



卫三畏文集
Selected Works of
Samuel Wells Williams

中国总论

(卷 I) (上)

The Middle Kingdom

[美]

卫三畏 著

Samuel Wells Williams



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中国总论

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論 總 國 中

THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

A SURVEY OF THE GEOGRAPHY, GOVERNMENT, LITERATURE,
SOCIAL LIFE, ARTS, AND HISTORY

OF

THE CHINESE EMPIRE

AND

ITS INHABITANTS

BY

S. WELLS WILLIAMS, LL.D.

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OF TONIC AND SYLLABIC DICTIONARIES OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

*REVISED EDITION, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND A NEW
MAP OF THE EMPIRE*

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To
GIDEON NYE, JR.,
OF CANTON, CHINA,
A
TESTIMONIAL OF THE
Respect and Friendship
OF THE AUTHOR.

主编序言

陶德民 张西平 吴志良

2008年8月8日,在北京奥运会开幕的当天,新落成的美国驻华使馆举行了剪彩仪式。美国国务院历史文献办公室为此发行了纪念图册,题为《共同走过的日子——美中交往两百年》,其中把1833年抵达广州的卫三畏(Samuel Wells Williams, 1812-1884)称为美国“来华传教第一人”,虽然他并非是第一个来到中国的美国传教士。图册对卫三畏在促进美中两国人民的相互了解方面所作的贡献作了这样的概括和评价:“传教士成为介绍中国社会与文化的重要信息来源,因为他们与大部分来华经商的外国人不一样,这些传教士学习了中文。例如,美国传教士卫三畏就会说流利的广东话和日语。他曾参与编辑英文期刊《中国丛报》,供西方传教士及时了解中国的最新动态,方便在美国的读者了解中国人的生活。卫三畏还编辑出版了《汉英拼音字典》(即《汉英韵府》——序者)和分为上下两卷的历史巨著《中国总论》。时至今日,他依然被公认为对19世纪的中国生活认识得最为精透的观察家。”

图册中也提到“蒲安臣于1862年成为第一个常驻北京的美国代表,在促进中国的国际关系上扮演了更为积极的角色。蒲安臣迅速结识了一批清政府的主要改革派官员,其中就包括咸丰皇帝的弟弟,设立了中国第一个外务部(应为总理各国事务衙门—序者)的恭亲王奕訢”,以及他1867年辞去驻华公使后作为清朝使节率团访问欧美,与当时的美国国务卿签订《蒲安臣条约》一事。“该条约扩展了中美两国的往来领域。条约规定,两国人民享有在彼此国家游历、居住的互惠权,并可入对方官学;中国领事在美国口岸享有完全的外交权利;鼓励华工移民美国;美国政府支持中国的领土主权。”其实,蒲安臣的卓有成效的外交活动及其维护正义的外交主张,与当时担任使馆秘书兼翻译的卫三畏的鼎力相助是分不开的。卫三畏的儿子卫斐列后来倾注极大热忱为蒲安臣撰写传记,其重要原因之一也在于此。

今天,当我们出版这部文集以纪念卫三畏诞辰200周年,并重新探讨其经历和成就之际,有必要思考这样一个问题,即卫三畏一生所体现的诸多志趣和倾向之中,什么是值得我们加以特别关注的呢?虽然这是一个“仁者见仁,智者见智”的问题,多数人恐怕都不会对以下见解持有异议,即卫三畏在对华态度上所发生的“从教化到对话”的某种转变可以说是他留给后世的最重要的精神遗产之一。而这恰恰可以从耶鲁大学校园里

留存至今的两件文物上得到印证。

第一件文物是该校公共大食堂(Commons Dining Hall)墙上的卫三畏肖像画,它其实是设在纽约的美国圣经协会所藏同一油画的一个复本。如所周知,卫三畏的在华生涯大抵分为两个阶段,作为传教士的前22年(1833-1855)和作为外交官的后20年(1856-1876)。在前22年的最后一段时间里,他还作为首席翻译官随同佩里将军的舰队两次远征日本,在改变日本锁国政策的外交谈判过程中发挥了重要作用。佩里将军对其语言天赋和交涉手腕的赏识,无疑是卫三畏转而步入为期20年的外交生涯的一个契机。1877年辞职回国后不久,他受聘为耶鲁大学的中国语言文学讲座教授。1881年春被遴选为美国圣经协会会长后,他便提出希望有才华的画家制作自己的肖像画,并将其献给圣经协会。结果,由耶鲁大学艺术学院的韦约翰教授制作的油画所呈现的是这样一个形象:等身大的卫三畏站立在放有纸、笔和一个中国式花瓶的桌子边上,目视前方,手持1858年《中美天津条约》的文本。

