

**A HOKKIEN-ENGLISH  
DICTIONARY**

*being a faithful reproduction of the*

**CHINESE-ENGLISH**

**DICTIONARY**

**OF THE**

**VERNACULAR OR SPOKEN LANGUAGE**

**OF**

**AMOY,**

**WITH THE PRINCIPAL VARIATIONS**

**OF THE CHANG-CHEW AND CHIN-CHEW DIALECTS.**

**BY**

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*Gerrit Smith*

## **INTRODUCTION TO THIS REPRINT**

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### **A note on the Christian missionaries to China**

Very early in the history of Christianity, missionaries went as far as distant China. A Nestorian bishop from Syria reached the Chinese capital in 635 AD, and Catholic missionaries sent by the Pope had a presence there in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But these efforts had no lasting results, and it was not until the European expansion into Asia from the sixteenth century onwards that Christianity succeeded in establishing a lasting foothold in China.

The earliest Christian expansionist powers, Portugal, Spain and France, were Catholic. Jesuit missionaries proselytized in China from the late sixteenth century, and despite subsequent persecution the Catholic Church has survived there ever since. It has been estimated that by the end of the eighteenth century the Catholic missions had nearly two hundred thousand converts in China (Band.1948:xxiv).

### **Protestant missions**

Protestant missions were later on the scene than the Catholic ones. It was as a consequence of the preaching of such evangelists as Charles Wesley and George Whitefield during the eighteenth century 'that the Protestant Church awoke to its true vocation to go into all the world and preach the Gospel' (Band.1948:xxv). This, added to the flurry of excitement in Britain stemming from voyages of exploration and new discoveries at the end of the eighteenth century, found an echo in the formation of several Protestant missionary societies: The Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Scottish Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society; all these were founded in the 1790s.

It could be said that the Protestant mission in China began in the following decade, in 1807, when Robert Morrison, a Presbyterian working under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, landed in Canton with the immediate objective of translating the Bible into Chinese (Cable & French.1946:141). It may be noted that the Roman Catholic missionaries, for all their long experience in China, had not ever made a translation of the whole Bible (Band.1948:xxv). The southern port of Canton was a natural (if not comfortable) base for missionary activity until Hong Kong was occupied by the British in 1841.

Britain, and it was not alone, had embarked on what was to be its last century of imperial expansion with undiminished ruthlessness. Under the Treaty of Nanking (1842) China not only ceded Hong Kong to Britain, but also permitted the opening to British trade and residence of five Chinese ports (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai); furthermore the concept of extraterritoriality was conceded: foreigners were to be tried under their own laws and by their own officials (Band.1948:10). Behind the concessions won by foreign arms came the foreign traders - and also the foreign missionaries, who were granted specific privileges under the subsequent treaties secured by France and the USA in 1844 (Band.1948:10).

### **The Presbyterian Church in England**

Presbyterians in England can trace their spiritual origins to the sixteenth century French theologian John Calvin, and their separation from the Church of England stems from an Act of 1662 which drove about two thousand ministers out of the Church, producing a 'nonconformist' religious group. A process of consolidation was consummated in 1836 with the formation of a Synod for their church (Band.1948:1). In 1844 the Synod declared the Presbyterian Church in

England to be an independent Church. Their doctrines have always been evangelical, and prior to that the Synod had resolved on missionary work ‘among the Jews and heathen’, and had given support to missionary activities in India. In 1844 the newly independent Synod determined to embark on a whole-hearted programme of instituting foreign missions; it felt indeed ‘that work in the foreign field was a necessity of life and existence’ (Douglas, John.1878:57). The evils of the Opium War (1839-42) had not gone unnoticed by the Presbyterians, and this was one of the reasons for choosing China as the mission field. A pamphlet of 1842 put it ‘Let Britons resolve to send something better than deadly opium and violent war to her coasts’ (Band.1948:3).

In April 1847 the formal decision was made to send the first missionary to China (Band.1948:4). The English and Scottish Presbyterian Churches worked closely together, and in the early years the majority of the missionaries came out of the Free Church of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> The first missionary sent out then, in 1847, was a Scotsman, the Rev. William Chalmers Burns. He spent some time in Canton and Hong Kong. In 1849 the home committee, seeking a more suitable permanent centre of operations, settled on Amoy (Band.1948:13). After some delay, in 1851 Burns arrived<sup>2</sup> in Amoy, where he worked in cooperation<sup>3</sup> with the American Dutch Reformed Mission,<sup>2</sup> and the London Missionary Society.

William Burns found the Amoy Chinese more congenial than the Cantonese. In a letter from Amoy dated July 25 1851 to his mother in Scotland he wrote: ‘The people here present a striking contrast to the people of Canton in their feelings and deportment towards foreigners. Here all is quiet and friendly, and although there is here also a great apathy on the subject of the gospel, yet a good many seem to listen with attention, and the missionaries have enquirers who come to be taught’ (Burns.1870:385). Burns had acquired a knowledge of Cantonese, and after three months he could make himself understood in the Amoy dialect (Band.1948:13).

### **Carstairs Douglas: His Life**<sup>4</sup>

At this point we must return to the British Isles, specifically to Scotland. Carstairs Douglas was born at Kilbarchan Manse, Renfrewshire, Scotland, on 27 December 1830.<sup>5</sup> His father, the Rev. Robert Douglas, was a minister in the Scottish Presbyterian Church;<sup>5</sup> his mother’s father and grandfather had similarly been ministers of the Church. With this religious background it is not surprising that Carstairs Douglas, and several of his brothers, also in due course took up the ministry.

In October 1845, at the age of fourteen, Carstairs Douglas entered the nearby University of Glasgow, as each of his five elder brothers had done. His father died in 1847. Carstairs graduated in 1851 with an M.A. with honours. Amongst the languages he studied was Greek, and amongst other things he learned, rather surprisingly, to write shorthand. From there Carstairs Douglas proceeded to Edinburgh, to study Divinity at the Free Church College; he was there from 1851 to 1855. It is recorded that while he was still a youth his mother had encouraged Carstairs to become a missionary in China. It is reported that the parents of another missionary, the Rev. Donald Matheson,<sup>6</sup> also ‘had a great deal to do with Carstairs Douglas’s decision to go to China in our Mission’.

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<sup>1</sup> Personal communication from Rev. George Hood.

<sup>2</sup> Boone and Abeel of this Church came to Amoy in 1842 (Band.1948:10).

<sup>3</sup> Stronach of the L.M.S. arrived in Amoy in 1844 (Band.1948:10); this was Rev. John Stronach.

<sup>4</sup> These biographical facts are mainly from John M. Douglas’ *Memorials*.

<sup>5</sup> In the Church of Scotland until the Disruption in 1843, thereafter in the newly formed Free Church of Scotland.

<sup>6</sup> An undated letter from Matheson’s widow, in SOAS, FMC Archives, Box 17, file 3.

It happened that, as Carstairs Douglas was about to finish his divinity course, our Rev. William Burns, the first English Presbyterian Church missionary to China, was home on leave in Scotland. 'Many can still remember what an impetus was given to the cause of missions in China by Mr. Burns's visit. An association was formed in Scotland to aid the English Presbyterian Church in this work . . .'<sup>7</sup> Carstairs Douglas, then twenty four years old, offered himself as a missionary to China. On 21 February 1855 he was ordained in Glasgow to be a Missionary of the English Presbyterian Church - the first missionary to be sponsored by the Scottish Auxiliary of the English Presbyterian Church. He prepared at once to leave.

So when Burns sailed for China in the *Challenger* on 9 March 1855, he was accompanied by Carstairs Douglas. They reached Shanghai in July 1855; Burns spent the next few years there and in Swatow and other places. But as we have seen he had worked in Amoy, and he had formed a favourable impression of it. It was without doubt on Burns' recommendation that Carstairs Douglas was appointed to Amoy. Carstairs Douglas arrived in Amoy in July 1855. The missionaries of the American Dutch Reformed Mission did all they could to help and encourage him.

