

The Taking of Hong Kong

Charles and Clara Elliot in China Waters

Susanna Hoe and Derek Roebuck



香港大學出版社

HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

Hong Kong University Press
14/F Hing Wai Centre
7 Tin Wan Praya Road
Aberdeen
Hong Kong
www.hkupress.org

© Susanna Hoe and Derek Roebuck 1999, 2009

First published by Curzon Press in 1999

This edition published by Hong Kong University Press in 2009

ISBN 978-962-209-988-3

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

Printed and bound by LiangYu Printing Factory Ltd., Hong Kong, China

CONTENTS

<i>Maps</i>	ix
<i>Illustrations</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
<i>Authors' Note</i>	xvii
<i>Prologue</i>	xix
1 WHENEVER THERE IS A BREEZE (1801–34)	1
2 BY WARSHIP TO CHINA (1834)	14
The Journey	14
To Canton	21
3 INTO THE TIGER'S MOUTH (1834)	24
Macao	24
Forcing the Bogue	31
4 CLIMBING THE LADDER (1834–6)	37
5 THE OPIUM TRADE (1836–7)	48
To Lintin	48
The Opium Question	51
To Canton	56
Back to Macao	60
6 SOME GROSS INSULT (1838–9)	64
Commissioner Lin's arrival	64
The Sailing of the Melbourne	70
Elliot to the Rescue	71
Commissioner Lin – Scholar and Activist	77
7 ELLIOT'S 'TROUBLESOME FRIEND' (1839)	81
Back to Macao	81
The End of Some Opium	82
The End of Trade	86
8 ALL ENGINEERED BY ELLIOT (1839)	91
To Hong Kong Harbour	91
To the Opium War	95
Commissioner Lin and Superintendent Elliot	99

The Taking of Hong Kong

9 CHARLES ELLIOT ALONE (1839–40)	102
The Waiting Game	102
The Expeditionary Force Dispatched	104
Clara Elliot to Singapore	108
The Elliots and the Windsors	111
10 LOOKING WESTWARDS (1840)	116
The Cousins	116
Words at Westminster	123
11 TWO SUCH IMBECILES (1840)	128
North With the Admiral	128
Clara in Calcutta	140
12 THE ROAD TO GLOARY (1841)	145
The Taking of Hong Kong	145
Cession or Cessation	152
How the News was Received	156
13 WHIMSICAL AS A SHUTTLECOCK (1841)	160
Towards Canton	160
April Letters	168
14 WHIPPING OFF THE FOX-HOUNDS (1841)	174
To Take Canton?	174
Ceasefire, Again	177
15 WRECKED ASHORE (1841)	181
The Wreck of the Louisa	186
16 THE WEB OF CALUMNY (1841–43)	189
Homeward Bound	189
Home Again	195
17 ELLIOT, WHERE IS HE? (1843)	201
Exiled to Texas	201
Elliot's Successor in China	203
Finances	210
18 EXILED TO ST HELENA (1843–75)	212
19 EPILOGUE	224
<i>Notes</i>	228
<i>Genealogies</i>	255
<i>Biographies</i>	259
<i>Bibliography</i>	269
Published Works	269
Unpublished Documents	274
<i>Chronology of Family Letters from Charles and Clara Elliot</i>	276
<i>Index</i>	278

MAPS

1 The Pearl River Delta	xx
2 The East Coast of China	xxi

ILLUSTRATIONS

1	Charlton Villa c1850	2
2	Hugh Elliot	10
3	Lord Napier	18
4	Captain Charles Elliot c1855	19
5	European Factories, Canton, 1838	22
6	Clara Elliot c1838	25
7	Lady Napier in widowhood	26
8	Macao's Praia Grande and Penha Hill	28
9	The Napiers' Macao house	30
10	The <i>Imogene</i> , <i>Louisa</i> and <i>Andromache</i> forcing the Bocca Tigris, September 1834	35
11	John Davis	41
12	Viceroy Deng Tingzhen	57
13	San Francisco Monastery and Fort	61
14	Commissioner Lin Zexu	69
15	Howqua	80
16	Destruction of the Opium, June 1839	83
17	The Elliots' house, San Francisco Green	89
18	Charles Gutzlaff, 1835	94
19	The <i>Volage</i> and <i>Hyacinth</i> at Chuenpee, 4 November 1839	98
20	Lord Auckland	105
21	Nina Hislop's watercolour of Charlton	112
22	Lord Palmerston	124
23	The Conference on the <i>Wellesley</i> , Chusan, 4 July 1840, including Bremer, Jocelyn and Gutzlaff	131
24	Emily Eden	142
25	The <i>Nemesis</i> destroying Chinese war junks, Anson's Bay, 7 January 1841	149
26	John Morrison (rt) and colleague (perhaps Leonardo D'Almada e Castro)	165
27	General Sir Hugh Gough, c1841	170
28	Victoria, Hong Kong, April 1841	171

The Taking of Hong Kong

29 Towing the troops to Canton, 24 May 1841	177
30 Incident at Sanyuanli, May 1841	184
31 Sir Henry Pottinger, 1847	190
32 Sir Henry Taylor, 1865	205
33 Chachy (Harriet Elliot Russell)	216
34 Charles Elliot's handwriting (to Clara Elliot)	223
35 ... love of the wife ... (Clara Elliot's writing)	227

WHENEVER THERE IS A BREEZE

‘The wretched weather and very heavy state of the roads detained us on our journey some hours longer than is usual,’ wrote Charles Elliot to his sister Emma Hislop on 18 January 1834.

Captain Elliot, his wife Clara and their children were about to sail on the *Andromache* from Devonport, the naval base near Plymouth on the south coast of England, to Macao, the small Portuguese enclave on the south coast of China – 7,000 miles away. When the *Andromache* arrived in Macao six months later, the weather there was as different as possible – almost unbearably hot and humid – and, just before the Elliots left China waters seven years later, Charles was shipwrecked by a typhoon and, as a result, nearly murdered for a reward.

Captain Elliot had been appointed, in late 1833, to the staff of Lord Napier, His Majesty’s Chief Superintendent of Trade in China, as Master Attendant – a position in which he would be involved with British ships and crews operating between Canton and Macao. Lord Napier was also to sail in the *Andromache*; and he, too, was taking his family with him.

The rest of the Chief Superintendent’s staff – Second and Third Superintendents, and the Commission’s Secretary – were already based in Canton, the Pearl River port, and Macao. They had been part of the British East India Company whose monopoly on the China Trade, hitherto safeguarded and directed by an Act of Parliament, was coming to an end.

Lord Napier had been asked by the British Government to go to Canton to negotiate terms with the Chinese Government which would replace the East India Company arrangement. By these terms, Britain’s now more general trade with China could be kept orderly and extended into a new era.

On that first evening in Devonport, Charles continued his letter to Emma, who lived at Charlton Villa near Blackheath, south of London:

We have this moment arrived, and to sure post which leaves at 5 o’clock in the morning I scrawl these few lines. The dear little ones behaved (as I am



Plate 1 Charlton Villa c1850 – (land surveyor's engraving) courtesy of Greenwich Council Local History Library.

sure you will let me say now that we are fairly off, to return God only knows when) like angels. Harriet has coughed less today, but she is uncomfortably feverish this evening. We have dosed her with scammony and put her to bed. Hughie is well, some slight degree of cough excepted. Clara and her handmaid are less tired than you might expect. I have not seen [Captain] Chads; indeed, we have only been here a quarter of an hour, and I will not disturb him this evening.

And now, Dearest Emy – adieu. Kiss our beloved little fellow [Gibby] for us. I am sure you will be a mother to him, but I will not write upon that subject now. God in heaven bless and protect him. Write to Harriet [their sister] to tell her of our first safe step in this Chinese pilgrimage.

signed your ever most affectionate Charles Elliot

Five year old Harriet, also known as Chachy, and her two year old brother Hugh (Hughie) were accompanying their parents to China; Gilbert (Gibby), the new baby, was to stay behind with his nanny, in the charge of his aunt Emma, her husband General Sir Thomas Hislop, and their daughter Nina.

A week later, the Elliot and Napier families were still detained in Devonport; the *Andromache* (captained by Henry Chads, an old friend of the Elliot family) had not yet sailed. But, perhaps surprisingly, there had been little communication between Captain Elliot and Lord Napier. Elliot could not help noticing this development and commenting upon it. He wrote again, on 25 January, to his sister Emma, starting with the apologies,

and continuing with witty allusions, quotations in French, and sharp observations about his superiors that were to become a feature of their correspondence:

My dearest Emy,

Many kindest thanks for your affectionate letter, and I would make many excuses for the rareness of my own communications, if I did not know that you can so easily sympathise with my infirmity as a correspondent. We are going on pretty slowly to the completion of our equipment, and after all, it does not signify that we are not quite ready, for these boisterous easterly gales would, or at least should (in all reason) detain us snugly in harbor.

The day after my arrival I called upon Lord Napier, but he has not returned my visit, and as Clara's visit to Lady Napier also remains unnoticed, I presume there can be no great eagerness to cultivate our acquaintance. We met them on Thursday at the Admiral's, but they made no excuse upon the subject, and perhaps therefore, they mean to establish it as their Canton *etiquette*, that they do not return the visit of the Master Attendant and his Lady.

Be that as it may, I shall understand this matter in plain English, and if they forget to visit us, why I shall not remember to visit them. I am very ready to make the koto [formal Chinese obeisance] to the brother of the sun and moon [Emperor of China], but I don't perceive it can be necessary to perform any more extravagant prostrations to the Bedchamber Lord [Lord Napier] of the Glorious Neptune of these Isles [King William IV] than men are wont to call – a bow.¹

However, I must not say any more about this or else you will declare I am angry, and to be angry for such a wherefore, would assuredly be somewhat vulgar. If they like to cultivate us, we are quite ready to furnish them as much social fruit, as the soil can be made to produce, and if they please to leave us alone, we are willing to pass on our way.

I thought Lady Napier still very pretty [she was 40], with just the sort of manner and conversation which all the rest of the 120,000 well bred people in this country usually have. The young ladies [Maria and Georgiana Napier] I did not see.

And now I believe I have carried you to the end of my chapter on the great ones of our party, and you know, I always accused you of being somewhat anxious upon these points, so I have felt myself called upon to let you know whatever was to be said about them.