很显然,这样的构图反映了卫三畏本人的意思:他一直把基督教传教自由的条款得以列入1858年《中美天津条约》看作自己毕生的最大成就。这是因为当时负责谈判的美国公使列卫廉对是否要在条约中加入该条款并不经意,只是在卫三畏的坚持之下才获得了最后的成功。此一事实,不仅可见于耶鲁大学斯德龄纪念图书馆附属档案馆所藏卫三畏的亲笔日记,也可以由当时协助他进行谈判工作的丁韪良牧师后来所写的《花甲记忆》得到证实:“那份现在成为条约荣耀之处的条款是卫三畏博士提出的。”在预定签约的6月18日即“决定命运的那天早上,卫三畏博士告诉我他一夜未眠,一直在考虑这份宽容条款。现在他想到了一种新的形式,可能会被对方接受。他写了下来,我建议我们应当马上坐轿子直接奔赴中方官邸解决这个问题。……中方代表接见了我们,他们当中的负责人稍作修改,就接受了卫三畏博士的措辞。”(详见陶德民《从卫三畏档案看1858年中美之间的基督教弛禁交涉——写在〈基督教传教士传记丛书〉问世之际》)。1876年夏天,美国国务院接受卫三畏的辞呈,在正式解职通知中对他赞扬有加:“您对中国人的性格与习惯的熟悉,对该民族及其政府愿望与需求的了解,对汉语的精通,以及您对基督教与文明进步事业的贡献,都使您有充分的理由自豪。您无与伦比的中文字典与有关中国的诸多著作已为您赢得科学与文学领域内相应的崇高地位。更为重要的是,宗教界不会忘记,尤其多亏了您,我们与中国订立的条约中才得以加入自由传教这一条。”而卫三畏则在复信中坦承,这一嘉许是“最最让他感动与满意的”(见卫斐列著,顾钧、江莉译《卫三畏生平及书信——一位美国来华传教士的心路历程》)。顺便提到,在1858年6月19日,亦即《中美天津条约》签订的第二天,美国驻日总领事哈里斯便与德川幕府的代表签订了《美日修好通商条约》。卫三畏闻讯后,又不失时机地向美国的新教诸团体提出派遣牧师赴日传教的建议,并得到了切实的响应。所以,对美国基督教会的东亚传教事业来说,卫三畏确实是一位有功之臣。

那么,卫三畏是基于一种什么样的信念而企图以基督教义来教化东亚的所谓异教徒的呢?试举一个例子。1853年7月16日,在佩里将军初访日本,成功向日方递交美国总统国书一周之后,卫三畏曾从停泊在江户湾的军舰上给他在土耳其传教的弟弟W. F. 威廉斯写了一封长信,其中指出:“佩里告诉日本官员,他将在次年率领一支更大的

舰队以求得到他们对所提要求的回答,即所有前来访问或遇难流落日本海岸的美国人应得到善待,美国汽船在一个日本港口得到煤炭以及有关物资的补给。这些是我们花费巨大开支和派出强大舰队到日本水域的表面上理由,而真正的理由是为了提高我们民族的名誉和得到称扬我们自己的材料。在这些理由的背后并通过这些理由,存有上帝的目的,即将福音传达给所有国家,并将神旨和责任送达这个至今为止只是在拙劣地模仿耶稣之真的民族。我十分确信,东亚各民族的锁国政策决非根据上帝的善意安排,其政府必须在恐怖和强制之下将之改变,尔后其人民或可自由。朝鲜人、中国人、琉球人和日本人必须承认这唯一活着的和真实的上帝,他们的锁国之墙必将为我们所拆除,而我们西方的太平洋沿岸城市正开始派出船队前往大洋的彼岸。”从卫三畏对佩里访日使命的解读来看,他固然赞成打开东亚各国的大门,但更重视把上帝的福音传入各国人们的心扉,期盼由此引发一系列的变革。因为他认定上帝所代表的真善美的品格和力量是美国等基督教国家所拥有的绝对优势和无比强势的源泉。(详见陶德民《十九世纪中叶美国对日人权外交的启示——写在日本开国150周年之际》)