Arrived in Amoy, Carstairs Douglas took over the house of the Rev. Johnstone, who was in charge of the mission, but had been forced to leave Amoy on health grounds. We are given a description of the house, which he shared with others. We are told that the house had three storeys; the lowest had 'a large open space at the entrance where the sedan chairs lie', a partitioned off space for the servants, and a school-room for the lads and young men who were taught there (Douglas, John.1878:29,30). On the first floor was a room for the students to lodge, and the rooms occupied by Rev. David Sandeman (who died three years later, in July 1858) (Band.1948:26; Douglas, John.1878:32). Carstairs Douglas himself occupied the upper story. That house would have been on Amoy (*Xiamen*) Island, which is where the Europeans lived at that time.

A few years later the missionaries were to move over to the more salubrious island of Kolongsu (*Gulongyu*), which Carstairs Douglas often mentions in his letters. This attractive island, within easy rowing distance from the port of Amoy, became the favoured residence of foreigners from about 1860 (Pitcher.1912:254).

What kind of life did Carstairs Douglas lead in Amoy? The information we have is not sparse, but nor on the other hand is it complete. Our main sources are the letters written home by him, and the records left by fellow missionaries. What comes through first and foremost is that he was a very energetic and tireless worker. For example one fellow missionary wrote 'The amount of work he could get through was almost incredible: and no doubt the secret of it was that he *never* rested.' His missionary colleague Rev. Swanson wrote 'It seemed to be a necessity of the man's nature to fill up every spare moment with method and precision' (Douglas, John.1878:55,65). His brother refers to 'his habits of incessant activity and self-discipline. He used up every fragment of time, enjoying life amazingly ...'. 'But he allowed nothing to turn him aside from whatever tasks he allotted himself for the day, all of which were minutely pre-arranged in his mind, just as his routes were in the maps which he accumulated wherever he went, and which he mastered like a Prussian staff-officer' (Douglas, John.1878:11). In view of his own competence it is perhaps not surprising that '... he was somewhat impatient and peremptory with people who expressed opinions on matters in regard to which they had not informed themselves' (Douglas, John.1878:13).

In his correspondence, even with his family, he projects himself first and foremost as a soldier of Christ, and reveals very little about his innermost feelings. The missionary archives

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<sup>7</sup> A note by Rev. W. S. Swanson, published on 4 Aug 1877 (probably in the *English Presbyterian Messenger*).

similarly disclose little of his private self, and if he had any weaknesses, we have no record of them. Which is a pity. It will not surprise us that he was an absolute teetotaler. While at the Free Church College in Edinburgh he had taken up the cause of temperance ‘(that is, total abstinence from intoxicating liquors, unless medicinally)’, a cause which he supported fervently for the rest of his life (Douglas, John.1878:7). It need scarcely be mentioned that he abhorred the opium trade (Douglas, John.1878:17). Perhaps the most revealing observation we find about his personality is the reference by an acquaintance to ‘his almost girlish modesty and purity of mind’ (Douglas, John.1878:9).

He was very conscious of his physical health. His brother John wrote ‘Amid all his mental activity he was studiously careful of his bodily health. He loved exercise, especially walking, rowing, and swimming, and never omitted to secure a large daily share of it. His walks were remarkable for their length and quickness. Always pale in colour and somewhat spare in form, his activity and vitality were unfailing, and his health, like his good temper, were absolutely unbroken from childhood until he went to China. It remained generally good till within about two years of his short fatal illness . . . In China, as elsewhere, he kept up his habits of exercise and temperance, and many were his long marches over its hills and valleys; often twenty miles, and more, by moonlight.’<sup>8</sup> ‘Few places within two hundred miles on each side of Amoy have not been visited by him and the band of preachers gathered about himself and his fellow-workers’.<sup>9</sup>

The observation that he was ‘Always pale in colour and somewhat spare in form’ is the only comment I have found on his physical appearance. The etching given in our frontispiece shows his facial appearance. The URC archives have a copy of his photograph, undated, similarly showing a full beard. It seems that he did not always have a beard: it is on record that on 31 August 1867 Carstairs Douglas sent a photograph of himself to William Burns, who replied ‘Many thanks for the life-like photograph of yourself which you have sent me. You are more like the man you were intended to be *with* than *without* the “beard”.’ (Burns.1870:526).

### Local conditions

It will be worthwhile to glance at two aspects of the conditions in Amoy in the middle of the nineteenth century. Firstly regarding transport, we discover that in Amoy at that time there were three favoured modes of conveyance. Hired riding ponies were in use, but we do not read of Carstairs Douglas making use of that mode of transport. He travelled frequently by boat, and the mission had its own boat. Also, we have seen that the Douglas residence had parking space for sedan chairs. In his letters he often mentions that he travelled ‘by chair’ for his journeys through the area. For example he writes in a letter dated August 1858 ‘On Saturday I went up by chair to Bay-pay . . .’. On one occasion he was unable to respond to an urgent call to return to Amoy, where Sandeman was critically ill, because, as he writes ‘Next morning no chair could be found, and I have learned not to risk myself under the midsummer sun’.<sup>10</sup> So, without a ‘chair’ he simply could not travel any distance by day, at least in summer.

For, although it is outside the tropics, Amoy can become surprisingly hot in August, and incidental references point to the fact that Carstairs Douglas (like very other foreigner) suffered from this. For example, in one letter he writes of the difficulties of working in China ‘where the

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<sup>8</sup> Douglas, John.1878:13d; he quotes from a letter dated 22 Dec 1869 from Carstairs Douglas giving accounts of his long walks - that is, in winter.

<sup>9</sup> A note by Rev. W S Swanson, published on 4 Aug 1877 (probably in the *English Presbyterian Messenger*).

<sup>10</sup> Douglas, John.1878:32,32; other references on pp. 40,41,51.

climate makes us curtail our study & our work during a large part of the year, and where we have to spend so much time in learning this tedious troublesome language'.<sup>11</sup>

### **His acquaintance with foreign languages**

We are interested in Carstairs Douglas as a linguist, and it is evident that he had a good linguistic background. His brother wrote of him 'He was a good linguist in classics, modern languages, and Hebrew. His father's linguistic acquirements, and special love for developing the relations and connections of languages with each other, prepared him for excellence in these things, and doubtless helped him subsequently to achieve his great eminence as a scholar in the languages of China' (Douglas, John.1878:10). We see therefore that he had a knowledge of Greek, Latin and Hebrew,<sup>12</sup> besides some understanding of what nowadays we should call comparative linguistics. His 'modern languages' must have included French, and we learn that he knew German too: A year after his arrival in Amoy he tells of meeting a Swedish sailor who knew but little English, and observes 'however he and I got on very well with German' (Douglas, John.1878:24). His German also gave him a partial understanding of Dutch; in a letter dated 3 August 1859 (Douglas, John.1878:34) he mentions receiving a letter from the Cape of Good Hope written in Dutch 'I made out the most of it, and dear brother De Grijs helped me through the rest'.<sup>13</sup>

### **His knowledge of Chinese**

Carstairs Douglas would have had little opportunity to learn Chinese in the time available before he sailed for China. But Burns had worked in China since November 1847, and had mastered Chinese (he had translated *The Pilgrim's Progress* into Chinese).<sup>14</sup> We can assume therefore that Carstairs Douglas had profited from the long sea voyage via the Cape of Good Hope to learn what he could from Burns. We can gather that from a letter he wrote to his mother on 6 June 1855, from the ship *Challenger* in the Straits of Sunda (Douglas, John.1878:19). He writes 'In the end of last week I finished my first reading of the New Testament in Chinese.' Burns had spent some time in Amoy, where he had 'devoted himself eagerly to the study of the Amoy dialect' (Band.1948:15), and it is to be supposed that he introduced Carstairs Douglas to the spoken dialect too. At all events we learn (from a letter dated 21 Aug 1855) that after five weeks in Amoy, studying the colloquial every day, Carstairs Douglas could converse only on his 'most ordinary everyday wants'. But after a couple of months in Amoy he wrote<sup>15</sup> 'I now have gone several times to hear public worship in Chinese and am able to understand a little; though still but little.' This is reasonable progress for anyone learning the Amoy dialect.