Now pray dear dear Emy, pray do not imagine I am angry or brooding moodily over fancied slights. I am quite at my ease about all wrongs, real or imagined. Voltaire says, '*On s'est épuisé à écrire sur la grandeur selon ce mot de Montaigne "Nous ne pouvons y atteindre, vengeons nous pas en médire"*'. ['Enough of writing about the nobility; according to this *mot* of Montaigne "If we cannot get there, let's not take revenge by slander".'] It is very true that my

chance of attaining it is considerably diminished, but I cannot visit my own mischances, and it may be, the unfairnesses of others, upon the *mighty* ones in whose train I am to go [to] the antipodes.

I have told you of this affair of the visiting not because I can make it interest myself, but because I thought it might interest or rather amuse you. I dare say the Napiers are very good sort of people for all these delinquencies nevertheless and notwithstanding, and whenever they want us, (and poor things I know enough of the loneliness of far off places to be sure they will want even such as we are) they will find their way to us, and we will be ready to come to them.

So, who exactly was Charles Elliot and why should he, a mere master attendant, feel slighted at not being drawn naturally into the charmed circle of Lord Napier, the leader of the British mission, and his family?

Charles Elliot was a first cousin of the second Earl of Minto (Gilbert Elliot) who at that time was British Ambassador in Berlin but about to be appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. Another cousin was Lord Auckland (George Eden), then First Lord of the Admiralty and about to be appointed Governor General of India, a post in which he would have responsibility for British activities in China waters. Charles was also closely related to the Earl of Malmesbury.

This network of cousins explains Charles Elliot's family pedigree and why he might have expected Lord Napier to have been more friendly during an enforced delay. But also of interest to this biographical sketch were the 33 year old Elliot's more direct parentage, his experience up to 1834, and his wife.

His father Hugh, a brother of the first Earl of Minto, was a colourful, rather unusual sort of nineteenth century diplomat, for he was not always entirely diplomatic, and he was not a conformist in either his career path or in family matters.

Charles was born in 1801, while his father was posted to Dresden. But the mother of eight of Hugh's children was his second wife. His first marriage to a Prussian heiress while he was posted to Berlin was against the wishes of both families and came to an unhappy and violent end when she ran off with another man and Hugh challenged him to a duel. He then divorced her, at a time when divorce was not easy or common.²

Charles Elliot's mother seems to have come from a more ordinary family and the reference books cannot agree if she was called Margaret Lewis or Jones. Elliot's niece, Nina (Emma Hislop's daughter) was later to write a biographical sketch of her great uncle Hugh based on his letters and those of other family members. Nina wrote of a visit of Lord Minto to his brother in Dresden in 1799: 'Some years had passed since the brothers had met, and in the interval Hugh Elliot had married a beautiful girl of humble birth, but whose personal qualities justified his choice.'³ His father's choice

might be of less interest if Charles, too, were not, in due course, to make an unusual marriage, of defiance rather than of convenience.

In spite of the fact that his father was a diplomat, and though he, too, was later to be employed in the foreign service, Charles went to sea first. He was left at boarding school in the United Kingdom when his father went to be Governor of Madras in 1814, taking most of his children.⁴ But by the age of 14 (in 1815), Charles Elliot was at sea.⁵

During the years in the Royal Navy that followed, Elliot gained the experience that underpinned his later career. One of the main peacetime functions of the navy was patrols against the Atlantic slave trade which had been formally abolished, as far as Britain was concerned, by an Act of Parliament of 1807. By 1821, Elliot was serving off the West coast of Africa; in 1823, he moved to the West Indian Station. He served in the Caribbean, where the slave trade was rampant, and until 1828 was based off Port Royal in Jamaica. He was promoted then to the rank of post captain. Such service was sometimes exciting, sometimes tedious, and always dangerous to health. Charles Elliot made the most of the experience, particularly as captain of the *Harlequin*.⁶

By 1830 Elliot had left active service in the Royal Navy and been sent by the Colonial Office to Demerara in British Guiana to be Protector of Slaves (and a member of the Court of Policy). That posting begins to explain the rest of his letter to his sister that 25 January 1834, as the *Andromache* prepared to leave for China. Charles wrote:

I go to this place [China waters], dear Emy, with a fixed determination to do all I can for my family and myself, and to do for the public, not a whit more than my *barest duty*.

When I was at Demerara the governor [Sir Benjamin D'Urban] very frequently did me the favour to send me papers and memorandums to report upon, wholly unconnected with my own duties [as Protector of Slaves]. These trifling avocations commonly kept me out of my bed until three o'clock in the morning. I was called home by the government, because I was thought to be a person it would be well to consult in a most momentous public question [the abolition of slavery in British colonies],⁷ and after a profusion of fair words, I am led to understand, if I do not choose to go to China as Master Attendant in a salary acknowledgedly inadequate, I am to expect their displeasure.

I feel all this to be a humiliation, and a very sore one too, but I shall take very good care, that no sense of that description shall deaden the ardour of *my own efforts in my own behalf*. Neither am I without the conviction, that it will be very proper to wear a mask of good humor, or at least of indifference out of doors.

This last stroke has not been without its advantages. It has given me the true touch of bitterness and real selfishness, without which there is no success in this world. With the *wisdom* I have acquired now, I don't despair

dear Emy of some day dazzling your senses with the full grown glory of a groom of the Bedchamber [like Lord Napier].

My dearest little ones mend. Harriet pretty rapidly, but not so Hughie. He is better certainly, but it is only a very little better, and his cough is still frightful. Harriet has written you a note (I guiding her hand) and I declare to you every word is her own, just as it came from that queer little mint of a brain.

[Captain] Chads is very good natured, and I am sure he will do whatever he can to make us comfortable, but I shall endeavour to give him as little trouble as possible, not by the smallness or moderation of my wants, but by helping myself as much as I can, in strict conformity to my new principle of action – *Aide toi, Dieu t'aidera* [God helps those who help themselves].

The cabin is wretchedly situated enough, and as small as your faculties of smallness can well enable you to conceive, but seeing that I am only the Master Attendant, and that my Emperor [Napier] is going out with His Empress and two of his Imperial family, to my other Emperor in China, I suppose I am the most magnificently lodged of Masters Attendant.

Poor Clara congratulates herself that she did not spend all my Master Attendantial salary for a whole year in millinery travails for reason good there is to believe that we shall be drowned in our own cabin on the way out. Never mind, my turn of the wheel is down just now, but it will revolve, and I shall be up again some day.

It becomes necessary to ask now why Charles Elliot, a post captain in the Royal Navy of six years standing, and with three years political and administrative experience on an issue of moment, had accepted a job with so little apparent appeal. First, when he accepted it, he did not realise what was being offered. He wrote later, 'I was informed by the President of the Board of Control a few days before I left England that circumstances had prevented him from recommending me to His Majesty as one of the Superintendents.'⁸ But even then, he did not fully appreciate his situation.

A letter to Lord Napier sent from the office of the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, also dated 25 January, though apparently about the most trivial matter, makes Elliot's position abundantly clear:

I have to acquaint your Lordship that the King has been pleased to permit your Lordship to wear your uniform of Post Captain in HM's Navy upon all occasions of Ceremony during the time you may reside in China as Chief Superintendent of the British Trade, and that the 2nd and 3rd Superintendents will be permitted on like occasions to wear the uniform assigned to HM's Consuls; that the Secretary, the Interpreter, and the Surgeon, will be permitted to wear the uniform assigned to Vice Consuls; and that the Assistant Surgeon, and the *Master Attendant* [our italics] are to wear the Vice Consular uniform *without the lace on the pocket flaps* [Foreign Office underlining].⁹

Elliot did not apparently mention this telling development to Emma, but he did to Palmerston. On 5 February came the reply, addressed to Napier, which, in retrospect, was to set a precedent for Charles Elliot's China career:

I am directed by Lord Palmerston to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a letter which he has received from Captain Elliot on the subject of his wearing the uniform appointed for the office of Master Attendant and I am to acquaint you, that his Lordship thinks it reasonable, under the circumstances of Captain Elliot's position, as pointed out in his letter, that the regulation for wearing the vice consular uniform should be dispensed with in his case.¹⁰

That Elliot was beginning to have an inkling of his position is clear from a letter he wrote on 23 January, just before the uniform issue arose, and just before his letter to Emma. While the subject is similar, its tone is different enough to suggest the complexity of Elliot's character – and his different relations with his correspondents:

I am appointed Master Attendant at Canton with a salary of £800 a year, and certainly if I had pursued my own inclinations I should have declined the office, for when I sought employment in China I never expected it in the shape it has reached me, but it seemed to me to be my duty on public grounds to accept this appointment and I shall endeavour to discharge it faithfully.¹¹

Which attitude to his 'duty' was more natural to him, will be revealed over the years ahead, but there was more to it than he spelled out to that correspondent (Lord Howick), as must be clear from his disaffected letters to his sister. He needed the money, without the necessity to spend what he earned. Clara makes clear their parlous financial state then in her letter two years later to her sister-in-law. She wrote on 15 March 1836: 'I cannot tell you dear Emma how *very very* differently I feel now that I know poor Charlie is no longer burdened with debt.'

And it seems fairly obvious that the Elliots' finances were linked to those of the Hislops. General Hislop, commander of one of Britain's armies in India during the Mahratta war of 1817/18, made an unwise investment with his private fortune in South American shares. He perhaps encouraged his much younger brother-in-law, Charles, to do the same; certainly the speculation ended badly.¹² In addition, Hislop had incurred substantial costs as a result of his dispute with the Marquis of Hastings, Governor General of Bengal, over the booty known as the Deccan prize.¹³ The irony of Hislop's dispute over the spoils of war will become apparent as Elliot's career unfolds, and it is to these earlier financial upheavals that both Charles and Clara refer more than once. Charles wrote from the Cape (en route to China) on 10 May 1834: 'I do long to hear of that accursed affair of the

costs, and I cannot confess to you how joyful it would make me to hear that it was settled comfortably.'

On 19 January 1835, he followed that with:

A thousand thanks, to the General [Thomas Hislop]: I ought to write to him, and I will do so soon. If I can keep my present situation, or any with a salary of that amount, I shall be clear of the whole world in fifteen months...¹⁴

He continues, 'And I must add, too, that I hope they will leave me in some such position as will enable me to say what I have to say, upon public points. I dare say they will.'

