AMERICAN SINOLOGY, 1830–1920
A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

LAURENCE G. THOMPSON

I

The first direct contact of Americans with China occurred shortly after the establishment of the United States. This was the voyage of the *Empress of China* from New York to Canton, with captain John Green in command, and Major Samuel Shaw as supercargo. The ship left New York on February 22, 1784, arriving at Canton harbor on August 28. She returned directly upon disposal of her cargo, reaching New York on May 10, 1785, and bringing her owners a modest profit on the venture.\(^{(1)}\) This was the commencement of a commercial relationship which was to constitute the sole connection between China and the United States for a half century. During that period the intercourse of the United States with China was second in importance only to that of England. However, those nationals of both countries whose business required their residence in the Middle Kingdom showed an almost complete indifference to the culture about them. “Indeed,” says Dennett, “the American trade at Canton was conducted for more than forty-five years before there was even one American citizen there who could read, write, understand or speak Chinese with any certainty.”\(^{(2)}\)

For the existence of such a remarkable state of ignorance and apathy we can find several causes. The Americans who came to China were pioneers who were willing to subject themselves to the restrictions of the factory life at Canton for one reason only: the prospect of making a fortune in the trade. They were not interested in China except for this object. This lack of any but a profit-seeking interest in China was to carry on, as our study will show, through the following decades to the present time, so far as American businessmen were concerned. Again, the Chinese had no disposition to invite study of their language or culture by the barbarians, and sedulously sought to confine them to the smallest possible plot of land, at the remotest possible distance from the capital of the Empire.\(^{(2)}\) The difficulty of the written language may be suggested as a further deterrent to the American traders, although, as the future was to prove, this obstacle was only temporary for those who had the desire to learn. More plausibly, the use of the

244
strange jargon which had already been developed between the Chinese and foreigners for carrying on transactions—the so-called "pidgin," which could be acquired readily by the newly arrived merchant, was satisfactory for the conduct of business, and served adequately for such few social amenities as were exchanged between the parties concerned. There was no actual necessity for learning Chinese, with this convenient, be it rudimentary, medium of communication. Lacking the necessity, the professional concern, or the turn of mind for the study, the American traders ignored China and its civilization.

Chinese studies among Americans was not to start until the arrival of missionaries. Despite the frequently made assertion that much of the writings of missionaries upon China has been sentimental, superficial, or propagandistic, we shall find that a large proportion of the important works has been produced by this group. And for this too, the cause is not obscure. The missionaries, whose objective was the winning of converts to their faith, had of necessity to deal with the Chinese in their own language, and sought for a deep knowledge of the national psychology, history, and culture as prerequisite to bringing about a rapprochement. Sinology in Europe had first begun with the same motivation, from the operations of the Jesuit missionaries throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.\(^{(4)}\)

Indeed, from the prodigious labors of these earlier missionaries, Europe had had a better acquaintance with Chinese civilization before the nineteenth century than it did during that century.\(^{(5)}\) The Jesuits were able scholars and published widely. The Chinese classics were translated and interpreted; histories and general descriptions were written: maps were compiled—in fact, the Jesuits gave the Chinese a better conception of their own geography than they had themselves possessed; dictionaries, grammars, and the like were produced; various special aspects of Chinese civilization were made the subject of research. In short, sinology was a well-developed study, especially in France. And yet, despite this, the first generations of Americans who went to China went in ignorance and remained in the same condition. For the Society of Jesus had lost its foothold (it was officially dissolved in 1773), and the Catholic missionaries who replaced the Jesuits did not equal them in scholarship. The Chinese government turned against the missions more or less consistently from the days of the "Rites Controversy" which had resulted in the Papacy insisting on its interpretation of the significance of certain Chinese customs as against the interpretation of the K'ang Hsi Emperor.\(^{(6)}\) The French Revolution swept away the old order at home, and with it the fad of chinoiseries, and the admiration of Chinese civilization. By the time of the early American traders in China, direct contact of foreigners with that land was practically limited to Canton and Macao. The Catholic missions had not died out, but their activities were
carried on clandestinely, and their days of scholarly production were in the past.

The English were now the largest group of foreigners in China, and they were there for profits instead of converts. The East India Company was dominant in this commercial intercourse until its monopoly was ended in 1834, and it was due to the opposition of the company to missionary activities in China that the first Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison, came to Canton on an American ship and under American protection.\(^7\) In the encouragement of this first great English sinologue was the first American contribution to sinology. And in turn it was the encouragement and inspiration of Morrison\(^8\) which led to the sending of the first American missionaries, Abeel and Bridgman, who arrived at Canton in February, 1830. The latter was to become entitled to the honor of being the first American sinologue, as well.

II

1. With the exception of a few accounts of voyages, some reprints of English works,\(^9\) and the articles in the missionary journals (\textit{Panoplist}, later \textit{Panoplist and Missionary Magazine} or \textit{Herald}) and commercial magazines (\textit{Hunt's Merchants' Magazine} and \textit{Niles' Weekly Register}), until the year 1832 the study of China cannot be said to have begun for Americans. In May of that year \textit{The Chinese Repository} was founded by one of the pair of pioneer American missionaries, E.C. Bridgman. Interestingly enough, this first venture was to prove at the same time one of the most imposing accomplishments in the field of Chinese studies. The twenty volumes of this work remain, not only invaluable sources of material on the events of those times, but "repositories" of research on China which may still on occasion be consulted with profit.

The motives inspiring Bridgman to establish this journal, as well as the existing situation with regard to the foreigners' understanding of China, are brought out in the introduction to the first volume (no. 1, May, 1832, pp. 1 and 5) from which we extract a few sentences:

It is not less a matter of astonishment than regret that, during the long intercourse which has existed between the nations of Christendom and eastern Asia, there has been so little commerce in intellectual and moral commodities. The very vehicle of thought even, has been made contraband. The embargo has been rigorous as death; and has prevented what might have been communicated \textit{viva voce}......Thirty years ago, there was not living more then (sic) one individual capable of translating from Chinese into English; and there was not one of the sons of the 'Son of heaven', who could read, or write, or speak, correctly, the English language......
That 'it is more blessed to give, than to receive,' is a truth, which we hold to be of general as well as of particular application, and in no case better exemplified, than in the communication of knowledge: we shall not, therefore, so far as we can act on this principle, be less willing to communicate, than to receive whatever may serve to develope the real character of the 'celestial empire', and to benefit those who have been made of 'one blood, for to dwell on all the face of the earth.'

To the assistance of Mr. Bridgman in the publication of the Repository came Samuel Wells Williams, in the fall of 1833. Bridgman's project had been made possible 'by the font of type recently presented to the mission, while as encouragement to its success he had the very valuable help of both the Morisons, and the use of the Chinese types belonging to the East India Company.' Upon Mr. Williams' arrival the management of the printing office was at once given over to him, and before many months had passed he began his contributions to the pages of the Repository, which continued until its termination. These two Americans thus edited and published the only sinological journal in existence at the time, and also wrote many of its articles—Bridgman being responsible for a larger number of articles than any other contributor. While a number of other American writers appeared in this journal, the real importance of the Repository as an American contribution to sinology was due to its service as an outlet for the researches and opinions of all those Westerners interested in the subject.

Of the half-dozen books on China turned out by Americans during the first decade of our survey, we need perhaps notice only one, which laid claim to being scholarly in nature. This was A Dissertation on the Nature and Character of the Chinese System of Writing, by P.S. Du Ponceau (1838). The Introduction was reproduced in its entirety in the Repository (VII, 7, Nov. 1838). It will be unnecessary to set forth in detail the various theories proposed by the author, but they centered on the proposition that the Chinese system of writing was not ideographic, but lexicographic—representing words, rather than ideas; and that therefore it could not be used in its original form to represent the polysyllabic languages; nor could those whose languages were also monosyllabic and who used Chinese characters understand Chinese writings to any great extent without a knowledge of the Chinese language. Mr. Williams' comment is that the work "is a labored treatise upon a figment."

We have already remarked on the state of Chinese studies among foreigners in those early years, but it will yet be of interest to have the personal recollections of Williams:

In those days the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting properly qualified persons to teach us Chinese. I secured a teacher of considerable
literary attainments, and he took the special precaution, lest he should be informed against by some one, of always bringing with him and laying on the table a foreign lady's shoe, so that if any one he was afraid of or did not know came in, he would pretend that he was a Chinese manufacturer of foreign shoes. This he continued to do for months, till he became convinced that his fears were groundless. One of Dr. Morrison's teachers always carried some poison about him, so that if he found he had been informed against to the Chinese authorities as being implicated as a Chinese traitor, he might take his own life and so avoid their tortures......The font of Chinese type which had been cut at great expense for the printing of Morrison's Dictionary was just before this time brought up to Canton, but so great were the fears of the Cantonese printers that their officials would find out that they worked with foreign type, that the font had ere long to be taken back to Macao for safety, in case the authorities should on any pretext come to examine the factories.(15)

One remarkable feature of the time now under review was the small number of foreigners who were students of Chinese. I can, in fact, remember only five, during the time that Lin was Commissioner; leaving out of view the Portuguese of Macao, few of whom, however, knew anything of the character. One of the five referred to was Mr. Robert Thom......another was Mr. John R. Morrison ......and a third was Dr. Gutzlaff. [The other two would, of course be Bridgman and himself.].......It was a very distinct fact that the authorities at Canton during a long course of years, by their intimidation of natives who aided us to learn it, did much to prevent foreigners from acquiring a knowledge of the language. In order to procure and preserve accurate information, and help in this direction Dr. Bridgman commenced and with myself carried on the Chinese Repository for 20 years.(16)

Before we leave the 30's we will pause to note an exhibit which was taken to America by one Nathan Dunn, formerly a merchant resident in Canton. This collection of models and objects illustrative of China and its civilization was shown in Philadelphia in 1839, and was later taken to England and exhibited with much success. Besides educating those who came to see it, the collection was the basis for two publications in America: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection in Philadelphia, with Miscellaneous Remarks upon the Manners, Customs, Trade, and Government of the Celestial Empire (Philadelphia, 1839—by Dunn), and A Peep at China, in Mr. Dunn's Chinese Collection (Philadelphia, 1839) by E. C. Wines. In England also the collection inspired a book, Ten Thousand Things relating to China and the Chinese, by William B. Langdon, which sold, according to Danton, some 15,000 copies.(17)
The Dunn exhibit was the forerunner of those large and elaborate museum and library collections on China which the United States possesses today. It was also presumably the inspiration for a second collection which was sent to New York in 1845, and which had attached to it two Chinese. This exhibit also provided the basis for a book, written by John R. Peters, and entitled *Miscellaneous Remarks upon the . . . Chinese . . . Suggested by an Examination of the . . . Chinese Museum* (1847). The author used as sources, in addition to the collection itself, the well-known works of such authorities as Davis, Barrow, the *Chinese Repository*, etc.

2. During the 40's two societies were founded which had China as a field of interest, the American Oriental Society (1842), and the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1847). The latter was almost entirely a British group, and we find only two American contributors to the six volumes of its *Transactions* published before the Society became defunct in 1859. The American Oriental Society was to be concerned for the most part with other than sinological studies, but occasional articles on China did appear in its *Journal (JAOS)*. Its Library early received donations of books on China which compared favorably with the materials on other areas, while in its first List of Members we find the names of Bridgman, Williams, Du Ponceau, E. F. Salisbury, Peter Parker (the first medical missionary to China), and the Hon. Caleb Cushing.

Of special interest as the first of a type of book since produced in very large numbers—and probably more influential of public opinion than any other—is *The Canton Chinese, or the American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire*, by Osmond Tiffany, Jr. (1849). Tiffany visited Canton for a few months in 1844, and his book is thus of the class of "traveller's impressions." It was a worthy forebear of the type, and may still be read with profit, for the author was a keen observer, and his report is rich in detail both of native and foreign life. The descriptions give one a real sense of visiting the place, which is the test of any travel-book. With regard to the Chinese, the author's attitude is a blend of amusement and admiration, the latter dominating. The style, while inelegant, is vivid and entertaining. Laufer notes that it is a "book teeming with useful information."

It is somewhat surprising that within this, only the second decade of American interest in Chinese studies, there were produced a respectable number of genuinely valuable works. There was Walter Lowrie's *Land of Sinim*, originally published in the *Repository* in 1844, which came out in book form in 1846, with a second edition in Philadelphia in 1850. This study was concerned with the possibility of China being the country referred to in Isaiah 49:12; it contained an able summary of the history of Christianity in China from the earliest times. There were half a dozen books on the language, including S. Wells Williams' *Easy Lessons in Chinese,*
adapted to the Canton Dialect (1842) and An English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect (1844), as well as Bridgman’s translation of The Notitiae Linguae Sinicæ of Prémare into English (1847). There were the second (1844) and third (1848) revisions of the important Chinese Commercial Guide, originally written by J. R. Morrison and published in 1834; these were the work of Williams, who did not, however, place his name on the title page despite his substantial contributions. There was still another product of the labors of Williams, the Map of the Chinese Empire (1847), which “had been compiled from the survey of the eighteen provinces made by Jesuit Priests under the Emperor Kanghi, from the British Admiralty charts, and from whatever published authorities were accessible.” This map was issued in both Chinese and English editions, and was long reproduced in all the standard atlases. There was The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the first American Consul at Canton (1847), which, as we have already seen, is an invaluable source of first-hand information on the earliest days of Sino-American contacts. The book contains a life of Shaw by the editor, Joseph Quincy, and four Journals. “First Voyage to Canton” (the voyage of the Empress of China); “Second Voyage to Canton” (Shaw had by then—1786—been appointed the first American consul at Canton); “Visit to Bengal”; and “Return to Canton, and Voyage Homeward.” (Shaw died on the return leg of a third trip to China in 1794.)

