires: the invention of modern China in modern world making*. Harvard University Press, Mass, 318p.

Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong, Louis Ah Mouy (eds), *The Chinese Question In Australia, 1878-79*, F. F. Bailliere, Melbourne, 1879.

Lutz, J.G. (2008). *Opening China. Karl F. Gutzlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827-1852*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Michigan, USA.

Malcolm, Elizabeth L. (1973). The Chinese Repository and Western Literature on China 1800 to 1850. *Modern Asian Studies*, 7(2), 165-178.

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

嘉慶廿四年己卯(1819) 麥都思 撰《地理使童略傳》二十頁，刊於馬六甲。

Medhurst, Walter Henry (1823-1826). *Monthly Magazine of Selected Abstracts*, Batavia.

道光三年癸未(1823-1826) 麥都思 於巴達維亞主編《特選撮要每月紀傳》

Medhurst, Walter Henry (1824). *A History of Java*. (咬留吧總論) Batavia.

Medhurst, Walter Henry (1838). *China: Its state and prospects: with special reference to the spread of the gospel*. London, John Snow.

Milne, William (Ed) (1815-1821). *Chinese Monthly Magazine (Chashisu meiyue tongjizhuan, 察世俗每月統記傳)*, 7 vols., Malacca.

Milne, William (1822). Brief sketch of all the kingdoms of the world, Malacca. 道光二年壬午(1822)米憐之《全地萬國紀略》三十頁，於馬六甲出版。

Morrison, E. and Kidd, S. (1834). *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D. Volume 2*, reprinted by Bibliobazaar.

Morrison, Robert (1819) Tour of the world, (xiyou diqiu wenjian lüezhuan, 西游地球聞見略傳), Malacca. 嘉慶廿四年己卯(1819)馬理遜撰《西遊地球聞見略傳》二十九頁，刊於馬六甲。

Murray, Hugh (1839). *The Encyclopaedia of Geography. Comprising a complete description of the Earth, physical, statistical, civil and political: exhibiting its relation to the heavenly bodies, its physical structure, the natural history of each country, and the industry, commerce, political institutions, and civil and social state of all nations.* 3 Volumes, Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia. US Edition (first published London 1834, first revised US Edition 1837). Available through Google Books.

Nebenzahl, Kenneth (2004). *Mapping the Silk Road and Beyond. 2,000 years of exploring the East.* Phaidon Press, New York, 176p.

Rao, Zongyi. 1994, Xinjiapo gu shi ji, Rao Zongyi bian. Zhong wen da xue chu ban she, Xianggang, Chinese University Press.
《新加坡古事記》饒宗頤編, 香港 中文大學出版社, 1994

Rolls, Eric (1992). *Sojourners: The epic story of China's centuries-old relationship with Australia.* University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland.

Rubinstein, Murray A. (1982). Propagating the Democratic Gospel: Western missionaries and the diffusion of Western thought in China 1830-1848. *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica* (Taiwan), 11, 251-272.

Shen, Guowei (2001) The creation of technical terms in English-Chinese dictionaries from the nineteenth century. In Michael Lackner (Ed), *New terms for new ideas: western knowledge and lexical change in late imperial China*, Leiden; Boston; Koln: Brill, 2001.

Smith, R.J. (1996). *Chinese Maps. Images of "All under heaven"*. Oxford University Press.

Thompson, J. (2010). *Documents that shaped Australia: Records of a Nation's heritage.* Pier 9, Murdoch Books Australia, Sydney, Australia, 362p.

Tooley, R.V. (1979). *The mapping of Australia.* The Holland Press, London.

Waley, A. (1958). *The opium war through Chinese eyes.* George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

Wei Yuan (1842, 1847, 1852). *Haiguo Tuzhi* (Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations) Preface, First Edition, 1842 50 volumes; Second Edition, 1847 60volumes; Third Edition, 1852 100 volumes.

魏源,《海国图志》,扬州古微堂,1842 50 卷,1847 60 卷,1852 100 卷

Wei Yuan, (1966). *Haiguo Tuzhi* (Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations) Second Edition, 1847 60 volumes, reprinted by Chengwen Press, Taipei, Taiwan.

魏源,《海国图志》,1847 60 卷,1966 成文出版社 重印,臺北,臺灣

Wei Yuan (2004). *The Collected Works of Wei Yuan*, Wei Yuan Collected Works compilation committee, Yue Lu Press, Changsha City. (In Chinese).

Wei Yuan quan ji / [Wei Yuan quan ji bian ji wei yuan hui bian xiao], Changsha shi : Yue lu shu she, 2004.

魏源全集, (魏源全集编辑委员会编校) 长沙市: 岳麓书社, 2004.

Wylie, Alexander (1857). 《麦都思行略》载《六合丛谈》1857 年一卷四号 (In Chinese).

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

Welch, Ian (2003). *Alien Son: The life and times of Cheok Hong Cheong, (Zhang Zhuoxiong) 1851-1928.* PhD Thesis, the Australian National University, Available at ANU Digital Theses: <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/49261> (wait).

Xu Jiyu, *Ying huan zhi lue* (A short account of the oceans and their surrounds), 10 volumes, Fuzhou, 1848.

徐繼畲,《瀛环志略》10 卷,福建,1848.

Yan, Ping et al. (1998). *Treasures of Maps – A Collection of Maps in Ancient China.* Chinese Academy of Surveying and Mapping, Harbin Cartographic Publishing House.

Zhao, Lifeng and Wu, Zhen (2006). Aomen tusheng puren Hanxuejia Ma Jishi yu "Xinshi dili beikao", *Journal of Jinan University (Philosophy & Social Science Edition)*, 28(2), 131-136

澳门土生葡人汉学家玛吉士与《新释地理备考》,赵利峰,吴震作者,暨南学报(哲学社会科学版),2006年,28卷(2期),暨南大学文学院,广东,广州。

Zhang, Qiusheng (1997). *History of overseas Chinese and Chinese people in Australia.* Foreign Languages and Research Press. (In Chinese)

张秋生著,《澳大利亚华侨华人史》外语教学与研究出版社,1997年

Zhuang Qinyong (Chng, David K. Y) (2007). *Xin Jia Hua ren shi shi liao kao shi.*

Nanyang da xue xue shu lun cong. 10, Zhuang Qinyong juan, Xinjiapo: Xinjiapo qing nian shu ju, 2007

著者,庄钦永,新甲华人史史料考释.南洋大学学术论丛.10,庄钦永卷,新加坡:新加坡青年书局,2007年

Zou Zhenhuan (2003). Medhurst and His Early Historical and Geographical Works in Chinese, *Fudan Journal (Social Sciences)*, **5**, 99-105. (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.

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).

14 End Notes

① Chinese characters

The representation of modern Chinese here mostly uses the simplified character set and the Pinyin Romanization system. Chinese phrases are generally assumed to be pronounced as they would be in the common language or Putonghua that is now regarded as standard Chinese and for which the Pinyin Romanisation was developed. The basic components of Pinyin (initials and finals) look like components of English words but are not always pronounced as they would be if this were so. However, if used correctly, they enable Chinese to be pronounced correctly in Putonghua. In addition to the basic sounds, Putonghua has four tones (as well as a “neutral” tone) that are vital to the meaning of a character, word or sentence. We will not attempt to indicate the tones in the text although it could be done using a Chinese font. At times, however, it is important to present names as they were in original documents and maps. The documents originally used traditional classical Chinese and sometimes the Chinese names they chose for foreign names as well as the representation they chose for Chinese names were influenced by local Chinese dialects. When this is the case we will sometimes use characters and transliterations as they are in the text or map but also, where they are not common usage, may provide the simplified form and Putonghua Pinyin Romanization.

② Chinese names of Asian neighbours of Australia

Despite counter-examples, Ya (亚) is commonly associated with the names of Asian countries and occurs in the names of Australia’s northern associates in Indonesia (印度尼西亚, Yindunixiya or Yin-Du-Ni-Xi-Ya) and Malaysia (马来西亚, Malaixiya or Ma-Lai-Xi-Ya). Again, someone may suggest that -nixiya (尼西亚) in the Chinese name for Indonesia is simply a way to represent the sound of -esia as it does in the Chinese name for Polynesia of Boli-nixiya (玻利尼西亚). It is certainly no coincidence that Yindu (印度) is also the Chinese for India with which Indonesia has historical links, but then Indo has the same association in English so there are consistent aspects of meaning as well as transliteration to this name. In the case of Malaysia there is a more imaginative interpretation. The previous name was Malaya or Ma-lai-ya (马来亚) in Chinese. Ma (马) is Chinese for “horse” and Lai (来) is a verb meaning “come or arrive”. But Ma was also the family name of the great Chinese explorer Zheng He (郑和, born Ma He) and so perhaps Ma-lai-ya means “Zheng He arrives in Asia”. But again, many will remain unconvinced and suggest it is really “only a name”.

③ The British objection to the use of the character “yi” (夷)

When Wei Yuan and other Chinese officials referred to foreigners from Europe and the US they often used the character “yi” (夷). Its components are the character for a man (大) and for a bow (弓) which seem well suited to its traditional use for foreigners of the western and northern regions. The character was normally qualified to say what “type” of “yi” the person was. The British were generally known as “ying yi” (英夷) or the foreigners from England and “fan yi” (蕃夷) were general foreigners from any

place. In the 1830's, as described in Liu (2004), the British suddenly took exception to its use by Chinese and claimed it was directly translatable as "barbarian" and always used as a demeaning description of foreigners. They claimed it was evidence that Chinese were contemptuous of all foreigners and especially the British. The Chinese officials could not understand what the fuss was about and maintained there was no disrespect as it had a long history of use for many types of foreign person. To give a current example, it was like being outraged at having to line up in the "Alien" line when entering the US. But it was a serious issue. Sir Henry Pottinger tried to have use of the character "yi" banned in the Nanjing Treaty and foreign powers successfully forced its ban from official use in the Treaty of Tienjin in 1858. Today the character still retains its use as a component in descriptions for traditional foreign tribes and aboriginals. However, it is not in common use. The present day chengyu 以夷制夷 (yiyi zhiyi) meaning to "play off one foreign power against another" comes, in fact, from Wei Yuan's book. This character, in combination with other characters, can certainly have associations like the translation "barbarian". However, the use of this English word for "yi" more commonly turned the translation from Chinese to English from reasoned prose to xenophobic polemic. People only reading the English translation could easily have believed that Chinese hated all foreigners. So, while not everyone may go all the way with the motives ascribed to the demand for its ban by Lydia Liu in Liu (2004), the difficult history and loaded nature of the word has led me to only use the term "foreigner" for "yi". Unfortunately, many people still repeat the myth that Chinese of the first half of the 19th century called foreigners "barbarians". Perhaps it is time to redress the balance by banning "barbarian" as a translation of "yi".