By the time that letter was written, Charles Elliot had begun to move up the hierarchy of British officialdom in China waters. But it was frustrating enough progress given his experience and his connections.

His cousins Minto and Auckland apparently had nothing to do with his appointment as Master Attendant in 1833; they could, presumably, have done better for him if they had chosen to. In due course they were to fail again in their support for him though it was assumed that they were behind his rise and Minto, in particular, was accused of abusing family connections; indeed, it was said of Minto's period as First Sea Lord (1835-41) that 'it was distinguished only by the outcry raised at the number of Elliots who found places in the naval service.'¹⁵ Why his relatives did not pull strings or support him is as much a mystery as Napier's social ostracism of him.

Perhaps it was because the more senior men, though ostensibly of the same generation, were also twenty or more years older than Elliot and found him a bit bumptious, in the way that older brothers might a precocious younger one. Charles Elliot was rather bright and sharp – often a problem in family or bureaucratic hierarchies. (His tender years in relation to his status were later to become even more of a problem with older men – particularly in the army and navy – who had to defer to him.)

In 1833/4, therefore, it was non-family connections that Charles had hoped to draw on, and his own record. In his letter to Emma of 25 January 1834, he also wrote,

I did scribble three or four [lines] to Lord Howick the other day and told him that I set more store by the sense I had that he would have helped me if he could than I would have done for absolute protection from many another quarter.

But, only a year later, he was to write, 'I feel I am a man without interest [connections] and a man without interest in England must look to be trodden upon.'¹⁶

There may be more to Elliot's lack of the recognition he felt he deserved than failed connections. Was he already seen as a trouble-maker – someone who did not toe the party line? In a private letter of early 1832 to Howick,

then Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Charles, Protector of Slaves, wrote from Demerara, British Guiana:

As to my office it is a delusion. There is no protection for the Slave Population; and they will very shortly take matters into their own hands, and destroy the Property. The only way of saving these Countries is to give the Slaves a reasonable share in the produce of their Labour.

I am desperately unpopular, although I am sure I have not intended to do my duty capiously. But the fact is that this [British] Colony is in a state of rebellion; the administration of Justice obstructed or totally defeated – no taxes paid – the most vehement clamour, not only against the Laws themselves, but against the Law-making power. What remedy for all these evils is sent out to us? Despatches full of hopes and exhortations, of advice to repent and behave better. This impunity gives strength to the growth of the Evil [slavery].

The Order in Council is a dead letter and a dead letter contemned and decried in the most insulting terms. But if it were respected, would the Slave have benefited to such an Extent as he ought to be benefited, *and as he looks to be benefited?* No such thing. Setting aside the improbability of ensuring the observation of such a body of Law, I do deeply feel its inadequacy to present circumstances. You have brought forward the Slave to a certain point of civilization and intelligence, and he perceives the utter insufficiency of your System either for his further advancement or for his controul. What should be given to the Slaves is *such a state of Freedom as they are now fit for*.¹⁷

Howick himself was a liberal and a reformer and was responsible for bringing Charles Elliot home to benefit from his views on slavery; in 1833, he resigned his office because the British Cabinet was unwilling to undertake the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies. What is more, China waters came under the Foreign Office, not the Colonial Office where Elliot had friends, and he may have ruffled feathers in Whitehall. His father, it is not irrelevant to note, had done so before him on the same subject.

When Hugh Elliot was Governor of the Leeward Islands (1809-1813), his expressed views and actions against slavery and its abuses suggest the background from which Charles came – one which was also to leave its mark on his China policy when finally he was promoted to a position of authority.

After a particularly brutal case of cruelty, when Hugh Elliot, as Governor, refused to commute the sentence imposed on a white plantation owner, he wrote to his wife,

God grant that this severe example may teach others in the West Indies to dread a similar fate, should they forget that *slaves* are their *fellow-creatures*, and their lives are protected by the laws both of England and the colonies.¹⁸



Plate 2 Hugh Elliot – courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (2489 e.83, opposite p. 90).

Some of Charles Elliot's letters to his sister, particularly those quoted from in this and the next chapter, show a well-developed concern for himself; we quote from another letter from Demerara, therefore, to suggest the more all-embracing quality of the man who was on his way to China in a somewhat menial capacity. On 9 October 1832, Elliot wrote an even more personal letter to Howick:

It is the merest nonsense to suppose that the Slaves are not keenly alive to the painfulness and injustice of their situation. I know a Slave – a common field negro . . . who possesses that vigorous character and immense influence with the people, which would enable him to place himself, tomorrow, at the head of ten thousand of his fellows . . . [He] told me once that he had learned to read; and that every night of his life he occupied himself in teaching his children to do the same. I asked him why, if he had spare time, he did not work hard so as to earn the means of buying his children's freedom, one after another.

He said, 'Master, I want to teach them *Knowledge*; Freedom is sure to follow.'

I did not answer as if I understood him literally, but said, it was very true that knowledge was an excellent thing – the more so as it taught us to look justly at the dependent condition of all mankind, and enabled us to bear the painfulness of our respective situations (and no situation was without pain) wisely and manfully.

Here the subject dropped; but I did not go away so egregiously deceived as to suppose that my grave generalities had capsised all his aspirations. On the contrary, I keep my eye on him and he knows it. He is a very fine fellow, and it would be far better to have him in the condition of a good citizen than in his present miserable position. Whenever there is a breeze, we shall hear of him.¹⁹

A letter from Howick to the Treasury of 2 March 1833, following Charles Elliot's return from British Guiana, gives some idea of how his contribution was viewed, at least in some quarters. It is also obvious from Howick's letter that Elliot had embarked on a series of tussles with the authorities in London about his dues – a stream of claims which was to last until his death in 1875. Howick wrote:

With respect however to Capt'n Elliot's individual claims, Lord Goderich [Secretary of State for the Colonies] feels himself bound to acknowledge that His Majesty's Government are indebted to him, not only for a zealous and efficient execution of the duties of his office, but for communications of peculiar value and importance sent from the Colony during the last twelve months, and for essential services rendered at a critical period since his arrival in this country, by his exertions and personal influence with Members of the West India Board.

His Lordship being thus sensible that Capt'n Elliot has contributed far beyond what the functions of his particular office required of him, to the accomplishment of objects of great public importance, is aware also that this has been done with serious inconvenience and some expense to himself, as he was sent for to return to this country with the least possible delay, and was obliged to leave his family behind him.²⁰

The thought of Clara Elliot and two young children left alone in British Guiana might seem somewhat devastating, but the 22 year old woman whom Charles had married in 1828 had been born and brought up in the West Indies – in Haiti – at a time of upheaval. Former slaves set up an independent republic in 1804, two years before Clara's birth. The couple met in Haiti during Charles's naval service in the Caribbean; in 1827, the *Harlequin* was responsible, for a period of months, for safeguarding British interests there. Clara's was an unsettled and unconventional upbringing (which will be explored in more detail in chapter 9) so that nearly three years on the north west coast of Latin America, and then travelling across

the Atlantic to Europe, would not have come as a totally alien experience to her. The travails of China would not seem so daunting either as they would to an untried native-born Englishwoman. But Clara's reaction to Charles's new posting was sparked by other concerns. Charles's letter to Emma of November 1833 suggests the scene:

My dear Emma,

You left us yesterday in all the uncomfortableness of the first shock, which the communication I had made to poor Clara, could not fail to produce, but she is something like yourself. She talks her full share of nonsense (I cannot stop to pick words) but she *never acts it*, and so in a short time, came the clear conviction, that the course I had recommended, as far as she was concerned, was the best and happiest for both of us.

But with regard to these dearest angels (that have no better stay to depend upon than I am, either for support or for the wisdom of prudent counsel) there is the greatest reason to pause. You will know that. I am not only using strong words, when I say to you, that it makes me wretchedly unhappy to contemplate the painfulness of separation from any of them, or the misery of all the anxiety I well know we shall both feel, during the whole period of their absence from us, but these are painful pangs which it is our duty to support, if it shall appear to be better for the dear ones to remain in Europe.

To take the baby [Gibby], (a delicate infant) over three parts of the globe with the certainty of very confined space to perform the passage in, and with great doubt of dearest Clara's strength and health to sustain her large share of the anxiety and positive fatigue, which his care would throw upon her, is a step I can hardly resolve to take.

Again, to take my little heart Harriet seems to be not less open to the charge of sacrificing her greatest advantage to our comforts. We have not had dry eyes, since it has seemed to us, that we ought to leave her behind, and God knows I have even less firmness than my poor wife.

It is our duty however to submit, to what shall appear after full deliberation, to be the best course for the little angel. We are called upon to consider that in a few years at all events, she would have to return home, and why expose her for our sakes only to the risks and inconveniences of such a passage, and of a residence in such a climate.

Again, who can tell, what these new arrangements in China may lead to. If there be any necessity for a sudden departure, or if any pressure does arise there, how much less embarrassed should we be with only one child, than with the whole three. There is plenty to be said on the other side, and we are ready enough to persuade ourselves that it would be best to take them all, but we feel we are not impartial judges. Our present impression is, that it would be best only to take Master Hughie, but, what we shall do, I cannot pretend to say. We are both very unhappy. God help us and direct us.

I write Dear Emy with great difficulty, and you will excuse this illegible incoherence. Think for us. I am sure if we do resolve to leave the children, you will take every care of them, that your situation enables you to. Clara does not do herself justice. She has more sense, and feeling than I have, but she seems at times to consider it *fine to talk nonsense*. She has been a great consolation to me, whenever I have really wanted affection, and self denial, and never more so than since you left us yesterday. Poor dear, God grant that her own health may be equal to the trial which awaits her.

I think of going over to Harriet [their sister] for an hour this morning. She will be glad to hear from your mouth something of my own feelings and intentions. I cannot write any more.

In the end, Charles and Clara decided to leave Gibby behind and take with them on the *Andromache* Harriet and Hugh. Charles ended his letter of 25 January 1834, his last before they left England:

Through this scrawl I send you a safe deliverance. Before you escape one serious word about my dearest little boy [Gibby]. I do not thank you dear Emy because I cannot. Take care of him for me I know you will. God the merciful bless and preserve him, and God Almighty grant, that I may be spared to help and watch over him in his early passage through this weary world. Best regard to Sir T. Let me know if the least word transpires about your own affairs. Kiss my blessed boy for me and dearest Nina.