But above all there were works by the two foremost American scholars: Bridgman’s Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect, (1841), and Williams The Middle Kingdom (1848). The former was a large volume (super-royal octavo, 728 pages), well printed, using Chinese characters profusely throughout, and supplied with general English index and an index of Chinese proper names. Its object was “to furnish a series of easy lessons comprising, as its title indicates, simple instruction . . . . to aid foreigners in learning the Chinese, to assist native youth in acquiring the English tongue, and to show how far this language can be expressed and acquired through the medium of the Roman letters. Throughout the work, the English, the Chinese characters, and their sounds, occupy three parallel columns on each page. . . . A few notes and explanations, designed to illustrate the text, are supplied at the bottom of each page.” The material was divided into seventeen chapters, of which we may enumerate the names: Introduction (general remarks concerning the language), The Study of Chinese, The Human Body, The Kindred Relations, Classes of Men, Domestic Affairs, Commercial Affairs, Mechanical Affairs, Architecture, Agriculture, The Liberal Arts, Mathematics, Geography, Mineralogy, Zoology, Medicine, and Governmental Affairs. Much information of value to all students besides the study material in the text was thus assembled; as for example the translation of the list of books in the imperial library in its most valuable parts,
specialized lexicons in all the various fields, and the notes accompanying the reading matter which provided a wealth of lore on Chinese history, customs, and civilization. Bridgman not merely provided the first guide (with the exception of Morrison's hastily written Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect, 1828) to the form of the language spoken at the only center of foreign intercourse with China, but a veritable encyclopedia of sinological information.

Williams' Middle Kingdom, for its part, was to become probably the best known single work in English on China. First published over a century ago, it has the unusual distinction of still being a standard reference work. Study of the large number of general works which followed it reveals that the later authors not only invariably took a good deal of their material from Williams, but failed to present the subject as thoroughly, clearly, and objectively as he had done. Parts of The Middle Kingdom are of course dated, and even obsolete, but it would be difficult to name a book of similar pretensions up to the present day to equal it. Mr. Williams composed this work from notes which he had used in more than a hundred lectures delivered during his visit to the United States in 1845–46. "After being refused by nearly every publisher in New York," according to his son and biographer, the manuscript was finally accepted by Wiley and Putnam. The work was issued in two volumes, illustrated by many engravings and the new map of China mentioned above. Its scope is indicated by the subtitle: "A Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts, and History of the Chinese Empire and its Inhabitants." (The religions, commerce, and natural history of China were included in this survey, as well.) The objective of the author was stated in the Preface as follows: "to divest the Chinese people and civilization of that peculiar and indefinable impression of ridicule which has been so generally given them by foreign authors...."

The Middle Kingdom was the first attempt by an American at the type of synoptical, encyclopedic survey which had previously been most successfully undertaken by the Jesuits (Du Halde, Le Comte, de Mailla, the eclectic Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, etc.), De Guignes (Mémoires Concernant l'Histoire, les Sciences et les Arts, les Moeurs, et les Usages des Chinois..., 1775–1791), and Sir John Francis Davis (China, 1836). The latter was the only work of much worth which had appeared before the American public until The Middle Kingdom. Perusal of Davis' book shows that Williams was indebted to him for the general plan and conception of his work, and the many references from Davis in The Middle Kingdom corroborate this. Thirty-five years later, however, the revision of the latter was to place it in a new class, far superior to Davis' survey.
3. The 1850's saw the termination of The Chinese Repository and the commencement of the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JNCBRAS). The North China Branch was established at first as the "Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society," in 1857, and one volume of a journal was published by this group before it became affiliated with the RAS."(31) JNCBRAS has appeared since 1859, fulfilling with distinction the hope expressed by the editors of the Repository when they brought to a close publication of that periodical: "...the hope that the threads will be taken up by other and abler hands, and the subjects carried out to their full proportions."(32) Indeed, the first president of the new society was Bridgman himself, who contributed an article on the Miau-tsze to the first volume, while Williams was also represented with a paper on Japan, and another article entitled "Narrative of the American embassy to Peking"—both doubly interesting because Dr. Williams had been an interpreter for the Perry Expedition to Japan, and for the joint embassy of the English, Americans, and French to the Chinese capital (1859–60).(33) In JAOS an article by E.E. Salisbury of Yale, "On the genuineness of the so-called Nestorian Monument of Singan-fu," aroused such interest that the Society was prompted to request American missionaries in China to make a full investigation of the famous Tablet."(34) As a result two impressions of it were received and deposited in the Society's library, and a study of the subject by the renowned British sinologue, A. Wylie, was published in the North China Herald and forwarded to the Society for publication in its Journal (V, 1855–56).

Although other substantial contributions were made by Americans to the journals during this decade, considerations of space prevent us from discussing this material. We will thus pass along to language studies, noting handbooks by E.I. Doty (Anglo-Chinese Manual, 1853), S.W. Bonney (Phrases in the Canton Colloquial Dialect . . . , 1853, and A Vocabulary with Colloquial Phrases, of the Canton Dialect, 1854), and Stephen P. Andrews (Discoveries in Chinese, 1854). The latter title was disputed by the reviewer (White) in JAOS, who observed that the "author had advanced no theory, or principle, in regard to the structure of Chinese characters, which has not been well known, and acknowledged, by the great majority of European and American sinologists, for at least thirty years." A more favorable judgment was passed by the same reviewer on the Guide to Conversation in the English and Chinese Languages (1855), by Stanislas Hernisz, a physician who had formerly been attached to the American Legation in Peking.

But the important production of this decade was the Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect (1856), by S. Wells Williams. Williams had commenced work on this book in the fall of 1849, when termination of the Repository was already being contemplated. The result of his seven years of in-
termittent labor was a volume whose publication, says his biographer, "was the important event of the year, not alone to its author, but to all foreign students of the language in Southern China, who had looked with longing for a smaller and more accurate handbook than the bulky and untrustworthy volumes of earlier Chinese scholars." It contained about 7,800 characters, and was to be the basis for the later Syllabic Dictionary, the crowning monument of Williams' scholarship. Williams also brought out the fourth edition of the Chinese Commercial Guide, with his map of the Empire, in 1856. By this time the addition of new material he felt warranted him in placing his name on the title page.

4. The period 1860–70 saw the establishment of four periodicals concerned with Chinese studies. The first of these was The Chinese and Japanese Repository, edited by James Summers, and published in England. It ran for only three volumes (1863–65), and the only American contributor to its pages was Miss Lydia M. Fay, the first single lady sent to China as a missionary (1850). She had apparently some command of written Chinese; her articles were a series of short biographical sketches of well-known characters in Chinese history. The second periodical was Notes and Queries on China and Japan, edited by N.B. Denny. Published in Hongkong, this was another almost exclusively British magazine, although Williams' name appears a few times, and the pen names of the contributors may conceal the identities of several other Americans. Notes and Queries appeared in four volumes (1867–70). The third periodical was started by Summer after the demise of his Chinese and Japanese Repository, but was not much longer lived. This was called The Phoenix. It ran from 1870 to 1873, and contained some valuable papers. But again American participation was slight.

The fourth periodical was to enjoy better fortune than these. This was The Chinese Recorder (through volume XLIII, 1912, known as The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal). The Recorder not only survived the hazards of magazine infancy, but has been strong and healthy right up to recent days. As its title indicates, this journal was issued in the interests of the (Protestant) missionary cause. But this objective was interpreted broadly, and the Recorder has always carried a good share of sinological material. The first editor was S.L. Baldwin of Foochow, who undertook to continue the widely appreciated work of the Recorder's predecessor, the Missionary Recorder. This latter had run only for the year 1867, under the editorship of L.N. Wheeler. Baldwin changed the title, observing that "the old title seemed to limit the paper to strictly missionary matters," whereas "it has been intended from the first to welcome to its columns communications on all subjects connected with the language, habits, laws, government, religious views and worship, of the Chinese; articles throwing light upon the character of Chinese civiliza-
tion; and articles on the geography, history and natural resources of the Empire."(46) The editorship of the Recorder changed frequently, but was generally in the hands of an American; while its contributions were supplied by missionaries and friends of all denominations, British and American. We cannot detail such contributions in this survey, but would remind the reader that American sinological interest found a continuing outlet in this magazine throughout the years.

The North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society had suffered a severe blow in the death of its president, Dr. Bridgman, in 1861. Publication of its Journal was suspended from 1860 to 1864, when, the Society being reorganized, volume I of the New Series was issued. After this momentary crisis, the Society became firmly established, and JNCBRAS became a pillar of sinological research. Americans were active in this organization, and published many important articles in its Journal. Representative of such articles were those appearing during the decade of the 60's: Dr. J.G. Kerr's "Description of the great examination hall at Canton" (III, 1866), the versatile Dr. D.J. MacGowan's "Notes on the Chekiang Miautz" (VI, 1869-70), D.B. McCartee's "On some wild silkworms of China" (III, 1866), and "Translation of the inscription upon a stone tablet commemorating the repairs upon the Ch'eng Hwang Miau" (VI, 1869-70), W.A.P. Martin's "Account of an overland journey from Peking to Shanghai, February and March, 1866 (III, 1866), B. Jenkins' "Notions of the ancient Chinese respecting music" (V, 1868-69), C. F. Preston's "Notices of...Lok Ping Cheun late Governor General of...Sze Chuen" (V, 1868-69), and S. Wells Williams' "Political intercourse between China and Lewchew" (III, 1866).

Language studies continued to be produced by Americans during the decade. Pliny E. Chase published a pamphlet of forty-eight pages on Chinese and Indo-European Roots and Analogues (1861). William Gamble brought out Two Lists of Selected Characters containing all in the Bible and twenty seven other books.... (1861). This material was later reproduced in Doolittle's Vocabulary (see below). R.S. Maclay and C.C. Baldwin compiled An Alphabetic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Foochow Dialect (1870). This was reviewed favorably in The Phoenix (I, 1871, p. 222), the reviewer noting that it was in the alphabetic order following Williams, instead of using "the antiquated system of arrangement under radicals"....The great value....of the book seems to lie in the vast number of purely literary Chinese terms newly explained, and not to be found in any other dictionary of that language." The reviewer also made the just observation, that "the makers of dictionaries are the true pioneers of literature. They do the drudgery and hard work of the army of scholars which follow in their wake, but their work is no less important than the writers and translators who come after." W.A.P. Martin wrote an Analytical Reader (1863), and followed this the next year with A
Vocabulary of 2,000 Frequent Characters. The criticism of these materials made by James Summers(41) is one which if valid would apply to many language manuals since produced: "The common error which we have to combat is the absurd idea that Chinese is a monosyllabic tongue, and that all you have to do is to commit to memory so many thousand characters, which are, truly enough, representatives of syllables, but not often representatives of words, which are in Chinese mostly dis-syllabic." The better method of learning the characters (according to Summers) is by becoming familiar with phrases. This is the way the Chinese student approaches the task. In other words, one should learn the spoken language before attempting the written.

Two general works by American missionaries were John L. Nevius' China and the Chinese (1868; revised edition, 1882), and William Speer's The Oldest and Newest Empire, China and the United States (1870). These embodied the personal experiences of the authors, but drew heavily on writings of earlier sinologists. Nevius pointed his book toward the furtherance of American interest in missions, and over one-third of its contents is concerned explicitly with that topic; while Speer, who had become a missionary to the Chinese in California after some service in China, was especially concerned with problems of immigration, and the relations of the United States with China. Neither work can be compared in scope, authority, or exhaustiveness with The Middle Kingdom, but at this early date there was still a need for books of the type, to give the American public a general picture of China and its people.

The indefatigable Dr. Williams, who had become Secretary and Interpreter of the American Legation in 1855, utilized the months of waiting before final establishment of the Legation in Peking (1863) to rewrite the Commercial Guide. This book, with the great changes which had taken place upon the "opening" of China, had become a new work from the original editions, and from the date of its publication in 1863, remained for many years the most useful guide for foreign merchants in China.(42) Williams also compiled a set of all treaties between the United States and Eastern countries, which was issued in Hongkong in 1862. In 1867 the American Board with which he had been connected for so many years published a book entitled China, to which he contributed a chapter on "Changes in China." But the most important activity engaging Dr. Williams during the decade was the revision of his Tonic Dictionary. This task occupied many years of his "leisure hours," and resulted in a completely new work, as we shall see.

