

LI ON AMERICAN HATRED

CHINESE LABORERS, HE SAYS,
HAVE HIGHER VIRTUES.

Argues for Free Competition in Labor
as Well as Free Trade in Com-
modities—The Geary Act Most

horther than that from San Francisco, and I am told that the Empress of China is a larger and more comfortable ship than any I could get from any other port on the Pacific."

"Is there any desirable outlet for the investment of American capital in China?" asked the reporters.

"CHINA IN THE produced only by the combination of money, labor, and land," replied Li very promptly, "and the Chinese Government will very gladly welcome any capital that seeks investment in the empire. Gen. Grant, who was one of my

《纽约时报》中国观察记

NEW YORK TIMES

帝国的回忆

《纽约时报》晚清观察记

1854—1911

郑曦原 编

● 力图以时报原始材料重现一个世界
大国编年史的伟大尝试

● 《纽约时报》版的中国晚清史

当代中国出版社
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ON AMERICAN HATRED

CHINESE LABORERS, HE SAYS, HAVE HIGHER VIRTUES.

Reasons for Free Competition in Labor as Well as Free Trade in Commodities—The Geary Act Most Unfair, He Says in a Formal Audience with Reporters—Amazed by Our Tall Buildings and Pleased with Most Things He Sees.

"I have two reasons for not going to your Western States," replied Li. "While I was High Commissioner of the Southern Ports of China I received much of the treatment of the Chinese people into your country through California. These complaints set forth that the Chinese were not accorded their rights, and I have applied to me to aid them in the full recognition of their rights and grants to America. Now, by your law, instead of granting them equal rights with other immigrants, you have denied them their just privileges. I should like, therefore, to go through the States where you treated the Chinese in this way, and have to receive delegations of Chinese who would present to me petitions for a recognition of their rights in your Western States.

The second reason is that while I am a young man, I am advanced in years and I am somewhat by my own comfort. The law of your country is very strict.

... told that the Empress of China larger and more comfortable ship than I could get from any other port on Pacific."

"Is there any desirable outlet for investment of American capital in China?" asked the reporters.

"Wealth can be produced only by a combination of money, labor, and land," replied Li very promptly, "and the Government will very gladly welcome capital that seeks investment in the Empire. Gen. Grant, who was one of my friends, said to me: 'You must assist the Chinese in the material development of their country and their natural resources, but the administration of these enterprises must remain in the hands of the Chinese Government.' I would be glad to have your capital investment in China. The capital of skilled labor could be supplied by the administration of the affairs of the railways, telegraph lines, &c., which should be controlled by China. We will maintain our sovereign rights, and will allow anybody to touch our sacred privileges. I well remember Gen. Grant's advice. All capitalists, whether American or European, can freely invest their money in enterprises in China."

"Would your Excellency favor the production of a newspaper in China of the newspaper type developed in this country and in Europe?"

"There are newspapers in China, but Chinese editors, unfortunately, do not tell the truth. They do not, as your papers do, tell the truth, and not only do not tell the truth, but they are great economizers of the truth; they do not tell the whole truth, and therefore, the great circulation of their papers is very small. Because of this, the newspapers have not been very successful."

帝国的回忆

CHINA IN THE NEW YORK TIMES

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编者简介

郑曦原，1963年5月出生于四川省内江市。先后就学于兰州大学、外交学院、北京大学和美国杜克大学。中共甘肃省委组织部1984届选调生，志愿到陇南乡村工作三年。后供职于甘肃省文化厅、国家物价局和外交部，曾任中国驻纽约总领事馆副领事、外交部政策规划司参赞、中国驻孟买总领事馆总领事，现任中国驻曼彻斯特总领事馆总领事。著有《中国远古文化》、《通向未来之路：与吉登斯对话》（与李方惠合著）、《高位的危机》（与以克合著），编著《帝国的回忆：〈纽约时报〉晚清观察记》《共和十年：〈纽约时报〉民初观察记》《浴火重生：〈纽约时报〉中国抗战观察记》等。协助其父郑时文核校《穿过硝烟的军列：一个学生兵的朝鲜战场亲历记》。