On their return to England in 1841, all those years later and apparently in disgrace, Clara was to be pregnant with her fifth and last child, Emma Clara. Through those difficult, almost impossible, years, Charles and Clara Elliot were to provide constant support and consolation to each other. The relationship that emerges from their letters, and their love and concern for their children, are in tender contrast to Charles Elliot's often thankless work, and the uneasy, then hostile, relations between Britain and China.

BY WARSHIP TO CHINA

The Journey

The *Andromache*, which finally left Devonport on 7 February 1834, was a 26-gun Royal Navy frigate.¹ At this stage of its six-month voyage to China waters, its size is, perhaps, more relevant than its guns. At 717 tons, the frigate was rather smaller than the 1,000 ton East Indiamen – the sailing ships which plied the trade routes to China; imagine, therefore the effect that its compactness was likely to have on the well-being and relations of its passengers.

Other details of the journey can probably be omitted, as Charles Elliot wrote to his brother Frederick on 19 February:

There are sufficiently well written logs of a voyage from England to Madeira, and when I have told you that the *Alceste* and the *Andromache* both sailed from England on Friday 7th Feb. and arrived at Funchal Roads on the 17th Feb., I think I shall have told you then of the only pretty remarkable coincidence or event we have to note in this first stage of our voyage. We were the prisoners of the North Easterly wind, frequently outrunning it, and always struggling and contesting with the old South Westerly swell.²

That was all very interesting for the sailors among the official party – Captain Elliot and Captain Lord Napier – but for the others there was more to consider, as Charles continued:

This conflict of sea and wind made our voyage desperately sea sick for the true shore lumber, and till the day before we anchored, Lady Napier and her daughters were confined to their beds.

Clara who has continued to dash a great deal of nonsense with a vast deal of courage and character, was sick every morning for one half hour before breakfast and some ten minutes after, but she would [not] give up, and now she is thoroughly habituee to the vagaries of the seas.³

My darlings are well (a little cough of Harriet's set aside) and I do not know why I should not let my wish have its way, and declare to you, that I do believe every other man I meet, is almost as much convinced as I am that there are no such children to be seen. Harriet is quite equal to take care of herself across the Atlantic and the Pacific too, and little Hughie would win his way from the Arctic to the Antarctic pole. They are the pets of the whole ship's company.

A few days later, Charles wrote to Emma,

Things go on pretty comfortably. We have got over the worst part of our voyage, I mean in point of weather, happily enough. My relations with our fellow passengers are not uncomfortable. He means to be civil, and I do believe is a good sort of man. The lady we have hardly seen yet, for till the day before our arrival at Madeira, she and her daughters were confined to their beds. I think it will all do very well. They will be as civil to us, as there is any need they should be, and we do not want their intimacy.

Our cabin is *dry*, and we have had so much disagreeable weather that I think we may consider the trial complete. [Captain] Chads is friendly. The officers are in the main gentlemanlike and obliging, and I have ... [?] a dozen old Harlequins, and other old shipmates on board who are very ready to lend their aid in looking after *Hughie* and making us comfortable.⁴ In short, we have no reason to complain, and what is *more to the point we do not complain*, reasonably or unreasonably.

Clara is I think better, but I cannot say of her nose much that is favourable. It does not get worse but I cannot perceive any amendment, however, that it does not get worse is some comfort, and perhaps to a constant observer, her amendment would hardly be perceptible. These things, like most other things, never stand still. They are always getting worse or better. She is complaining a little today, but I hope she will be well enough to write you a few lines from Teneriffe.

Clara wrote to Emma during the voyage but none of her letters survive. What was wrong with her nose is never quite clear, but mention of it is to recur through the years, and at least one historian of the First Opium War draws attention to the fact that Mrs Elliot had a red nose.⁵ As her later letters suggest, her nose was part of a more deep-seated problem. Both may be connected to her Haitian background.⁶

As the years also show, the Elliots were never to forget that they had left Gibby behind; Charles wrote to Emma, touchingly unaware of how long his parting from his son would be:

Keep our dearest little boy for us, and as soon as he is able to understand you, speak to him frequently of his poor absent parents. I know you will take as much care of him as if he were your own, but dear Emy, I shall not trouble

you with him long. In a very short time I hope to be able to send for him. God in Heaven bless and preserve him. We are sometimes grieved that we did not bring him, but our cabin is wretchedly small, and I believe we have decided for the best. If any of the children were sick, the space we have to provide them with, would be miserably contracted.

Writing from the Cape on 10 May, Charles did not mention his erstwhile superior in British Guiana, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, but Lord Napier's correspondence shows that he, at least, paid his respects to the Cape's new Governor General.⁷ One wonders how pleasant their socialising there was for Eliza Napier; Charles writes 'Still detained at the Cape by Lady Napier's indisposition.' He continues,

However, I fancy she is better this morning, and Chads [has] just been here to say we go tomorrow. I should think from fifty five to sixty days will carry us to our destination.

From the health of the women and his love for his son, Charles moves to his dissatisfaction with his work prospects. He elaborates to Emma on points he has made to his brother Frederick and his friend, the poet Henry Taylor, who worked together in the Colonial Office. Underlying his pessimism and frustration is the knowledge that political influence is needed, much more than merit, to enable a man to advance in his public service career. Charles Elliot, at his most dispirited, never doubts his own ability:

We shall be nothing loath to arrive, and dear friend, I believe you have seen the last of me. There is an almost utter impossibility of carrying such burdens as I have over these parts of this working day world, and I have been writing to Fred and Taylor to tell them, when the occasion offers that I long to get to Van Diemen's Land [Tasmania, Australia]. It is only a few weeks sail from Canton and as Canton is in China I am afraid I shall not be very successful, while things remain as they do now. Not that I would very willingly have you believe I think the clearness and soundness of other men's views are likely to throw my own calling into the shade but my position puts me beyond the possibility of being known or heard and I do not imagine there can be much disposition to move me forwards.

I have no complaints to make, however; there are two ways of considering such points. Upon the one hand it is irritating enough to see the people, who the state of circumstances forces over one's head but then on the other, there is something very sedative in the contemplation that thousands of abler and better men would gratefully accept what I have got.

The rottenness [of political and family preferment] is passing away, God's gracious name be praised, and the time is at hand when if a man does not move higher, it will be sufficiently obvious that he ought not to move

higher. I do not despair, that the peculiar nature of our business may furnish me with some occasion for the delivery of what I am sure everybody else here has, that is to say, opinions – and if they chance to be pretty reasonably sustained I shall at least have the advantage of being without a competitor in the production of that sort of mental manufacture, be it good or bad.

His relations with Napier, his new superior, must surely be crucial to his prospects. But they continue much as before, at least as far as he (rather than Clara) is concerned:

I cannot tell you, what I know it would please you to hear, that my acquaintance with Lord Napier increases. We have as little intercourse as possible, but there seems to be no room for blame on either side. He does not desire to know more of me, than I of him, and with this indifference there can be neither surprise to witness or fault to impute, that we are so slenderly known to each other.

I do not like the ladies. She is sly and the young ladies unmitigatedly disagreeable. If we were intimate, we should very soon quarrel, that is to say, I should – for the manner disputatious always provokes me excessively. As it is, we are not likely to fall into collision.

One cannot even begin to guess at the details that gave rise to those remarks. But imagination shows two naval officers who no longer went to sea but who happily braced themselves against the wind at opposite ends of a rather small sailing ship. In more particular detail physically, it is easier to gain an impression of 48 year old Napier from his portrait, than of 33 year old Elliot from his. The only, and rather poorly reproduced, likeness of the latter dates from his time in Trinidad, twenty years later. In words, Napier was described by the merchant A. Robertson as he came ashore from the *Andromache* in Macao as ‘a tall raw Scotchman with light hair.’⁸ In 1838, Charles Elliot was to be described as both ‘good-looking’ and apparently ‘English’ – although his father, too, was Scots.⁹ In early 1837 – when he was 36 – he told Emma that he was ‘going grey’; he was probably, therefore, dark-haired. One much later, ambiguous remark – ‘gallant, wrong-headed little man’ – also suggests that he may have been quite short.¹⁰ And Clara was to write in 1867, when Charles was 66, ‘He is a better looking man in advanced years than he was in youth.’¹¹

And the women? Maria was 17, Georgiana 16; were they persuaded to come shakily to a common room – with ‘It will do you good, my dear’-sweat beads on their brow and little inclination to be charming? The coolness between the two families cannot, surely, be that Napier was the boss and Charles a mere minion – or, even, that Charles had made a fuss about his uniform?¹² But, if there was more to it, it is too misty to pursue except as an aside.¹³ Napier’s biographer does not mention the Elliots as she describes, in some detail, the Napiers’ journey.¹⁴ For Clara, a woman of



Plate 3 Lord Napier – courtesy of Lord Napier and Ettrick.

lower birth, not born in Britain, and apparently unsure of herself particularly at that time, relations became different. Charles writes in that same letter:

Clara gets on wonderfully well with them upon the whole, maintaining just the sort of position she ought to. Give yourself no manner of uneasiness about all this. I shall do very well I dare to say. It will take a much larger burden of frigidity than I am like to meet with to congeal my determination to work on, some how or other.

That letter must have been written rather late at night; ‘Enough of all this foolishness,’ Charles continues, in a hand which, from our own experience and the comments of his correspondents, and by his own admission, was execrable.¹⁵ Poor Emma! But his lack of inhibition with her does suggest relations between an older sister, at 40 the eldest of eight siblings, and a younger brother which sustained the two, no matter how wide the distance between them or how infrequent their letters were to become. (Emma is described in more detail in chapter 9). Charles ignores his injunction to himself not to harp on his preoccupations:



Plate 4 Captain Charles Elliot
c1855 – courtesy of the office
of the Prime Minister,
Trinidad.

Dear Emy, I hope this letter will find my angel under your roof, but if he be not there, I am sure it will only be because you are abroad. God Almighty bless and preserve him. He shall not be away from me long. My mind is fixedly made up to sit myself down permanently somewhere in this Eastern part of the world – Van Diemen's Land if I possibly can. But with England I have done for ever unless by a miracle I make a fortune, and there are no miracles nowadays.