The most notable American work of the 60's was the Social Life of the Chinese; a daguerrotype of daily life in China, by Justus Doolittle. This material appeared first in large part in the columns of The Daily Mail, as "Jottings on the Chinese,"
and was put into book form in 1865. Two years later a second edition was required, and then in 1868 an English edition came out. The Social Life of the Chinese was an important pioneer study in Chinese customs, superstitions, and religion. It was based for the most part upon the author's personal observations during his fourteen years as a missionary in Foochow. While this missionary background gives a certain bias to the author's writing, his observations are not seriously affected by that background, consisting as they do largely of detailed recording of facts. The book was not a comparative or psychoanalytical study, and the contemporary sociologist would find lacking any relating of the customs of the people of Foochow to the customs of other people. It was not in other words the work of a trained social scientist. It was valuable, instead, because of the wide scope of its observations and the precise enumeration of details—exact dates and hours, utensils, just what happened when. There were three good chapters on the system of competitive literary examinations, which took up the subject more thoroughly than either Davis or Williams had done. The book was illustrated with many cuts, most of which were, however, far from photographically accurate, and little calculated to give the reader a true conception either of the appearance of the Chinese, or of the particular things intended to be illustrated. Doolittle's study has the distinction of being one of the few works on China written so long ago which may still be studied with profit. This is due to its mass of source material.

5. Two years after the last issue of Notes and Queries on China and Japan, the editor, N. B. Dennys, started another magazine under the title, The China Review: or, Notes and Queries on the Far East. This bi-monthly publication appeared from 1872 to 1901, and took its place alongside JNCRAS as a standard sinological journal. It ran articles of respectable length as well as conducting exchange of information between students of things Chinese. Its notices and reviews of the literature were an important feature. It served to air technical matters in sinology which did not appear in JNCRAS, and the many short miscellaneous items not suitable for publication elsewhere. Its contributors were international, although the British were predominant. Most of the leading scholars of the day, especially those resident in China, published in its pages, and the student today may still find much of value there. With this brief notice we leave the China Review, reminding the reader that contributions of American scholarship continued to be found in this periodical.

Without mentioning American writings in the other magazines, we shall now turn to more substantial works of the 70's. The language studies included First Lessons in Chinese, by M. T. Yates (1871), Grammatical Studies in the Colloquial Language of Northern China, by J. S. McIlvaine (1880), An Anglo-Chinese Vocabulary
of the Ningpo Dialect, by W. T. Morrison (1876) *A Manual of the Foochow Dialect*, by C. C. Baldwin (1871), and *First Lessons in Swatow Dialect*, by Adele M. Fielde (1878). These were manuals by missionaries resident in the dialect areas covered. Less qualified, it seems, was Charles Rudy, an American who operated a school of languages of the “six easy lessons” type in Paris, whose *The Chinese Mandarin Language after Ollendorf’s Method* (1879?) was dismissed by *The China Review* as “the work of an ‘amateur sinologue.’” A more important work on language was edited by Justus Doolittle, who followed his *Social Life of the Chinese* with a *Vocabulary and Handbook of the Chinese Language*, in two volumes (1872). The first volume was the vocabulary, arranged in the form of an English-Chinese dictionary, while the second volume consisted of phrases, not romanized, but arranged alphabetically (according to the Mandarin dialect), and lists of terms together with the tables of various types. The work was comprised of contributions by a large number of the most qualified sinologues in China at the time. The reviewer in *The Phoenix* (II, 1872, p. 168) remarked that the result of “employing the principle of division of labour, and general co-operation,” was “a really useful and trustworthy work.” This was also the first attempt since the old and scarce work of Dr. Medhurst to supply an English-Chinese dictionary. It was, said the reviewer, “a valuable addition to our materials for the study of Chinese” (*loc. cit.*).

Two years after the appearance of this useful language tool, came the publication of Williams’ *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1874). As his biographer remarks, "The appearance of the Syllabic Dictionary was regarded among foreign students of Chinese as one of the noteworthy events of the century." The writing of this work, which as we recall had commenced as a revision of his *Tonic Dictionary*, was the fruit of some eleven years of labor by Dr. Williams, who had at the same time borne considerable of the responsibility for running the American Legation. The *Syllabic Dictionary* was the first really satisfactory one for English-speaking students of Chinese, defining 12,527 characters, providing a treatise on the language, and being provided with an index. The Mandarin dialect was the standard used, but pronunciations were also given in the Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai dialects. This was one of the first attempts to reduce the many variant methods of transcribing the sounds of the different dialects to a unified system. The great virtue of the work was to be found in that which is the test of any dictionary: the inclusiveness, conciseness, and clarity of its definitions. As to possessing qualifications necessary for writing such a work, the author certainly had no peer at that date. He was the foreigner of longest experience in China—forty years—and had labored every year of that long period with the most unremitting industry at the study of the language and civilization of the country. It was the consensus of opinion that the *Syllabic Dictionary* fulfilled the promise of this preparation."
However, as in the case of any great work, it also had its unkind critics, who pointed out shortcomings. The most obvious of these was the case of many of the etymological derivations, which were shown to be in error.\(^{47}\) The author was also criticized for not following the Wade system of orthography.\(^{48}\) The British sinologue, Herbert A. Giles, soon to bring out his own great dictionary, wrote a pamphlet in 1879, "On some translations and mistranslations in Dr. Williams, Syllabic Dictionary," in which about three hundred errors were pointed out. However, as the Recorder pointed out, it must "be remembered that Dr. Williams' Dictionary is a very large work, and that the discovery of three or four hundred errors of greater or less importance leaves the bulk of the work still unattacked."\(^{49}\) The reviewer of Giles' pamphlet in The China Review felt, on the other hand, "that Dr. Williams' high reputation as a Lexicographer will rest most permanently upon his Tonic Dictionary of the Canton Dialect."\(^{50}\)

The difficulties occasioned by Williams system of orthography were met by the publication in 1879 of An Index.... to his dictionary, in the Wade romanization, by James Acheson of the Customs; while in 1886 A Swatow Index.... by J.C. Gibson was a further extension of the usefulness of the dictionary. Williams' work remained the standard for eighteen years, but had to take second place to A Chinese-English Dictionary by Herbert Giles, in 1892. Nevertheless, a fifth edition of Williams was published in 1905; while in 1909 a revised edition, rearranged according to the Wade system by a committee of the North China Mission of the American Board, was published. This edition incorporated some cross-references to Giles. At the present time, apparently the works of Giles (in the second edition, 1912) and Mathews (A Chinese-English Dictionary, Shanghai, 1931) are more frequently consulted, but Williams is by no means a superseded reference.

Before we leave the 70's, we may pause to note several miscellaneous books. Two former merchants of the pre-treaty era at Canton wrote on the old days: R. B. Forbes, who brought out his Personal Reminiscences (1878); and Gideon Nye, who published The Morning of My Life in China (1873), Peking the Goal (1873) and The Opium Question and the Northern Campaigns (1875). The value of these lay in the personal experiences of the authors during an exciting and now-vanished era of Sino-foreign intercourse. The same value attached to The T'ai-Ping Rebellion of H.T. Yates (1876), reminiscences of the early days in Shanghai. Another book of some interest was the Hanlin Papers of W. A.P. Martin (1880), a collection of articles on Chinese topics, all of which had previously been published during the past twenty years. Finally, there was Samuel Johnson's Oriental Religions and their Relation to Universal Religion: China (1877). This work was given a long review by the noted sinologue, E. J. Eitel, then editor of The China Review.\(^{51}\)
Eitel stated that "Mr. Johnson, although perhaps not personally acquainted with the Chinese written language, has read through all the compendious foreign literature bearing on these subjects, quoting on every page not only the works of the best Sinologists, French, English and German, published in Europe, but even pamphlets lately published in China and periodicals like the China Review, Missionary Recorder and Celestial Empire, and displays in the use he makes of his numerous authorities an unusual amount of critical sagacity." In his obituary notice of Johnson, Dr. Eitel further spoke of this work "as a most exhaustive, lucid and correct estimate of Chinese thought and life... If it is due to Edkins to say that he has established for China her true place in philology, it is due to Samuel Johnson to acknowledge that he has fixed China's place in the history of Universal Religion."

6. The 1880's saw the founding of the Peking Oriental Society (1885). This organization was established by a group of students of things Chinese in the northern city who wished to carry on the same sort of program as was being carried on in Shanghai by the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The first president of the Peking Oriental Society was W.A.P. Martin. During the period of its existence (until 1898) this group published a number of interesting papers, Martin and Dr. D.J. Mac-Gowan being possibly the most able contributors. The latter also wrote a couple of important articles for JNCBRAS during the 80's: "Histrionic notes," and "Chinese guilds or chambers of commerce and trades unions" (both in XXI, 1886-87). And while in the journals, we will not overlook the first appearance of a scholar who was to become very famous, W.W. Rockhill. His "Translation of two brief Buddhist sutras" was published in Proceedings of the American Oriental Society (1883), and was followed by "Korea in its relations with China," in JAOS (XIII, 1888). His interest in Tibet, which led him to become one of the world's foremost authorities on that area, was indicated by two short notes, "The Lamaist ceremony called 'making of mani pills,'" and "On the use of skulls in Lamaist ceremonies" (JAOS, XIV, 1890). JAOS also contained one of the last papers of S. Wells Williams, "Notices of Fu-sang, and other countries lying east of China, in the Pacific Ocean" (XI, 1881). The Chinese Recorder carried a large amount of material by American students, but we cannot overload these pages with the titles.

The production of language studies continued unabated, as can be seen from the following list: I.M. Condit's English and Chinese Dictionary (1882), mainly intended for the use of Chinese in America; Adele M. Fielde's Pronouncing and Defining Dictionary of the Swatow Dialect (1883), with each character indexed to the Syllabic Dictionary of Dr. Williams; A.D. Gring's Eclectic Chinese-Japanese-English Dictionary (1884), written for the use primarily of students of Japanese;

Under the heading of general or miscellaneous writings we have several of interest to notice. Most important was the revised edition of *The Middle Kingdom*,\(^{36}\) the last great labor of Dr. Williams, which came from the press in the fall of 1883, a few months before its author's death. The new edition was very far from being a mere polishing and correcting of errors; according to his son, who had a share in the task, Dr. Williams was engaged intermittently on the revision for seven years, and "he spent probably twice as many hours as the preparation of the entire work had cost him in 1846." It seems worthwhile to quote from the son's biography as follows:

Since 'The Middle Kingdom' had become, much to its compiler's surprise, the current authority upon its topic, he was resolved in this revision to make the work worthy of the influence it exerted....What his experience as editor had taught Mr. Williams of the value of judicious discrimination in such summaries had not been forgotten during his subsequent career. His literary taste was decidedly better now than in his early manhood. His sources of information had increased in proportion to the increase of knowledge and the multitude of events to be noted. His position among Sinologues had altered from that of an obscure student to one of reputation and authority. His share in the events of a generation's space was such as to enable him to discuss them from a close personal acquaintance. All these were advantages peculiarly his own. On the other hand, he perfectly realized how a minute inventory of this wealth of added familiarity with his subject would have swelled the volumes to enormous proportions and defeated his object of making them readily serviceable....Many themes were touched upon only to point out their magnitude, while others were purposely dismissed with a reference to some accessible authority. In spite of discrepancies arising from this necessity, and of occasional incongruities when old citations differed from new, this comprehensive synopsis of a country and its people has been accepted as trustworthy and just by the vast body of those in search of information on China.\(^{37}\)

The biography from which this quotation, as well as many above, was taken,
was published in 1889, under the title, The Life and Lettrs of Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D. Its author, Frederick Wells Williams, was by that date becoming known as a good scholar in his own right. His biography was not only interesting for its distinguished subject, but was of broader importance as a source of information on the history of an eventful period.

Two books of unusual interest were written during this decade by an American merchant who had had long residence in Canton in the pre-treaty days, William C. Hunter. The “Fan Kwae” at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844 was published in 1882, and Bits of Old China followed in 1885. As the title indicates—“fan kwae” being the Cantonese for “foreign devils”—the first of these books dealt with the life of foreigners and their relations with the Chinese in the days of the restricted Canton trade. It contained intimate details as to the conduct of business and the life of the Factories prior to the first Anglo-Chinese war (1841–42), which opened ports other than Canton to foreign residence and commerce. The author makes no excursions into the study of China and its civilization as such but he has an obvious respect for the Chinese. While himself compromised in the opium trade and failing to justify this circumstance, he makes no doubt of it that the war between England and China was indeed an “Opium War,” and that the English were morally wrong in their cause. Hunter recalled the old Co-Hong system as completely excellent; the reader is disabused of the impression so often given by foreign writings on this subject, that it was one continual source of friction. Bits of Old China was in the same vein, and covered the same period, but ventured into some notes on Chinese civilization itself. However, it was mostly a collection of personal reminiscences which make delightful reading, but are hardly of importance as contributions to sinology. Among the “bits” were such oddments as “Macao—old residents,” a remarkable encounter with “Le père Huc,” memories of “Singapore and Malacca, 1825 and 1826,” and the like.