© European discovery of Australia

Briefly, the Ptolemy maps of the Middle Ages held to the Aristotelian idea that to balance the mass of the known lands north of the equator there had to be a large, but unknown, and probably uninhabited land mass to the south. Since the equator was believed to be too hot to support life it was also originally thought to be hard or impossible to reach. This land mass was called "Terra Australis Incognita" or the great, unknown southern land. "Australis" is Latin for "southern" and "incognita" for unknown. The idea that the southern lands were uninhabited was re-enforced by the medieval Christian suggestion that since Noah's Ark came to rest in the northern hemisphere there could not be any people in the south. The southern location later gave rise to the use of variations among names for Australia such as "Austral Land", "Austrialia" and "Australasia" as well as "Australia". But in the end, the lands that were found by European explorers were only remnants of the original concept of a Terra Australis that had occupied nearly half of the world. Many European explorers, however, still went in search of Terra Australis during the 18th century. Among the explorers was Captain James Cook who, in a number of voyages, mapped much of New Zealand as well as the east coast of Australia. He also established that between present South Africa, South America and Australia and to the south there was no large land mass until what is now called Antarctica is reached. By the end of the 18th century, the great south land had vanished and was mainly ocean. But there did remain a large island which was substantial enough to be considered a small continent.

© Survey of Maps of Australia

An initial survey of the Tooley (1979) and Rumsey web based (<http://www.davidrumsey.com/>) map collections indicates that there seem to be a number of identifiable and convenient periods bracketed in 10 year groups for the naming of Terra Australis. Before 1800 the Australian mainland was unequivocally mapped as "New Holland". After 1860, the name for the mainland continental island was almost unequivocally "Australia". The journey in between is more equivocal and interesting. The map collections were consequently surveyed for maps of the Australian region and the names found were grouped into 10 year periods from 1800-1860. From a statistical point of view the results should be treated carefully as there is no design as such but only a full count of a few collections. Fortunately, the Rumsey collection indicates which maps also appear in Tooley and so there is no double counting between them. In addition, the Tables do not stratify the results by country of origin. If they had, some marked differences would appear but the numbers in each category would then be too small to make a firm conclusion. Since our objective is to discuss maps in general and maps that may have been available in China in the period regardless of country of origin, the general aggregate picture seems to be sufficient. The first Table presents the raw counts of the maps in different categories. Most are self-explanatory given the discussion above except to note that the category "other" includes a few unusual maps using names such as "Terra Australis", "Ulimaroa" and "Austral Land".

Dates	Australia	New Holland	Australia or New Holland	Australasia	Other	Totals
pre 1800		(almost all)			(some)	
1800-1809	0	4	0	0	0	4
1810-1819	1	17	2	5	2	27
1820-1829	2	14	0	4	1	21
1830-1839	10	1	11	1	0	23
1840-1849	11	0	3	3	0	17
1850-1860	13	1	6	3	1	24
post 1860	(Almost all)			(some)		

It is clear from the Table that there is a trend from almost complete dominance of the name “New Holland” to that of “Australia” with the path only muddied by the persistence of maps using “Australasia” in various ways and by the presence of dual labels. The dual labels were not unbundled but if one goes over the map collections it is clear that the general trend is from labels such as “New Holland, also called Australia” to “Australia also called New Holland” with New Holland eventually almost disappearing as fine printing in later examples. In other cases, “New Holland” retreats to become a name for what is now Western Australia with “Australia” as the primary label for the mainland.

The trend is clearer in some (but not all) respects if the Table is presented in percentages equalising the time periods (Totals are to 100%):

Date	Australia	New Holland	Australia or New Holland	Australasia	Other
pre 1800		(almost all)			(some)
1800-1809	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1810-1819	3.7	63.0	7.4	18.5	7.4
1820-1829	9.5	66.7	0.0	19.0	4.8
1830-1839	43.5	4.3	47.8	4.3	0.0
1840-1849	64.7	0.0	17.6	17.6	0.0
1850-1860	54.2	4.2	25.0	12.5	4.2
post 1860	(almost all)			(some)	

For the present document the most important use of these tabulations is to support that a change took place between 1830 and 1840 as “New Holland” either gave way entirely to “Australia” or alternatively “New Holland” and “Australia” shared the name by both being included. “Australia” was only firmly in place in maps from most countries after 1850 and “Australasia” was promoted mainly by French mapmakers who may have had other agendas. As noted above, there was also a change over this period which saw the annotation “or New Holland” included in progressively smaller text size or only used as a name for part of the (far) western side of Australia.

There was a parallel set of changes in the textual and official, rather than cartographic, side to the accepted name for the largest island, even in British documents. In 1788, Captain Arthur Phillip established then Colony of New South Wales (NSW) as a convict settlement. His instructions generally forbade interaction with other countries in the region and the Colony remained almost “invisible” until probably 1820-1823 after Governor Lachlan Macquarie had greatly encouraged its development into a much more substantial Colony. It was Governor Macquarie who started to use the name “Australia” in official correspondence in 1819 and in 1823, William Charles Wentworth won second place in a poetry competition at Cambridge for his ode called “Australasia” which he dedicated to Macquarie. The original instructions to Phillip (Thompson, 2010) gave the extent of NSW as “extending from the northern cape or extremity to the coast, called Cape York, in the latitude of 10 degrees thirty seven

minutes south, to the southern extremity of the said territory of New South Wales, or South Cape, in the latitude of forty three degrees thirty nine minutes south, and all the country inland to the westward as far as one hundred and thirty fifth degree of east longitude, reckoning from the meridian of Greenwich including all the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean within the latitudes aforesaid.”

For a long time it seems that to the British, “New Holland” was simply the rest of the large island or roughly what is today Western Australia and the east was referred to as NSW. This seems confirmed in the instructions for taking possession prior to the formation of the Swan River Colony dated 1828 where it says: “... dispatch one of the Ships of War under his command, without the smallest loss of time, to the Western Coast of New Holland, with directions that he take formal possession of the Western side of New Holland in His Majesty’s name.” Possibly the biggest step in the British use of the new name occurred when Western Australia was established under this name in 1829 and further in South Australia in 1836 where the new name was unequivocally identified with the southern part of the largest island and New Holland was not mentioned at all in its proclamation. This had all come about as NSW ended transportation and became a “proper” colony in 1840.

Additional support for the conclusion made in regard to the maps (although not from a source accepted by all scholars) can be found in the Wikipedia article “[New Holland \(Australia\)](#)” where it claims that ‘The American author Edgar Allan Poe referred to “New Holland” as late as 1833 in his prize-winning short story “MS. Found in a Bottle”’. It also claims that ‘the term “New Holland” was still in use as late as 1837 in some official correspondence between the Government in London and the colony of New South Wales’. It seems that after NSW changed from a penal settlement to a proper Colony in 1840 and Western Australia had “pasted over” what remained of New Holland, the name was unchallenged in the British world. However, the Wikipedia article further notes that the former Dutch name was retained by the Netherlands until the end of the 19th Century.

© Opinion of Choo Tih-Lang on the early version of the Bible in Chinese

Choo Tih-Lang was pictured with Walter Henry Medhurst in Malacca in the front piece of Medhurst’s book “China: its state and prospects” printed in 1838. In another section of the book, he is quoted by Medhurst to support the case for a revision of the Morrison and Marshman Bibles and improve their translations. Generally, educated Chinese found the early attempts at Chinese by Missionaries to be very difficult to read. This also applied to the first Bible produced by Robert Morrison. Medhurst and others were seeking support (ie funds) to produce a new version. Basically, the early work focussed on terms and words and this resulted in the first dictionaries. However, the grammar and style of the translations were not Chinese. Translating from English (say) to Chinese is very hard for an English speaking person and much harder than translating from Chinese to English. Medhurst quotes Choo Tih-Lang as follows:

“Choo Tih-lang, a Chinese transcriber now in England, thus writes on the subject: Having perused the present translation of the scriptures into Chinese, I find it exceedingly verbose, containing much foreign phraseology, so contrary to the usual style of our books, that the Chinese cannot thoroughly understand the meaning, and frequently refuse to look into it. It ought to be known that in the Chinese, phrases have a certain order, and characters a definite application, which cannot be departed from with propriety. In order to illustrate offences against idiom, it may be observed, that the Chinese are accustomed to say, ‘You with me come along!’ while the English say, ‘You come along with me!’ Now it appears to me, that the present version is in Chinese words, but in many respects arranged according to English idiom. In a translation, the sense ought certainly to be given, according to the original; but the style should be conformable to the native models: thus every one will take up the book with pleasure, and read it with profit. If the translation be not revised, I fear at the efforts of missionaries in China, will be unproductive, and a mere waste of money – will not this be lamentable!”