然而,卫三畏在以后长期驻节北京的岁月里,逐步加深了对中国的悠久历史和深厚传统文化的了解,使他在对华态度上开始发生“从教化到对话”的某种转变。而这一点可以耶鲁校园里的另一件艺术杰作来作为象征,那就是在卫三畏于1884年2月16日去世两周之后,在举行其丧礼的巴特尔教堂(Battell Chapel)东北角中心位置安装的一块非常别致的彩色纪念玻璃。玻璃的中央写有《论语》中的七个汉字:“敏则有功,公则说。”(意思大体为,勤勉能积成事功,公道则众人心悦诚服)。玻璃的下方用英文记载了卫三畏的名字、生卒年份以及他一生所扮演的角色与身份,即“传教士、学者、外交官、耶鲁学院中文教授”。这块玻璃由纽约的路易斯·第法尼公司(Louis C. Tiffany & Co.)负责制作,其别出心裁的设计显然是出于卫三畏生前的授意。

卫三畏选用孔子的话作为自己一生的概括,可谓恰如其分。勤勉能积成事功的道理,可以从他孜孜不倦编纂而成的《中国丛报》、《中国总论》以及《汉英韵府》等多种刊物和名著得到了解。公道则众人心悦诚服的道理,则充分体现在了他辞职回国之际所受到的各界朋友的赞扬。他在信中告诉他的妻子,“临行前威妥玛于周六、西华于周一为我举办了两次特别宴会,我见到了北京的所有名流,并受到了他们的盛赞。然后,似乎是为了区别于外交聚会,丁韪良、艾约瑟、怀定先后请我吃饭。我告诉过你,我在丁韪良家见到了所有的传教士,那真是一次令人难忘的聚会”。“接连不断的登门送别者中有三四位是总理衙门的官员,京城中最位高权重的大官也来为我送行。除了亲王之外,我都是在办公室里会见他们,彼此依依惜别。九位官员每人赠我一柄折扇作为纪念,这充分显示了中国人的友善”。不仅北京的新教传教士们发给他一封送别信以示友谊与敬意,上海的同仁也发给他一封相似的信,恰如其分地总结了他在中国的的生活:“您长期担任美国使馆秘书、翻译,九次代理公使的职务,这些工作给了您许多重要的机遇,使您得以把知识、经验用于为中国人造福、为您自己的国家谋利,尤其是为基督教在中国的传播效力。对您工作中表现出的高度责任感,我们不胜钦佩。”对这些热情洋溢的赞美之辞,卫三畏则表示自己的所作所为只不过是执行上帝的旨意,“我在传教过程中与同伴们相处融洽、身体健康、工作愉快,为此我要虔诚地赞美造物主”。