Carstairs Douglas also spoke Mandarin, though with what fluency is not clear. Burns writes (21 Nov 1867) from New-chang in Manchuria to Carstairs Douglas '... would this not be a fine place to come to from the south for a change of air? and you yourself, when needing such a change, would enjoy the opportunity of using and increasing your Mandarin' (Burns.1870:526). Carstairs Douglas furnished confirmation of this; he records that once when he was visiting Chin-chew a Muslim priest or teacher from Canton attended one of their

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<sup>11</sup> A letter (blue) written by CD to Mr Barbour, dated at Amoy 14 Aug. 1868, in URC archives.

<sup>12</sup> In his last illness he read the Bible in Hebrew and the Testament in Greek (Douglas, John.1878:52)

<sup>13</sup> De Grijs became the co-author of the Chinese-Dutch dictionary of Amoy published in Batavia in 1882; he was sent from Batavia to Amoy in 1856 to learn Chinese.

<sup>14</sup> A copy of this can be found in SOAS, FMC Archives, Box 81.

<sup>15</sup> From a letter dated 1 October 1855, Douglas, John.1878:20.

Christian services; the priest, being a Cantonese, could not understand much of the service, 'but after the service I had a long conversation with him in Mandarin . . .'<sup>16</sup>

His missionary colleague Rev. Swanson wrote: 'His scholarship shewed itself not only in his extensive knowledge of the language of Amoy, but he was equally distinguished for his intimate acquaintance with the literary style. In that district of China these differ so much that they seem two distinct languages' (Douglas, John.1878:60).

### **His reputation as Sinologist**

It is evident that Carstairs Douglas acquired a reputation as an assiduous scholar among his fellows. One fellow missionary wrote 'Wherever he went, his note-book and pencil were in hand, and he was busy in the work of collection, and also in the revision and verification of the stores already amassed' (Douglas, John.1878:60).

Edward Band writes: 'Douglas was a man of tireless energy, both mentally and physically. On his visits to the outlying churches and on evangelistic tours he accomplished long marches over hill and valley, covering often twenty miles and more by moonlight. During this period he laid the foundation of his dictionary work, gaining both a popular and profound knowledge of the language, and carefully recording every new word that he heard'. Chinese Christians used to speak of 'nights spent in wretched inns or tiny chapels, when the teacher's lamp burned on far into the morning, as he toiled at the dictionary which was to unlock the language for the future messengers of the Cross' (Band.1948:56,57). The Rev. Dr. Talmage of the American Dutch Reformed Mission in Amoy wrote in 1877: 'As regards the Chinese language, he was already taking his place among the first Sinologues in this land' (Douglas, John.1878:71).

His brother cites the opinion of 'An experienced missionary': 'His accuracy in almost every department of knowledge was very remarkable. He seemed to have made himself master of every subject that he had studied, and one felt that any information obtained from him could be most thoroughly relied upon. This was especially so in all Chinese subjects. His knowledge of the language was not merely popular, but profound and critical. He seemed to be able to trace the words back through the intricacies and windings of their past history, and catch the original meanings with a power only obtainable by hard and thorough study' (Douglas, John.1878:12).

### **His furloughs**

His twenty two years of service in Amoy included two periods of home leave. As we know, he arrived in Amoy in July 1855. In August 1862, he returned to Britain; this was before the opening of the Suez Canal, but he went via the Red Sea, involving transhipment for the onward voyage through the Mediterranean (Douglas, John.1878:35). I have found no reference to missionaries being entitled to leave at that time,<sup>17</sup> and we are given his purpose in returning to Britain after a tour of seven years: it was to visit the Churches at home and to endeavour to recruit more missionaries (Douglas, John.1878:68). He arrived back in Amoy on 18 December 1863 (letter dated 21 Dec 1863).

After a further tour of duty of nine years he returned to Scotland for his second furlough in 1872. This time the object of his furlough was to see his dictionary through the press - it was to be printed in Glasgow. In a letter written from 8 Barns Terrace, Ayr, on 7 March 1873, he wrote that although his brother was persuading him to remain longer in Britain, he hoped to

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<sup>16</sup> Letter (blue) written by CD to Mr Barbour, dated at Amoy 10 Sep. 1868, in URC Archives.

<sup>17</sup> The regulations in 1901 provided for leave of 18 months in Europe after seven years of service (see *English Presbyterian Missions*, III, p.12.



sail [for China] early in April.<sup>18</sup> He was leaving his aged mother, of whom he was very fond, on her sickbed.<sup>19</sup> The dictionary was published in April 1873; it will be seen (his p. ix) that he completed the Preface at Ayr on 4 April 1873. As soon as the dictionary was out, he sailed for China for the third and last time.

### **Taiwan (‘Formosa’)**

In view of the similarity of the languages, it was natural that the pressure to extend missionary activity to Taiwan should have come from Amoy. Indeed the initiative came largely for Carstairs Douglas himself. In 1860, Douglas, accompanied by Mackenzie, made a brief exploratory visit to Taiwan. Their favourable reports prompted the Church to appoint a worker there. On 2 January 1864 the appointee, a physician, Dr James Laidlaw Maxwell, M.A., M.D., arrived in Amoy, and at once set about studying the language. In October of the same year, Douglas conducted him to Taiwan for a month’s visit. When they returned to Amoy, Maxwell resumed his study of the Amoy dialect (Band.1948:75). At the end of May 1865 Douglas again conducted him to Taiwan, together with three Chinese assistants who were to work with Maxwell, and stayed two months. After considerable opposition and delay, a permanent mission post was established in Tainan. As we shall see, in one sense the mission in Tainan was to be a continuation of the mission in Amoy.

### **The Shanghai Conference**

In May 1877 for the first time the various Protestant missionary societies in China organised a general conference at which they were all represented. Douglas attended, and gave a paper in which he urged the importance of getting men with the highest intellectual gifts for mission work in China.<sup>20</sup> There, his health failing and with only two months to live, Carstairs Douglas achieved the recognition of his fellow missionaries: he was one of two presidents (one to be European and one to be American) elected by the conference.<sup>21</sup>

### **His death**

By about the middle of 1876 Douglas’ health was failing. He resisted suggestions that he return home to Britain to rest, saying that he might be prepared to do so in 1878 (Douglas, John.1878:49). ‘He died at Amoy on 26th July, 1877, of cholera, after twelve hours’ illness, in the same room where he had for many years spent most of his life, writing, studying, and sleeping there. His funeral next day, in the cemetery on Kolongsoo, was attended by the whole community.’<sup>22</sup>

Talmage wrote ‘By over-work he had worn himself out, and made himself an old man while he was yet comparatively young in years. He came to China quite young, and at the time of his death was only about forty-six years of age, and yet men who had recently become acquainted with him thought him over sixty’ (Douglas, John.1878:70). He appears in two group photographs taken at the Shanghai Conference in 1877. ‘They represent him as greatly worn and aged . . .’ (Douglas, John.1878:18).

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<sup>18</sup> Letter (blue) written by CD to Mr Barbour, in URC archives.

<sup>19</sup> Press-cutting dated 12 April 1873 (from the *English Presbyterian Messenger*?)

<sup>20</sup> We are reminded that when still a student he cited with approval the careful training given to Jesuit priests (Douglas, John.1878:14).

<sup>21</sup> Douglas, John.1878:16; Band.1948:229-30.

<sup>22</sup> Douglas, John.1878:18; Band. 1948:231-2.

At the time of his death in 1877 he was living in Mr. Swanson's house (Douglas, John.1878:50). This must have been on Kolongsu, and we are informed that just before his death he made a number of calls among the foreign community in Kolongsu (Douglas, John.1878:51).