《纽约时报》中国观察记系列

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前言

他山之石，可以攻错



《纽约时报》自 19 世纪中期创刊以来，历经 150 年仍雄踞美国乃至西方主流媒体的领袖地位，这在世界新闻史上绝无仅有。本人在中国驻纽约总领事馆工作期间，曾比较系统地查阅了《纽约时报》从 1853 年至 1997 年的对华报道目录索引，并阅读了其中晚清时期的 408 篇文电。当我发现《纽约时报》对中国的跨世纪追踪报道，其篇幅是如此之巨大、时间是如此之连续、视角是如此之完整时，内心受到很大震动。

1997 年夏季，我向时报提出准备选择该报部分原始报道来编纂一部反映中国近现代史的著作，期望寻找到《纽约时报》对华报道影响美国主流社会形成美式“中国观”的线索，同时也以一个独特的视角重新审视中国社会政治、经济和文化等诸领域的变迁，捕捉到中国积弱而强，最终实现民族复兴的历史轨迹。这个提议获得时报的重视和响应，并评价为“这是力图以时报原始资料重现一个世界大国之编年史的伟大尝试”。因此，我们从 1997 年冬开始着手，首先形成了“《纽约时报》中国观察记”三部曲的编纂总纲，然后选择晚清社会为第一部，至 1998 年秋完成这一时间段的资料选辑工作，以此奠定了本书的原始文献基础。将来如果条件允许，我们

还准备着手第二部（民国卷）和第三部（人民中国卷）的编纂工作。^①

“《纽约时报》中国观察记”第一部定名为《帝国的回忆：〈纽约时报〉晚清观察记》，独立成书。本书全部原始文献均采选自纽约公立图书馆的缩微胶片库，跨越时间从1854年1月至1911年10月，共采用135篇原始文电，皆从我们编制的《〈纽约时报〉晚清报道总选辑目录》（418篇）中挑选出来。我们挑选文电的标准，主要依据以下方面：直观反映晚清时期中国社会面貌的文电；直观反映传统中国文化面对西方文明冲击而发生相应变化的文电；描述中国上层社会政治生活的文电；描述中国近代重大外交活动的文电；叙述中国若干重大战争事件的文电；叙述中国近代变法与革命的文电；反映华侨生活习俗的文电。选用文电的形式包括快讯、新闻专稿、特写、述评和社论，力求较真实地再现时报的新闻语言风格和报道特点，既有直观式的描述和观察，也有深入分析和背景报道。由于篇幅有限，本书对重大战争事件的文电选择以中日战争为重点，对重大革命事件的报道以孙中山先生的活动为重点，对重大外交事件的报道以李鸿章访问纽约为重点。如此选辑，难免挂一漏万，为此我们特将《〈纽约时报〉晚清报道总选辑目录》的英文索引附于书后，供有更多兴趣的读者参考。在此需要补充说明的一点是，由于年代久远，纽约公立图书馆保存的缩微胶片显示效果很不稳定，有不少我们自认为应该选入的文电实在无法辨识，只好忍痛割爱。

本书在编辑顺序上一共安排为七篇，首先以社会、文化等较轻松的内容为开端，力图先引起和保持住读者的兴趣，再随之以内

^① 后续的编译工作已于2010年启动，先后于2011年和2016年出版了《共和十年：〈纽约时报〉民初观察记》（1911—1921）和《浴火重生：〈纽约时报〉中国抗战观察记》（1937—1945），作为本系列第二部（民国卷）的两个部分。民国卷的其余部分及第三部（人民中国卷）待条件成熟后编译。

政、战争和革命等沉重的内容，供读者思考。许多众所周知的事件，以及大量涉及教案的内容，本书没有收录。为了帮助年轻读者阅读，本书在每篇之前加了一段“篇首语”，再在若干涉及近代史的人名、地名和事件背景等处撰写了译注，希望能对这一部分读者起导读的作用；本书在对国名的表述上，大量使用了“清国”“大清国”“大清帝国”等字样，是有意识地将近代中国与当代中国的时间上作清楚的划分，以帮助读者在阅读时保持相对超脱的心境，以利较为理性和冷静的思考。在整个编译过程中，我负责文稿的选编、分类和注释工作，并起草了所有的自撰文字。翻译工作则由李方惠、胡书源和我三人共同完成。