在某种意义上说,卫三畏选用孔子的话来概括自己的一生,也显示了他对中国文化传统的敬重之意。而这种敬重之意,可以由 1879 年他为反对加州的排华风潮而撰写的《中国移民》中的一节得到佐证:“当加州的法庭想用立法来反对中国人时,它将中国人等同于印第安人的简单态度是颇为古怪的。生理学家查尔斯·匹克林将中国人和印第安人归为蒙古的成员,但加州的最高法院却认为‘印第安族包括汉族和蒙古族’。这样在概念错误的同时,它还支持了一种错误的观点。它把现存最古老国度的臣民和一个从未超越部落关系的种族相提并论;把这样一个民族——它的文学早于《诗篇》和《出埃及记》,并且是用一种如果法官本人肯于学习就不会叫作印第安语的语言写就,而它的读者超过了其他任何民族的作品——与最高的写作成就仅是一些图画和牛皮上的符号的人群混为一谈;把勤奋、谨慎、技艺、学识、发明等所有品质和全部保障人类生命和财产安全的物品等同于猎人和游牧民族的本能和习惯。它诋毁了一个教会我们如何制作瓷器、丝绸、火药,给予我们指南针,展示给我们茶叶的用处,启迪我们采用考试选拔官员的制度的民族;把它和一个轻视劳动,没有艺术、学校、贸易的种族归为同类,后者的一部分现在还混迹于加州人中间,满足于以挖草根过活。”虽然卫三畏在赞扬中国人的同时,也表达了他对印第安人的歧视态度,他的观点还是得到当时耶鲁学院全体教授的同情,他们纷纷签名支持他起草的请愿书,呼吁海斯总统否决 1879 年的反移民法,其中包含这样的警告:如果我们的政府首先改变条约的规定,中国政府也可以根据国际法取消治外法权,致使美国在华公民失去领事的保护。此外,1878 年中国北方发生大饥荒时,身处太平洋彼岸的卫三畏利用他对美国在华传教士和商社的影响,不遗余力地推动救灾。他还试图劝说国会归还 1859 年中方赔款余额的一部分来帮助缓解灾区的困境。而早在 1860 年,他就曾建议国务院用这笔赔款余额在中国建立一所美中学院,以培养中方的翻译、通商和外交人才。这个建议得到了新上任的总统林肯的同意,只因为当时的国会未予批准而搁浅。卫三畏这个未能实现的建议完全可以称之为后来退回庚款吸引中国学生留美的先驱性方案。

卫三畏还对亲眼目睹的中国同时代的缓慢而确凿的变化做了一定的正面评价。1883 年 7 月,即辞世的半年多之前,卫三畏在儿子的帮助下终于完成了《中国总论》这一巨著的修订工作,在增补版的序言中他写下了如下字句:“我在 1833 年到达广州时,和另外两位美国人作为‘番鬼’向行商经官正式报告,在他的监护之下才得以生存。1874 年,我作为美国驻北京公使馆秘书,跟随艾忒敏公使觐见同治皇帝,美国使节站在与‘天子’完全平等的地位呈上国书。由于一生之中的这两次遭遇,并念念不忘在思想和道德上的重大进步是使一个孤傲的政府从强加于人的姿态改而听从他人所必需的,毫不足怪的是,我确信汉人的子孙有着伟大的未来,不过,唯有纯正基督教的发展才是能使这一成长过程中的各个冲突因素免于互相摧残的充分条件。无论如何,这个国家已经度过被动时期,这是肯定无疑的。中国不可能再安于懒散隔绝——像过去那样,以过于自负的态度俯视其他国家,就像面对她所无需劳神的星星一样。”

如果说,17 世纪的礼仪之争最后是以天主教士在康熙禁令之下被逐出中国告终的,那么,这场可谓 19 世纪的礼仪之争则是以“天朝上国”在第二次鸦片战争之后所做出的巨大让步来结局的,包括废除以夷相称、公使驻京、平身觐见皇帝而不必行三跪九叩之

礼。卫三畏的字里行间所透露的,既有在礼仪上争得与最古老“中央王国”之“天子”平等地位的自豪,又有从其所信奉的上帝的立场针砭这个王国“懒散隔绝”和“过于自负”的高傲。联系到上述 1853 年他给在土耳其传教的弟弟 W. F. 威廉斯的长信,可见这时的卫三畏虽然在其对华态度上开始了“从教化到对话”的转变,但并未把“异教徒”放在完全对等的位置上,特别是在道德和精神的层面上。在这个意义上说,自以为占据着道德精神的制高点,只有基督教可以拯救中国的卫三畏也难免“过于自负”的诟病。这就是笔者在前文中提到其转变时,始终不忘加上“某种”一词来予以限定的缘故。

尽管如此,卫三畏在序言中宣称,修订版“坚持初版序言中所述的观点——为中国人民及其文明洗刷掉古怪的、模糊不清的可笑印象”。卫三畏相信,在传教“事业取得成功的基础上,中国作为一个民族,在道义和政治两方面,将会得到拯救。这一成功有可能和人民的需要同步前进。他们将会变得适应于自己着手处理问题,并且和外国文明以多种活动形式结合起来。不久,将会引进铁路、电报和制造业,随之而来的是中国人民中成百万地受到启发,无论在宗教、政治和家庭生活的每一方面”。这种力图呈现中国文明及民族的美好品质和衷心期待中国在对外交往中日益开放进步的善意态度,自然是应该予以充分肯定的。