When Medhurst applied to the London Missionary Society for support to undertake a new version of the Bible he supported his case with extracts comparing Morrison’s version with an example of a revised version. The LMS asked for the opinion of Samuel Kidd, who was first Professor of Chinese at the University of London. Kidd had been a missionary at Morrison’s College in Malacca between 1824 and 1831 and was not favourable to any criticism of Morrison’s Bible. He was rather harsh about Medhurst who later quoted Kidd selectively in the document containing the opinions of the Chinese. Kidd was not amused. Kidd wrote a long and detailed end-note to “Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.” (Morrison and Kidd, 1834). It was entitled “Critical notes of Dr Morrison’s

literary labours". In it he supported Morrison's choice of terms and his version of the Bible saying of Medhurst and Choo Tih-Lang:

"Mr. Medhurst has also introduced into his work the opinions of three Chinese: on Dr. Morrison's translation. Leang Afa, one of the oldest converts, whose style of writing is far from being elegant; and who, though a good man, is not sufficiently skilled in Biblical criticism to be much authority in a translation of the Scriptures. Of Lew 'Tse-chuen, I have no knowledge personally, or from his writings. Choo Tih-lang is a transcriber, who accompanied Mr. Medhurst to England, to assist in copying out the new version of the Scriptures for the press. Their united testimony amounts to this - that there are in Dr. Morrison's version of the Scriptures redundant particles, inverted expressions, unidiomatic phrases and tautologies, which render the meaning obscure. To whom it might be sufficient to reply, that many of what are styled "redundancies and tautologies" are probably expressions which a faithful translator could not avoid. It is evident they require the Sacred Scriptures to be assimilated to their own classical books, which they consider as perfect models, and that they would be disappointed in any translation not conformed to them in doctrine as well as style. Choo Tih-lang's remarks are rather amusing. "It ought to be known" he says, "that in the Chinese, phrases have a certain order, and characters a definite application, which cannot be departed from with propriety. In order to illustrate offences against idiom, it may be observed that the Chinese are accustomed to say, 'You with me come along!' while the English say, 'You come along with me.'" A piece of valuable information truly! Surely, whatever ignorance a Chinaman's vanity and self-complacency might lead him to impute to Dr Morrison, Mr. Medhurst could hardly be serious in assuming, as he does by this quotation, that the Doctor did not know how to express, in good Chinese, 'You and I go together!' It is indeed surprising, since it is well known how much circumstances modify Chinese opinions, that Mr. Medhurst should lay any stress upon the kind of testimony he has adduced."

Before 1850, it seems that most advances in learning to read and write Chinese were in the choice of terms and the development of dictionaries of terms and phrases as well as common sayings. Kidd noted that with such a dictionary it was possible to translate Chinese. Possibly he meant comprehend the gist of the selection. Writing Chinese that was acceptable to educated Chinese was almost certainly not achieved by any of the missionaries we have met in this discussion! Kidd's arrogant dismissal of Choo's mild criticisms was unfortunate although Kidd was generally not arrogant and was obviously a great advocate of Chinese. His "Critical notes" are valuable reading for people interested in the history of transcription, transliteration and translation between Chinese and English.

Despite Kidd's rejoinder, Choo-Tih-lang's opinion was common amongst educated Chinese of the time and should have been well accepted as it was mild and respectful criticism compared with the opinion of others. The Protestant Missionaries certainly had more contact with southern Chinese artisans and overseas Chinese since often they learned their Chinese overseas and their teachers were not as acquainted with the classics as a Chinese Scholar. The early Missionaries also generally did not trust their converts to provide translations, as they worried they may interpret Christian doctrine incorrectly. The Taiping rebellion indicates they were probably right. However, their own work was not understood because it was only Chinese words and phrases strung together and not Chinese. Still, when Chinese made allowances they found benefit in the works – at least the secular works. Drake (1975) translates from Xu Jiyu the opinion: "Westerners like Ricci, Aleni, and Verbiest all lived in the capital for a long time and became well-versed in the Chinese language. Consequently the style of their books is quite clear and agreeable, but there is not a little boastfulness and craftiness in their account. Today's Westerners are not profound [in their use of the Chinese language] and their books are mostly vulgar and inelegant. But the facts related by them of the rise and fall of states are indisputably reliable. So I realise the elegance of the former cannot replace the sincerity of the latter". Unfortunately, Xu was only one of very few who reached out across the divide of language in this way.

© Millennial Evangelical Protestants

Elijah Bridgman was a product of the Millennial Evangelical Protestant movement of the early 1800s. In the view of this movement (see Lazich, 2008 for more details), the world's history was moving to realize prophecies in the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of Saint John. This included the fall of the "beast" (the Church of Rome) and the return of the Jews to Palestine. Following these and other upheavals the world would enter the millennium when Jesus Christ would return and the world be united as a universal Christian Commonwealth. The Millennium was also an age of enlightenment and the American Protestants saw the spirit of the new world and the USA as models for the secular

government of the universal commonwealth. A somewhat militaristic flavour attached to many of the pronouncements of the times. The millennium was not seen as something that would arrive without some help. The Prudential Committee of the American Board of Missions, who sent Bridgman to his post as the first American Protestant missionary in China, wrote (Lazich, 2000): “The Gospel will some day or other triumph over the Chinese Empire, and its vast population be given to Christ. Encourage yourself with this thought, and let a holy enthusiasm be kindled in you, exerting every power of your soul to strenuous effort and unwearied perseverance, with the hope that you, as a soldier of Christ may soon have part in such achievement”.

© Books Printed for the Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China

Shen Guowei (2001) listed the main books in Chinese printed under the auspices of the SDUKC. There were at least eight and their titles were:

1. The “Chinese Magazine” or Dongxiyang kao meiyue tongji zhuan 東西洋考每月統計傳 (East-west examiner and monthly recorder, or magazine), compiled by Karl Gutzlaff, (Canton, 1833-1835; Singapore, 1837-1839).
2. Da Yingguo tongzhi 大英國統治 (Comprehensive account of Great Britain), 1834, by Karl Gutzlaff. (Malacca, 1834).
3. Gujin wanguo gangjian lu 古今萬國綱鑒錄 (Notes on the past and present of the countries of the world), (Singapore, 1838), by Karl Gutzlaff.
4. Wanguo dili quanji 萬國地理全集 (Universal Geography), (Singapore, 1838), by Karl Gutzlaff.
5. Meilige(ke?) hesheng guo zhilue 美理哥(科?)合省國志略 (Brief account of the United States of America), (Singapore, 1838), by Elijah C. Bridgman.
6. Yishi yuyan 意拾寓言 (Aesop’s Fables), 1838, by Robert Thom.
7. Youtai Guoshi 猶太國史 (A history of the country of the Jews), 1839, Karl Gutzlaff.
8. Maoyi tongzhi 貿易通志 (A general account of trade), 1840, by Karl Gutzlaff.

Shen Guowei mentions a ninth being the “Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton dialect”, by Elijah C, Bridgman, 1841. This had been discussed in the meeting of the SDUKC reported in the Chinese Repository of November 1838:

“The former work, spoken of as being already in the press, is a Chrestomathy of the Canton dialect of the Chinese language, by Mr. Bridgman, designed to serve the double purpose of facilitating to the European the acquirement of the means of personal intercourse with the Chinese, and of diffusing among the latter a knowledge of the English language. For these purposes, it will form, it is believed, the best elementary book that has yet been published.”

© Front Page to DXYK 1835.1

The front Page to DXYK was designed to interest the reader. It had the date, the title, an uplifting saying that would appeal to Chinese but also express Christian values, the compiler (Gutzlaff) and the list of articles inside. For example, the case illustrated in the Figure translates as:

道光乙未年正月	(道光十五年, 1835) 25th year of Daoguang, first month of the Chinese year in the western year 1835.
東西洋考每月統計傳	Monthly East-West Magazine
子曰唯君子能好其正小人毒其正	Confucius said the noble man can improve the moral strengths of others; the small man will poison them.
愛漢者纂	Ai Hanzhe (lover of Chinese) Compiler
目錄	Table of Contents
論	Opinion (Editorial)
敘語	Chat about language
東西史記和合	Harmonising Eastern and Western History

地理	Geography
新聞	News
地球圖	World Map (Globe)

NOTE: The contribution on harmonising Eastern and Western history was provided by Walter Henry Medhurst. It was included as a regular column over about one year.

® DXYK 1834 articles on the 5 continents and main countries

The articles were written by the western Missionary Walter Medhurst. It was possibly a repeat or based on others written by Medhurst in Batavia and later used in original print block form by Karl Friedrich Augustus Gützlaff in DXYK. The article of most interest here appeared there in 1834 and was repeated in 1835 as a list of the most important countries in the five continents of the globe. The original printing was hard to decipher in places but the characters have been magnified and copied from a facsimile of the original wood block printing and are not scanned. There were some obvious errors in the original, most of which were corrected by Liang Tingnan (梁廷柅) in his discussion of the article on the USA in his “Four essays on the Maritime Countries”. Most of the changes were an improvement – as judged by ability to find use of names etc and have been used here. The article by Liang Tingnan also helped resolve a number of questions where the woodblock printing was difficult to read. Some of the names of the countries seem to be new transliterations devised by Medhurst but most appear close to “standard” Chinese use at the time. Perhaps that reflects the continuing Jesuit influence on both sides. In a few places it is also not clear what country or state is meant since the political geography of many areas (in particular central Asia) has changed a lot since 1835.

“A general introduction to the locations of various countries

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, from Asia the descendants spread out to every other place.

To the east of Asia are the states of Japan and its various island states, as well as Korea, Ryukyu (Liuqiu) Islands, Taiwan and Hainan. On the mainland of eastern Asia is China, to the south are Annan, Siam, Laos and Mianma as well as various Malay Kingdoms and Nanyang states. To the south-west is Tibet, bordering Nepal, India, Ceylon, Persia, Arabia, Turkish possessions, and Dabujialiya (Abu Dhabi?) etc. To the northeast is Manzhou (Manchuria). To the north-west are Mongolia, Gobi Desert, Tacheng and Altai, joint dependencies of China and Russia (on the borders). To the west is Xinjiang, Yili, Kashgar, Qinghai and Minority areas (unknown), Koko Nur Lake (Qinghai Lake), Ulet Mongolia (Kalkas), western Muslim areas and the Taklimakan Desert.