Carstairs Douglas never married. After his death his brother had a Douglas Memorial Chapel<sup>23</sup> built at Amoy to perpetuate his memory. That was erected in 1880, on Kolongsu Island.

### **The Dictionary of 1873 - The Amoy dialect of Chinese**

In his *Introduction* Carstairs Douglas deals at length with the Amoy colloquial. Linguistically, this subdialect belongs to the Bân (*Min*)<sup>24</sup> group. The Bân is the largest river in Hokkien (*Fujian*) Province, on which the provincial capital of Hokchiu (*Fuzhou*) stands. The river gave its name to the province, the ancient kingdom of 'Bân' (*Min*). The southern part of Hokkien province, where Amoy is situated, is known as Bânlâm (*Minnan*) literally 'Southern Hokkien'. Linguists refer to the subdialects of the southern part of the province as the Bânlâm (*Minnan*) group. 'Bânlâm' is used then to denote a cluster of mutually comprehensible subdialects in the region of Amoy (*Xiamen*). The main subdialects are: (1) Amoy, (2) Tsoânchiu (*Quanzhou*, the district lying to the north of Amoy) and (3) Chiangchiu (*Zhangzhou*, lying to the east of Amoy). In South East Asia, these subdialects are known collectively as 'Hokkien'.

It is for economic and social reasons that the Amoy subdialect won a position of preeminence over its neighbours. From the Chinese point of view, amongst the literati of the area the pronunciation of Tsoânchiu and Chiangchiu had a higher status. From the European perspective the prominence given to the Amoy dialect is entirely understandable in the light of the longstanding foreign links with the place. This preference for Amoy rather than the neighbouring dialects was reinforced by the opening up of Amoy as a Treaty Port in 1842; Carstairs Douglas writes (see p.609) 'The vernacular of Amoy has attracted special attention, because Amoy was one of the five ports opened to foreign trade by the treaty of Nankin . . .' In the literature we find many references to the Amoy dialect being widely used: the title page of W. Campbell's 1913 dictionary refers to 'the Amoy Vernacular spoken throughout the prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa'. J Macgowan (1905) in his Preface refers to the four dialects Chang-chow, Chin-chew, Tung-an and Amoy and observes 'Of the four dialects, the numbers that speak the Amoy are the fewest, and yet it is the most generally understood of them all.' In Christian missionary circles especially Amoy assumed a disproportionately important role: the preference for the Amoy dialect is reflected in the quantity of material (largely Christian) which has been published in the romanised form of Amoy, and particularly in the excellent lexicographical material.

The system of romanisation used in this dictionary has been the standard orthography used by non-Chinese scholars for a century and a half; indeed Amoy was the first Chinese subdialect to be romanised systematically. It was utilised for the voluminous religious publications put out by the missionaries. There are excellent dictionaries in this romanisation, as well as bibles and other religious books. When the Presbyterian missionaries had to withdraw from Taiwan in 1941, the Foreign Missions Secretary wrote in his report than an [indigenous] 'Church had come into being . . . which owing to the extensive use of the Romanized script was literate and acquainted with the Bible above the average . . .' (Band.1948:193).

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<sup>23</sup> Pitcher.255; Band.1948:233. I have seen a sketch map of Kolongsu, undated and apparently removed from a book, showing the 'Douglas Church' (SOAS Box 23, File 2, item 4); I have not been able to confirm its present existence, nor its exact site.

<sup>24</sup> The names in italics are the Mandarin (Pinyin) form of the name.

In 1993 I saw some members of the congregation of a Methodist church in Singapore using a hymnal in this romanisation. Moreover, on a visit to Amoy in 1994 I was able to witness a service in the church of the American Dutch Reformed Mission on Kolongsu Island (Pitcher 255). It is called Sam It Tông (Three United in One). It is on record that Carstairs Douglas had composed hymns in the Amoy subdialect, (Douglas, John.1878:10,) and in the hymn book used there I found about eighteen hymns attributed to 'C. Douglas', and a few attributed jointly to 'C. Douglas and Stronach' (no initial given). The hymn books, besides the musical annotation, have the words given in Chinese characters and in Amoy romanisation. I was told that the romanisation is only for the use of the older members of the congregation; it can be predicted therefore that it will fall into disuse in the next decade or so; but it will have given very satisfactory service for one hand a half centuries, without ever having to be modified.

It is clear that it is the established orthography for the language. In Amoy it is called 'Lô-má-jī'. The principal proponent of this romanisation was the American missionary, Rev. John Van Nest Talmage, who was urging its use as early as 1850 (Pitcher.1912:201). By 1875 the missionaries of the three missions in Amoy - the American Reformed, the English Presbyterian and the London Missionary Society - were using the romanised colloquial with great success, particularly for teaching the scriptures to women and children (Band. 1948:211).

It was therefore natural that Carstairs Douglas adopted this orthography for his great work, particularly as he worked closely with the Rev. Talmage. Talmage served more than forty years as a missionary in Amoy, and as we have seen he was promoting the system of romanisation before Carstairs Douglas arrived.<sup>25</sup>

### **The Amoy dictionary of 1873 - the earlier materials available**

In 1856 a young Dutch civil servant, C. F. M. de Grijns, was sent from the Netherlands Indies to Amoy to learn Chinese. He became acquainted with Carstairs Douglas, who came to regard him as a 'dear brother' (Douglas, John.1878:34). He relates that when he arrived in Amoy, the only published material for an Amoy dictionary that he found was a wordlist compiled by the American missionary E. Doty, and Medhurst's translation of the 'Fifteen sounds' (Francken en De Grijns.1882:iii-iv); and very quickly he recognised the need for an Amoy dictionary. He subsequently became the co-author of an Amoy-Dutch dictionary which was published in Batavia in 1882.

Carstairs Douglas tells us about the sources he himself used (see p. viii of his *Preface*). 'The basis of this Dictionary is the manuscript vocabulary prepared by the late Rev. J. Lloyd, Missionary of the American Presbyterian Church. When I arrived at Amoy in 1855 I copied it for my own use, adding the additional words in Doty's Manual, and have been constantly enlarging and re-arranging the collection of words and phrases ever since. A few years after copying Lloyd's Vocabulary I collated the manuscript dictionary written by the Rev. Alexander Stronach of the London Missionary Society.<sup>26</sup> I also at a later date went over all the words in the native dictionaries of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew dialects, and in a native vocabulary which attempts to give the Mandarin words and phrases for the Amoy ones.' Medhurst's dictionary had been published in 1835, but Carstairs Douglas found it of little use - it is based

<sup>25</sup> Pitcher.1912:255; in his letters home, Carstairs Douglas frequently mentions Talmage and it is evident that they enjoyed a close and cordial relationship.

<sup>26</sup> There is a small printed note in URC archives recording that Alexander Stronach (1800-1879) went to Amoy in 1846, and returned from Amoy to England in 1869. 'He left behind him a MSS. dictionary of the Amoy dialect of the Chinese, the publication of which was rendered unnecessary by the publication of one by Dr. Douglas.' (Also see Sibree, James. 1923. *A register of missionaries, deputations etc. from 1796 to 1923*. 4th edn. London: LMS, p. 39).

on the Chiangchiu dialect rather than Amoy. He records that John Stronach<sup>27</sup> and J.V.N.Talmage assisted in the preparation of the dictionary, thus making a trio who represented the three missionary societies at work in Amoy.

### **The Dictionary of 1873 - publication**

‘This dictionary he began for his own instruction in the Amoy language, utilizing the materials collected by his predecessors, and gradually forming the resolution to produce a nearly perfect work. To this he devoted constant attention at every spare moment for many years . . .’ (Douglas, John.1878:12).