W. W. Rockhill’s first book appeared in 1884: The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order. This was a translation and analysis of some of the historical and legendary material in an important Tibetan source. The Recorder called it “a very painstaking volume,” and remarked that “the patient diligence which can sustain the solitary student in wading as the author of this volume has done, through deserts as arid as that of Gobi, is worthy of all admiration.”

A study of the religions of China, under the title The Dragon, Image, and Demon (1887) was written by H.C. DuBose. This was a collection of information on the ideas and practices of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. The material was drawn from personal observation, and the writings of the best foreign authorities. The Recorder’s critic noticed, however, that Doolittle’s work was not cited, and
that there was somewhat of a tendency to generalize from local cases. The author made no pretense of producing an original work.

Two books by a missionary, Arthur H. Smith, who was to become well-known as a student of China, came out during this decade. The first of these was the *Proverbs and Common Sayings from the Chinese*, which first ran in a series of articles in the *Recorder* from volume XIII (1882) through volume XVII (1886), and was issued in book form in 1888. A revised edition was published in 1902, and still a third edition was required by 1914. It remains one of the few important compilations in English on this subject. The second book was *Chinese Characteristics*, published in 1890. This was widely read, and established its author as an authority on China. It divided its subject into chapters with such headings as "Face," "Politeness," "The disregard of time," "The absence of nerves," etc. It would perhaps be going too far to say that Smith's analysis of the national psychology was completely objective and deeply empathetic. But it did delineate the Chinese as they probably appeared to most foreigners of sympathetic inclinations, and its entertaining style was something rare in such works.

We may close our survey of this decade by briefly mentioning a few writings of at least minor importance. Such was L.N. Wheeler's *The Foreigner in China* (1881), a brief survey of China's relations with the West, particularly during the nineteenth century. Adele M. Fielde's *Pagoda Shadows* was designed, like Wheeler's work, to interest the supporters of foreign missions; its success is indicated by the fact that subsequent to its publication in 1884, it ran to six editions by 1890. James H. Wilson's *China, Travels and Investigations in the "Middle Kingdom"* (1887) was the journal of an army officer who was given considerable opportunity to get about the country. There was a book by Chester Holcombe on *The Practical Effects of Confucianism upon the Chinese Nation* (1882), and one by A. Delmar entitled *Monograph on the History of Money in China* (1881). W. A. P. Martin wrote on Chinese aspects of international law: "Traces of international law in ancient China" (1881), a paper read before the Congress of Orientalists in Berlin, and "La Chine et le droit international," a paper which was published in *Revue de Droit International* (XVII, 1885). Martin's *Hanlin Papers* (First Series) was reprinted in New York as *The Chinese, their Education, Philosophy, and Letters*, in 1881, a new edition appearing in 1898.

7. As we turn to works of the 1890's, it will be necessary for our survey to become more selective. By this time, the output of literature on China had become substantial. Material of a type to which we have hitherto given some notice must now be overlooked, as we raise the standards by which we judge materials to be of sinological value.
The journals for the decade did not contain much of importance by American scholars. Here we need mention only three articles. One was W. W. Rockhill's "Tibetan Buddhist birth-stories: extracts and translations from the Kandjur," which was published in *JAOS* (XVIII, 1st half, 1897). The second was E. T. Williams' "Hung-wu and his capital," in *JNCBRAS* (XXVI, 1891–92). Williams was a young missionary who was to attain a good reputation in Chinese studies. The third was Dr. MacGowan's "Gynaeocracies in Eastern Asia with anthropological notes," one of the last and most important pieces by this venerable missionary doctor. It came out in *The China Review* (XIX, 1891).

There were as usual a number of language materials published, some of notable importance. Such was *A Pocket Dictionary (Chinese-English) and Peking Syllabary*, by Chauncey Goodrich. First issued in 1891, this was the first adequate pocket dictionary in the Peking dialect, and it has continued to be issued through succeeding years (15th thousand, 1933). Another important work was *A Course of Mandarin Lessons*, by C. W. Mateer, which was first published in 1892. This was a large volume (765 pages), whose special feature was the construction of each lesson to illustrate the idioms of the Mandarin dialect. A reviewer (Goodrich) spoke of it in these terms: "I know of no mine which will for a moment compare with these Lessons.... This work is an important addition to Mandarin literature, and cannot fail to attract wide attention and be extensively used." The correctness of this prediction was born out by the issuance of a new edition in two volumes in 1898, further revised editions in 1903 and 1906, a reprint of some of the material as *A Short Course of Primary Lessons in Mandarin* in 1901, and an abridged edition in 1916. *The Alphabetic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Foochow Dialect*, by Maclay and Baldwin, was revised in 1898. Other language materials included the fifth edition of Kerr's *Select Phrases in the Canton Dialect* (1898), and his *Vocabulary of Diseases* (1894); M. T. Yates' *First Lessons in Chinese* (1893), as revised by J. A. Silsby; Silsby's own *Shanghai Syllabary Arranged in Phonetic Order* (1897 and 1900), containing 6,263 characters and serving as an index to Williams' Dictionary for the Shanghai variant; Silsby and Davis' *Shanghai Vernacular Chinese-English Dictionary* (1900), a pocket-sized volume, indexed to both Williams and Giles; and a revision of Martin's *Analytical Reader* (1898). Clearly, American contributions to language study continued to be substantial.

And in other fields as well the 90's saw respectable additions to American sinology. W. W. Rockhill came into the forefront of contemporary scholarship with the publication of several works. He had made two remarkable single-handed expeditions into Tibet, and his accounts of these adventures were significant additions to the world's knowledge of that little-known area. *The Land of the Lamas* was
published in 1891, and the *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892* was published in 1894. These were “popular” accounts, but not the less scientifically valuable for that. Rockhill’s thorough academic preparation equipped him to be far more than an ordinary explorer. His expeditions also provided material for an article in the *Geographic Journal* (III, May, 1894), “A Journey in Mongolia and Tibet,” and for the “Notes on the ethnology of Tibet. Based on the collections in the U.S. National Museum,” published by the Smithsonian Institution in its *Report* for 1893. At the same time, his interest was not confined to Tibet, as was shown by his articles in other periodicals, such as “Diplomatic missions to the Court of China. The Kotow Question,” in the *American Historical Review*, April and July, 1897, and “A pilgrimage to the great Buddhist sanctuary of North China,” in the *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1895. The latter was later reprinted and issued separately. But most important was his definitive edition of *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55, as Narrated by Himself, with Two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine* (1900). This work was done with the customary scrupulousness of Rockhill’s scholarship, and has since been accepted as the standard edition of these travels—which are secondary in importance only to those of Marco Polo, in the history of the “search for Cathay.”

A second distinguished scholar who became prominent during this period was Paul Carus, German-born and educated, and then editor of the *Open Court* magazine in Chicago. Carus was a philosopher of universal interests, a pioneer among those who sought to bring together philosophies East and West for comparison and mutual enrichment. His first translation from the Chinese, made in collaboration with Teitaro Suzuki, was the *T'ai-Shang Kan-Ying Pien: Treatise of the Exalted One on Response and Retribution* (1896). In the same year the *Monist*, of which Carus was also editor, carried his “Chinese philosophy. An exposition of the main characteristic features of Chinese thought.” This was brought out in book form in 1907. In 1898 came a third work, *Lao-Tze’s Tao-Teh-King*. This was 345 pages long, with an Introduction which expounded the doctrines of Lao-Tze according to Carus’ understanding of them, the biography of the sage by Ssu-ma Ch’ien, a vocabulary of the characters of the text in order, and the text itself. The review in *Journal Asiatique* was favorable, although the reviewer (C. de Harlez) could not agree with all of Carus’ interpretations.

But the most important event of the decade, so far as American sinology was concerned, was the arrival of Berthold Laufer in the United States in 1898. Like Carus, German born and educated, Laufer was to exhibit even more striking abilities. He was an intellectual prodigy, a man of enormous range of interest, of immense erudition, and
of such creative ability that he may surely be called a genius. Primarily he was
a student of historical anthropology and archology, but his linguistic attainments
alone would have sufficed to secure the fame of a lesser scholar. Here we can only
mention a few of his more outstanding writings as they occur in the decades under
review. During his early years in America, most of his productions were in
German, and may more fittingly be credited to German sinology. Two articles in
English which appeared soon after his arrival in America were accounts of work
undertaken on the first expedition which he led to the Orient, to Saghalin Island
and the Amur River region of eastern Siberia in 1898–99: "Ethnological work on
the Island of Saghalin" (in *Science*, May 26, 1899), and "Preliminary notes on ex-
plorations among the Amoor tribes" (in the *American Anthropologist*, new series,
II, April, 1900).

Before we pass along to the new century, we should perhaps take brief notice
of a few other materials, of some importance. W. A. P. Martin's second series of
*Hanlin Papers* (1894) was a collection, like its predecessor, of articles, which had
been gathered together over a period of years, many of them originating as papers
read before the Peking Oriental Society. His *A Cycle of Cathay* (1896) took its
title from the period from the first Anglo-Chinese war to the date of the book. It
was a combination of descriptive matter, history, and personal reminiscence. Although
a *pot-pourri* rather than a systematic treatise, it contained much of interest because
of the long and intimate acquaintance of the author with the China of the period.
Martin had lived in both North and South China, had served in a variety of capaci-
ties (missionary, interpreter for the American government, and president of the
Chinese Imperial Tungwen College), and was a man of undoubted intellectual
abilities. Chester Holcombe's *The Real Chinaman* (1895) and *The Real Chinese
Question* (1900) attempted to give the American public a fair picture of the Chinese
people and their civilization. The first book dealt with such general topics as Chi-
nese government, language, home life, courts of law, etiquette and ceremony, etc.
The second aimed at analyzing the events and forces which had led to the precarious
situation then obtaining in China. Topics dealt with in this analysis included such
factors as the literati, the Chinese character, missionaries, diplomacy in China, opium,
etc. The tenor of these books was sympathetic to China, and they tried to show
the subjects under consideration from the native, rather than the foreign point of
view. Holcombe was another of that rather unusual group of Americans who went
from missionary work into the diplomatic service. He was, in fact, successor to
Dr. Williams in the American Legation. Finally, more because of the otherwise
meager showing of Americans in the field of Chinese literature, than because of
their intrinsic value, we may mention James Ware's *A Peep into a Chinaman's
Library: *Being a Popular View of Chinese Literature* (1896), and I.T. Headland's *Chinese Mother Goose Rhymes* (1900). The former book divided its survey into categories such as the Four Books, the Five Classics, dramatic works, works on astronomy and geography, and so forth. It consisted of "a brief summary of native writings, with admirable quotations from the best Western authorities, such as Legge, Edkins and others." The latter book was a first step in a hitherto unexplored territory.

8. The early years of the twentieth century gave little in the way of American contributions to the journals. *JAOS* had several articles by the distinguished German sinologue, F. Hirth, who had been called to occupy the first chair of Chinese at Columbia in 1901. The Peking Oriental Society had passed out of existence. Two newly established periodicals—*Journal of the American Asiatic Association* (1898), and *Far Eastern Review*—were concerned with current political, commercial, and like topics. *The Chinese Recorder* was attending mostly to matters of purely missionary interest. In *T'oung Pao*, the leading sinological journal from 1890 onwards, American scholarship was represented by a single article, Rockhill's "The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644–1908" (XI, 1910). This article was long (104 pages), and as always with Rockhill's work, prepared with care and erudition. It was reprinted in Leyden in the same year. *JNCBRAS* carried a few articles, of which we need note only Martin's "The Jewish Monument at K'füfungfu" (XXXVII, 1906), E.T. Williams' "Witchcraft in the Chinese penal code" (XXXVIII, 1907), and Frank Chalfant's "Standard weights and measures of the Ch'in Dynasty" (XXXV, 1903–04). A sumptuously illustrated quarterly which ran from 1902 to 1905 was the *East of Asia Magazine*. This periodical essayed to give a general knowledge of the East, particularly China, by means of many short articles on diverse subjects, politics being eschewed. Some of the best authorities, European and American, wrote for it, but it was a popular rather than a scholarly vehicle.