I hope in the course of the next two years to have the poor little fellow once more in my arms. Do not spoil him, but teach him to love us, for we love him most tenderly. Poor Clara often has a good cry upon his account. I beg you to say many kind things from me to Skinner [Gibby's nanny] and tell her I rely with confidence on her faithful and affectionate performance of her duties to my child.

Then Charles mentions the finances of Emma's husband 'the cursed affair of the costs' – already quoted in chapter 1 – and ends, 'I dare say Fred will tell you that I have been troubling him with a long paper about Chinese matters, it was better than idling.'

If this rambling letter seems to be unduly plaintive, Henry Taylor's letter, written at much the same time to his fiancée, provides an antidote and grows poetic about the importance of the sea in Charles Elliot's life – an influence which is to recur throughout this story:

Charles, whom I should have been delighted to bring you acquainted with, is on his way to China. He is of all the men whom I have met with in life the one whose feelings are the fullest and freshest, and, with a great strength and buoyancy of temperament, the most tender: and he has a manliness of character which places him in a condition to let them take their free course without fear or shame. I have seen nothing like him in this landward society, where people think what will be thought of them, till their hearts become reserved and debilitated. In the present state of society a sailor may be that which scarcely any other man can. But Charles Elliot is ploughing the seas, which, as he now is, may be said to have produced him; and so you will not see him; and it may be many a long year before I shall, more's the pity!¹⁶

From the Cape, there were still over two months to go to China. Clara later described the journey to Java as 'very boisterous . . . and uninteresting.' But at last, on 15 July 1834, the *Andromache* entered Macao roads. Clara continued in the same letter (24 August), the first of hers that are extant:

There was an immediate scramble of people to stare at the King's mandarin as Lord Napier is designated. We were carried in chairs (most delightful conveyance) to the late Chief's house, Mr Davis who is now our 2nd superintendent.

Immediately, Napier, Chief Superintendent, confirmed the team to work under him. John Davis was a former President of the Select Committee of the East India Company in China and had been there, climbing through the Company ranks from young manhood, since 1813; indeed, he was the first servant of the Company encouraged to study Chinese language and custom. Harriett Low, the young American who left Macao six months before the *Andromache* arrived, and who has left vivid pen portraits of several protagonists, described Davis and his wife Emily as 'The King and Queen'.¹⁷

The Third Superintendent was to be Sir George Best Robinson, also a Company man. He had not yet inherited the baronetcy when Harriett Low wrote of him and his wife, somewhat ambiguously, on 5 April 1832, 'They are both *six feet tall* and no beauty to boast of; very well matched as regards intellect, and not at all troubled by the fashions of the world'.¹⁸

John Harvey Astell, in China waters since at least 1830, and, like Davis, son of a Company bigwig, was Secretary to the Superintendents, and Charles Elliot, at the bottom of the list, was Master Attendant.

Then, although, as Lady Napier wrote, 'the heat was very great for the first fortnight'¹⁹, Napier resolved and prepared to set off for Canton, 80 miles up the Pearl River, into China proper. That was in spite of the

firmest Chinese strictures that he should not come without observing the correct procedures.

To Canton

As early as 1831, the Chinese Court (government) had received intimations that the East India Company's monopoly on China trade would not last indefinitely. It came to an end in April 1834 by an Act of Parliament of August 1833, following a campaign by free traders both inside Parliament and on the China coast itself.

The Chinese could see that the foreign trade, previously regulated by the East India company, would now need some other form of control; the proliferation of traders in Canton and their ships in China waters at the height of the trading season threatened to get out of hand. Quite apart from the trade itself, there were many opportunities for unruliness and misunderstanding. What the Chinese envisaged to maintain order was a senior trader – a *taipan*. What Britain – a barbarian state, the location of which was unclear – had sent was a noble government official, a mandarin, appointed by its King. To the Chinese, Napier was a trader, however superior; and traders were held in low regard. To Napier, every rebuff to him by them was an insult to the Crown he served.

The story of what is usually called 'The Napier Fizzle'²⁰ has been told many times and from several points of view, including Lord Napier's. A nineteenth century British government chronology comments pithily that on 25 July 1834 Napier, Davis, Robinson and Astell 'arrived at Canton to communicate their appointments to the Chinese authorities, who gave them an uncourteous reception and were indisposed to acknowledge them.'²¹

The historian Hsin-pao Chang sums up the beginning of the saga in a useful way from the Chinese point of view:

Lord Napier, within two days of his arrival in Canton had transgressed the Chinese regulations in six ways: he had proceeded to Canton without a pass, taken up residence there without a permit, attempted to communicate with the governor general by letter, instead of by petition, used Chinese instead of English, had his letter presented by more than two persons, and tried to communicate directly with a mandarin [official] rather than through the medium of the hong merchants [specially-designated Chinese merchants at Canton].²²

What that unembroidered but illuminating commentary leaves out is the continuing thread of the *Andromache* and the Royal Navy in the Napier Fizzle.

In Macao, before he set out, Napier bought from the East India Company the 75 ton cutter *Louisa*,²³ a small boat which became part of Charles Elliot's story. But Napier then travelled in the *Andromache* to

Whampoa (Huangpu), 12 miles below Canton – the highest point up the Pearl River to which foreign ships were allowed. He did so, according to Captain Chads, because ‘being disembarked from a Man of War in the presence of Chinese might have a good effect with that government.’²⁴ From there, Napier continued his (unbidden) journey to Canton in the *Louisa* and there he raised the Union Jack on the flagstaff of the British Factory (trading establishment). His arrival by warship in Whampoa was certainly noted, and it was inevitably seen as a hostile act. More trivially, but nonetheless significantly for the Chinese, his physical appearance was, as the commentators interpret it, typically ‘barbarian’ and, therefore, offputting.²⁵

In Canton, Napier fitted into the life of the traders there, but he failed to make the contact with Lu Kun, viceroy of the province, that was essential to his mission. That undoubtedly owed as much to his contradictory instructions from London as to his own limitations. On the one hand, while he was to establish communication with the Court at Peking, he was also to bear constantly in mind

that peculiar caution and circumspection will be indispensable on this point, lest you should awaken the fears, or offend the prejudices of the Chinese Government; and thus put to hazard even the existing opportunities of intercourse, by a precipitate attempt to extend them.²⁶



Plate 5 European Factories, Canton, 1838 – (lithograph of Thomas Allom after Auguste Borget).

But the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, also wrote, as if totally unaware of what might offend, in spite of years of informal intercourse between the nations, 'Your Lordship will announce your arrival at Canton by letter to the Viceroy.'²⁷

Charles Elliot does not appear to have travelled to Canton with the other members of the Chief Superintendent's party. There is no letter from him to Emma commenting upon this omission but by 13 August he was also in Canton; it must have been his first visit. Whether or not he had the requisite pass, he had probably gone up there in the *Louisa* which would later be known as Captain Elliot's cutter; and it becomes obvious that his close, proprietary even, relationship with the cutter began early.

On that day two letters were written from Canton to Lord Palmerson, one from Elliot, the other from Napier. That from the Chief Superintendent suggests that some sort of relationship had been established between the two men, for Napier writes:

I have much pleasure in forwarding to your Lordship a letter from Captain Elliot RN Master Attendant on this establishment; and in so doing I take the liberty of recommending him most earnestly to your Lordship's particular consideration – as serving at present in a very subordinate capacity – was capable of turning his talents to much better account in the service of His Majesty, and having already been employed in stations of much higher consideration than that which he at present fills.²⁸

Elliot's letter – about the positions of second and third superintendent which were soon to become vacant – is rather less concise and direct.²⁹ It may be that Palmerston himself read the letter; it may even be that he read between the lines and responded to the hurt pride conveyed in it, although he did not receive it until 1 February 1835, by which time much had changed in China waters.

Ten days after the letters were written, the King's birthday was celebrated in the British factory in Canton. Sixty British guests sat down to a banquet which, like many such an occasion in the foreign enclave, was elaborate and convivial. The *Canton Register* reports how, when Captain Elliot rose to propose the toast to His Majesty's Chief Superintendent, 'the hall rang with one universal shout, which was heard over the whole range of the foreign factories.'³⁰

When the cheering had subsided, the report continued, Lord Napier was heard to say that he 'would glory in having his name handed down to posterity as the man who had thrown open the wide field of the Chinese Empire to British spirit and industry.' The account was probably written without irony, for it was contemporary – knowing nothing of the views that Charles Elliot had earlier expressed about Lord Napier, nor what the future held.

NOTES

Chapter 1 – Whenever There is a Breeze

- 1 Elliot alludes to the refusal by the leaders of two British embassies to Peking to kowtow (prostrate themselves three times) to the emperor – resulting in the failure of the missions.
- 2 Hugh married Charlotte von Kraut in 1779 and divorced her in 1783. Their daughter Isabella was born in 1781.
- 3 Lady Minto, *Memoir of Hugh Elliot* (1868), p. 338.
- 4 Clagette Blake, *Charles Elliot RN* (1960), p. 5. Blake suggests that Charles did not accompany the family to Madras; against that should be put a sentence from a letter of 21 March 1839; Charles describes his son Hughie: ‘(he) is just like Fred was at Madras in appearance.’
- 5 Elliot was later described as ‘without a very systematic Education or a regular course of study’; nevertheless, ‘he had acquired a mass of knowledge respecting all the practical business of life.’ (James Stephen (Colonial Office) to John Backhouse (Foreign Office) 23 February 1835, FO17/12/59–60).
- 6 The bare bones of Elliot’s naval career appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB), in O’Byrne and Blake but substance, at least concerning Haiti in 1827, is to be found in Charles Mackenzie’s *Notes on Haiti* (1830) and Mackenzie’s unpublished Foreign Office papers. The Royal Navy patrols against the slave trade lasted from 1810 to 1870. (The DNB avoids some of the errors contained in Elliot’s *Times* obituary (15 September 1875, p. 9, col. 4) on which it draws.)
- 7 Although the slave trade was abolished by Britain under an Act of 1807, ownership of slaves continued in British possessions. An act of August 1833 formally abolished slavery there but it did not come fully into affect until 1838. Later importation of Chinese and Indian indentured labour was to create what Lord John Russell called ‘a new system of slavery.’
- 8 FO17/6/34–7, 13 August 1834, Charles Elliot to Lord Palmerston. Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg was President of the Board of Control
- 9 FO17/5/85–6, 25 January 1834, Lord Palmerston to Lord Napier.
- 10 FO17/5/103, 5 February 1834, Lord Palmerston to Lord Napier.
- 11 3rd Earl Grey Colonial Papers, 23 January 1834, Charles Elliot to Lord Howick.
- 12 The Duke of Wellington, a trustee of the Deccan Prize, wrote in 1827: ‘I have but one consolation, and that is in the reflection that if I had not undertaken the trust, and had not performed the duty which I undertook ... the money would now be