‘During his last furlough<sup>28</sup> he was busy on his dictionary, the huge manuscript folios of which accompanied him on each of his many journeys to visit the churches and plead the cause of China from Cornwall to Caithness. No week-day passed without work upon it. When with his relations he gave eight hours daily to it, whatever else might be in hand. And when the last sheet has passed through the printing press he at once bade farewell to those he loved at home, and started for his beloved China.’ (Douglas, John.1878:11).

Thus in 1873 was published Carstairs Douglas’ *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy, with the Principal Variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew Dialects*.

As we see from p.ix, Carstairs Douglas completed the Preface in Ayr, 4th April, 1873. It was printed in Glasgow by W.G.Blackie and Co., Printers, Villafield, who employed ‘a large number of special types designed by the Author to express the various Chinese sounds and tones’.<sup>29</sup> It was published in London by Trübner & Co., 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill. It was dedicated to the Rev. James Legge, D.D.

### **The reception of his dictionary**

Of all the information I have found on the preparation of the dictionary for publication, a phrase in one document is singularly revealing. On 29 June 1870 Carstairs Douglas wrote from Amoy to his mother in Scotland as follows: ‘Meantime you must excuse me writing more than the briefest lines, as I am literally straining every nerve to get my colloquial dictionary in proper shape to be copied out and printed while at home. I hope to be with you at Ayr for whole months at a time, busily copying out the book for the press; but I must have the *scroll* finished before I leave Amoy, as every phrase must be checked by at least two teachers’ (Douglas, John.1878:38b). Here we have it: every phrase in his draft *must be checked by at least two teachers*. That is without doubt one reason for the reliability and excellence of this dictionary.

Its excellence was recognised at once by his contemporaries. We have seen that in 1882 there was published in Batavia an Amoy-Dutch dictionary by Francken & De Grijs. In his Foreword (p. iv) De Grijs wrote ‘When this work was half-way through printing, there

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<sup>27</sup> John Stronach, the brother of Alexander, was born in 1810 in Edinburgh. He was appointed an L.M.S. missionary to Singapore in 1838, and transferred to Amoy in 1844 to set up the L.M.S. mission there; apart from a stay in Shanghai from 1847 to 1853, participating in the revision of the Chinese version of the New Testament, he continued in Amoy until 1876. He died in 1888; (from Sibree. 1923:39; see also Horne, C.S.1908. *The Story of the L.M.S.* London: London Missionary Society:313).

<sup>28</sup> From 1872-73.

<sup>29</sup> Douglas, John.1878:48; they were able to use these special types also for another work they printed in 1873: The earliest complete New Testament to be published in the Amoy Colloquial.

appeared a Chinese-English Amoy Dictionary by C. Douglas, more comprehensive than [this] Chinese-Dutch Amoy Dictionary’.<sup>30</sup>

Carstairs Douglas’ dictionary is praised several times *en passant* by the great Dutch scholar, J. J. M. de Groot. For example he writes in the Preface of his magnum opus, *The Religious System of China*, (Vol. 1, 1892:xvii) ‘In indicating the tones of the words derived from the colloquial language of Amoy, the same system has been followed as was adopted by Dr. Douglas in his Dictionary of that language. As this standard work must be on the shelves of every student and scholar who takes a real interest in the spoken tongues of China, it would here be superfluous to describe the system by repeating what the above mentioned author has already done so well in his Introduction.’ In another book De Groot wrote that Carstairs Douglas’ dictionary ‘is undoubtedly in the possession of every one who has an interest in the spoken language of the Chinese in Java’ (De Groot.1882:xiii). In another publication De Groot describes it as ‘a splendid standard-work’ (De Groot.1885B:33).

In 1905 the Rev. Philip Pitcher, of the American Reformed Church Mission, referred to Carstairs Douglas’ dictionary, calling it a ‘matchless work . . . too high praise cannot be given to it’ (Pitcher, 210). In his Preface to the Supplement published in 1923 the Rev. Thomas Barclay writes that this monumental dictionary ‘was recognised at once on all hands as a work of marvellously full and accurate scholarship. And during the half-century that has elapsed since its publication, it has been of incalculable benefit to all students of the language’.

Much later the Rev. Edward Band remarked ‘That monumental volume, a marvel of full and accurate scholarship, for half a century had been of incalculable benefit to every student of the language. There was no other book to compare with it: missionaries placed it next to their Bible.’<sup>31</sup>

His missionary colleague Rev. W. S. Swanson, who spent twenty one years in Amoy, wrote of it ‘it is universally acknowledged by the most competent judges to be a work of most wonderful completeness, of scholarly research and accuracy, and a notable evidence of remarkable ability and talent’ (Douglas, John.1878:61). Swanson observed ‘The immense amount of labour, of research, and of accurate scholarship displayed in this work is acknowledged by Chinese scholars.’<sup>32</sup> A century later that still holds. In an article published in 1992, a leading scholar on the Amoy subdialect, Professor Li Ru Long<sup>33</sup> in an article in Chinese cites Carstairs Douglas’ dictionary as his source for an Amoy term. Another leading Chinese scholar of the present day, Professor Zhou Chang-ji of Amoy, expressed the opinion to me that this is still the best non-Chinese work of its kind.

In 1872 the University of Glasgow recognised this achievement by conferring a doctorate on Carstairs Douglas; as Swanson phrased it: ‘On its appearance his own University honoured itself by conferring on him the well-earned degree of LL.D’ (cf. Douglas, John.1878:61).

We should always bear in mind the fact that Carstairs Douglas was not a professional scholar, he accomplished this task in his own time. His other publications on Chinese were insignificant. In one he challenged a proposal for a new style of spelling for Chinese.<sup>34</sup> In

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<sup>30</sup> In Dutch: ‘Sedert dit werk voor de helft is afgedrukt, is er een Chineesch-Engels Emoi-woordenboek van C. DOUGLAS verschenen, dat in uitgebreidheid het Chineesch-Hollands Emoi-woordenboek overtreft’.

<sup>31</sup> Band.1936:152; in fact missionaries destined for Amoy were given a copy on appointment (SOAS, FMC Archives, Box 17, file 11).

<sup>32</sup> A note by Rev. W S Swanson, published on 4 Aug 1877 (perhaps in the *English Presbyterian Messenger*).

<sup>33</sup> 1992:136; the term was ‘pangsi’.

<sup>34</sup> *The Chinese Recorder*. Vol. 6, 1875: 150-51.

another, under the title ‘Chinese tones, most important and not very difficult’ he refuted arguments in an article which asserted inter alia that ‘Nine-tenths of the importance ascribed to Chinese tones is sheerest delusion’.<sup>35</sup>

### **The 1899 dictionary**

We have seen that in 1877, four years after the appearance of the first edition of his dictionary, Carstairs Douglas passed away in Kolongsu. The second edition, (from which the present reproduction is taken,) was published in 1899 by the Presbyterian Church of England, now the United Reformed Church in the United Kingdom. As will be seen, on the title page is an endorsement: ‘NEW EDITION, with corrections by the author’. More specifically, on p.ix we find these words ‘NOTE. -- The corrections and additions prepared by the author in the view of a second edition have been incorporated in this issue. They extend to more than two hundred items. The proofs of these alterations have been read by the Rev. WILLIAM MACGREGOR, M.A., of Amoy. London, May, 1899.’ The pagination of this book appears to be the same as that of the 1873 edition.

#### *Description of the 1899 dictionary from which this facsimile was made*

It comprises xix + 612 pages. The leaves measure 272 x 185 mm. The paper is wove, bears no watermark, and is of the mediocre quality characteristic of many late 19th-century publications.

### **Chinese characters**

The dictionary as it was published in 1899, like the first edition of 1873, contained no Chinese characters. That was a real drawback to a dictionary of Chinese, and makes it all the more surprising that this dictionary was widely recognised as superior to the other dictionaries of this dialect, which did have Chinese characters. But the matter is not so simple.