To the south of Europe is (European) Turkey, Italy, Spain and Portugal, in the central area are France, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Prussia and Austria. In the north are Lapland and Sweden, in the west is Great Britain and in the East is Russia.

In the south of Africa is Dalang Moutain (Table Mountain), an English colony as well as waste (desolate) land, in the north is Morocco, the Barbary Coast (3 countries) and several French dependencies, to the west are Portuguese, English and French colonies, in the centre is a great desert, several Muslim countries and large Nubian city states. In the west (east?) are Portuguese colonies, Mali, several Muslim states and Abyssinia.

America is divided in length. In the south are Patagonia, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Brazil, Columbia and various Indian city-states as well as English, Portuguese and French colonies. The isthmus is called Panama and South America and North America are joined together. To the North are Mexico, the USA, English territorial possessions and Indian states. Because the (far?) north has a great amount of ice and snow, no people can live there, the western (eastern?) area is known as the West Indies and the north east (north west?) has Russian and English dependencies.

Australia is a vast uncultivated land, whose people have no monarch; however, Britain has sent many immigrants to the southeast and western areas.”

[中文]

列國地方總論

亞細亞洲長二萬有餘里，寬二萬四千有餘里，為五分之更大，是亞細亞西方神天至上帝造化萬代之如祖，由亞細亞普天下之宗支起而布散在各處也。

亞細亞東邊為日本諸嶼州，高麗國與琉球嶼，兼臺灣及瓊洲，亞細亞東山有中國，南有安南、暹羅、老撾、緬甸、務來由列國等，兼南洋諸州。西南有一西藏、標標界尼波利國、天竺國、錫蘭洲、比耳西亞國、亞拉比亞國、土耳其屬國兼大布加利亞國等，東北有滿州，西北有蒙古、沙漠荒、塔爾巴哈待、科布多，皆中國之屬國等，兼鄂羅斯屬國。西有新疆地方、伊犁、喀什噶爾等、青海及西番達子、庫庫淖爾、厄魯特、西域回部、大沙海。

歐邏巴洲南有土耳其國、以大里亞國、西班牙兼葡萄牙國等，中方有佛蘭西國、荷蘭國、帕理治國及者耳馬尼亞、波路西亞兼阿士氏拉國等，北有蓮國及蘇以天國，西有大英國、東有鄂羅斯國。

亞非利加洲南有大浪山，大英國之屬國兼荒地，北有馬羅可國、三巴巴厘亞國兼佛蘭西屬國，及以至比多國，西有葡萄牙、大英國及佛蘭西各屬地方，中有大沙漠、回回列國兼無數之尼厄勒烏面人的邦，西有葡萄牙的屬國、嗎里呀大州、回回列國及亞味西尼亞國。

亞墨利加洲有至長分，南有巴大我農地、知利國、百路國、武那愛來國、哇西利國兼古倫味亞及土番之邦，並大英國、荷蘭兼佛蘭西各國之屬地，微地叫做巴那嗎，與南亞墨利加、北亞墨利加上下相連。北方有默是科國兼亞墨利加列省合國、大英國屬地加納大兼土番之邦，至北方因冰雪之多，無人可居，西有數州稱之西印度，東北有俄羅斯兼大英國之藩屬國。

澳大利亞洲為曠荒，土番無帝君，但大英國挪移新民在東南方及西方矣。

¹¹ Index for Editions of DXYK between August 1833 and April 1835

Green indicates Medhurst's comparative chronology and **Yellow** picks out a particular structure used by Medhurst for "general introduction".

Characters	General Translation	Page
土耳其國事	National affairs of Turkey (土耳其, Tǔjǐ)	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
芒佳風大洲總論	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 (Bolu 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 Annan) [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, Y ī 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
煞語	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 -- (以色列王朝)、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]	
敘語	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
敘語 -- 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
東西史記和合治	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 used here and on the SE Asia map that is included in DXYK. Various place names in SE Asia include:

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

¹² The Medhurst Comparative Chronology

29 April 1796	Born in London, went to St. Paul's Cathedral School. Apprenticed in Gloucester 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 Chashisu (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 the Monthly Magazine (intended to follow on from Dr Milne's). Had various non-religious texts printed here. (持選撮要)
1824	Published History of Java 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 Comparative Chronology . (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	Passes away in England and succeeded in China by his son.
------	---

¹³ Information about Liang Jinde in Medhurst (1838).

“Leang Atih [Liang Jinde] is the son of Afah [Liang Fa], a lad of seventeen, now studying with Mr. Bridgman in Canton. He has acquired a tolerable knowledge of the English language, while he pursues at the same time his Chinese studies. He is quiet, attentive, and obedient; and was baptized in his infancy. Should he happily become the subject of serious impressions, and be endowed with a missionary spirit, he will be of much service to the cause, and may one day prove a valuable assistant in revising the Chinese version of the scriptures. With this view, Mr. B. is already teaching him Hebrew, and will continue to afford him a thorough classical education. At present his situation is by no means comfortable, being confined entirely to the house; for should he appear in the streets, his known connection with Afah, and his profession of Christianity, would expose him to immediate apprehension and punishment.”

Medhurst does not mention that Liang Jinde had been at the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca and apparently in Singapore at some stage when printers who had printed western material were being sought by the authorities.

¹⁴ The US Edition of Hugh Murray’s Encyclopaedia of Geography

It is not clear whether Lin Zexu obtained a copy of the English Edition of 1834 or the new revised American Edition of 1837. It would have been much better for volume of information if he had obtained the second. The preface (labelled an advertisement – with an “s”) makes interesting reading:

“ADVERTISEMENT TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

The object and plan of the ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF GEOGRAPHY have been very fully set forth in the Preface to the English Edition, and the names of the editor and his collaborators are sufficient vouchers for its value. It is due, however, to the American reader, to inform him in what respects these volumes differ from the original. The whole of the English work is here given, with the single exception, that the description of Great Britain, which occupied more than one-third of the Book devoted to Europe, and considerably more than the space given to the whole of America, has been somewhat abridged; but, it is believed, without the omission of any thing of importance. The text has been carefully revised and corrected throughout, and in most cases more recent statistical details have been substituted for those of the original. The additions to the first volumes are not considerable in amount, but are generally such as have been required by changes in our knowledge or in the condition of things. The Book relating to America has been enlarged as far as the limits of the work would allow, principally by the addition of local details; the condition of the new American states is too unsettled to render it worth while to fill much space with accounts of their political relations, which might be entirely changed before these pages met the eye of the reader. The Chapter which treats of the United States has been written anew, the original being extremely imperfect and incorrect, as all European treatises on the subject are. Our growth is so rapid, the increase of our population, wealth, commerce, manufactures, and other industrial resources, so amazing, the creation of new towns, cities, nay, states, is continually making such a change in the face of things, public works are conceived, planned, and executed on so great a scale and with such promptitude, that it is not at all surprising that a distant writer should be entirely baffled in his attempts to describe the country as it is. The Zoological section alone been retained, but it has been much enlarged, chiefly from a later work of Mr. Swainson's; and some general remarks upon the shells of the United States have been added. For the account of the Geology of our country, the reader is indebted to Prof. Rogers, of the University of Pennsylvania. The Botanical section has also been prepared by a gentleman of high reputation in the scientific world. The Editor is painfully sensible of the imperfection of the other parts of this Chapter, but he trusts the difficulties of the subject will obtain for him the indulgence of the reader.

Philadelphia, October 1st, 1836.”

¹⁵ Lin Zexu’s opinion of British forces

In Collis (1952) is to be found the following translation of a memorial from Lin Zexu to the Emperor:

“Now here is the reason why people are dazzled by the name of England. Because her vessels are sturdy and her cannons fierce, they call her powerful. Because she is extravagant and squanders lavishly, they call her wealthy, yet they do not know that the warships of the said foreigners are very heavy, taking water to the depth of tens of feet. These vessels are successful only in the outer seas; it is their speciality to break the waves and sail under great winds. If we refrain from fighting with them on the sea, they have no opportunity to take advantage of their skill. Once in harbour their vessels become unwieldy. One, Laboriously Vile [Lord Napier], ventured to enter the Bogue. Soon he was struck with fear and returned to Macao to die there.” [further] “As to their soldiers, they do not know how to use fists and swords. Also, their legs are firmly bound with cloth and in consequence it is very inconvenient for them to stretch. Should they land it is apparent that they can do little harm. Therefore, what is called their power can be controlled without difficulty.”

¹⁶ The Nanjing Treaty and recognition of the Opium Trade

In his entry on Ch’i-ying (Qiyang, 耆英, 1787-1858; known as Kiying by westerners) who negotiated the Treaty of Nanjing with Sir Henry Pottinger, Hummel (1943) notes that the Treaty tacitly recognised trade in Opium by China paying for injury caused by its destruction. Qiyang requested that Britain stop growing the drug in its domains. Hummel reports: “Pottinger pointed out that if the Chinese people stopped using the drug, and if their officials proved incorruptible, the trade would cease of itself.” It is certain that present day British and American officials would be affronted by such a (strictly accurate) suggestion being made by a warlord from the Golden Triangle or the Columbian jungle.