本书在起步阶段即获得时任中国驻美大使李肇星同志的支持，并蒙他亲笔赐函指教，获益匪浅；在与《纽约时报》的接洽过程中，承蒙时报亚洲事务顾问刘仕诚先生的多方周旋和鼎力帮助；在制作文献拷贝的工作中得到了纽约公立图书馆的热情帮助；在书稿草成后，又蒙中国大百科全书出版社编审左步青先生的垂教和指正，谨在此表示诚挚的感谢！

郑曦原

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ARRIVAL OF THE CANADA'S MAILS.

England and France Summon Francis II. to leave Gaeta.

IMPORTANT DETAILS FROM CHINA.

Graphic Account of the Sack of the Imperial Palace.

The mails by the *Canada*, whose arrival at Boston has been announced, reached this City yesterday morning.

The screw-steamship *City of Manchester*, from Liverpool at 10 1/4 o'clock on the morning of the 12th, and from Queenstown on the 13th of December, arrived at this port yesterday. Her advices have been anticipated.

The following is the specie list of the steamship *City of Manchester*:

One box, J. H. Brower & Co.; 1 do., La Von Hoffman & Co.; 1 do., Le Moyne & Bell; 1 do., W. Laxom; 1 do., Thos. Scott; 1 do., J. Sibley & Sons; 1 do., Valerio & Fassin. Total about \$38,000.

A telegram from Paris to the *London Post*, dated Dec. 18, announces as beyond doubt that the Governments of England and France have insisted on the immediate departure of FRANCIS II. from Gaeta, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood.

The Naples correspondent of the *London Times*, writing on the 1st inst., gives the following account of the attempt to assassinate Col. DUNNE:

"At the last moment I report, with great regret, that Gen. DUNNE was shot last night in the back, though not killed. The assassin has not been found; he is supposed to be a Sicilian Major under DUNNE's command, whom he refused to promote. The ball passed near the spine, and is still in the body, but I am glad to say that the brave General is going on as well as could be expected under the circumstances."

The Paris correspondent of the *London Globe* has seen a letter from GARIBALDI to a friend, in which he expresses the belief that a revolution will break out in Hungary and Croatia in January.

The *Ost Deutsche Post*, in a leading article, says:

"The accumulation of arms and ammunition in Moldavia and Wallachia, and the organization of foreign legions in Italy, are to be attributed to an extensive scheme which partly aims at the separation of these provinces from the Porte, and partly at a rising of several other nationalities. Not only a Hungarian, but a Polish legion has been organized, in view of this state of things. Russia has dispatched a threatening declaration to Prince Couza, and has concentrated 12,000 men in Bessarabia."

The *Moniteur*, in announcing the return of the Empress to France, says that Her Majesty's health, so

cutious road northwest of the camp, outside the earthwork. A description of it is given in STRAZZONI'S account of Lord MACARTHY'S embassy, and other works on China, but no pen can describe correctly the scene that has taken place there within the two last days. Indiscriminate loot has been allowed. The public reception-hall, the state and private bedrooms, anterooms, boudoirs, and every other apartment has been ransacked; articles of vertu, of native and foreign workmanship, taken, or broken if too large to be carried away, ornamental lattice-work, screens, jade stone ornaments, jars, clocks, watches, and other pieces of mechanism, curtains and furniture—none have escaped destruction. There were extensive wardrobes of every article of dress: coats richly embroidered in silk and gold thread, in the imperial dragon pattern; boots, head-dresses, fans, &c.; in fact, rooms all but filled with them. Store-rooms of manufactured silk in rolls, such as may be bought in Canton at \$2 to \$30 per piece. By a calculation made in the rooms, there must have been 70,000 or 80,000 pieces. Hundreds were thrown down on trampled on, and the floor covered thickly with them, and were showing them at each other, and all taking as many as they could carry. They were used instead of rope to secure the loading of carts filled with them. Throughout the French camp were hundreds of pieces, some heaped up, others used to make seats, or beds and coverlets.