- in the coffers of the Mexicans or the Columbians, or some mining company, or of God knows who, as not only the prize money but the whole private fortune of Sir Thomas Hislop is. . .' (*Dispatches*, etc. vol. IV, May 1827–August 1828, pp. 133–6).
- 13 The British government decided to split the Deccan prize between Hislop's army and that of the Marquis of Hastings – a ruling which Hislop took to the Privy Council, thus incurring substantial costs.
 - 14 Charles may have taken after his father who seems, when young, to have been 'careless and extravagant in his habits', (Lady Minto, *Notes from Minto Manuscripts*, p. 33), and later to have had heavy gambling debts (p. 217–8). Charles's sons Gibby and Freddy, were, in their turn, to be burdened by debt.
 - 15 *Dictionary of National Biography*, Gilbert Elliot (2nd Earl of Minto) pp. 675–6.
 - 16 28 April, 1835.
 - 17 Kenneth Bell, *Selected Documents on British Colonial Policy*, (1928), p. 382, quoted Blake pp. 18–19. There had been a slave uprising in 1823, following which slaves were executed. Earlier, in 1796, Thomas Hislop was in command when the British took Demerara, and remained there until the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.
 - 18 Minto, *A Memoir of Hugh Elliot*, p. 410.
 - 19 Grey Papers, Charles Elliot to Lord Howick, 9 October 1832, 8.
 - 20 'Minto papers', ms21217 f2, Lord Howick to the Treasury, 2 March 1833.

Chapter 2 – By Warship to China

- 1 Some secondary accounts say the *Andromache* had 28 guns, but the 1840 *Naval and Military Almanack* says 26; it may well have had 28 in 1834 but we choose to go by the record accessible to us.
- 2 Minto papers ms11789 f201
- 3 There is some evidence that Clara may have been pregnant then, or at least thought so; see her letter of 9 November 1834 (quoted p. 40).
- 4 *Harlequin* was the ship of which Elliot was Captain on the West Indian Station, particularly off Haiti, in 1827.
- 5 Unfortunately there is no reference available for this suggestion in Peter Ward Fay's *The Opium War 1840–1842*, p. 82.
- 6 See chapter 9 and notes.
- 7 Priscilla Napier, *Barbarian Eye* (1995), p. 97–8.
- 8 Jardine Matheson papers, B7/27/1268
- 9 Auguste Vaillant *Voyage Autour du Monde* (1852), p. 157. See also portrait of Hugh Elliot.
- 10 George Wingrove Cooke, *China* (1858), pp. 76–7. Elliot's youngest son Freddy, who seems to have inherited his temperament, was described in the 1850s as 'a short, slight man, but strong, wiry and active. He was of a sallow complexion with black hair and wonderfully expressive deep blue, almost violet eyes.' (Beames, p. 68).
- 11 Clara Elliot to her son Freddy and his wife Marcia, 28 November 1867, ms21209, f96.
- 12 See pp. 6–7. Two small issues may be factors. Napier was, according to the present Lord Napier, 'reserved' – a characteristic of the family. (letter 21 January 1997). And his journal mentions that he was irritated with the way Captain Chads handled the ship – he thought the *Andromache* should carry more sail. Elliot may have supported Chads, morally or otherwise, though there is no mention of that in his letters. (Priscilla Napier's letter, 27 September 1989.)
- 13 There is a possible link between Lady Napier and Charles Elliot and the Napiers may have thought that Charles knew more about her father than his letters show

that he did, and thus wished to keep their distance. Elizabeth Napier's father, Andrew James Cochrane Johnstone, and Charles Elliot's father had a close association with the Leeward Islands. Hugh Elliot was governor there from 1809–1814; Cochrane Johnstone, Governor of Dominica, and with the the brigadiership of the Leeward Islands, was court-martialled for his behaviour there in 1804 and 1805. One of the accusations was that he 'drove a brisk and profitable trade in negroes, and kept a harem.' (DNB). In 1807, his brother, Alexander Forrester Inglis Cochrane, was commander-in-chief of the Leeward Islands station; Cochrane Johnstone returned there when, once again, he was not allowed to take his seat in the House of Commons; he left the islands by escaping from parole. He disappeared in 1814.

Elizabeth (Eliza) Napier (born c1794) was his daughter by his first wife, daughter of the Earl of Hopetoun, who died in 1797. His second wife divorced him in the West Indies. Information about where Eliza was during her father's life as an 'adventurer' (DNB) is not available to us. Her husband's biographer, a descendant by marriage, does not mention her background, except to say that the two were second cousins through Lord Hopetoun, who died the year of their marriage (1816).

- 14 Napier, *Barbarian Eye*. Priscilla Napier confirms in correspondence that Napier mentions the Elliots in his journal only to list them as passengers.
- 15 See also chapter 6, note 30, chapter 17 note 14, and chapter 18 note 22.
- 16 Henry Taylor *Autobiography* (1885), p. 164.
- 17 Katherine Hilliard, *My Mother's Journal* (1900), 14 May 1832.
- 18 Hilliard, *My Mother's Journal*, 5 April 1832.
- 19 Napier, *Barbarian Eye*, p. 135.
- 20 William C. Hunter, *An American in Canton (1825–44)* (1994), p. 81.
- 21 Augustine Phillimore *The Life of Sir W. Parker* (1876), p. 428.
- 22 Hsin-pao Chang, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (1964), p. 53.
- 23 There is no agreement on the tonnage of the *Louisa* – it ranges from 70–80 tons; we have compromised.
- 24 Captain Chads to Vice-Admiral Gore, 25 July 1834, quoted Graham, p. 51.
- 25 Maurice Collis, *Foreign Mud* (1946), p. 126.
- 26 *Blue Book* (1840), 1934, p. 4, quoted Eames p. 192.
- 27 *Blue Book*, quoted Eames p. 191.
- 28 Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston, 13 August 1834, F017/6/f39.
- 29 Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, 13 August 1834, F017/6/f34–7.
- 30 *Canton Register*, 2 September 1834, pp. 138–9.

Chapter 3 – Into the Tiger's Mouth

- 1 For full discussion of ascription, see 'Who Was Clara Elliot?' in Susanna Hoe's *Chinese Footprints* (1996), pp. 47–54.
- 2 Jardine Matheson papers, B7/27/1268.
- 3 The cold in Hong Kong and Macao is not, in our experience of 10 years, 'excessive'.
- 4 The 1895 historian of Hong Kong E.J. Eitel describes non-East India Company traders as a 'little band of high-spirited, highly-educated and influential private merchants.' (*Europe in China* (1983) p. 23). But see also Davis's less complimentary description p. 53. However, these traders fit into more than one category, best lumped together as 'free traders' – that is, they all wanted to trade freely, without restriction from Britain or China. But 'Country' traders had a licence from the

IEC before its monopoly ended, while 'interlopers' traded anyway. See Derek Roebuck 'By Friendly Suggestion and Advice', in particular for the problems with James Innes, and 'Captain Charles Elliot RN, Arbitrator' for problems with A.S. Keating.

- 5 See Hoe, *Chinese Footprints* pp. 49–52.
- 6 Country ships were usually owned and run by private merchants such as Jardine and Matheson (see note 4); the captains may not have been traders.
- 7 Graham, *The China Station*, p. 48; Brian Inglis, *The Opium War* (1976) p. 95.
- 8 Napier, *Barbarian Eye*, pp. 9 and 85. Macaulay shows in a letter to his sister of 28 October 1833 that he backed Sir Benjamin Malkin as head of the Commission. He described him in prescient terms as 'of singular temper, judgment and firmness of nerve. Danger and responsibility, instead of agitating and confusing him, always bring out whatever there is in him. He is the very man to make up his mind in three minutes if the viceroy of Canton were in a rage, the mob bellowing round the doors of the factory, and an English ship of war making preparations to bombard the town, (Trevelyan, p. 243).
- 9 Napier, *Barbarian Eye*, p. 153.
- 10 Napier acknowledged young Morrison's talent in a letter of recommendation to the Foreign Office of 14 August 1839, FO17/6/63.
- 11 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p. 56.
- 12 Phillimore, *The Life of Sir W. Parker*, p. 429.
- 13 Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 69.
- 14 Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 62.
- 15 John Phipps, *A Practical Treatise . . .* (1836), p. vi, appendix x.
- 16 Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 159.
- 17 According to Taylor, who would have had it from Elliot, he was protecting himself 'from the sun.' (Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 168) Taylor ascribes the whole story to Elliot's sense of humour.
- 18 Napier's remains were taken to Ettrick, Scotland, two years later; the memorial which had marked his grave in Macao turned up quite recently and was placed just inside the entrance to the Protestant Cemetery in Happy Valley, Hong Kong.

Chapter 4 – Climbing the Ladder

- 1 PC Kuo, *A Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War* (1935), p. 44.
- 2 *Blue Book*, No.32, p. 80.
- 3 *Blue Book*, p. 44, quoted in Kuo, p. 39.
- 4 Austin Coates, *Macao and the British* (1988), p. 168.
- 5 In July 1834, Earl Grey, Lord Howick's father, resigned as Prime Minister when his (Whig) government was weakened by defections (eg Sir James Graham – see opium debate 1840); in November, William IV unexpectedly dismissed the ministry of Grey's successor Lord Melbourne. Sir Robert Peel led a brief minority Tory government (which is said to have given birth to the Conservative Party). Melbourne came back to power in April, with Palmerston once more as Foreign Secretary.
- 6 Viscount Althorp succeeded his father as Earl Spencer in 1834, withdrawing from party politics; Grant (Baron Glenelg), who had been President of the Board of Control between 1830 and 1834, came back in the new Whig ministry of 1835 as Colonial Secretary. His term of office, which lasted until 1839, saw the total abolition of West Indian slavery.