¹⁷ China and Afghanistan

The British activities in Afghanistan were part of the “Great Game” between Russia and Britain (Hopkirk, 1990) and it is interesting that Sir Henry Pottinger was one of the early players in the game when he travelled through Turkestan in disguise in 1810 to scout out the terrain for later use by British troops if the threatened alliance of Napoleonic France and Russia led to an attack on India. His nephew was by 1841 playing the same game with Russia (but not France) as the potential enemy. Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan knew all about the rivalry of Britain and Russia to the north of India and would like to have used it to keep both at bay. Pottinger’s nephew was also in Kabul in January 1842 when 16,000 British troops, families and camp followers retreated in ignominy on a march from which only one person survived. Britain’s reputation for superior military power was suddenly in tatters. Pottinger’s nephew had been kept as a hostage by the Afghans and was rescued in the following ferocious British expedition to punish the Afghans. The terrible defeat came about in part due to a large British garrison being far away from re-enforcements and surrounded by hostile forces. Perhaps the British wanted no similar thing to happen in China. It is also possibly no coincidence that Sir Henry Pottinger had been in charge of the British opening of the Indus River by military and civilian ships with shallow draft. These allowed British influence to spread into the Punjab. He also had such ships (including paddle steamers) in China and they provided an important weapon in the Pearl River Delta and in the move up river to Nanjing. Perhaps, following news of the British defeat in Afghanistan, Lin Zexu’s view of the limitations of British troops came back into fashion in China. A comparative timetable of events in the two countries is very interesting:

Comparative Timeline; China & Afghanistan in 1839-1843

Date	China Events	Afghanistan Events
March 1839	Lin arrives in Canton and issues edicts for surrender of opium.	Burnes and British force enters Afghanistan
April-June 1839	Lin destroys opium at Chuanbi	British take Kabul in install Shah Shujah as ruler
September-October 1839	Battle at Hong Kong & Battle of Chuanbi	Stoddard imprisoned in Bokhara
January 1840	House of Commons vote for war.	British expedition to Khiva and rivalry with Russia
June 1840	British fleet arrives to make battle. Sail North under Elliot and take Zhoushan.	

August 1840	British Fleet arrives at Bohai and threatens the court. Lin sacked & succeeded by new negotiator Qishan.	Russian slaves freed from Khiva by British
November 1840		Dost Mahommed surrenders to British. British occupy Kabul. All quiet.
January 1841	Battle of the Bogue and convention of Chuanbi between Captain Elliot and Qishan.	
March 1841	Qishan sacked and Elliot replaced.	
August 1841	Sir Henry Pottinger arrives in Canton from India and goes North.	Warnings of growing resistance in Afghanistan by Rawlinson.
November 1841	Activity in North along coast. British re-take Zhoushan	Burnes killed in Kabul
January 1842	Sir Henry Pottinger arrives back in Canton	Retreat & disaster
March-April 1842		British return to Afghanistan in force
May-June 1842	London decides to attack along Yangtze to Nanjing. Pottinger re-enforced with extra troops and ships.	London decides to let forces march on Kabul. Conolly and Stoddard executed in Bokhara.
August-September 1842	Attacks on Shanghai, Shenjiang & Nanjing	Pottinger's nephew and other hostages freed
October 1842	Treaty of Nanjing negotiations	Kabul punished and looted
May 1843	Treaty of Nanjing ratified by Emperor and Queen.	
October 1843	Treaty of the Bogue (Supplementary Treaty to Nanjing).	British leave Afghanistan but seize Sind using shallow draft battleships on the Indus.

¹⁸ Review of the Hai kwo Tu chi

In the Chinese Repository, Vol 16 Number 9 of 1847 between pages 417 and 424 there is a review of the first edition of Wei Yuan's book. The review is said (Lutz, 2008) to be by Charles Gutzlaff with an introduction by Elijah Bridgman, although the articles in the Chinese Repository are not attributed. The introduction provides additional information about Lin Zexu and both he and Gutzlaff attribute the book entirely to Lin Zexu with Wei Yuan being simply the compiler. In this they were wrong but it is likely Gutzlaff only saw a copy briefly and picked up its general structure and little else. He did not even seem to recognise the many direct quotations from his own books. Bridgman and Gutzlaff took special delight in describing Lin's history and his exile to Xin Jiang. The book reviewed is certainly the first edition (with fifty volumes) and Gutzlaff outlines the chapters and structure in some detail. It compares precisely with the structure of the second Edition. He correctly attributes material in the general geography to Lin Zexu. However, he fails to see Wei Yuan's personal stamp in the complete book. He says of the preface:

“From an examination of the preface and first book it would appear, that the great aim in writing this elaborate work, was to discuss the strategic talent and superiority of barbarians and to recommend their adoption, so as to defeat them with their own weapons; that is to say, first to make them your masters, and then to hate and exterminate them, as a reward for the improvements that were introduced by their means. This is rather paying royally for education, and as the plan is so magnificent, we shall not further discuss it.”

Clearly, Gutzlaff had forgotten how the west learned of gunpowder and printing from Chinese and unhappily used them (respectively) to destroy China's maritime defences and undermine its ancient culture! In general, Gutzlaff was very impressed (as you may imagine as it had his own huge vision and

style as well as quotations from his books) but is critical of its objective to build China's ability to defend itself against the west. He writes:

"His political opinions, that obtrude themselves everywhere, he might have kept to himself, for the realization of them would be fraught with misery to his country, greater than his former movements in the anti-foreign sphere. To recommend to his nation improvements, without which it will remain a mere cipher amongst the countries of Asia, is very laudable, but to inculcate at the same time an undying hatred towards the inventors, is worse than ridiculous. We are still of the opinion of a very celebrated Japanese writer, that the Asiatics may be compared to wood, the Europeans, to iron, and to shape the former, the latter is indispensably necessary."

European nations in the old and new world seem to have continued to apply iron to the rest of the world's wood to this day – regardless of whether the rest of the world wishes it or not. In the end, however, Gutzlaff acknowledges what is clearly of the greatest importance in Wei Yuan's book – that it was contributing to an increase of knowledge about the modern world and promoting Chinese learning in order to come to terms with it:

"But with all these faults we rejoice, that such a distinguished man as Lin has taken up the subject of discussing foreign matters. His example has stirred up many of his fellow officers, and the readers will be pleased to hear, that a number of mandarins of very high rank make geography at present their study. This is the commencement of better things however insignificant the beginning."

¹⁹ Gutzlaff on New Holland in "Universal Geography"

This extract from Gutzlaff's "Universal Geography" (published in Singapore in 1838) was used in Editions 1 and 2 of Wei Yuan's HGTZ (in 1843 and 1847) as part of a general discussion of the South Seas. It was later again included in HGTZ Edition 3 (1852) in a new section on Australasia and the Pacific (Chapter 16). Gutzlaff's description of Australia (which he always refers to as New Holland) in the early to mid 1830's is quite accurate and includes insightful comments on the general geography, Sydney (New South Wales), Tasmania, Adelaide (South Australia) and Perth (Western Australia). The lack of attention to the city of Melbourne may be because it started slowly in 1835 and did not have the same civil attention as Adelaide had at the same time from its founder Col. William Light. Gutzlaff's estimates of areas seem more accurate if a Li is interpreted as more like a metric kilometre than the current equivalent of 500 metres. His use of the "Zhang" (approximately 3.33 metres) is also debateable.

"Universal Geography" says: To the south of Asia, separated (from Asia) by the Great Holland mountains and a large island archipelago with many islands, there are a great number of (new) places. The first western sailors to arrive at some of these places were Spanish and Dutch. Until about 100 years ago, nobody knew much of these places, but soon British vessels explored the local conditions and terrain, finding many new lands. They sent criminals to New Holland, as well as ordinary settlers. In their original places there was no food, so they were willing to come. They have opened up wastelands and made fields, later migrants from other countries moved here as well as religious men who brought the principles of Christianity. There are also whaling vessels that come and go, and make contact with [the Pacific] islands. We will now describe the main features and geography. New Holland stretches south from 10 degrees (latitude) to 38 degrees, east from 115 degrees (longitude) to 150 degrees, having an area (area not circumference as in text) of 9 million square Li (area of Australia today is given as about 8 million square km or about 30 million sq Li). Only the coastal area is explored, and in the interior there is little trace of people. There are few (large) rivers, and every place is drought prone, there are mountains of which the highest is 30 Zhang (seems wrong - maybe 300 Zhang). The climate is very hot and dry, creating much barren land. There are also animals, which are totally unlike those in the north. The aborigines are no better than animals, only having herbs and fruits to eat and using trees and branches for dwellings. When white people make contact, they drink alcohol and become drunk, and toss about in the mud. They do not wear clothes and men and women behave like animals, fighting and killing each other in anger. When British settlers arrived, they planted wheat, corn and millet, and tended sheep. Trade and commerce filled their days. Using fine woollen fibres, they made fabrics, and people traded the wool. Every year exports of wool reach a value of 2,800,000 Liang of silver; (but) imports every year cost 4,000,000 Liang.

The present total population is less than 100,000, with the capital being Sydney. Positioned at the entrance to the sea, it is one of the great sea ports. Trade is at significant levels, but it attracts drifters and criminals, and the local residents are badly influenced by their extravagant behaviour. Sometimes they waste their money, so that people close the shops and coinage is short. The population around the sea port is about 20,000, mostly in service trades. In the interior there are settlements but people are few. Some are engaged in agriculture, and more importantly herding. Every year new people are moving into this region, and in 60 years it will be a great country. At that time, all the places in the south seas will pay respects and serve its power, and shipping will spread to Guangzhou to trade. Another place has been opened by the south sea, with many fine new houses so that it can be called a city. The population is gradually increasing, and people are engaged in trade with foreign countries, so that in the not too distant future it will (also) become a great country. In the west is another new settlement, at a place by the side of a river, and people have started to arrive. The new arrivals feel disappointed because the administration is not as they wish, but this will not stop them opening up (new) fields. The northern boundary is near the equator, and the weather is very hot. But the land can be productive, which has led Britain to establish garrisons there, but at that time the land was desolate. However, the sea coast produces sea cucumber, edible seaweed, bird's nest and other products. The natives are wild and untamed. Van Dieman's Land is in the south east of New Holland, it stretches south from 40 degrees 42 minutes to 43 degrees 43 minutes, and east from 144 degrees 22 minutes, [eastern extent not provided] with an area of 81,000 square Li (it is actually about 68,000 sq km or 272,000 sq Li). It produces grain crops and sweet potatoes as well as many vegetables. The residents are not only engaged in agriculture, but also in the whaling industry. On the coast there are many ports and trade is prosperous.