从卫三畏的例子不难联想到,身处所谓“轴心文明”(主要以几大世界性宗教作为标识)的人们往往患有“老子天下第一”的自恋症,而以“居高临下”的态度傲视其他人,难以免俗和根治。反观我们自己,历代国人的“华夷之辨”又何尝不是如此?而时至今日,仍不乏“宅兹中国”的自尊和输出“天下体系”的自负。但也不必悲观,因为这个五彩缤纷的世界本来就是由形形色色、各有偏好的人们构成的。他们之间有相辅相成的关系,也有相反相成的因素。虽然各派宗教和文化的代表自以为有“替上帝传教”或“替天行道”的使命,谁都无法垄断真理和剥夺他人的信仰,也不能指望按照自己的面貌来彻底改造他人。其出于宗教或政治动机的种种努力的后果,客观上会推动各国和各民族之间的交往和融合,并推动人类文明的进步和升华,则是毫无疑问的。从这一点来看,卫三畏一生的变化过程所显示的方向对我们建构今日地球村的和平共处规则还是不乏启迪作用的,那就是要逐渐学会把“老子化胡”的心态改为“相敬如宾”的心理,对异民族、异文化和异文明采取更加宽容、尊重和善于调适的态度,以使用文明对话来取代文明对抗,从而把亨廷顿认为不可避免的“文明冲突”消弭于萌芽状态和无形之间。

PREFACE.

DURING the thirty-five years which have elapsed since the first edition of this work was issued, a greater advance has probably been made in the political and intellectual development of China than within any previous century of her history. While neither the social habits nor principles of government have so far altered as to necessitate a complete rewriting of these pages, it will be found, nevertheless, that the present volumes treat of a reformed and in many respects modern nation. Under the new régime the central administration has radically increased its authority among the provincial rulers, and more than ever in former years has managed to maintain control over their pretensions. The Empire has, moreover, established its foreign relations on a well-understood basis by accredited envoys ; this will soon affect the mass of the people by the greater facilities of trade, the presence of travellers, diffusion of education, and other agencies which are awaking the people from their lethargy. Already the influences which will gradually transform the face of society are mightily operating.

The changes which have been made in the book comprise such alterations and additions as were necessary to describe the country under its new aspects. In the constant desire to preserve a convenient size, every doubtful or superfluous sentence has been erased, while the new matter incorporated has increased

the bulk of the present edition about one-third. The arrangement of chapters is the same. The first four, treating of the geography, combine as many and accurate details of recent explorers or residents as the proportions of this section will permit. The extra-provincial regions are described from the researches of Russian, English, and Indian travellers of the last twenty years. It is a waste, mountainous territory for the most part and can never support a large population. Great pains have been taken by the cartographer, Jacob Wells, to consult the most authentic charts in the construction of the map of the Empire. By collating and reducing to scale the surveys and route charts of reliable travellers throughout the colonies, he has produced in all respects as accurate a map of Central Asia as is at this date possible. The Eighteen Provinces are in the main the same as in my former map.

The chapter on the census remains for the most part without alteration, for until there has been a methodical inspection of the Empire, important questions concerning its population must be held in abeyance. It is worth noticing how generally the estimates in this chapter—or much larger figures—have since its first publication been accepted for the population of China. Foreign students of natural history in China have, by their researches in every department, furnished material for more extensive and precise descriptions under this subject than could possibly have been gathered twoscore years ago. The sixth chapter has, therefore, been almost wholly rewritten, and embraces as complete a summary of this wide field as space would allow or the general reader tolerate. The specialist will, however, speedily recognize the fact that this rapid glance serves rather to indicate how immense and imperfectly explored is this subject than to describe whatever is known.