The fact is that specialists in the subdialects of southern Hokkien (*Fujian*), recognise that many words as pronounced cannot be linked to any specific Chinese character. Carstairs Douglas (see p. viii) writes ‘There are a very large number of the words for which we have not been able to find the corresponding character at all, perhaps a quarter or a third of the whole.’ Macgowan in his dictionary (1905:vii) writes ‘Great difficulty has been experienced in getting the proper Chinese characters to represent all the sounds used in this book. For some there are no characters ...’. In a more recent study, Margaret Sung (1973:12) draws attention to such common words in the Amoy colloquial as ‘gâu’ (‘capable’) and ‘súi’ (‘pretty’) for which there is no recognised Chinese character. Where the character for a particular word is not known, often the character for a synonym, or homonym, is offered; sometimes with a signal to show that this is the case (as in Macgowan, op. cit.), sometimes without such warning.

In the light of this, Carstairs Douglas’ omission of the Chinese characters from his dictionary, no doubt due in part to the practical difficulties of printing in Scotland, may have subsumed at the same time a tacit recognition that the Amoy subdialect is essentially an autonomous system of sounds, not of ideographs. He says as much: ‘Meantime, while I greatly regret that the Chinese character does not appear in the book, I am in one sense glad that it is absent. For it may serve to make manifest the fact that the Vernacular of Amoy is an independent language, which is able to stand alone without the help of the written character’ (see p. ix).

Having made this point, Carstairs Douglas backs away a little, and concedes the value of having the Chinese characters; indeed he intimates (on pp. 611-2) that he has assembled

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<sup>35</sup> *China Review*. Vol. 3, 1874-75, no. 4: 248-52.

unpublished materials for supplementary tables, and in ‘the Companion, Key, or Sequel to this Dictionary, which I shall endeavour to publish ere long, there may be expected, besides the Chinese characters of the words, such tables as . . .’.

There is no denying that the Chinese characters are very useful for identifying words, and the lack of Chinese characters was felt by some users of this dictionary: they engaged Chinese scribes to write the characters with brush pen and Chinese ink into the generous margin of the dictionary. So we find that some extant copies have most of the Chinese characters written in.

The Chinese characters in the present copy, written in an accomplished hand, add greatly to its value as a facsimile publication; indeed, it can be argued that the reproduction is consequently infinitely more useful than the original publication. Moreover, in producing this facsimile we may have the satisfaction of knowing that by including the Chinese characters we are publishing something which Carstairs Douglas himself planned to do, had he been spared. Apart from the printed text, in any discussion of the dictionary from which this facsimile has been made we should take account of the Chinese characters, which were added later. And we should not ignore the owners of the dictionary who have had these characters inserted: in effect they transformed a *publication* into a *manuscript* of much enhanced value.

#### *Owners of the dictionary used for this reproduction*

The dictionary reproduced here has had at least three owners: Inside the front cover we find written ‘A. Singleton, Tainan’. We will consider this later. The identity of another owner is not so straightforward: on the first leaf are four Chinese characters, bold, but written in a less calligraphic hand, as shown in the illustration. These characters, reading from the top can be rendered in the Amoy dialect as shown and their meaning can be found in our dictionary on the pages indicated below:

tài	(see page 471)
i	(see page 161)
seng	(see page 416)
niû <sup>n</sup>	(see page 337)

With the aid of our dictionary and the meticulous records of the Presbyterian Church, these four characters are sufficient to identify this owner with reasonable certainty as Miss Margery Miller, a lady from Norwich in England.

We will rehearse the evidence for this: We see from the dictionary that the first Chinese character can represent a Chinese surname. The next two characters mean ‘Dr.’ And the fourth character is an indication that it refers to a woman. Our dictionary does not confirm that ‘i seng niû<sup>n</sup>’ can denote the wife of a male doctor, but these characters are in fact regularly used in that way.<sup>36</sup> So we are looking for the wife of a Dr Tè. But ‘i-seng’, denotes a western-trained medical doctor, and at that time there were not many Chinese men with western medical qualifications employed by the mission. So perhaps ‘Tè’ represents some western surname beginning with a similar sound. A search of the records of the missionaries after 1899 (when the dictionary came out) revealed only one likely candidate: a medical missionary called Dr Gushue Taylor, M.B., who served in Tainan from 1911 to 1918. We are told that ‘In June, 1911, the Tainan hospital staff was further increased by the appointment of Dr. G. Gushue Taylor who had been resident doctor at Stepney Causeway Hospital (Dr. Barnardo’s); Mrs. Taylor was also a trained nurse.’ We are told that the doctor and his wife both worked in the

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<sup>36</sup> An example can be found in a romanised letter dated 19 Jan. 1951 in SOAS, FMC Archives, Box 4, file 11.

戴  
醫  
生  
娘

A. Siegel & Co.  
Hamburg



mission hospital. That they had an interest in the language is evinced by the fact that ‘Taylor compiled an excellent book in Romanized Formosan on the *Principles and Practice of Nursing*.’ (‘Romanized Formosan’ would in effect be romanised Amoy.) Owing to Mrs Taylor’s ill-health, Dr. Taylor resigned in 1918 and returned to London. We learn that subsequently, in 1923, Dr & Mrs Taylor returned to Taiwan, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and consequently worked in their missionary area, in the north of the island. Dr Taylor founded a leper colony in Tamsui, called the Leper’s Paradise.<sup>37</sup> From the published records therefore we learn that Dr Taylor was in Tainan, that he had a wife, and that they were interested in the local language.

From the archives, in which he is consistently called Dr Gushue-Taylor, we can learn much more about the couple. Dr George Gushue-Taylor was a Canadian, born on 6 Dec. 1883 in Newfoundland. He went to London to study medicine, and graduated with honours.<sup>38</sup> Two or three days later, on 15 November (year not given), he was married to Miss Margery Miller who had been born in Norwich in 1882. They had come to know each other while working for Dr Barnardo’s Homes in London, she as a nurse and he as resident physician. As we have seen, after their marriage they went together to Tainan as missionaries.

This surmise rests on the assumption that the Chinese surname ‘Tè’ can represent the English name ‘Taylor’; and furthermore that this was the Chinese surname which Dr Gushue-Taylor adopted. The archives help us here too. When he died in 1954, according to his wishes his ashes were interred in Taiwan. A commemorative brochure was produced for the interment. This is bilingual, in English and Chinese.<sup>39</sup> From the Chinese version, we get the confirmation we are seeking, namely that his Chinese surname was in fact the same as that we find inscribed in front of the dictionary. We therefore have evidence for concluding that our dictionary was once in the possession of the nurse who had been Miss Margery Miller.

As we have seen, a different owner has written in ink inside the front cover ‘A. Singleton, Tainan’. From Band’s history (1948) we can identify without difficulty a Singleton who lived in Taiwan. Mr L. Singleton BSc was appointed in 1921 to the Middle School at Tainan as science master. We are told that ‘His practical chemistry became the most popular and best taught subject on the curriculum’. In 1940 he withdrew from Taiwan ‘in response to a call for national service at Singapore’. He returned to Taiwan after the war, in October 1946 (see Band.1948:190, 557). There is no reference to his being married, but a group photograph taken in Tainan in 1932 shows ‘Mrs & Mr L. Singleton’ and their son, whose name was Ray. Singleton’s initial ‘L.’ precludes his being the owner of the dictionary. We could speculate that ‘A.’ might be the initial of Mrs Singleton, whose name is not given in Band’s publication<sup>40</sup>

Again, the archives provide bountiful information. From the Roll of Missionaries, (URC Archives, Missionary Fasti,) we learn that Leslie Singleton, who from his height was sometimes known as ‘Lanky’, was born on 18 October 1891 in Lancashire, England. He studied at Westminster Training College and gained a B.Sc. degree from the University of London. He served in the Army (Royal Engineers) for one and a half years, from 1918-19. He arrived in Tainan early in January 1922, and in that same month he went off to Tokyo to learn Japanese - Taiwan had been annexed by the Japanese in 1895, and it became obligatory for the missionaries to learn that language as well as ‘Formosan’ (Amoy) (see Band.1936:109). In 1926 he was given permission to transfer from a teaching to an evangelical function with the mission;

<sup>37</sup> Band.1948:140, 162-3, 590; this appears to be the only thing the Gushue-Taylors published.