中文:

《万国地理全图集》曰：南亚齐亚地，分荷兰大山，与大海洋之群岛，繁絮如微尘之数，至其列地方，西国船户首先寻得者，吕宋、荷兰等国为首，前百有多年，无人知此等地，迨及英国船只，询问风土人情形势，察出新地无数，则将其罪犯徒流之新荷兰，亦有闾阎之民，在本地无食物，甘心涉重海来此。开荒地，辟草莱，后又异国之民，愿受一厘而为氓，别有教师，离本地以传耶稣福音之理。又有捕鲸鱼之船只，巡驶往来，与该屿结交。于今通知其形势，而识其地理矣。

新荷兰，南极出自十度至三十八度，偏东自一百十五度，至一百五十度，延袤方圆九百万方里。惟知其海边，但其中地无人迹到也。其江河不多，两边干涸之土，所有山岭最高者三十丈。天气暴躁，赤地穷发。所有禽兽，与北地毫无同形焉。

其土民素性近于禽兽，惟以草果为食，以树枝为栖。但与白面人往来之际，则饮酒醉，辗转泥濘内。不穿衣服，男用其女若畜生，痛打虐待，怒则杀之。

英国之新民到此地者，种麦粟米，牧绵羊，生意日广日盛。毳毛最细，以织呢绒，居民得其奶而卖其毛。所运出者，每岁价银二百八十万两；所运进之物，每年四百万两。

其居民在各新处不上十万，其都乃悉尼。在广海门，系属大地之港口。通商不少，但其流徙之匪，风俗奢器，居民亦染其毒而离道远焉。有时浩荡虚费，挥金如土，有时行铺闭歇，银钱缺乏。海口居民二万丁，大半务商。内地部落虽多，人户有限，务农者鲜，以放牧为要。年年搬进新民，则六十年后此地乃大国。彼时全南海之地，必遵其命而服其权焉，其船只现赴到广州府贸易矣。

南海边所辟之处，尚新建屋数间，而谓之邑。所移人户渐增，又与外国经商，故未久而成大国。

在西边之新地，惟江边一处，初到之民，行事不如意，现时失望，并不得使费以开阡陌也。

其北界近于黄道，天气暴热。但其土能产物，故英国调劲兵驻札，此时遍地荒芜。但海滨之石中，出海参、海菜、燕窝等物件，其土人野心不驯焉。

地闾岛，荷东南形势，南极出四十度四十二分，至四十三度四十三分，偏东自一百四十八度二十二分，袤延方圆八万一千方里。出五谷及薯及各项蔬菜，其居民不独务农，乃以捕鲸为重。沿海港口，多不胜数，贸易富庶。

²⁰ Sources quoted in Wei Yuan's 100 volume edition of 1852.

Three that are quoted extensively in the section on Australasia and Oceania and show the developments in knowledge and the naming of Australia in Chinese in the period in question 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)

Gutzlaff’s 1838 “Universal Geography” was already included in the second Edition (1847) and possibly also the original edition as well. Gutzlaff seems to have resolutely referred to the large island of “Australia” as “New Holland”. Despite this, the quotation in HGTZ shows that even in 1838 he had a great deal of useful information to offer about the small continent. He described the convict past and many statements seem to have been re-used by others (including by Xu Jiyu) with little editing. His “Universal Geography” has sometimes been claimed to be a collation of material that had been pre-published in the Chinese Magazine but it seems to be much more than that. Some similarities between material in the quotations in Wei Yuan’s third edition taken from the “Concise History” and those in DXYK suggest that the present Chinese name for Australia could have been first used by one of the Missionaries in Malacca who worked with Robert Morrison. The early version of the “concise history” seems to have been mentioned in the “Chinese Repository” of March 1837. The reporter writes:

“A small work on general geography, in the form of a traveler’s narrative of what he had seen, - as also a short treatise on the being of a God, adopting the principal arguments used by Paley, - both by the late Rev. Dr. Morrison, have been presented by the English secretary. These works will, after thorough revision, be sent to press.”

The English Secretary was Robert Morrison’s son, John Robert Morrison. In the “Chinese Repository” of 21 November 1838, an update reported that “the treatises on Geography and on the Being of a God – the two latter by the late Dr. Morrison, are not yet fully prepared for publication.” Then, as the first Opium War loomed, J.R. Morrison was engaged fully in translation, interpreting and (later) negotiations. It is possible he completed some of the promised revision but soon after he was very busy and before the subsidiary treaties were completed, he unfortunately died of malarial fever in 1843. Zou (2008) has examined the background to the “Concise History” and concluded that three Morrissions contributed to it. They were: Rev. Robert Morrison (Chinese name 马礼逊, Ma Lisun) before 1834, John Robert Morrison (son by first marriage, Chinese name 马儒翰, Mǎ Rúhàn) until 1843 and Martin C Morrison (Chinese name 马理生, Mǎ Lǐshēng) until possibly 1847. This material does not seem to have been officially printed and is only known through its many quotations by Wei Yuan and references to it 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 and so it could well be the source for the choice made by Wei Yuan. The Portuguese writer Marques was quoted extensively by Wei Yuan and had his own Chinese name for Australia of Ao-si-ta-li-ya (奥斯达里亚岛). Not surprisingly, this name sounds more like Portuguese pronunciation than English. It was not used by anyone else but does also support the “ao” without the water radical. His geography was written and published after the first two Editions of Wei Yuan’s book and Lin Zexu’s books as well as those of other foreigners were already in circulation. Liang Tingnan and Xu Jiyu seem to have been the main proponents of “ao” with water radical as it had been in the original DXYK article of 1834.

²¹ Liang Tingnan writes about Australia (梁廷枏, 海国四说)

Liang Tingnan wrote a book called the “Haiguo Sishuo” or “Four essays on the Maritime Countries” which was published in 1846. It was the third of four books that had great impact on Chinese geography in the 1840s. An extract from Zhang (1997) has been translated as it contains quotations from this book:

“The earliest writings about Australia which include an introduction to its origins and geography, and especially the circumstances relevant to immigration for Chinese people was the book ‘Four essays on the Maritime Countries’, published in 1846. In Chapter 4 of the ‘Four essays on the Maritime Countries’ was recorded:

‘In the 17th century, western people had sailed the seas to look for lands, including North America where people migrated to settle and moved down the coast to the south, even taking great risks to reach the land of fire at the southern extreme. In this way, although they could not settle there, Magellenica was named and became known.’

He continues: ‘Australia [Australasia] is known to westerners as the Fifth Continent. Formerly known as Mo-wa-la-ni-jia Zhou (Magellenica), but in former times little human activity was reported. It is inhabited by strange animals, is vast and sparsely inhabited, but has no rulers, cities, palaces or systems of ethics. People have been encouraged to come [from Britain] by boat and spread to the east, south and west. Those willing to migrate, backed by the British government, have spread over its extent.’”

中国人最早使用澳大利亚一名，并介绍澳洲地名由来和地理移民情况的著作当推清人梁廷柌的《海国四说》。该书成书于1846年(清道光二十六年)，其序中曰：

“万历以后，西人遵海远求荒僻，又得亚墨利之北，移人实之；既又沿沂而得其南，终更冒险以抵极南生火之地。虽不可居，而墨瓦蜡泥加之名，缘是起焉。”

梁书《海国四说·卷四》又曰：

“澳大利亚洲，即西人所称天下第五洲者。即墨瓦蜡泥加州，自古不通人踪之处，兽蹄鸟爪，地野人稀，无君长、城廓、宫室、伦理者，亦听民驾舶徙家于洲之东、南、西三方。凡愿迁者，官资其费，而径其界焉。”

This extract was from the essay on England (兰仑偶说). In regards to Australia, this material adds more detail to that in DXYK and it is similar to descriptions in Xu Jiyu's book. It may have influenced Xu and contributed additional information to the final edition by Wei. It seems to be the first pairing by a Chinese scholar official of Aodaliya for the largest island and Ao Zhou for the smallest continent. As well as this, in the essay on the USA (合省国说) Liang Tingnan discusses the naming of countries - especially in reference to Bridgman's work. Again, it refers to Australia in the modern form. Its source is made clear by its direct quotation and discussion of the DXYK article of 1834. That article, as corrected by Liang Tingnan, was provided and translated in Endnote ⑩.

²² S. Wells Williams translation of Xu Jiyu's preface

From “Universal Geography of Sü Ki-yü” (Article with selected translations by S. Wells Williams, in Chinese Repository, Vol. 20, April 1851, No. 4).

“A geography without maps can not be plain, and minute maps can not be drawn if persons do not go and examine the region. The world has a certain form, and its various indentations and projections can not be learned by merely thinking about them. The Occidentals are clever in traveling to remote parts, and as their ships wander over the four seas, on reaching a place, they take out a pencil and there draw a map of it, so that their maps alone are worthy of credit. In the year 1843, I was at Amoy on public duties, and there became acquainted with an American named Abeel, who was a scholar well acquainted with western knowledge, and able to converse in the dialect of Fuhkien. He had with him a book of maps beautifully drawn, but unhappily I did not know their characters; I had ten or more sheets of them copied, and then asked Abeel to translate them for me; I thus partially learned the names of each country, though I was so hurried I could not find time to learn them thoroughly. The next year I was again at Amoy, when I saw two maps on rollers which his honor the prefect Koh Yung-sang had purchased; one of them was about three feet, the other nearly two feet large, and both were more complete and fine than the book Abeel had, and were accompanied with several volumes in Chinese by foreigners. I also sought for all kinds of writings on this subject, and if their style was not clear and such as scholars would admire, I made extracts from all of them upon slips of paper of what was worthy of being retained; and whenever I saw men from the West, I improved the opportunity to ask them concerning the accuracy of my notes, and to learn respecting the shape of every country beyond our frontiers, and their present condition; in this way, I gradually ascertained an idea of their boundaries, which I attached to the maps, and with the verified selections I made from the various writings I had, I formed chapters, which gradually grew into the size of volumes. If I met with a book or a newspaper, I added, corrected, and altered my notes, sometimes revising them many ten times. In this way have I done from 1843 till now, for five years, winter and summer, in the intervals of official duties, making this pursuit my relaxation and amusement, and hardly omitting a day in which I did not do something at it. My friends Chin Sz'pú, the treasurer, and Luh Chun-jü the judge of Fuhkien, seeing-the result of my labors, begged me to preserve the sheets carefully, and they afterwards corrected unclassical expressions and divided the whole into ten books. Other official friends also borrowed it to examine, and many begged me to get it printed, calling the performance Ying Hwán Chí-lioh, or General Survey of the Circuit of the Seas. This is a brief explanation of the manner in which this work was produced.”