During these years, for the first time since the earliest days, we find but few works on language being written by Americans. Dr. Mateer's *Mandarin Lessons* went through some revisions and reissues, and Williams' *Syllabic Dictionary* saw new editions, but these were works of a previous period. Otherwise language studies were represented only by Davis' *Shanghai Dialect Exercises in Romanized and Character* (1910), J.A. Silsby's *Complete Chinese Syllabary with an Index to Davis and Silsby's Shanghai Vernacular Dictionary* (1907), the same author's "A dissertation on the importance of Chinese," contained in the *Commercial Press English and Chinese Pronouncing Dictionay* (1902), Hawks Pott's *Lessons in the Shanghai Dialect* (?1907), and Brouner and Fung's *Chinese Made Easy* (1904).
In other fields, however, American scholars were producing important works. Frank H. Chalfant's *Early Chinese Writing* appeared in 1906, as volume IV, number 1, of the Memoirs of the Carnegie Museum. Chalfant had been a missionary in Shantung for some nineteen years, and had devoted his leisure time largely to the subject of this book. As one of the original discoverers and decipherers of the oracle bones exhumed in Honan (from 1899), he had a special knowledge and authority in this field. His treatise was divided into four sections: I. Illustrations of early writing derived from ancient inscriptions (an attempt briefly to trace the evolution of the writing, with many pages of illustrations). II. Notes upon the "Shuo Wen" (also illustrated). III. The royal edict confirming the Domain of San (an attempt to translate a passage written in ancient characters, cast in bronze, about 1122 B.C.). IV. Ancient inscriptions upon bone and tortoise shell (with drawings of some of the oracle bones and their inscriptions). The value of this book was recognized in the *JNCBRAS* review, which remarked that "it would be mere impertinence of the average scholar to attempt to criticise the work of many years of an authority such as the Rev. Frank Chalfant, who has had unique opportunities of the study of ancient writings, and has, in the volume under notice, thrown much light on the ideographic origin of the Chinese script."(68)

In America Berthold Laufer was writing much by this time in English. Scholarly monographs on a wide variety of topics appeared in a constant flow from his pen—decorative art among the Amur tribes, the bird-chariot in China and Europe, ancient Chinese bronzes, the origins of Chinese writing, relations of the Chinese to the Philippines, poetry of Li T'ai-po, maize, the peanut, and amber in Eastern Asia—the list could be extended to astonishing length. All of these writings were produced out of familiarity with a seemingly limitless library of sources in a dozen languages, and fashioned with scientific methods and powerful imagination. The most important one of them was the *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (1909). The materials used as the basis for this study were gathered by Dr. Laufer, mostly in Shansi, while on the Jacob H. Schiff Chinese Expedition (1901–14). Far from being what the title might seem to suggest—a study simply of ancient pottery—this book utilized the evidences of the pottery to reconstruct a whole picture of the civilization in which it was produced. At the same time it was in fact the first study by a foreign scholar of the pottery which preceded Chinese porcelain. The review by Chavannes in *Yong Pao* (XI, 1910, pp. 300–302), pointed out the originality and great interest of this work, although Chavannes believed there was some doubt as to all of the materials actually being of the Han period.

Paul Carus continued his interest in Chinese philosophy and civilization during this decade. An abridged edition of his earlier work on Lao Tzu came out in 1903
under the title *The Canon of Reason and Virtue*. This remains one of the most widely used English renditions of *Tao Te Ching*. Among several translations of short Buddhist and Taoist works was the *Yin Chih Wen*, done in collaboration again with Suzuki (1906). A critic in the *Recorder* remarked that the translations of Dr. Carus were written in an interesting impressionistic style, which however "warns one to look out for inaccuracy." In addition to the translations Carus published several books. His *Chinese Thought. An Exposition of the Main Characteristic Features of the Chinese World-Conception* (1907) was a medley of themes, as is indicated by the main headings. Chinese script, Chinese occultism, Zodiacs of different nations, A throneless king (Confucius) and his empire, The Chinese problem, and Conclusion. This material was profusely illustrated. *Chinese Life and Customs*, appearing the same year, was a collection of pictures by Chinese artists, with explantory text, the objective being to give a self-characterization of the Chinese people. *The Nestorian Monument* (1909) was a compilation of materials edited by Carus, including Fritz Holms' account of the procuring of the replica, the Chinese text, Wylie's translation, and historical notes on the Nestorians.

W. W. Rockhill, who had continued to combine an exceptionally busy diplomatic career with his scholarly work, likewise published some valuable items during this period. His "An inquiry into the population of China" was contained in the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection* (XLVII, 1904), and was reprinted the following year. His *China's Intercourse with Korea from the XVth Century to 1895*, and *Diplomatic Audiences at the Court of China* both came out in 1905 in book form, as expanded versions of articles previously published. In continuation of his lifelong interest in Tibet, there was not only his long article in *Toung Pao* on the Dalai Lamas (see above), but his editing of Sarat Chandra Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet* (1904), a task for which his own two expeditions and his thorough knowledge of all the literary sources had well qualified him.

Stepping down a bit from the peaks, we find W. A. P. Martin's *The Lore of Cathay, or the Intellect of China* (1901), a compilation for the most part of previously published material. (Dr. Martin's bibliography shows perhaps overmuch of this republishing.) *The Awakening of China* (1907), although his final work, was hardly of crowning importance, being a summary treatment of geography, history, and the Western invasion and its impact. This book was designed for popular consumption, and its only value otherwise was in the fact that its author had had such unusually good opportunities to observe the period of transformation which was the main subject of his pen.

Arthur H. Smith continued to write a good deal during the period, but did not surpass or even equal his previous volumes. *The Proverbs and Common Sayings of*
the Chinese came out in a revised edition in 1902. Rex Christus (1903) and The Uplift of China (1907) were study outlines of China for the use of student missionaries and mission classes in America. China in Convulsion (1902) was a two-volume account of the Boxer troubles, which took its place as one of the more reliable references for the subject. Another missionary, F.L. Hawks Pott, compiled A Sketch of Chinese History which became widely used. First published in Shanghai in 1903, it was published in London in 1904, and had run through five editions by 1936. The title correctly indicated the contents of this work. The reader was offered an outline with the main developments in chronological sequence, and a bare minimum of important names and dates. This book was well received and met a definite need. It was guilty, nevertheless, of the same distortion as practically every history of China to the present day: it slighted the long period prior to the nineteenth century, and gave exaggerated emphasis to the relations of China and the Occidental powers in modern times. A third missionary author, I.T. Headland, wrote on The Chinese Boy and Girl (1901), a somewhat broader and more serious study than his Chinese Mother Goose Rhymes. At the opposite pole of subject matter was the same author's Court Life in China (1909), whose purpose was to give an intimate picture of the lives and activities of the last Manchu rulers. Mrs. Headland had been for more than twenty years the personal physician to many of the Court ladies, and a good deal of the material in this volume was taken from her experiences and impressions. Headland was a partisan of the Empress Dowager, and the whole book was calculated to present her in a favorable light. He regarded the Boxer affair as only 'her greatest mistake,' and his estimate of her was seen on page 109: 'Was it too much to say that she was the greatest woman of the last half century?'

Regardless of the opinion of the critical reader as to this estimate, the book did contain many interesting insights into the personalities and workings of the Manchu Court, which was naturally beyond the ken of most foreigners.

It will not be going too far afield for us to glance at Jeremiah Curtin's political history of The Mongols (1908). This work was vividly written, and went into great detail, but no bibliography was supplied, nor any hint of the sources from which the author took his statements, which included many quotations. The reader is interested to find that the Foreword was supplied by Theodore Roosevelt, who stated that Curtin had been one of America's "two or three foremost scholars," and that "nothing that he did was more important than his studies of the rise of the mighty Mongol Empire and its decadence." He will not need to go so far as Mr. Roosevelt, however, who believed that "in this particular field no other American or English scholar has ever approached him." (Henry H. Howorth's monumental History of
the Mongols, to cite one case, had appeared in its entirety some twenty years prior
to Curtin's book.\(^{(73)}\)

Finally we will notice some miscellaneous titles which have some claim to
consideration in our survey. \textit{A Sketch of the Relations between the United States
and China} (1910), by F.W. Williams, and \textit{American Diplomacy in the Orient} (1904),
by sometime Secretary of State John W. Foster, were good treatments of their
subjects, and constituted the standard references to them until replaced by more
recent works. \textit{A Yankee on the Yangtze} (1904) and \textit{The Great Wall of China}
(1909), both by W.E. Geil, were rather more than usually interesting travel books.
\textit{China and Her People} was a two-volume survey by the elder Charles Denby,\(^{(74)}\)
published posthumously in 1906. This author had some thirteen years of experience
in China, and his book emphasized the political and diplomatic side of the contem-
porary period, with which he was intimately familiar. \textit{China's Business Methods
and Policy} (1904), by T.H. Jernigan of the consular service, was broader in scope
than the title would indicate. It contained short papers on such topics as Land
Tenure, Guilds, Family Law, Educational System, The Emperor—Power and Rest-
raints, etc. Another consular officer, F.D. Cloud, wrote an historical and descriptive
account of \textit{Hangchow; the “City of Heaven,” with a Brief Historical Sketch of
Soochow, “The Beautiful”} (1906).

9. During the final decade of our survey we find, in contrast to the previous
period, a substantial contribution by Americans to the journals. \textit{JNCBRAS} especially
received a number of articles of value from American scholars, both newcomers
and oldtimers. Lewis Hodous, a missionary at Foochow, wrote a series of papers
on Chinese folkways (in XLIII, 1912; XLVI, 1915; XLVIII, 1917; XLIX, 1918).\(^{(75)}\) E.T.
Williams wrote about “The state religion of China during the Manchu Dynasty”
(XLIV, 1913). The entire volume (XIJI) for 1911 was given over to posthumous
publication of “The journal of S. Wells Williams, LL.D.,” a record of Williams’
observations during the joint expedition of the British, French, and Americans to
Peking in an attempt to obtain treaties, in 1858–60. This was edited by his son,
F.W. Williams. F.G. Henke wrote “A study in the life and philosophy of Wang
Yang Ming” (XLIV, 1913), a preliminary report of researches which were soon
to produce his book on the same subject. Dr. E.T. Shields wrote an interesting
article on “Omei Shan: the sacred mountain of West China,” in this same issue,
while Florence Ayscough’s “Shrine’s of history. Peak of the East—T’ai Shan,”
appeared in XLVIII, 1917. Miss Ayscough, soon to become noted as a translator of
Chinese literature\(^{(76)}\) also wrote on “Chinese poetry and its connotations” (LI, 1920).
K.S. Latourette, who has since produced many important works, wrote “A survey of
the work by Western students of Chinese history” (XLVII, 1916), and A.P. Parker
contributed "Some notes on the history and folklore of old Shanghai" to the same issue. C.S. Lobingier, Judge of the United States Court for China, compiled "A bibliographical introduction to the study of Chinese law" (XLV, 1914); this was a guide to the literature in Western languages. C.B. Bradley's brief study of "The tone-accents of two Chinese dialects, originally published in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association for 1914" (1915), was reprinted in JNCCBRAS (XLVI, 1915). W.C. Dodd wrote on "The relation of Chinese and Siamese" in LI, 1920, and H.K. Wright analyzed "The religious element in the Tso Chuan" in XLVIII, 1917.

JAOS was still not much concerned with Chinese studies, but did publish articles by Columbia's German sinologue, Dr. Hirth ("The mystery of Fu-lin," XXXIII, 1913; "The story of Chang K'ien....", XXXVII, 1917); by Laufer (on the word "Burkhan," XXXVI, 1917; "The origin of Tibetan writing," XXXVIII, 1918); by Latourette ("American scholarship and Chinese history," XXXVIII, 1918); by Bradley (the same article mentioned above, in XXXV, 1915); and by T.H. Koo ("The constitutional development of the Western Han Dynasty," XL, 1920).

T'oung Pao carried important papers by Laufer and Rockhill. The former wrote on "The name China" (XIII, 1912), on "Arabic and Chinese trade in walrus and narwhal ivory," and on "The application of the Tibetan sexagenary cycle" (XIV, 1913), on "Bird divination among the Tibetans," and "Was Odoric of Pordenone ever in Tibet?" (XV, 1914), on "Optical lenses," and "Asbestos and salamander" (XVI, 1915), on "The Si-hia language," "Supplementary notes on walrus and narwhal ivory," and "Loan-words in Tibetan" (XVII, 1915). Rockhills' study of "The 1910 census of the population of China" was in XIII, 1912, while his last work, "Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and coasts of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century" ran in successive issues, from XIV, 1913, through XVI, 1915.

Americans were also represented in the New China Review, a periodical whose aim it was, as the title indicated, to revive the standards set by the old China Review, defunct since 1901. H.K. Wright's "A Buddhist apologetic" appeared in the first volume (1919), along with Arthur W. Hummel's "The Pu Tzu-Hsia tradition in Shansi"; while W.S.A. Pott presented "An approach to the study of Confucian ethics," and H.W. White contributed a brief note on "Chinese and Sumerian" in volume two (1920). In several journals aside from those specifically devoted to China there were found articles of sinological value. Thus, The Journal of Race Development (IV, 1913) carried F.W. Williams' "The Manchu conquest of China" (later reprinted in separate form); while The American Journal of Physical Anthropology (I, 1918) had E.T. Williams' "The origins of the Chinese," The Annual Report of
the American Historical Association for 1916 had his "Chinese social institutions as a foundation for Republican government," and the Geographical Review (IX, 1920) had his "The open ports of China." The Chinese Recorder, on the other hand, continued during these years to publish relatively little of scholarly interest, although this situation was changing towards the end of the decade.