<sup>38</sup> This and the following information is from URC Archives, *Missionary Fasti*; and SOAS, FMC Archives, Box 84, file 1.

<sup>39</sup> A copy is preserved in SOAS, FMC Archives, Box 84, file 1.

<sup>40</sup> Band.1948:152, 174, 190, 557, *photograph opp. p.148*.

accordingly, when he returned to England on furlough in 1928, he attended courses on theology. In August 1929 the family of three sailed for Taiwan, going via Canada, where Mrs Singleton fell ill, so that she had to follow on later. By February 1930 she had reached Taiwan, and the family were there together until 1935.

By October 1936 Leslie Singleton was once more in Taiwan.<sup>41</sup> We have seen that, with the threat of the Japanese invasion of South East Asia, in 1940, Leslie Singleton was called to Singapore. There for eighteen months prior to the Japanese invasion he put his knowledge of Japanese to good use in censorship, and also in security investigations. His address there was 9 Adam Road. He escaped capture by the Japanese. After having apparently survived a shipwreck in October 1942, he returned to England where he spent the rest of the war.<sup>42</sup> After his return to Taiwan in 1946, he appears to have occupied a responsible position in the mission.

But of more direct interest to us is his wife, about whom we find less information. However, I have seen four letters written by her, three from addresses in England in 1927, 1940 and 1941, and one from Vancouver in 1929.<sup>43</sup> These are signed 'A. Singleton', moreover in a hand which is reminiscent of the signature in the front of the dictionary. So she is without doubt the second owner of this dictionary. It would appear that she spent only five years in Taiwan with her husband. When Leslie Singleton went there first, in 1922, Ray, the only child they had, would have been less than two years old, and it seems that his mother stayed in England to look after him. That certainly was the case in 1927, when she was living in Lancashire. We can surmise in fact that until they all set sail for Taiwan, in August 1929, she and Ray (then eight) had never been east. She was in Taiwan from 1930 to 1935 (the photograph alluded to was taken in Tainan in 1932), and when they got back to England in 1935 it had been resolved that Mrs A. Singleton would again stay to see to Ray's education. So when Leslie Singleton returned to Taiwan in October 1936, he was unaccompanied. Furthermore after the war, in November 1945, the Missionary Society informed Leslie Singleton that he had been passed as medically fit for service abroad, but that his wife had been rejected as unfit.<sup>44</sup> So once more he went east without his wife. He evidently served there until 1957 (Hood.1998:171).

So we have a partial history of the dictionary as regards ownership. From about 1911 it was in the possession of Mrs Gushue-Taylor, a nurse with a keen interest in the Amoy dialect (Formosan). Although she was clearly interested in the language, it is possible that since her withdrawal in 1918 was on health grounds, she concluded that she would have no further use for it, so she left it behind in Tainan, for the benefit of others. Subsequently, presumably some time after 1922, it came into the hands of another missionary wife, Mrs Singleton. How long she (or her husband) used it is not known; she stayed in Taiwan for only five years, and there is no evidence to show that she showed a particular interest in Chinese; and there is no trace of publications either by her or by Leslie Singleton. There is no further record of the history of our dictionary between then and 15 August 1952, when the present owner had the good fortune to come across it at Brill's Antiquarian Booksellers in Leiden, and to acquire it, for 145 guilders.<sup>45</sup>

My guess is that the Chinese characters would have been inserted in the dictionary by a competent Chinese scribe when it was owned by Mrs Gushue-Taylor - but not by the same scribe who wrote her name in it, as the hand is different; we may surmise then that the Chinese characters were inserted in Tainan, Taiwan. We know nothing about the calligraphist.

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<sup>41</sup> SOAS, FMC Archives, Box 5, file 1.

<sup>42</sup> SOAS, FMC Archives, Box 5, file 2.

<sup>43</sup> SOAS, FMC Archives, Box 5, files 1 & 2.

<sup>44</sup> SOAS, FMC Archives, Box 5, file 2.

<sup>45</sup> An inquiry about the book to Messrs Brill in April 1997 elicited the response that their records of purchases and sales do not go back as far as 1952.

## **The 1923 Supplement**

‘When the time came for a supplement to his dictionary to be compiled (by Dr. Barclay) in order that new words and scientific terms might be included, the original work was in no wise superseded. To the present day the Douglas Dictionary remains the unique standard work on the Amoy language’ (Band.1948:227). That still holds, with the possible proviso that we exclude later works compiled by Chinese scholars in Chinese.

In 1923 the supplement was published: Thomas Barclay.1923. *Supplement to Dictionary of the Vernacular or spoken language of Amoy*. [Rev. Carstairs Douglas]. It was published in Shanghai by The Commercial Press Ltd.

The SOAS Library copy of the 1923 Supplement is approximately the same size as the Dictionary. Dimensions of leaf: 265 mm x 186 mm

I have a reprint put out in Tainan probably in the 1950s. Page dimensions are: 245 x 183 mm. It consists of v + 276 pages. The Chinese characters are printed in the margin (not handwritten). Thomas Barclay, M.A., D.D. Glasg. is described in it as ‘Missionary of the Presbyterian Church of England, Tainan, Formosa’.

A note on the life of Rev. Thomas Barclay (1849-1935) will be found as a preface to the Supplement published herewith.

## **Two reprints of the 1873 dictionary and 1923 Supplement**

### In U.S.A.

A reprint was brought out in 1970 by: Mantara J. Hashimoto; Jerry Norman; Frank A. Kierman, Jr., of the Chinese Linguistic Project, Princeton (February 1970). The reprint does not include the Chinese characters of the dictionary.

### In Taiwan

A reprint was brought about in 1990 by: SMC Publishing Inc., P.O. Box 13-342 Taipei. Again this reprint does not include the Chinese characters of the dictionary.

## **Acknowledgements**

The preparation of this dictionary for republication has been undertaken with the blessing and practical assistance of the United Reformed Church in the United Kingdom, successor to the Presbyterian Church of England.

I would specifically acknowledge the help of Mrs Carol Rogers and Mrs Mary Davies, of that Church, and for permission to publish the etching showing Carstairs Douglas; of Mrs Rosemary Seton, Archivist at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; of Ms Fan Chia-li, a calligrapher from Taitong in Taiwan; and especially of the Rev. Dr. G. A. Hood, who was a missionary in China from 1945 to 1950, and subsequently in Malaya, for reading and proposing helpful amendments to a draft of this Introduction to the reproduction.

In 2004 Rudy Smet of Ganesh Publishing, Bristol, proposed to publish a facsimile of this Dictionary and Supplement. When that proved to be not feasible, the cleaned-up copy, prepared by Ms Kamini Gupta for publication, was generously given to me to be scanned for the production of this CD.

I owe a debt of gratitude also to the team who produced this CD, particularly to Dr Uri Tadmor, Coordinator of the The Jakarta Field Station of the Department of Linguistics, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Without his friendly interest and initiative, and the goodwill of his colleagues, this CD would not exist.

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## SOURCES

### Note

The main archive source for the careers of these missionaries is the Library of the United Reformed Church, 86 Tavistock Place, London WC1H 9RT. (The United Reformed Church was formed in 1972 by the union of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of England and Wales.) Apart from publications, there is a *Missionary Fasti* wallet of documents devoted to Carstairs Douglas. A useful publication on Carstairs Douglas is the edition of *Memorials* by his brother (see Douglas, John M. below). Other important Presbyterian Church Archives are kept in the Library of the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London.

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## **Rev. Thomas Barclay (1849-1935)**

A full account of Barclay's life is to be found in Edward Band's book *Barclay of Formosa*, which not only draws on Barclays reminiscences and diaries, but is enlivened by the fact that the writer himself was a close associate of Barclay for the last twenty years of his life. It will be sufficient for our purposes to simply summarise those features of Barclay's career touching on his compilation of his Supplement to Carstairs Douglas' dictionary.