Fuhchau, September, 1848. Sü Ki-yü of Wú-tái hien in Shansi.”

The present day Chinese name for “America” meaning the USA is 美国 (mei guo with 美 meaning “beautiful”). The name for continental America has also become 美洲 or mei zhou with 洲 meaning “continent” as it usually does. But in the first half of the 19th Century, as the Chinese name for Australia quickly settled into its current form, the names for America and the USA were by no means settled. The name for continental America in use in the first half of the 18th Century certainly had been largely decided, as had the names for the other major continents, by Chinese geographers accepting the suggestions of Jesuits. In particular, the names used by Verbiest in his 1674 map of the world were 亞細亞 (Yàxiyà) for Asia, 歐羅巴 (Ōuluóbā) for Europe, 亞非利加 (Yáfēilǐjiā) for Africa and 亞墨利加 (Yàmòlǐjiā) for America. These later simplified into 亞洲 (Ya zhou), 歐洲 (Ou zhou), 非洲 (Fei zhou) and 美洲 (Mei zhou). There were variants for the name “America” in Chinese (although the names used by Chinese all seem to be variants of the transliteration originally provided by the Jesuits). The following Table lists some that were used in the time discussed in this document:

Source	Name for Continental America
Verbiest map 1694	Ya-mo-li-jia, 亞墨利加
DXYK (Medhurst?) 1833	Yà-mò-lì-jiā, 亞墨利加
Gutzlaff, 1838	Ya-mo-li-jia, 亞墨利加
Lin Zexu (Liang Jinde?), 1839	A-wei-li-jia, 阿未利加
Wei Yuan, 1844	Ya-mo-li-jia, 亞墨利加
Bridgman, 1844	Ya-mo-li-ge, 亞墨理格
Xu Jiyu, 1848	Ya-mo-li-jia, 亞墨利加

The use of “mei” seems to have been the suggestion of the first American Protestant missionary in China, E.C. Bridgman. Bridgman set out to write a history of the USA in Chinese to inform the Chinese of the emerging (Christian, commercial and cultural) power of the “new world”. His book was published with varying names and an evolving text in Singapore in 1838, Hong Kong in 1844 and Shanghai in 1861. The early book was published by the SDUKC and the last was published in the year of his death. The books were:

1. Bridgman, Elijah C. (1838). Meilige hesheng guo zhilüe, 美理哥合省國志略 (Brief account of the United States of America), Singapore, 1838.
2. Bridgman, Elijah C. (1844). Yamolige hesheng guo zhilüe, 亞墨理格合省國志略 (A short record of the United States of America). Hongkong, 1844.
3. Bridgman, Elijah C. (1861). Da Mei lianbang zhilüe, 大美聯邦志略 (A short account of the Commonwealth of America). Shanghai, 1861.

In the 1844 version he temporarily reverted to the standard Chinese name for continental America at the time but in the others he used “mei” in some form. In the penultimate, 1861 version he uses Da-mei. So perhaps he had moved more to the modern form with 大美 (da mei) as USA and 美 (mei) simply as America. Gutzlaff had been an advocate for Britain to be called 大英國 (Da Ying Guo) rather than the accepted Chinese name of 英吉利 (Ying Jili) and perhaps Bridgman had in mind 大美 國 for the USA. But as for the Chinese name of Australia, a “suggestion” by foreigners only provided a name in Chinese. To be the Chinese name it must have been accepted and used by Chinese. In this period, the USA was also called the 26 States “Star spangled banner” or 花旗二十六國 (Hua-qi 26 states) by Xu Jiyu. 花旗 (Hua-qi) is still occasionally used for USA and in the early 1800’s Americans were known as “花旗鬼” (Hua-qi gui) or “flowery flag devils”. Common examples of names for the USA are provided in the following Table:

Lin Zexu, 1839	Yùnàishìdìé, 育奈士迭 (USA)
Lin Zexu, 1839	Měilǐjiān Hézòng, 美利堅合眾 (USA)
Xu Jiyu 1848	Mǐ-lì-jiān, 米利堅 (USA)
Xu Jiyu 1848	Hua-qi-er-shi-liu-guo, 花旗二十六國 (USA)
Zong Li Yamen, 1865	Mei-li-jiān, 美利堅 (USA)

The reference to Měilìjiān Hézhòng by Lin Zexu may have been taken from a copy of Bridgman's early text or from copies of the DXYK obtained by Lin Zexu. Meilijian, (美利堅) has been the commonly used name for the USA since this period. The unusual and singular transliteration of the United States as Yù'nàishìdié seems to have been provided by the translator of Hugh Murray's text, Liang Fa's son, Liang Jinde. The use of Mi (米) by Xu Jiyu is very interesting as one of the westerners who advised him also later worked to translate western names and terms into Japanese. The present Japanese name for USA is 米國 or Mi Guo, (Rice Country). Apparently, in a speech to young Officers in 1934, Jiang Jieshi (蔣介石, Chiang Kaishek) said (Wright, 1953): "What do the Japanese call the United States of America? We Chinese call her "Meilijian" or "Beauty Sharp Strong". But the Japanese call her "Miliji" or "Miguo". The word "Mi" means rice. In using this word as the name for America the Japanese reveal that they have long intended to eat her up. From this we can understand how painstaking the enemy has been making preparations to acquire supremacy." (Quoted directly from a translation in Wright, 1953). It seems that the names for the USA in China and Japan were yet to settle to their current forms and it would have been the latter half of the 19th Century when this finally occurred. But, just like the Chinese name for Australia, it was from suggestions by the early Protestant missionaries that they arose and from their acceptance by Chinese that they finally became today's Chinese names.

²⁴ Section on Australia quoted in the Haiguotuzhi as an extract from Xu Jiyu's book "Annals of the oceans and their surrounds".

Translation of Chinese text attributed to Xu Jiyu follows:

"Australia, also known as New Holland, is to the south of Papua in the Southeast Asian Sea. Its circumference is more than 10,000 li (5000 km), and it is a vast island on the western boundary of the eastern sea, opposite North and South America. The land has always been poor and desolate, and not owned by another land. In former times, the king of Spain sent an envoy Magellan, to find a way west from South America and to seek new lands. After several months, he came to a large land, which he believed to be a new continent. The land was desolate with no trace of people. At night fires burned haphazardly, [so it was] named the land of fires.

From the name of the envoy, [Magellan], it was named Magellanica. Spanish people could after that sail the seas as they wished, and look for unclaimed lands. Then the Dutch came to the east to the islands of the south seas, they came across some places reachable from the sea. The main one was what is now called Australia. It was then called New Holland. In turn the French came to claim land but after their defeat in [the Napoleonic] wars they gave up.

The last to arrive were the English. They found a vast land with a narrow belt of mountains, small and dispersed rivers, complex scrub areas, endless plains, strange and dangerous animals and birds. The natives had black faces, and went naked, ate grass roots and wild fruits, made clothes from trees, were easily made drunk if given alcohol, lay down in mud, smearing it on themselves like pigs. Men and women lived like animals and murdered one another. The English have few permanent settlements; cultivate soils near the sea, planting wheat, pastures, tending sheep which grow well, producing valuable wool, from which fabrics can be woven. The present inhabitants number less than 100,000, and ship out wool each year to the value of more than 2,000,000 liang of silver. But they can not provide all of their daily needs, and must bring them from overseas. The main eastern English sea port and city is called Sydney, with 20,000 inhabitants. Whaling boats gather there and trade is flourishing. With many exiles and outlaws, drinking occurs to excess, and they do whatever they wish, so the population is rather rough. The southern border is the great southern ocean, and other English people have migrated there to establish another settlement. On the western border they have also established a settlement on the banks of a river. The northern border is near the equator where the weather is extremely hot. There they produce sea cucumber, edible seaweed and birds nest. The English have established garrisons to prevent invasion. Taking over the whole of Australia, the English have secured the borders, which are all shorelines, but occupy just a few percent [of the land]. The hinterland is filled with grasslands and thick forests. The natives are primitive, and do not live to an old age. Not only are local conditions difficult, with difficult terrain, but also there is no means of transport to use to travel. In regard to this land, the English say that although it is now desolate, in 100 years it will be known as a great country.

The foreign islands of the south seas, mostly colonies and appendages, make up a region called South Asia.”