In the afternoon yesterday, a party of French went through the apartments with sticks, breaking everything that remained—mirrors, screens, panels, &c. It is said that they did so in revenge for the barbarous treatment of the released prisoners, their countrymen, had received.

A treasury containing a large quantity of gold ingots and silver is under charge of a guard, and is to be divided between the English and French.

The total value of property destroyed would amount to a large installment of the indemnity claimed.

In one of the ante-rooms of the state bedroom at the Summer palace, the treaty of Tien-tsin in English and Chinese, signed by Lord ELGIN, was found. It had been thrown on the ground by some one, and lay in the heap of broken articles, till the English paper evidently attracted the eye of the person who discovered it.

A general order from the British Commander-in-Chief ordered that all articles taken by officers and soldiers were to be sent in for sale by public auction for the benefit of the army, which was done. All were permitted to have the articles they had brought away for themselves valued, and have the option of taking or rejecting them. Many beautiful curios and souvenirs were thus obtained at a nominal price. The sale realized \$22,000, which, with the value of the treasure, estimated at \$61,000, is to be divided as prize money on the spot.

Much dissatisfaction has been expressed at the decision of the Commander-in-Chief that only those of the troops who marched from the last halting-places on the 5th are to participate in the prize money, all the rest, those at the depot at Tungchow and elsewhere, being excluded.

The Commander-in-Chief and general officers have waived their right to share. A gold jar of great value was presented to the Commander-in-Chief by the army. Nearly all the articles were sold at very high prices, large sums being and inland vases and ornaments realizing full Shanghai prices for such articles, the fact of their having been the property of the French adding an imaginary value to everything. The scene which the sale was held in, the Temple La-

引子

晚清史是我心中尘封的痛



1996年秋天，我到纽约公立图书馆参观《纽约时报》世纪回顾展。这是个深秋的下午，茂密的加拿大枫叶点点腥红，衬托着曼哈顿蔚蓝的天空。来自大西洋的海风挟带着饱满的潮气掠过哈德逊河，向曼哈顿徐徐吹来，新鲜而清爽的气息弥散在每个人的心中。

图书馆外，那大理石砌成的花台石阶上，密如繁星的小黄花开得飘飘洒洒，仿佛一个金色年龄的老人绽开了微笑。石阶旁，那两头雄壮的石狮精神抖擞，矜持庄重，以英格兰老派绅士的古典气派，紧紧守卫着知识圣殿的尊严。第五大道上车水马龙，人群从世界各地涌来，熙熙攘攘。各个国家的语言混杂在喧嚣的声浪中，震荡着空气，重重地撞击着人的耳膜。

我从市井鼎沸的大街上走进用厚重石头包围着的图书馆，顿时，有一种神秘的安静令人屏息。在展览大厅内，我发现了《纽约时报》对中国的报道。19世纪中后期，中文报纸和白话文尚未流行，《纽约时报》即开始了对中国跨越世纪的追踪报道。年轻的报纸，年轻的国家，刚摆脱南北战争的阴影，还保持着几分“五月花号”带到新大陆的清新，对人类的关爱之心也远比今天纯洁。商业的动机，传播基督福音的理想，以及向东方世界探索和开拓的冲动，都

非常强烈。因此，《纽约时报》这个时期的对华报道和评论尚没有老牌帝国主义的狡诈与世故，也少一些对弱势民族的蔑视。

大清帝国是我心中尘封的痛。当我在纽约这个色彩斑驳、变幻如梦的城市，读到外国人对当时我民族之情态很细微的描写时，封闭了好久的疮疤被撕开了，血流了出来，隐藏于心的爱也掀起了波澜。亲爱的读者，这是在图书馆故纸堆里沉睡了百年的文字，今天它醒了，像一轮世纪的新月浮现在我们心中。如此珍贵的一份记录，如此甘醇的一坛佳酿，我想与你分享。