The early tradition of language studies was again rather slighted during this period. Perhaps the most useful materials produced were the manuals by Mrs. Ada H. Mateer: New Terms and New Ideas (1913), New Terms for New Ideas (1917), and Handbook of New Terms and Newspaper Chinese (1918). The well-known Course of Mandarin Lessons of C. W. Mateer was reissued in abridged form in 1916, and Hawks Pott's Lessons in the Shanghai Dialect was also revised (1917). Chauncey Goodrich published A Character Study in Mandarin Colloquial (1917), and J. Leighton Stuart, whose career has included positions as president of Yenching University and Ambassador to China, produced his Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary of the New Testament in 1919.

But if there were not many works in the field of language, there were some outstanding volumes in other fields. Such, for example, was Rockhill and Hirth's edition of Chau Ju-Kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chi (1912). The joint translators and editors brought to their task the accumulated erudition and experience of two lifetimes of superior scholarship. The result was a work likely to remain standard for many years to come. It was divided into three main sections: the general introduction gave the background; Part I treated of the various lands outside of China; and Part II dealt with the products imported into China from these lands. Frederick Henke's The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming (1916) was another important study, the first essay of any consequence by an American in the field of Chinese philosophy of post antiquity. It remains one of the few Western language references on its subject. It contains a detailed biography of Wang Yang-ming, and four Books: I. Instructions for practical life; II. Record of discourses and inquiry regarding the Great Learning; III and IV, Letters. The whole came to some five hundred pages, mostly translation of difficult material which is rendered in a clear style, although its accuracy has been questioned.(78)

Latourette's The History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784–1844 (1917) was a study tracing the development of commerce and missions. The author stated that he had examined "practically all the known available material on the subject,"(79) and one of the most valuable features of the book was the extensive bibliography. From the point of view of sinology, however, since these numerous references were all on the United States' side, this work must
be considered more a study in American foreign relations, than in Chinese history. Another book by Latourette also appeared in the same year, his short historical survey entitled *The Development of China*. This was designed for use as a text in college classes in America, and it deserves credit as being not only the first such text, but one of the most successful. The story was told in a readable, narrative style, emphasis being placed on the broad features of Chinese civilization and the main movements of history. This book enjoyed considerable popularity, and is still in good use today.

But above all the decade was notable for the masterpieces of Berthold Laufer. Leaving aside the continuing flow of contributions to *Yung Pao*, we will speak only of the books. In 1912 came *Jade. A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*. In this work the various kinds of jade objects of ancient China were studied with the same creative technique as the pottery studied in the earlier *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*. From these fragmentary materials a whole construction was made of the cultural, and especially the religious life of pre-Confucian China. In 1913 came *Notes on Turquoise in the East*. This was a study based on Indian, Tibetan and Chinese sources. Chavannes' review remarked that it was needless to recommend this work to those who had read the author's previous writings: "Dans cette série de recherches, on trouve toujours la même union intime de l'observation directe et de l'érudition philologique, le même sens de la réalité, la même abondance d'information."(30) In 1914 came *Chinese Clay Figures. Part I. Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armor*. In 1915 came *The Diamond, A Study in Chinese and Hellenistic Folklore*. In 1916 came *The Beginnings of Chinese Porcelain*. And in 1919 came the greatest work of all, *Sino-Iranica*. The immense task which Laufer had set for himself in this study was to trace the migrations of all the material objects of civilization, and especially of cultivated plants and animals, from Persia to China, and from China to Persia. *Sino-Iranica* elicited a twenty-three page review in *Journal Asiatique*, from which we extract the summary paragraph:"

"...M. Laufer a utilisé de très nombreuses sources Chinoises qui ont été confrontées avec des informations empruntées à la littérature musulmane et indo-européenne. C'est le travail le plus complet que nous possédions sur un tel sujet. Des erreurs devenues classiques ont été rectifiées; la méthode prudente et sûre de l'auteur lui a permis d'identifier avec certitude un très grand nombre d'arbres, fruits et plantes; ce livre excellente apporte ainsi une importante et décisive contribution à nos études."(81)

Some other items of lesser importance will close our survey of the decade. There was an interesting experiment in *Poetry* magazine in 1919, in which Florence Ayscough and Amy Lowell collaborated on some translations of poems from Chinese
pictures. These were the first steps in a translation method devised by Mrs. Ayscough—using each character as a center of suggestion, from which the spirit of the poet’s ideas could be extracted to produce a poem in English more closely approximating the intention of the original than would a literal translation. She also wrote a *Catalogue of Chinese Paintings Ancient and Modern* (1914) for the collection of Mr. Liu Sung Fu, which was sent to the Panama Exposition. In 1917 her booklet entitled *Synopsis of Chinese History, and Friendly Books on Far Cathay* was issued, to provide a guide for beginners in Chinese studies. Another lady who wrote on art was Mrs. Rose Sickler Williams, who prepared a treatise on early Chinese potteries for the catalog of an exhibition held in New York in 1914, *Chinese, Corean and Japanese Potteries*. A book for the general public was Bishop James W. Bashford’s *China. An Interpretation* (1916), which was both commended and condemned for its breadth of scope. Another general work for popular consumption was William E. Griffis’ *China’s Story in Myth, Legend, Art, and Annals* (1911), which was taken from the standard foreign authorities. The third of W.E. Geil’s interesting travel series appeared in 1911, with the title, *Eighteen Capitals of China*. C. F. Kupfer’s *Sacred Places in China* was published in 1911 also. P.H. Clements wrote a dissertation on *The Boxer Rebellion* (1915). Frank Chalfant wrote a chapter on “Ancient Chinese coinage,” in the volume on *Shantung* (1912) edited by R.C. Forsyth, and also provided a gazetteer of Ichou prefecture. F.W. Williams gave an account of *Anson Burlingame and the First Chinese Mission to Foreign Powers* (1912). An eminent American agricultural expert, F.H. King, wrote a book on his observations of agricultural conditions in China, Japan, and Korea, entitled *Farmers of Forty Centuries* (1911). Although Dr. King had spent only a few months in the Far East, his book was accurate and valuable, because of his special background and his personal qualities as an observer. Another specialist who brought to his analysis of the Chinese scene a preparation of professional competence and keen powers of discernment, was the well-known sociologist, E.A. Ross. His book was called *The Changing Chinese. The Conflict of Oriental and Western Cultures in China* (1911). And finally, there was the great hoax of the time, the Memoirs of Li Hung Chang, “edited” by William Mannix, with an introduction by the Hon. John W. Foster, sometime Secretary of State. This appeared in 1913, and despite some doubts, was accepted as genuine until the discovery of certain errors of fact, which led to the revelation that the entire book was a work of fiction and a fraud.

III

1. Our survey leads us to some conclusions as to the basic features of American study of China during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We note first
that American sinology was largely the product of the spare-time researches of residents in China. There was no center of sinological studies in the United States, no line of masters and pupils in the American universities such as existed in France. We note also that the great majority of our scholars were of the missionary group. As was pointed out earlier, this group studied the Chinese language and civilization out of necessity; and necessity led, in the case of those by nature inclined to scholarly study, to an absorbing, lifelong interest. Attempting to sort out the more prominent of our students, we might arrive at a list including the following:

E. C. Bridgman
S. Wells Williams
D. J. MacGowan
W. A. P. Martin
Justus Doolittle
W. W. Rockhill
Arthur H. Smith
Paul Carus
Frank H. Chalfant
F. G. Henke
Berthold Laufer

All of these except Rockhill, Carus, and Laufer came from the Protestant missionary circle. Rockhill was a diplomat, Carus an Oriental scholar only incidentally because of his interest in world thought. Laufer was the only professional scholar among them. One might say of course that Bridgman and Williams were very nearly professional sinologues, since so much of their time and energies was devoted to studying, writing, and publishing the Chinese Repository. Williams in particular devoted his missionary career to scholarly work. Dr. MacGowan on the other hand was a busy medical missionary, whose writings were produced out of his comparatively brief moments of leisure, and who consequently never wrote a book. Martin was a man of affairs: his long career in China was devoted to the cause of modern education. He wrote a great deal, and had an unusually broad knowledge of China. However, most of his writing was in a popular vein, and he cannot be said to have contributed much to the scholarly world. Doolittle, Smith, and Chalfant were more typical missionaries, each with his special "avocational" interest in Chinese civilization: Doolittle the careful observer and recorder of local customs; Smith the more subjective analyst of rural life and the Chinese psychology; Chalfant the antiquarian. Henke was a professor of philosophy in Nanking University and later in America, so that his study of Wang Yang-ming was in the area of his professional work. Rockhill was for the greater part of his career a diplomat, and was also connected
with the Smithsonian Institution for a time. Besides attaining distinction in these capacities, he was a scholar's scholar and an intrepid explorer. He produced many important works while carrying on the duties of busy and responsible positions. Carus was a philosopher, editor, and writer. He wrote on Chinese philosophy only as a small part of his huge output of studies on world thought.\(^{36}\) Not until recent years have there been many who have grasped the importance of the purpose which motivated him: to bring together, compare, and mutually enrich all world philosophies. Laufer was the only man whose entire life was spent in scholarly research. And at the same time, he was so broad in his interests that it is inaccurate to limit him by the label of sinologue.

That there were many other Americans who contributed to the understanding of China our survey has shown. The above list of major scholars is of course not unassailable. However, if we consider that original research in the Chinese language is an essential criterion, that criterion eliminates several well-known writers. Many of the most popular works cannot be called sinological studies, as they were based entirely on the researches of others. On the other hand, in the vital area of language studies, it is difficult to include all the worthy compilers as sinologists, essential though their works were.

2. To form our conclusions from another viewpoint, we may attempt to single out the more important writings themselves. This will reveal the strengths and weaknesses of American sinology during the period.

Perhaps the best showing was made in the production of language materials. Here the major works included Bridgman's *Chrestomathy* (1841), Maclay and Baldwin's *Alphabetic Dictionary... in the Foochow Dialect* (1870), Doolittle's *Vocabulary* (1872), Williams' *Tonic Dictionary... in the Canton Dialect* (1856), and his *Syllabic Dictionary* (1874), Mateer's *Mandarin Lessons* (1892), and Goodrich's *Pocket Dictionary* (1891). Besides these there were many useful manuals for students, and dictionaries or vocabularies in the various dialects.

In the field of history, there was first of all the *Chinese Repository*, which published the researches of Bridgman, Williams, and others, both American and European. Some of the most valuable of this material was later incorporated by Williams into his *Middle Kingdom* (1848). W.A.P. Martin wrote a number of papers on various historical topics, which were gathered together in his two volumes of *Hanlin Papers* (1880 and 1894), and in *The Lore of Cathay* (1901). Outstanding were works by Rockhill: *Life of the Buddha* (1884), *The Journey of William of Rubruck* (1900), "Diplomatic Missions to the court of China. The Kotow Question" (1897), *China's Intercourse with Korea from the XVth Century to 1895* (1905), "The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China,"
1644-1908" (1910), "Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coasts of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century" (1913-15), and Chau Ju-kua (with F. Hirth, 1912). E.T. Williams published several good articles: "Hung-Wu and his capital" (1891), "The origins of the Chinese" (1918), and "The state religion of China during the Manchu dynasty" (1913). The lesser but yet able son of a distinguished father, Frederick Wells Williams published "Chinese and medieval gilds" (1892), and "A sketch of the relations between the United States and China" (1910), as well as "A sketch of Russo-Chinese intercourse" (1891). He also assisted his father with revision of The Middle Kingdom (1883), and in 1897 brought out A History of China, taken from the former work. His study of Anson Burlingame and the First Chinese Mission to Foreign Powers appeared in 1912. Charles Denby, Jr.'s long article on "The Chinese conquest of Songaria" (1892) might be included in our list, as might several works not of strictly sinological value, but important because of their wide use: Pott's A Sketch of Chinese History (1903), and Latourette's The Development of China (1917) and History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784-1844 (1917).