《瀛环志略》曰：澳大利亚，一名新荷兰，在亚细亚东南洋巴布亚岛之南。周回约万余里，由此岛泛大洋海东行，即抵南北亚墨利加之西界。其地亘古穷荒，未通别土。前明时，西班牙王遣使臣墨瓦兰，由亚墨利加之南，西驶，再寻新地。舟行数月，忽见大地，以为别一乾坤。地荒秽，无人迹。入夜烧火乱飞，命名曰火地。

又以使臣之名，名之曰墨瓦蜡尼加，西班牙人以此侈航海之能，亦未尝经营其地也。后荷兰人东来，建置南洋诸岛，展转略地，遂抵于海滨。乃建设埔头，名之曰澳大利亚。又称新荷兰。旋为佛郎西所夺，佛人寻弃去，最后英吉利得之。因其土地之广，坚意垦辟，先流徙罪人于此，为屯田计，本国无业贫民，愿往谋食者，亦载以来。他国之民，愿受一廛者，听之。地在赤道之南，天气炎燥。海滨多平土，山岭高者不过三十丈，江河绝少，杂树荒草，灌莽无垠，鸟兽形状，诡譎与别土异。土番黑面，披发裸体，食草根山果，结巢于树，予之酒一饮即醉，卧泥中，如豕负涂。男役女若畜，怒辄杀之。

英人流寓者，垦海滨湿土，种麦与粟，草肥茂，牧羊孳乳甚速，毛毳细软，可织呢绒。现居民不足十万，每年运出之羊毛，值银二百余万两，百物未备，日用之需，皆从别土运往。英人于东海口，建会城曰悉尼，居民二万。捕鲸之船，时时收泊，贸易颇盛。而流徙之户本莠民，饮博荡侈，相习成风，流寓良民亦颇染其俗。南境滨大南海，英人新徙人户，已成聚落。西境亦创置一廛，在江河之滨。北境近赤道，天气酷热，产海参、海菜、燕窝。

英人派陆兵驻守，以防侵夺。计澳大利亚一土，英人四境所耕收，仅海滨片土，不过百之一二。其腹地则奥草丛林，深昧不测。土番如兽，老死无往来，不特风土无从探访，即山川形势，亦无由乘轺历览。英人谓此土虽荒旷，而百余年后，当成大国。

南海诸番岛，当听役属如附庸也，近命名曰南亚细亚。

²⁵ Present Chinese names for NSW, New Zealand and New Guinea

The name used by Wei Yuan for NSW (New South Wales) is not as well formed as that used today. The present name is Xin Nan Wei-er-shi (新南威尔士) where xin (新) is new, nan (南) is south and Wei-er-shi (威尔士) is the present Chinese transliteration and name for Wales in Great Britain. This preserves the origin of the name as well as some transliteration of the sound. The name for New Zealand (新西兰, Xin Xilan) is much older than that for Australia being included in the Verbiest (1674) map of the world. The Verbiest map included the Dutch discoveries of new lands in the south. Again, the Chinese “xin” (新) is new and “xilan” is the transliteration and name of the present day province of Zeeland in the Netherlands so the name is consistent and not just a transliteration without relation to meaning. The Netherlands is called Helan (荷兰) by the Chinese and Australia was called Xin Helan (新荷兰) by Verbiest. The names are therefore consistent and practical in terms of meaning as well as transliterations. The Chinese name for New Zealand is interpreted more imaginatively by some Chinese as somewhere “very, very far away”. That meaning comes from interpreting “xilan” (西兰) as “Xi’an (西安) and Lanzhou (兰州)” which in ancient times were a long way from the civilised China of the central plains. It is not an unfitting name for New Zealand either. To the north of Australia is the world’s second largest island of New Guinea (or Papua). The name given to it in Hugh Murray’s Encyclopaedia was “New Guinea” and the Chinese name in the above map is also Xin (new) Weini Dao (island) (in Chinese 新危尼岛) which is another mixed meaning and phonetic name, in that “xin” is new and “dao” is island, rather than its being purely phonetic. The character “wei” also indicates danger. This is a good choice given the experiences of western visitors at that time. In Xu Jiyou’s maps, PNG is called 巴布亚 (babuya) or Papua. Hugh Murray elsewhere labels this Island “Papua or New Guinea”.

²⁶ Petition of Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy.

THE CHINESE QUESTION IN AUSTRALIA 1878-9 by L. KONG MENG, CHEOK HONG CHEONG & LOUIS AH MOUY Melbourne, F.F. Bailliere 1879

1. In the present grave emergency, we appeal, as natives of China and as citizens of Victoria, to the reason, the justice, the right feeling and the calm good sense of the British population of Australia, not

to sanction an outrage upon the law of nations and not to violate the treaty engagements entered into between the Government of Great Britain and the Emperor of China.

2. Let us remind the people of these colonies of the circumstances under which emigration from China commenced. Up to the year 1842, we lived in contented isolation from the rest of the world. The nations of Western Europe—England more particularly—said, ‘This shall not be.’ By force of arms, a treaty was extorted from the Government at Peking, in virtue of which a certain number of Chinese ports were thrown open to British commerce. In 1844, the United States demanded and obtained similar privileges. In 1860, the English and French Governments, acting in concert, overcame the resistance which his Imperial Majesty and the chief Mandarins of the country offered to an extension of these extorted rights, and they dictated a second treaty at Peking, which guaranteed to the people of both nations the utmost freedom of ingress and egress, and which reciprocally bestowed upon the Chinese a similar freedom as regards the territories of France and the British Empire. In 1868, the Government of the United States concluded with the Emperor of China what is known as the ‘Burlingame Treaty,’ which assured to Americans the same access to our country which was already enjoyed by the English and French, and which—as was only just and equitable—opened the United States to Chinese immigration. And we beg it to be particularly remembered that this outflow of our population was never sought for by us. Western powers, armed with the formidable artillery with which modern science has supplied them, battered down the portals of the empire; and, having done so, insisted on keeping them open. They said, in effect, ‘We must come in, and you shall come out. We will not suffer you to shut yourselves up from the rest of the world. We want to inoculate you with our enterprise, and to bring you inside the great family of nations. We wish you to read our Scriptures, which say, ‘God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth.’ We are all his children. Let us draw together the ties of commercial amity, and live and do business together like friends and brethren. Throw down the barriers which have separated you for so many ages from the Aryan race; adopt our example.’

3. Well, we did so. We learned that there were vast portions of the earth’s surface which were almost destitute of inhabitants, and which were capable of supporting the redundant millions of Europe and Asia. Your missionaries came among us, and read from your Scriptures beautiful precepts like those of Confucius and Mencius. They spoke to us of the brotherhood of man, and told us that the foundation principle of the social religion of Englishmen was this—‘Ye shall do unto others as ye would that they would do unto you.’ And this, also, is the sentiment of our own Great Teacher. Therefore, when we heard, about five and twenty years ago, that there was a great continent nearly half as large again as China, and containing only a few hundreds of thousands of civilized people thinly scattered around the coast; that it was rich in the precious metals and very fertile; and that it was only a few weeks’ sail from our own country, numbers of Chinese immigrants set out for this land of promise. They come to work, not to beg or to steal. They relied upon the friendliness and the protection of the Government of the British empire, because the convention signed at Tien-Tsin by their Excellencies Lord Elgin and Prince Kung solemnly guaranteed our countrymen free admission to all parts of the territory of Her Britannic Majesty. But the new comers relied also on the Christian principles of European settlers in Australia. We feel sure that such an enlightened people as the English, after having made war upon us for the purpose of opening China to Western enterprise, and of spreading European civilization in Eastern Asia, would eagerly welcome the arrival of some thousands of frugal, laborious, patient, docile, and persevering immigrants from the oldest empire in the world. Judge, then, of our painful disappointment, our astonishment, and our sorrow at what followed. An encampment of Chinese was formed on a newly-found goldfield in the Ovens district, known as the Buckland. They were laborious and inoffensive men, who wished to live at peace with their British neighbours, and to pursue their avocation as gold miners quietly and orderly, like good citizens and law-fearing colonists. But what followed? They were set upon by other diggers, chased from their claims, cruelly beaten and maltreated, their tents plundered and then burnt down. We do not think this was doing as you would be done by.

4. If such a thing had happened in China—if a number of English miners had been subjected to such a cruel and wanton outrage, every newspaper in Great Britain would have been aflame with indignation; your envoy at Peking would have demanded prompt reparation and adequate compensation; and if this had not been acceded to, some men of war would have been ordered up to the mouth of the Pei-Ho. Our Emperor and his Mandarins would have been reminded of the solemn obligation they were under to be faithful to their treaty engagements, and they would probably have been lectured on the barbarous and scandalous conduct of those who had insulted, despoiled, and maltreated peaceful and industrious

foreigners. Yet no atonement was offered to the poor Chinese diggers who were violently expelled from the Buckland, who were plundered by the stronger and more numerous race; and who, in some instances, lost their lives owing to the injuries they received. We cannot help saying that proceedings of this kind are very disagreeable evidences of that brotherly love which is inculcated by your teachers of religion and your moralists, and which is also taught by our own Confucius.

[The petition has 32 sections of which the above are just 4. The full petition is available on the [project web site](#) (PDF 2.7 MB). It can also be accessed as Appendix 1 of the collection of 14 Appendices to an Australian National University PhD Thesis by Ian Welch (2003). His complete Thesis can be accessed directly [here](#).]

²⁷ **Australia – States and Capitals in English and Chinese**

Name	Description (founded)	Chinese (中文)	Pinyin (拼音)
Australia	Place/Continent	澳大利亚	Àodàliyà
Australia	Country (1901)	澳洲	Àozhōu
Canberra	National Capital (1913)	堪培拉	Kānpéilā
States		州	Zhōu
New South Wales	NSW (1788)	新南威尔士州	Xīn Nán Wēiěrsī Zhōu
Western Australia	WA (1829)	西澳大利亚州	Xī Àodàliyà Zhōu
South Australia	SA (1836)	南澳大利亚州	Nán Àodàliyà Zhōu
Victoria	Vic (1851)	维多利亚州	Wéidūōliyà Zhōu
Tasmania	Tas (1825)	塔斯马尼亚州	Tāsīmǎniyà Zhōu
Queensland	Qld (1859)	昆士兰州	Kūnshìlán Zhōu
Australian Capital Territory	ACT (1911)	首都直辖区	Shǒudū Zhíxìáqū
Northern Territory	NT (1931)	北部地区	Běibù Dìqū
State Capitals		州会	Zhōuhuì
Sydney	NSW	悉尼	Xīní
Perth	WA	珀斯	Pòsī
Adelaide	SA	阿德莱德	Ādeláidé
Melbourne	Vic	墨尔本	Mòěrběn
Hobart	Tas	霍巴特	Huòbātè
Brisbane	Qld	布里斯班	Bùlìsībān
Canberra	ACT	堪培拉	Kānpéilā
Darwin	NT	达尔文	Dá'ěrwén