Thomas Barclay was born at Glasgow in Scotland on 21 November 1849. On his sixteenth birthday he dedicated himself to God with the words: '... I consecrate to Thee all that I am and all that I have' (Band.1936:12,13). So after graduating from the University of Glasgow he entered the Free Church Divinity College in 1869, completing his studies there in 1873.

We have seen that in 1872 and 1873 Carstairs Douglas was in Glasgow on leave. Barclay records meeting him: 'Near the close of our theological studies', Barclay writes, 'Dr. Carstairs Douglas of Amoy, brother of our Principal, Dr. George Douglas, came seeking recruits for the China Mission.' At the time Carstairs Douglas was seeing his Amoy dictionary through the press. Barclay continues 'One evening a number of the students were invited by the Principal to meet Dr. Carstairs Douglas who was at that time engaged in the publication of his great Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular. He showed us a number of the proofs. I remarked to him that it seemed very nicely printed, very clear and plain. 'Yes,' he said, 'I think you will find it very useful when you come to China' (Band.1936:17,18). Barclay did not immediately accede to this proposal - instead he went off to study in Leipzig in Germany - but the seed had been sown, he had decided to become an overseas missionary for the Presbyterian Church of England. So in December 1874 he arrived in Amoy. The following year he was appointed to Formosa (Taiwan). 'I understand that I was appointed to Formosa on the ground that being taller my long legs would be better for the hill work in Formosa !' he wrote (Band.1936:19). Barclay crossed over to Formosa to commence what turned out to be sixty years of missionary work, so that he 'probably holds the longest record of any missionary for active service in the Far East' (Band.1936:2).

The death of Carstairs Douglas two years later, at a relatively young age, greatly affected Barclay. 'Personally we all feel that we have lost a good friend', he wrote. 'I myself have always felt that I sustained a special relation to him, because it was mainly through him that I was led to become a missionary to China and every time I have been with him our intercourse has been exceedingly pleasant. It seems so mysterious that he should be taken away just when the work is so spreading and labourers are so needed, and when he might soon be expected to give to the world further additions to the dictionary which, even as it is, is so invaluable. And now who is to carry on the work ?' (Band.1936:46).

As regards the dictionary, the time had not yet come. Broadly speaking, Barclay spent the first forty years of his missionary life in pastoral work, and only the last twenty years (1913-1935) in translating and lexicography. During this last period he completed three major projects. One was a revised translation of the New Testament into Romanised Amoy, published in 1916. He also worked on a revised translation of the Old Testament into Romanised Amoy, completed in 1933 - when he was 84 years old (Band.1936:144-6,172-182).

Between these tasks he worked on his Supplement to Carstairs Douglas' Amoy dictionary. In 1913 his colleagues who (in Band's words) 'were familiar with his habit of always jotting down every new word he heard, good bad or indifferent' had proposed that he

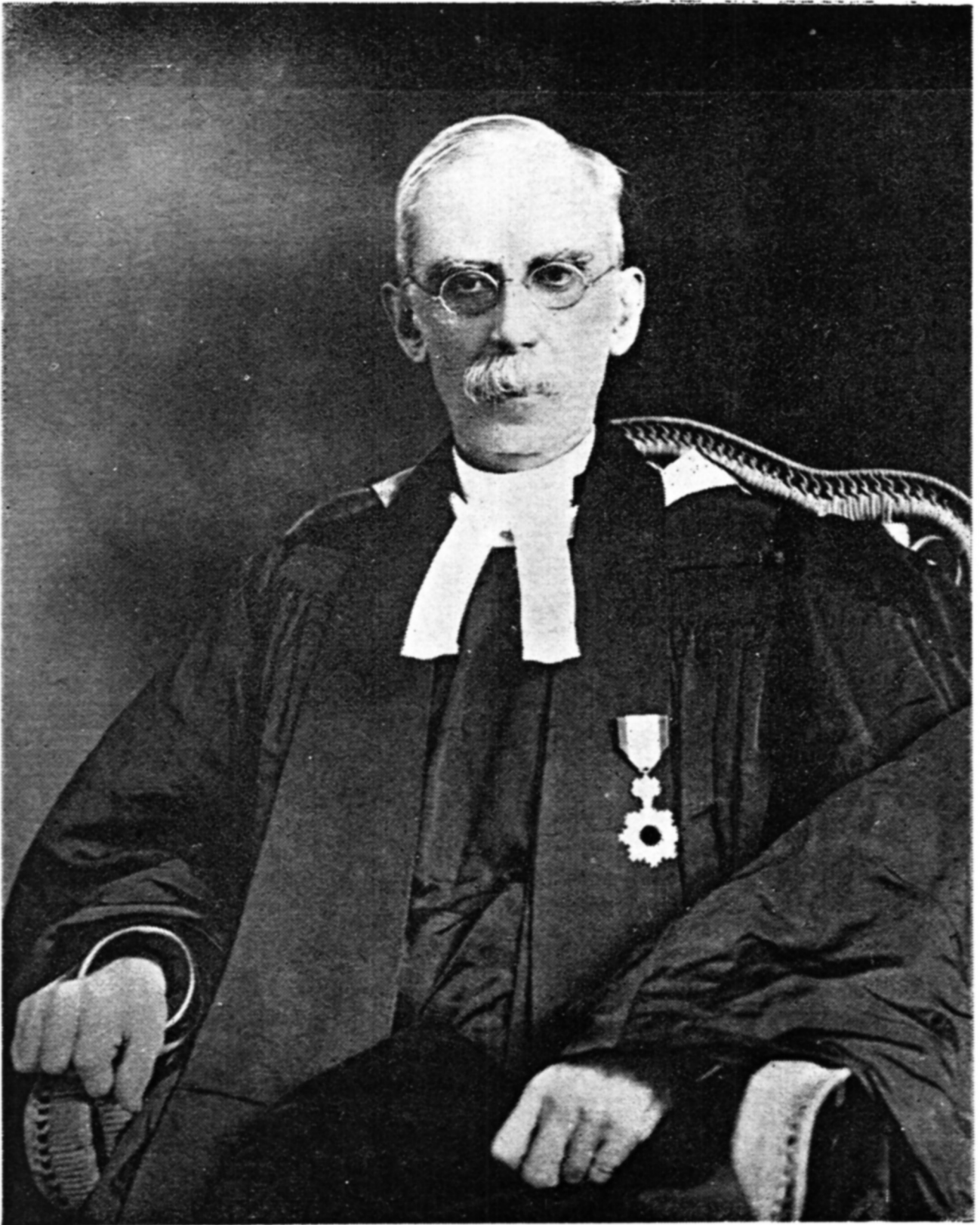
undertake the venture. 'So for the next ten years', Band writes 'he devoted his spare time to cataloguing his already large collection of such words and phrases as were not to be found in the Douglas dictionary, adding to them from various sources.' Barclay spent three or four months in Amoy especially to prepare the Supplement for the press, and on his return from furlough in 1922 went to Shanghai to supervise the printing at the Commercial Press (Band.1936:153).

Barclay, like the other missionaries in Taiwan, was convinced that the medium for Christian proselytising in Taiwan had to be not Chinese characters but the 'Romanised Vernacular'. It may surprise us then that the Supplement, unlike the Dictionary, does carry printed Chinese characters for the headwords. Of course this would be much easier to accomplish in Shanghai than in Glasgow. But apart from that, Barclay did not advocate exclusiveness: the motto he urged on his fellow missionaries was 'Everyone must learn Romanised, and as many as possible learn 'character''. (Band.1936:67,147).

Dr. Barclay died in Taiwan on 5 October 1935 at the age of 86 (Band.1936:198).

#### *Source*

Band, Edward.1936. *Barclay of Formosa*. Tokyo: Christian Literature Society.



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