The writings of Laufer linked together linguistic, historical, and anthropological studies. He was the greatest American sinologue, and one of the world's greatest scholars. His works stand almost in a class by themselves, considering the use of sources in so many languages, their pioneering in certain areas of cultural history, the creative ingenuity with which they reconstructed whole civilizations from fragmentary evidences, and their sheer bulk. Of special importance were the following:

The Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes (1902)
Historical Jottings on Amber in Asia (d?)
The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands (1907)
The Introduction of Maize into Eastern Asia (1907)
Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty (1909)
Chinese Grave-Sculptures of the Han Period (1911)
Jade (1912)
Notes on Turquois in the East (1913)
Arabic and Chinese Trade in Walrus and Narwhal Ivory (1913)
The Application of the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle (1913)
Bird Divination among the Tibetans (1914)
Was Odoric of Perdonone ever in Tibet? (1914)
Chinese Clay Figures (1914)
Optical Lenses (1915)
Asbestos and Salamander (1915)
The Diamond (1915)
The Si-Hia Language (1915)
Supplementary Notes on Walrus and Narwhal Ivory (1916)
The Beginnings of Chinese Porcelain (1916)
Loan-Words in Tibetan (1916)
Sino-Irancica (1919)

We may here quote from the obituary which the president of the American Oriental Society wrote for the Journal of that Society (LIV, 1934, p. 350):

Dr. Laufer was one of the giants of a scholarly generation now unfortunately passing away. His linguistic learning alone was almost incredible. Besides mastering the classical and modern languages of Europe, including Russian, he was a student of Chinese, Japanese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian, Tangut, and other Oriental tongues. Yet in the world of scholarship he stood out primarily as an ethnologist, and perhaps his chief contribution was the application of the principles and methods of ethnology to historic civilizations. No man has contributed more to our knowledge of the origins, diffusion and development of specific cultural traits. This was the unity which ran through the amazingly diverse fields of his investigations. Whether he was collecting the folklore concerning the diamond from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, or tracing the migrations of cultivated plants across the continent of Asia, or outlining the stages in the development of defensive armour, his interest lay always in the history of the slow onward march of civilization. His critical scholarship and self-discipline confined his efforts to investigations in which the best methods of historical research could be rigidly applied...His work was fundamental; only with the lapse of years may we realize its full importance...

Americans produced many general and special studies of Chinese civilization and culture. The Repository began the tradition, which was carried on most notably in the following books: Williams' The Middle Kingdom (1848, 1883), Doolittle's Social Life of the Chinese (1865), Johnson's Oriental Religions and their Relation to Universal Religion: China (1877), Smith's Proverbs and Common Sayings of the Chinese (1888), his Chinese Characteristics (1890), and his Village Life in China (1899), Rockhill's The Land of the Lamas (1891), and his Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892 (1894). We should not overlook some of the more important articles, including MacGowan's "Chinese guilds or chambers of commerce and trades unions" (1888); E.T. Williams' study of "Witchcraft in the Chinese penal code" (1907), and his "The State religion of China during the Manchu Dynasty" (1913); Lewis Hodous' series on folkways—"The great summer festival of China as observed in Foochow" (1912), "The sacrifice to Heaven" (1915), "The
Ch'ing Ming festival" (1915), "The dragon" (1917), and "The kite festival in Foochow, China" (1918), and Rockhill's "Notes on the ethnology of Tibet" (1895).

In philosophy the record is meager. Carus was the main representative, with his *Lao Tze's Tao-Teh-King* (1898), his later *The Canon of Reason and Virtue* (1913), his *Chinese Philosophy* (1898), and the small translations—*T'ai Shang Kan-Ying Pien* (1896) and *Yin Chih Wen* (1906). Aside from these, the only work of importance in the field was Henke's *The Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming* (1916). Archeology, aside from the great studies of Laufer, was investigated only by Chalfant, who produced the pioneer study on *Early Chinese Writing* (1906). Not scholarly in nature, but of great value for their information on the early relations of China and the United States, and their picture of the "old days" at Canton, were Quincy's edition of *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw* (1847), Tiffany's *The Canton Chinese* (1849), Hunter's 'The Fan Kwae' at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844 (1882), and his *Bits of Old China* (1885). The same sort of value attached to *The Journal of W. Wells Williams, LL. D.*, edited by his son (1911), and to Williams' "Recollections of China prior to 1840" (1874). Finally, a place should be found for Rockhill's two studies of the population of China (1904 and 1912).

3. From this summary of the best work done by American students it will be seen that, with the exception of the outstanding studies of a few scholars, the total production was not very remarkable, either in quantity or quality. Fields in which there was little or no showing included such vast and important areas as art, literature, music, philosophy, law, biography. The study of history was often superficial, and at its best concentrated on small topics. Chinese government was described (notably by Williams) in some detail, but no really satisfactory study was made of this subject. Religion was of course of much interest to the missionaries, and yet little research of much importance was done on this subject, and the best book (Johnson's) was written by a scholar in America who did not read Chinese. We can scarcely chide American students for their lack of accomplishment in archeology, as that science was hardly established anywhere in the Far East, but the same cannot be said about literature, in which American students interested themselves not at all. This is somewhat surprising, in view of their respectable achievements in the production of language manuals and dictionaries. In what may be called general works, surveys of social life and customs, there were some good reports by Americans.

4. With the passage of three and a half decades since the close of the period which we have surveyed there have been undoubted advances in American scholarship on China. Standards have been raised. A few universities have received important
acquisitions of Chinese books, and have installed courses on Chinese subjects. The banner of sinological scholarship has passed from the ranks of the China missionary group to a professionally trained group of scholars, mostly holding university positions in the United States. Monographs of a caliber equal to the works of the great European scholars, and of such American predecessors as Williams, Rockhill, and Laufer, are appearing in some small quantity. Death has ended the careers of the scholars we have mentioned here, and there are new names to represent American sinology.

And yet, there are still only a few schools in the United States which give any adequate training in Chinese studies, and these departments have been none too flourishing. It is to be feared that even more serious than this, is the isolation of the highly specialized research being undertaken in these departments from the classrooms and libraries of the great majority of our colleges. It would seem vital at this moment of world history, that some way be found to combine the new specialized training of American sinologists with a dissemination of sound and profound knowledge about China among our student population as a whole.

NOTES

(1) Clear accounts of the beginnings of American trade, and early relations with China, are to be found in Dennett's *Americans in Eastern Asia*, Parts I and II, and in Latourette's *History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784–1844*, Chapters I, II, and III. Both of these studies are provided with thorough bibliographies. For the voyage of the *Empress of China* see Quincy (editor), *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw*, pp. 131–213. Dennett (*op. cit.*, p. 64) observes: "Shaw's Journal is incomparably the best contemporary American source for the beginnings of American trade in China."


(3) See Danton, *The Culture Contacts of the United States and China*, pp. 4–7. Danton's work covers the same period as Latourette's, but from another viewpoint.

(4) The literature on the Jesuits in China is very large. For bibliographies, see Rowbotham's *Missionary and Mandarin* (which has several chapters on Jesuit sinological works), and Mason's *Western Concepts of China and the Chinese, 1840–1876*, Introduction. Chapters IX and X of Hudson's *Europe and China* are excellent summaries of the subject.

(6) See, for example, Rowbotham, op. cit., Index, "Rites Controversy," or Latourette's *The Chinese*, I, pp. 337-338, for convenient summary.

(7) *Memoirs of the Life and Labors of Robert Morrison*, I. (This work published in London in 1849, in two volumes.)


(10) The East India Company had to its credit only one other noteworthy instance of patronage of Chinese studies: it bore the expense of publishing Morrison's great dictionary (1815-1823).


(12) *Journal Asiatique*, founded in 1822, and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, founded in 1834, contained articles on China only as a small minority among other topics; the same is true of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, founded in 1830. The *Indo-Chinese Gleaner* published only three volumes, 1817-1821.


(14) *Chinese Repository*, XVIII, 1849, p. 408.


(18) The *Chinese Repository* (Bridgman's review), states that while in the United States, "upwards of 65,000 copies of the catalogue by Wines of the articles comprising the collection, were sold." In Bridgman's opinion, "Mr. Dunn has exhibited a taste and a spirit [in the matter of his collection] worthy of high commendation. His benefaction to the world is great . . . . He has brought China to Europe, and introduced the peoples of the central kingdom to all the natives of the west. He has shown himself a true friend of the Chinese . . . ." (XII, 1843, p. 561). Bridgman had seen a good deal of the collection before it left China.

(19) My only information on this book by Peters is from Danton, op. cit., Bibliography, p. 125. Williams lists in the *Repository* (XVIII, 1849, p. 419) a work entitled *Chinese Museum in Marlborough Chapel* (Boston, 1845), by this author, and says that it delineates the contents of a museum similar to Dunn's "carried to New York in 1845." (Incidentally, Miss Mason has confused these two exhibits, under the impression that they were the same—Dunn's. See her *Western Concepts of China* . . . ., p. 60, and same page, note 2.)


(22) Ibid., p. 162.

(23) See above, note 1.

(24) Bridgman, *Chrestomathy*, p. i

(25) Williams did the chapters on mineralogy and zoology.

(26) Latourette’s *The Chinese* (original edition, 1934) is an avowed attempt to be to our day what *The Middle Kingdom* was to former generations; but despite its many excellent points, it has not succeeded in achieving this standard, to my mind.

(27) See Williams, *Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams, LL. D.*, Index, “Middle Kingdom.”

(28) Ibid., p. 155.


(32) *Chinese Repository*, XX, 1851, Editorial Notice at beginning of volume (n.p.).

(33) For the complete story of these missions, as told by Dr. Williams, see his “A journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853–1854),” in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XXXVII, Part II, 1910, and “The journal of S. Wells Williams, LL. D. (1858–1860),” in *JNCBRAS*, XLII, 1911. Both journals were edited by his son, Frederick Wells Williams.


(37) Ibid., p. 125.

(38) For a brief paragraph on Miss Fay, see Couling (editor), *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, p. 174.

(39) See *Chinese and Japanese Repository*, II, 1864: pp. 19–22; 51–54; 98–100; 144–150; and III, 1865: pp. 14–16 (no author stated, but apparently one of the series by Miss Fay); 102–105; 545–547.


(43) For example, one of the more recent studies in this field, Hodous’ *Folkways in China* (1929), cites Doolittle as one of the works which the author has found especially useful (Preface, p. v).

(45) Williams, *Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams, LL. D.*, p. 397. For the full account of the writing of this work, see Index, "Syllabic Dictionary."

(46) See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 397-399, and *Chinese Recorder*, V, 1874, pp. 226-228.

(47) See *China Review*, IV, 1876, pp. 318-322, "Dr. Williams as an authority on etymology," by J.C. (John Chalmers, I presume).

(48) See *China Review*, VIII, 1879, p. 52.

(49) *Chinese Recorder*, X, 1879, p. 396.

(50) *China Review, loc. cit.*

(51) See *China Review*, VI, 1877, pp. 124-128.


(54) It may be well to remind the reader that there were two well-known Mac-Gowans in China at the time: Daniel J., the American physician, and John, of the London Missionary Society. The former reached China in 1843, the latter in 1860. Both became excellent Chinese students.

(55) I have no information on the first edition.

(56) Williams, *Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams, LL. D.*, p. 440. For the account of the revision, see Index, "Middle Kingdom."


(58) William C. Hunter (1812-1891): Went to China at a few months less than thirteen years of age, destined for a career in the Canton Factory of Thomas H. Smith of New York. He went to Singapore for language study, but there then being no facilities for such study at Singapore, he was further sent to Malacca. There he studied Mandarin and read in the classical literature for eighteen months. Returning to Canton in 1827 he was examined by Dr. Morrison on his language abilities, and Morrison pronounced his progress "good." (It will be recalled, however, that Hunter was not of those named by Williams as qualified in language.) He returned to America later in that year, and then came back out to Canton in 1829 in the employ of Russell and Company. On this voyage, his fellow-passengers included Bridgman and Abeel, the two pioneer American missionaries, and he gave these gentlemen Chinese lessons during the trip. Hunter remained in business in Canton, eventually becoming a partner in the Russell firm, until 1842, when he retired. He returned to America in 1844. This seems to have been his last residence in China, and other than the fact that he died at Nice in June, 1891, further information is not available to me. (This data is from his two books. See also Dictionary of American Biography, IX; and two articles: P. de Vargas, "William C. Hunter's books on the old Canton factories," in Yenching Journal of Social Studies II,
1, July, 1939; and A. W. Hummel, “Correspondence regarding William C. Hunter,” in *ibid.*, II, 2, February, 1940.)

(59) *Chinese Recorder*, XVI, 1885, pp. 75–76.


(61) Edward Thomas Williams (1854–1944): His career included three distinct periods. During the first he served as a missionary in China (following several American pastorates), from 1887–1896. During the second he was an officer in the diplomatic service, holding such important positions as charge d'affaires in Peking in 1911 and 1913, and Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs in the State Department, 1914–1918. After leaving government service, the third period saw him occupying the Agassiz Chair of Oriental languages and literature at the University of California, from 1918–1927. His two most important books were written after the period covered by our survey: *China Yesterday and Today* (1923), and *A Short History of China* (1928). (See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX.)


(64) For details on Carus, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, III.


(66) The writings of Laufer are much too voluminous to detail in our survey. Here we mention only his most outstanding works. For the complete bibliography, refer to *JAOS*, LIV, 1934, pp. 349–362.


(68) *JNCBRAS*, XXXVIII, 1907, p. 255.

(69) *Chinese Recorder*, XLIV, 1913, pp. 569–571. See also *Ts'oung Pao*, VII, 1906, pp. 536–537.


(71) See, for example, *Chinese Recorder*, XXXV, 1904, p. 203; *JNCBRAS*, XXXIX, 1905, p. 199.

(72) Foreword, p. ix.