晚清的政治家和全体国民所面临的是国家与民族千年未有的大变局、千年未有的大危机。晚清政治是典型的“危机政治”。从本书提供的一些珍贵史料可以看出，晚清政治失败的责任不应当完全归咎于个别当政人士的腐败，而应由当政者与全体国民一体承担。中国政治向来是一种“保险丝”式的政治，所有政治人物表面上地位显赫，实际上都像保险丝一样脆弱。我国政治文化向来缺乏对国民本身的批判与反省。深受封建礼教束缚的清国国民面对着以近代科学技术武装起来的帝国主义列强，本身并不足以担负起抵抗的重任，这是一个浅显的事实。靠太平天国不能救中国，靠义和拳杀几个洋教士也不能救中国。

国民的教育与觉醒，非旦夕之功。要让一个被孔孟之道驯化了千年的农耕民族从灵魂深处萌生出革命的决心，谈何容易。戊戌六君子血洒北京菜市口，谭嗣同希望以个人的血警醒民众，而毕竟看热闹的观者众，升腾起革命血气的勇者少。类似于女人缠足一类的小事，虽然由慈禧下诏禁止，亦难有成效，何况改革政治制度之类的大事，靠103天的“维新”就能奏效吗？晚清时期的国人固然要为他们自己的行为承担全部责任，但是，当我们

这些有幸未置身其中的后人谴责他们时，应当意识到我们所谴责的这种国民性格的劣根性，在我们自己的身上，仍继承和延续着。

洋人的大炮轰开了我们紧锁的国门，迫使中华民族必须以开放的姿态去面对世界，必须投入到民族竞争的大潮流中去。过去隐藏了千年的污秽终于见了阳光，过去沉积下来的各种劣根性也暴露无遗。在达尔文主义盛行，视“适者生存”和“弱肉强食”为“人间公理”的时代，在世界各民族激烈竞争的形势下，孔孟之道的文弱，实难以抵挡帝国主义的船坚炮利。恭亲王奕訢在甲午战争后期接受英国记者采访时天真地说：“我们清国人遵守法度，而日本人崇尚武力。”亲王大人一点也没有意识到这是个炮舰外交的时代，他老先生的“法度”从何谈起？

所以，我认为大可不必一提到晚清就捶胸顿足，痛不欲生。人类不过是一个小小的社区，当我们的文化领先时，长安、北京是世界的中心；当我们的文化落后时，纽约的时报广场成了“世界的十字路口”。风水轮流转，有什么稀奇？一个国家，一个民族，在进步的时代，怎么可能孤立而封闭地存在？我们民族在19世纪中叶，由于闭关锁国，固步自封，没有赶上工业革命的快车，因此从一个泱泱大国沦落为远东一个边缘的“乡巴佬”国家，这固然不幸之至，然而，也要看到，我们并没有像印第安人那样亡种亡国，支离破碎的大好河山虽然残缺，但尚有大致的模样，我们并没被完全打倒。最重要的是，我们毕竟在血淋淋的拳击比赛中终于学会了现代游戏的法则，逐步挺直了腰杆，重新屹立于世界民族之林。试想如果没有我国军民从抵抗帝国主义列强的浴血奋战中一次次惨败下阵，没有全体国民面对列强瓜分和凌

辱那种痛彻心扉，这个“悠然见南山”的农耕民族会愤然而起，“我以我血荐轩辕”，终于打响武昌首义的枪声，最后“驱除鞑虏、恢复中华”，由此开启 20 世纪中华民族不断进步自强的光辉吗？

我们所付出的不过是国家与民族进步图存而必须付出的代价。看穿了晚清的血泪，才真正感知到我族今日之辉煌。旧闻新读，往事如烟，我们不妨从兴衰成败与功过是非的纷争中超脱出来，沏杯香茶，找个舒适地方，心平气和地读读、想想。毕竟，痛苦已过，国家与民族已渐入佳境，伟大而光明的前程已在足下。

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