- 7 Elliot may now have been earning almost double the salary of the master attendant, but the secretary's job – which included that of treasurer of the Commission – was not seen as elevated. But Elliot was beginning to create his own job description; see Roebuck 'Captain Charles Elliot RN: Arbitrator'.
- 8 *Blue Book*, Nos 34 and 35, pp. 81–6.
- 9 This was partly because of the hiatus in the British government, see note 5. News of the Napier Fizzle arrived while the Duke Wellington was Foreign Secretary in Peel's brief ministry and was not received with much sympathy by the victor of Waterloo. But Palmerston was similarly disinclined to finalise a policy on China for reasons which become more apparent in the next chapter. See also Roebuck 'By Friendly Suggestion and Advice'.
- 10 Chang, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War*, p. 69.
- 11 Brian Inglis, *The Opium War* (1976), p. 107; Howick had resigned from that position in 1833.
- 12 Kuo, *A Critical Study*, p. 47.
- 13 Elliot used similar means to communicate from Texas from 1842 – this time writing to Addington, a Permanent Under Secretary in the Foreign Office, (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas* (1910). p. 109.). See chapter 17.
- 14 Kenneth Bourne, *The Letters of the Third Viscount Palmerston* (1979), p. 144. Palmerston's peerage was Irish, enabling him to sit in the House of Commons (from 1807, when he was 23).
- 15 Kuo, *A Critical Study*, p. 47; *Blue Book* No. 81, pp. 136–7.
- 16 Hilliard, *My Mother's Journal*, 19 February 1833.
- 17 *Blue Book*, No. 56, pp. 113–4.

Chapter 5 – The Opium Trade

- 1 H.B. Morse, *Chronicles of the East India Company* (1926–9), p. 165; Chang, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War*, p. 64.
- 2 Not all the Foreign Office papers to and from China waters were included in the *Blue Book* published for Parliament in 1840; they became available in the usual way, catalogued under FO17.
- 3 FO17/14/79–82, 5 February 1836, Sir George Robinson to Lord Palmerston. He was responding to a minute by Elliot 2 February 1826 – FO17/14/83–92 – which, in turn, was responding to a dispatch of Robinson to Palmerston of 16 January 1836. One paragraph of Elliot's minute observes: 'He [Robinson] remarks that the brevity and decision of his replies will sufficiently indicate to His Lordship his wish to avoid a long argumentative correspondence or personal conferences from which no possible advantage to the public welfare could result. If a Gentleman makes up his mind to pursue his own course without any desire to justify the propriety or the responsibility of it to His Colleagues, the brevity and the decision of his replies to their objections is a circumstance which explains itself. But I must be pardoned for observing here, that brevity and decision belong rather to the business of command than of counsel, and as the Chief Superintendent could not command me His associate in this Commission, to see things as he saw them, it would have been somewhat more usual as well as courteous to explain the reasons upon which his own views were founded, as well as the reasons why he thought it expedient to disregard the opinions of His Colleagues.' Elliot continues to discuss the minutes, presumably those to which Clara referred in her letter to Emma and which Robinson has called 'not unfaithful'. The juxtaposition of these documents shows that Robinson does not deserve any sympathy which his letter may have aroused.

- 4 FO17/12/137–9, 18 March 1835.
- 5 FO17/12/174–6, 8 November 1834, John Davis to John Barrow.
- 6 FO/12/341, 26 June 1835, John Davis to John Backhouse.
- 7 *Blue Book*, 8 February 1836, No. 62, p. 120.
- 8 *Blue Book*, 13 April 1835, Sir George Robinson to Lord Palmerston, No. 39, pp. 94–5. The prevalence of disputes and the lack of jurisdiction to deal with them is a subject of Roebuck's 'By Friendly Suggestion and Advice'. Charles Elliot had begun to build up real experience in law and, particularly, arbitration, so much so that he had written a long and detailed proposal on arbitration for the Foreign Office. His role as arbitrator is explored in Roebuck's 'Captain Charles Elliot RN, Arbitrator'.
- 9 *Blue Book*, 2 November 1834, No. 21, p. 46, John Davis to Lord Palmerston.
- 10 See, for example, Charles Elliot's dispatch of 27 July 1836, *Blue Book*, No. 82, p. 137–8.
- 11 Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 193.
- 12 Kuo, in *A Critical Study*, p. 32, suggests that Elliot defended the (opium) trade. He is reading out of context a letter of 7 February 1837. Analysing from a Chinese perspective, he fails to see that 'this trade' means general trade, and fails to note the contents of letters of 2 February and 21 February. Elliot was dealing with a situation which existed, and which threatened to become a crisis.
- 13 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 349.
- 14 Edgar Holt, *The Opium Wars in China* (1964), p. 64.
- 15 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 348; the opium trade was valued at \$17m – 1m more than the value of tea and silk purchased at Canton (Inglis, *The Opium War*, p. 109).
- 16 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 348.
- 17 22 July 1836, quoted Eitel, *Europe in China*, p. 63.
- 18 Quoted Inglis, *The Opium War*, p. 108.
- 19 Chang, *Commissioner Lin*, p. 62; FO17/12/172, 8 November 1834.
- 20 James Matheson, *British Trade with China* (1836), p. 1.
- 21 John Davis, *China* (1852), vol. 1, p. 11–12.
- 22 Frederick Williams, *The Life and Letters of S.W. Williams* (1972), p. 103–4; Samuel Wells Williams was sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
- 23 James C. Stewart, 'Letters from China 1835–6', pp. 56–7.
- 24 *Blue Book*, No. 63, p. 131.
- 25 *Blue Book*, No. 81, p. 136–7.
- 26 *Blue Book*, 27 July 1836, Charles Elliot to Lord Palmerston, No. 82, p. 138; C. Toogood Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China 1836–7* (1972), p. 194.
- 27 Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, p. 140.
- 28 Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, p. 143.
- 29 *Blue Book*, No. 65, p. 123.
- 30 It is impossible to know if Elliot is talking about his time stationed on the West coast of Africa as a 19 year old – no source specifies Guinea – or if he meant to write Guiana where he was posted in the early 'thirties. He was stationed in the West Indies between 1823 and 1828 and, according to Charles Mackenzie, in 1827, Elliot was 'laid up with dangerous sickness,' (p. 334) in Haitian waters.
- 31 W.C. Hunter *Bits of Old China* (1885), p. 182.
- 32 Graham, *The China Station*, p. 72.
- 33 Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 207.
- 34 Kuo, *A Critical Study*, p. 59–60.
- 35 See 'Where Did She Live?' in Hoe's *Chinese Footprints*, pp. 56–65.
- 36 Auguste Vaillant, *Autour du Monde* (1852), vol. 1, p. 157.

- 37 Blake, *Captain Elliot RN*, p. 30.
- 38 The present Minto family knows nothing of any drawings. Captain Robert Elliot RN, fl 1822–1833, was not a relative. His pictures include one of Macao, four of the environs of Canton, the rest of India. John Elliot, 1788–1862, accompanied his father, the first Earl of Minto, when he was governor general of India (1807–13). He ‘knew Chinnery well and was a decent amateur water colourist.’ (Patrick Conner in conversation).
- 39 Vaillant, *Voyage Autour du Monde*, vol. 1, p. 157.
- 40 Vaillant, *Voyage Autour du Monde*, vol. 1, p. 231.
- 41 Emma and Charles’s sisters Harriet and Caroline are discussed in more detail in chapter 9.
- 42 Clara may be alluding to Jane (Jean) Elliot (1727–1805), well-known for her intellectualism and eccentricity in later life, and eventually famous for the ballad ‘The Flowers of the Forest’ originally published anonymously.

Chapter 6 – Some Gross Insult

- 1 *Blue Book*, No. 82, p. 137–8.
- 2 Nye, Gideon, ‘Canton Early Days’ (1873) pp. 51–2.
- 3 Commander Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China* (1972), vol. 1, p. 17.
- 4 Pleas to Elliot to keep it short include John Backhouse to Charles Elliot, 22 July 1836, 14 September 1836, FO17/13/50–2.
- 5 Minto papers, ms11810 ff31–33, Lord Palmerston to Sir John Barrow, 13 September 1837.
- 6 Chang, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War*, p. 107. It is interesting to read Chang’s account – the mirror image of our more British one.
- 7 Chang, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War*, p. 111.
- 8 *Blue Book*, 15 April 1839, Lord Palmerston to Charles Elliot, pp 325–7, quoted Ridley p. 252.
- 9 Bingham, *Narrative of an Expedition*, vol. 1, p. 32.
- 10 Bingham, *Narrative of an Expedition*, vol. 1, p. 33.
- 11 Some attempt had apparently been made by Palmerston to invest Elliot with powers through the Bill he finally brought before Parliament in July 1838. It was to enable Elliot to set up a new court at Canton and to deport any British subject convicted of contravening Chinese law. But the Bill was introduced too late in the session and the Opposition forced its withdrawal (Hansard, 28 July 1838, Ridley, pp. 251–2). Peel later alleged, in the 1840 debate, that Palmerston had contrived this outcome. See also Roebuck ‘Friendly Suggestion and Advice’.
- 12 Kuo, *A Critical Study*, pp. 94–5.
- 13 Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 203.
- 14 According to James Matheson, who should have known, Howqua was also deeply involved in the illicit trade, Graham, *The China Station*, p. 99.
- 15 Arthur Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes* (1958), p. 16.
- 16 Quoted Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 213 and Kuo, *A Critical Study*, p. 103.
- 17 Kuo, *A Critical Study*, p. 105.
- 18 *Blue Book*, pp. 355–8.
- 19 Duncan Phillips, *The Canton Letters of William Low 1839–41* (1848), p. 233.
- 20 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 348.
- 21 Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 221.
- 22 Since 1822, several foreigners who were given up to the Chinese authorities had been killed: (Frenchmen (1750, 1780), Englishmen (1784, 1807), American (1821).