That portion of the first volume treating of the laws and their administration does not admit of more than a few minor

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changes. However good their theory of jurisprudence, the people have many things to bear from the injustice of their rulers, but more from their own vices. The *Peking Gazette* is now regularly translated in the Shanghai papers, and gives a *coup d'œil* of the administration of the highest value.

The chapters on the languages and literature are considerably improved. The translations and text-books which the diligence of foreign scholars has recently furnished could be only partially enumerated, though here, as elsewhere in the work, references in the foot-notes are intended to direct the more interested student to the bibliography of the subject, and present him with the materials for an exhaustive study. The native literature is extensive, and all branches have contributed somewhat to form the *résumé* which is contained in this section, giving a preponderance to the Confucian classics. The four succeeding chapters contain notices of the arts, industries, domestic life, and science of the Chinese—a necessarily rapid survey, since these features of Chinese life are already well understood by foreigners. Nothing, however, that is either original or peculiar has been omitted in the endeavor to portray their social and economic characteristics. The emigration of many thousands of the people of Kwangtung within the last thirty years has made that province a representative among foreign nations of the others; it may be added that its inhabitants are well fitted, by their enterprise, thrift, and maritime habits, to become types of the whole.

The history and chronology are made fuller by the addition of several facts and tables;¹ but the field of research in this direction has as yet scarcely been defined, and few certain dates have been determined prior to the Confucian era.

¹ An alphabetical arrangement of all the tables scattered throughout the work may be found under this word in the Index.

The entire continent of Asia must be thoroughly investigated in its geography, antiquities, and literature in order to throw light on the eastern portion. The history of China offers an interesting topic for a scholar who would devote his life to its elucidation from the mass of native literature.

The two chapters on the religions, and what has been done within the past half century to promote Christian missions, are somewhat enlarged and brought down to the present time. The study of modern scholars in the examination of Chinese religious beliefs has enabled them to make comparisons with other systems of Asiatics, as well as discuss the native creeds with more certainty.

The chapter on the commerce of China has an importance commensurate with its growing amount. Within the past ten years the opium trade has been attacked in its moral and commercial bearings between China, India, and England. There are grounds for hope that the British Government will free itself from any connection with it, which will be a triumph of justice and Christianity. The remainder of Volume II. describes events in the intercourse of China with the outer world, including a brief account of the Tai-ping Rebellion, which proximately grew out of foreign ideas. No connected or satisfactory narrative of the events which have forced one of the greatest nations of the world into her proper position, so far as I am aware, has as yet been prepared. A succinct recital of one of the most extraordinary developments of modern times should not be without interest to all.

The work of condensing the vast increase of reliable information upon China into these two volumes has been attended with considerable labor. Future writers will, I am convinced, after the manner of Richthofen, Yule, Legge, and others, confine themselves to single or cognate subjects rather than attempt such a comprehensive synopsis as is here presented. The

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number of illustrations in this edition is nearly doubled, the added ones being selected with particular reference to the subject-matter. I have availed myself of whatever sources of information I could command, due acknowledgment of which is made in the foot-notes, and ample references in the Index.

The revision of this book has been the slow though constant occupation of several years. When at last I had completed the revised copy and made arrangements as to its publication, in March, 1882, my health failed, and under a partial paralysis I was rendered incapable of further labor. My son, Frederick Wells Williams, who had already looked over the copy, now assumed entire charge of the publication. I had the more confidence that he would perform the duties of editor, for he had already a general acquaintance with China and the books which are the best authority. The work has been well done, the last three chapters particularly having been improved under his careful revision and especial study of the recent political history of China. The Index is his work, and throughout the book I am indebted to his careful supervision, especially on the chapters treating of geography and literature. By the opening of this year I had so far recovered as to be able to superintend the printing and look over the proofs of the second volume.

My experiences in the forty-three years of my life in China were coeval with the changes which gradually culminated in the opening of the country. Among the most important of these may be mentioned the cessation of the East India Company in 1834, the war with England in 1841-42, the removal of the monopoly of the hong merchants, the opening of five ports to trade, the untoward attack on the city of Canton which grew out of the *lorcha* Arrow, the operations in the vicinity of Peking, the establishment of foreign legations in that city, and finally, in 1873, the peaceful settlement of the *kotow*, which rendered possible the approach of foreign ministers to the Em-