(73) Barthold, in his definitive history of *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 62, says: “No scientific value whatever can be claimed by the two volumes of Jeremiah Curtin…….*The Mongols: A History and The Mongols in Russia…….*”

(74) There were three Denbys who attained some distinction: Charles, Senior (1830–1904), who, among other things, was American Minister to China, 1885–
1898; his son, Charles, Junior (1861–1938), who had a number of high positions in government service, mostly in China, including that of foreign advisor to the government-general of North China, 1902–05, and American Consul-General at Shanghai, 1907–09: and the second son, Edwin, who was Secretary of the Navy, 1921–24. (See *Who Was Who in America, 1897–1942*, p. 313.)

(75) Hodous continued this line of research in later years, producing his *Folkways in China* in 1929.

(76) Florence Ayscough's most important book was *Tu Fu, the Autobiography of a Chinese Poet, A.D. 712–770, arranged from his poems*. This appeared in two volumes, in 1929 and 1934.

(77) The editor of this journal was an Englishman, Samuel Couling. The journal failed after his death, having run to four volumes, 1919–1922.

(78) See *JNCBRAS*, XLVIII, 1917, pp. 197–8 for favorable review. But Wing-tsit Chan opines that it is "a fair selection of representative material but the translation is very poor" (*Philosophy East and West*, Quarterly, III, 4, January, 1954, p. 355).


(80) *T'oung Pao*, XIV, 1913, p. 486.

(81) *Journal Asiatique*, sér. 11, XVIII, 1921, p. 273. The reviewer was G. Ferrand.

(82) These collaborators brought out a volume of translations using and defending this method, in 1921, entitled *Fir-Flower Tablets*.


(86) The total bibliography of Carus was over 1,000 items. (See above, note 64.)
一八三〇年至一九二〇年
美國人之漢學研究
譚 維 理

美國獨立不久，即與中國商業往來（一七八四年始），但約有半個世紀，幾乎無一人能通華語華文，美國人士之漢學研究是從傳教士來華開始。傳教士與商人之惟利是求不同，志在感化中國人，必需能運用中國語言，了解中國人心理，知道中國的歷史與文化。

一八三〇年二月，美國教士二人抵達廣州，其中一人 E. C. Bridgman 可稱為美國的第一位漢學家。他於一八三二年創辦一種期刊，名為 Chinese Repository，刊載研究或討論中國事物的文章；這刊物維持了二十年，出版達二十卷，是美國學者對於漢學的一個可紀念的貢獻。幫助 Bridgman 主持這期刊的，是另一位貢獻令人欽佩的漢學家 Dr. Samuel Wells Williams。

從這兩位致力漢學說起，作者將一八三〇年到一九二〇年，九十年間，以十年為一段落，分敘每十年中：(甲) 研究漢學之會社及刊物，與刊物所載之美國學者論文，(乙) 美國學者關於中國語文之著作，(丙) 其他著作。茲按此三類分述。

(甲) 會社及刊物

美國人士第一個貢獻，就是前所說的 Chinese Repository（一八三二年始），另一組織美國東方學會 American Oriental Society 於一八四二年成立，亦出期刊，但所刊載中國的研究不多。五十年代 Chinese Repository 停刊。英國的王家亞洲協會 Royal Asiatic Society 北支分會的會誌 JNCRAS 於一八五九年起始刊行，分會雖是英國人的組織，美國人士亦參加。Bridgman 便是這會的第一任會長，他與 Williams 均有稿登載該刊。一八六一年 Bridgman 去世，該會改組，會
誌停刊，至一八六四年復刊，遂為中國研究的主要刊物，時有美國學者的投稿。六十年代裏，有四種於中國研究有關的刊物，其中三個都沒有能久維持，祇 Chinese Recorder 有多年的壽命。他本是傳教士的刊物，初名 Missionary Recorder，主編者 S. L. Baldwin 改名稱，擴展範圍，載於美教士中國研究的論文。七十年代英國學者 N. B. Dennys 創辦 The China Review 雙月刊，維持了約三十年（一八七二至一九〇一），登載研究的文章，頗能與 JNCBRAS 媲美。八十年代在北平的英美學者成立 Peking Oriental Society（一八八五），並出期刊。其工作略與在上海之 NCBRAS 相類，W. A. P. Martin 與 Dr. D. J. MacGowan 是主要寫稿人。這會於一八九八年停止。這時期還有一事當提及，美國學者 W. W. Rockhill 起始將他研究西藏喇嘛的文稿在期刊裏發表。他對於西藏特殊興趣，文獻研究之外，且曾赴該地探視，成為世界上西藏學者之權威。九十年代，美國學者期刊上的貢獻不多，祇有三篇文章值得注意，這是 Rockhill, Dr. MacGowan 與 E. T. Williams 的作品。E. T. Williams 是位青年傳教士，後來他的中國研究，頗著聲譽。二十世紀初年期刊上美國貢獻仍不多。哥倫比亞大學的教授 F. Hirth，本是德國的知名學者。美國學者祇有 Rockhill 開於達賴喇嘛與清廷關係的一篇長文（一〇四頁），載於“通報”（九十年代起為漢學研究期刊的領袖），是重要學術貢獻。一九一〇年後十年中，期刊中，美國學者的文章，空前豐富，JNCBRAS 刊登了好幾篇美國人的文章，包括 Dr. S. Wells Williams 一八五八至一八六〇年英法軍事時他的日記，頗有歷史價值（一九一一年全卷刊載此稿）。通報載有 Rockhill 與 Laufer 的重要研究論文，此兩人的學術貢獻，高出諸輩。其他學術刊物亦多美國學者作品。是九十年來，收穫最豐的十年。

（乙）關於中國語文之著作

傳教士需要能對中國人說中國話，所以美國人在語文方面的著作特別多，並且對於各地方的方言，如廣東話，汕頭話，福州話，廈門話，寧波話，北京話都有著作，直到二十世紀此類著作的量數，方纔減少。作者於每個十年所發表的著作一一列舉，現在祇將幾種比較重要的著作略作說明：(I) Bridgman 的 Chinese Chres-
tomathy in the Canton Dialect (廣州話的註解文選)，一八四一年出版，是一部
七百二十八面的大書，以簡易的文選作西方人學中國話，或中國人學西話之用；每頁
分三行，列英文字，中文字，及讀音，分附註解。書分十七目：(一)經論，(二)
中文，(三)身體，(四)親屬，(五)各等人物，(六)家庭，(七)商務，(八)機械，
(九)建築，(十)農業，(十一)文科課目，(十二)數學，(十三)地理，(十四)礦物，
(十五)動物，(十六)醫藥，(十七)政事。包羅萬有如一部中國的百科全書，不僅
是學語的津梁。 (II) S. Wells Williams 的 Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese
Language（表示音節的中文字典），於一八七四年出版。 Williams 是早期研究中
國的學者貢獻最多的一位，他於一八五六年的研究了一部廣東話的四聲字典（Tonic
Dictionary），用者稱便，後來致力增改，用了十年工夫，編成一部一萬二千五
百二十七個字的字典，用國語（當時稱“官話”）為標準，但附有廣東、廈門、及上海
的讀音。一部好字典的特色，可以說是具有：收羅廣，字數多，定義簡要明確。作
者很適宜於此項工作，他在中國將近四十年，對於中國的文字與文化，用心的研
究，大概當時沒有人能與他比擬。不過這書不免有錯誤與缺點，流後來英國學者
Herbert A. Giles 的字典問世，或名為其所掩。 (III) 九十年代出了兩本學北京話
的工具書：一是 Chauncey Goodrich 的袖珍字典 A Pocket Dictionary and Pe-
king Syllabary（一八九一年初版），二是 C. W. Mateer 的宜話教程 A Course
of Mandarin Lessons（一八九二年初版，七百六十五頁的巨帙），因其合乎實用曾
經好幾次再版。

(丙) 其他著作

美國人士漢學的貢獻，早期是主編期刊與語文工具的書，具有學術性的著作，
刊行較遲；至四十年代將盡（一八四八年），S. W. Williams 的 Middle Kingdom
出版，始可說有重要價值的作品。作者於一八四五至四六年間回國，曾作百次以上
的講演，說明中國的風土人情，歷史文化。後來將講稿整理成兩巨冊的書籍，對於
中國的地理、人民、政治、歷史、社會生活，文學藝術都有明確的敘述，並附有他
前一年所繪製的中華帝國地圖。作者於序言裏說，他求祛除一般膚淺作者輕蔑譏笑
的態度，這目的可說是達到了。此書成為英文論中國最知名的一部書，已歷百餘年，至今仍被視為標準參考書。這類包羅萬象，綜論生活文化的著作，以前耶穌會
教士（如 Du Halde 等）及英國作家 Sir J. F. Davis 曾試作過，美國人致力於此
尚是第一次。Williams 曾用 Davis 之書作全書結構之藍本，且曾常言及 Davis，
但在三十五年後（一八八三），Williams 勤加修改，再版問世，則其書遠勝前人。
此後如 Justus Doolittle 根據他在福州所觀察的風俗習慣，宗教迷信，寫的中國人
之社會生活（一八六五），Samuel Johnson 根據法英德諸國漢學家的著作，（他
本人不能讀中文）所寫的論中國宗教與世界宗教（一八七七），為值得注意的著作。
還有第一位美國駐廣州領事 Major Shaw 的日記（一八四七年出版），早期在廣州
的美國商人 Hunter 的追憶敘述兩種（一八八二、一八八五出版）具有史料價值及親
切的趣味。可是學術性的重編著作，到八十年代以後方源源來而。W. W. Rockhill
及 Berthold Laufer 兩位大學者的貢獻，輝耀當時。Rockhill 是外交官，他於政務
工作之外有深厚的學術興趣，研究西藏，成為西藏學之權威，所寫書籍與論文，均
富有價值，不愧是學者之學者。Berthold Laufer 本是德國學者，於一八九八年來
到美國，初期作品，尚用德文，後乃用英文發表。他有學識，有才識，將語言學、
歷史學、考古學、人類學、融會貫通，善用多種語文的資料，以創造性的智慧，從
殘物中簡中，悟到整個文化。他成為美國的漢學泰斗，學術界的第一流人才。在二
十世紀的初二十年發表了二十一篇著作，均可稱為上乘作品。尤為人所重視的，如
Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion（一九一二）從殘留的古
物推論古中國的宗教生活；如 Sino-Iranica（一九一九）從植物動物的移植，及其
他物品的轉運，以推論中國與波斯的文化交流，允稱傑作。這時期還有一位學者
Paul Carus 也是生於德國受教育於德國，來華後，主持 Open Court 雜誌。他的
志願要貫通東方與西方的哲學，相互補益，因此對中國哲學感興趣，曾將老子與道
德經，介紹於西方。近代哲學的介紹有 Henke 教授的王陽明（一九一六）；早期中
國關係的研究有 Latourette 教授的著作（一九一七）。二十世紀美國漢學著述的量
與質，遠非十九世紀所可比擬的了。
結論

十九世紀及二十世紀初年，美國的漢學研究，多半是在中國的美國人業餘的工作，而不是在美國設有研究中國的中心，師生相傳授，如同在法國那樣。並且可注意，致力研究的人，多數是傳教士，由需要而轉成終身興趣。研究成果值得重視者約十一人，此十一人中八個人是基督教的傳教士。初期的 Bridgman 與 Williams 幾乎可稱為專業的漢學家，因為他們用了大部分的時間與精力來研究著作，及主編 Chinese Repository。後期的 Rockhill 是外交官；Carus 興趣在東方哲學，中國殊是一部分；Laufer 是唯一的教授學者，終身致力於學問，可是他的研究範圍至廣，不僅是一位漢學家；這三人都不是傳教士。

按著作的性質分列，可看到在此九十年間，美國漢學家在那方面有豐富的成績，在那方面沒有什麼可說。第一富有成績的是語言文字的著作。其次是歷史的各種作品，二十卷 Chinese Repository 所載文章多屬此類。Williams 的“中國”及他的哲嗣 Frederic W. Williams 的著作，Rockhill 的 Life of Buddha (1884)，The Dalai Lama of Lhasa (1910) 等著作，及他與 Hirth 合譯的趙汝适“諸番志”，E. T. Williams 及 K. S. Latourette 的著作，亦屬此類。Laufer 的研究與著作，自成一範圍，十餘年中二十一種著作，光芒萬丈。關於人民生活與文化，也頗有著作可列舉。可是說到哲學成果就不多，祇有 Carus 與 Henke 的書可稱。敘述或討論中國法律，文學、美術、音樂的書，均感闕如，傳記也少有人注意，祇有一本“李鴻章回憶錄”卻是膾炙。整個說來，在質與量方面，沒有驚人的成就。

一九二〇年到今日已四十年，美國的漢學研究頗有進步。水準已經提高，有幾個大學庋藏有相當的中文書籍，設立有關於中國的課程。從事研究者已由傳教士轉入大學裏曾受專門訓練的學者，新起的漢學家漸露頭角。但是美國大學訓練漢學研究的為數甚少，就學的人也不多，更可慮的是漢學成為一種與世隔絕的專門研究。在今日如此的世界裏，應當設法將正確而深刻的中國知識，普遍的傳給整個學生團體。