- 23 Kuo suggests that Lin probably intended formally to arrest Dent with all the legal implications that might follow (p. 150).
- 24 Philipps *Letters of William Low*, p. 233.
- 25 Hunter, 'Journal of Occurrences at Canton' (1964), p. 23.
- 26 Most other sources give the figure as 20,283.
- 27 Kuo suggests that no 'messengers' were in real danger (p. 158). But a more recently discovered account presumed to be by W.C. Hunter ('Journal of Occurrences at Canton') claims that on 30 March, 'We hear today that a Chinese who was taken yesterday at Ta-sha-Tow on his way to Macao with a foreign letter found on his person was tortured to death.' (p. 19).
- 28 On 16 April, Elliot wrote to Lord Auckland, Governor General of India, asking him to dispatch a naval force to the China Sea, *Blue Book*, pp. 408–9, (Eames, p. 369).
- 29 By this he seems to have meant that it was a pity that the merchants were (at risk) in Canton and their ships were (safe) in Whampoa or Hong Kong Harbour.
- 30 In his dispatch of 3 April 1839, Elliot penned the immortal line, 'I pray your Lordship's excuse for my bad handwriting.' (Graham p. 88); Among other safeguards for the future he recommended the immediate occupation of Chusan islands, along with the simultaneous blockade of Canton, Ningpo and the Yangzi River.
- 31 This may allude to the fact that, at the beginning of interchange between Chinese emperors and Westerners, the Chinese appreciated presents of timepieces. Interest in such novelties had since waned.
- 32 Charles refers to the death in Macao on 28 March, from a lingering illness, of Richard Turner who was also one of the leading opium dealers (known as such to the Chinese authorities). Turner had traded in China waters since at least 1826 and his wife, Mary Croft, had given birth in Macao to at least 4 children. Harriett Low told how, soon after her own arrival in 1829, Dr College wished her to take tea with Mrs Turner – 'a very fine woman.'
- 33 Blake wrote to Maitland on 31 March 1839, 'The [merchant] Ships at Whampoa are all in a state of defence and ready for sea . . . but they have been most earnestly and urgently enjoined by advice from Canton to attempt nothing.' (Graham, pp. 86–7) In due course, in a letter to the Admiralty, Maitland was to reject 'any assumption that the captain of HM ships of war is bound under every circumstance to comply with the requisition of one of HM consuls or other Functionaries, when such requisition is opposed to his own judgment and probably at variance with his orders.' (Graham, p. 96, Maitland to Wood, Trincomalee, 10 September 1839 (No. 104) Adm 1/220.)
- 34 Charlotte King is described in more detail in Hoe's *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong* (1991) pp. 17–9, 94; and in *Chinese Footprints* p. 81. The *Canton Register* gives 2 April 1839 as the date of Charles King's letter.
- 35 Lin was also insisting that the Portuguese opium in Macao be handed over, proposing that until it was Chinese troops should occupy the Portuguese boundary forts between Macao and China. (Graham, p. 90.)
- 36 Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes*, p. 39.
- 37 Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes*, p. 38.
- 38 Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes*, p. 43. Chang suggests that stories concerning Deng's corruption may have been concocted in revenge by (Chinese) opium law violators; certainly his friendship with the incorruptible Lin raises questions. (p. 100–1).
- 39 It is James Eames who praises the British interpreters (p. 386) but there is also evidence to suggest that where the British attempted to communicate with the

Chinese in written Chinese (as opposed to translating Chinese into English or perhaps speaking Chinese), they also had their failures. Ssu-yu Teng notes that 'on October 23 [1840] Captain Elliot sent another letter, presumably in Chinese, said to be so confused and disordered in style that it was almost unintelligible except for the last few sentences . . .' (p. 4) Teng goes on to suggest that during the (post Elliot) 1842 Nanking Treaty negotiations 'the terms were set up by the British and written not only in English but also in poor Chinese.' (p. 13) To compound this accusation, Chang suggests that Morrison's translation (from Chinese into English) of Lin's edict of 19 March 1839 is 'poor' (p. 143 + note 79, p. 261) and 'the undertones were not fully communicated.' Whatever the truth of all these suggestions, language, and its failure, must have played a significant role in misunderstandings between Britain and China.

- 40 This rejection was not an Elliot departure. Since 1822 foreigners had overtly refused to submit to Chinese legal jurisdiction following incidents when foreigners, handed over to the Chinese apparently for justice, were murdered. (See also note 22). H.P. Chang, putting the Chinese anti-opium case, reports that the term 'immediate execution' was misleading because sentences had to be reviewed jointly by the Board of Punishment, the Censorate, the Court of Judicature and Revision, and approved by the emperor.' (p. 97). This may have been the rule but there were many known exceptions.
- 41 Hunter, 'Journal of Occurrences at Canton', p. 31.
- 42 We do not presume to unravel the threads of behind-the-scenes politicking on the Chinese side. It is explored in, for example, James M. Polachek's *The Inner Opium War* (1992).

Chapter 7 – Elliot's 'Troublesome Friend'

- 1 Le Sage, A., *Atlas Historique, Généalogique, Chronologique et Géographique*, (France, De Sourdun, 1808).
- 2 Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes*, p. 50.
- 3 Williams, *The Life and Letters of S.W. Williams*, p. 115.
- 4 Bourne, *The Letters of the Third Viscount Palmerston*, No. 262 p. 268.
- 5 See note 14.
- 6 Graham, *The China Station*, p. 98.
- 7 Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 223.
- 8 Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes* (1901), p. 12.
- 9 Dent and Co. even passed a resolution on 17 June to give the chief superintendent the chance to negotiate – *The Times*, 1 November, 1839, reporting minutes.
- 10 Legrègeois to Directeurs, 5 June 1839, quoted W.C. Costin, *Great Britain and China 1833–1860* (1937), p. 59.
- 11 Bennet Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences* (1892), p. 160. Scrips were receipts for opium surrendered, often bought and sold like bills of exchange (Fay, p. 368).
- 12 Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, p. 160.
- 13 Jack Beeching *The Chinese Opium Wars* (1975), p. 86.
- 14 Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, p. 155. The hypocrisy accusation levelled by Clara Elliot against King may have something to do with him accepting commission work at this time (though not connected with opium) with Jardine Matheson (Greenberg p. 209).
- 15 Clara makes several anti-Portuguese remarks without explaining the awkward position that the authorities were in – lacking any proper status in Macao and constantly played off against Britain (who had more than once cast covetous

- glances at Macao) by China. Nevertheless, the Portuguese did not help Charles Elliot at a time when he needed their support. A letter of 3 September 1839 written by the governor to Elliot makes plain their case. (Jardine Matheson papers, reel 31)
- 16 Charles Elliot to John Backhouse, 30 May 1839, FO1731, quoted Costin, p. 59.
 - 17 Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes*, p. 28–31.
 - 18 Elliot seems to have borrowed the idea of different policies being attractive to the Court and the provincial government at Canton from an 1834 dispatch from John Davis to the Foreign Office, Eitel, p. 43.
 - 19 Nye, 'Canton Early Days', p. 24.
 - 20 Elliot seems to have picked up this expression from an edict Lin put out on 9 June 1839 (which was published in *The Times* on 1 November 1839, p. 2 col. 3). Addressing American traders, Lin suggested that Elliot 'should keep the old law and discharge his duties with priority and in unison; let him not set about producing thorns and briars (which will choke up business and prick himself)' The edict ended 'let not himself give birth to thorns and briars. Tremble at this! Think of this!'

Chapter 8 – All Engineered by Elliot

- 1 Elliot had had a chance to observe communal societies in both Haiti (see Charles Mackenzie, pp. 180–1) and British Guiana (Blake, pp. 16–21). Indeed, it is worth emphasising the depth of his experience, formal and informal, before he came to China waters; he was to write in 1835, 'In the course of my career as a member of a Colonial Government [British Guiana] I chanced to be a good deal engaged in business of a nature somewhat analogous to the particular duty which has devolved upon the Superintendents by the Orders in Council, in this respect of establishing and adapting rules of proceeding and practice for the more speedy administration of justice.' FO17/10 f155; see also Roebuck's 'Captain Charles Elliot RN, Arbitrator' p. 93.
- 2 Edgar Holt, *The Opium Wars in China* (1964), p. 85. See also Roebuck's 'Friendly Suggestion and Advice'. The five sailors were released on their arrival in England, on the Law Officers' advice that Elliot had no power to sentence them to imprisonment in England.
- 3 Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes*, p. 62.
- 4 J.B. Jeter, *A Memoir of Henrietta Shuck* (1846), p. 144.
- 5 See *Dictionary of National Biography* (Smith) and note 15.
- 6 Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 246. Kuo, *A Critical Study*, p. 125–6.
- 7 Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 242.
- 8 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. 1. p. 104.
- 9 Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, p. 151.
- 10 Phillips, *The Canton Letters of William Lou*, p. 219.
- 11 Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 178; Beeching, *The Chinese Opium Wars*, p. 100–1.
- 12 *Canton Register*, 29 October 1840.
- 13 *Canton Register*, 31 March 1840. It is, however, recorded, on 15 October 1839, that James N. Daniell arrived on the *Thomas Coutts* from Bombay – the arrival in question.
- 14 Collis, *Foreign Mud*, p. 253–61.
- 15 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. 1, p. 114. Elliot was later to write to his sister (12 May 1840) concerning Smith and Admiral Fleeming (the Hon. Charles Elphinstone) under whom both younger men had served in the West

Indies: 'If you see Admiral Fleeming tell him Smith is a good *Buckra*. He will know what I mean. I have said what I think of him to the Secretary of State, and it will be a mighty shame if he is not rewarded. I should much wish the admiral to know what I have written about him.' In his dispatch Elliot notes, 'as it was not Captain Smith's disposition to protract destructive hostilities ...' (quoted Eitel p. 109). A modern (1997) Chinese history of Hong Kong (Liu Shuyong) suggests of this incident that 'the resounding victory of the Chinese defenders forced Elliot's flotilla out of Tsim Sha Tsui.' (p. 28). It also mentions that 'Chinese marines' were escorting the *Royal Saxon*.

- 16 Charles Elliot to Captain Smith, quoted in Graham p. 100.
- 17 P.C. Kuo, *A Critical Study*, document No. 19, p. 252–3.
- 18 Eames suggests, on the other hand, that proclamations such as that issued by Charles Elliot in June 1840 against Commissioner Lin were, in their own way, counter-productive (*Chinese Repository*, vol. IX, pp. 110–11, quoted in Eames, p. 421–2).
- 19 *Plutarch's Lives* translated from the original Greek with notes critical and historical; and a life of Plutarch by S. Langhorne, William Langhorne, John Dryden etc. A new edition with corrections and improvements, 6 vols, (Edinburgh, printed for C. Elliot [the bookseller] and others, 1795).

Chapter 9 – Charles Elliot Alone

- 1 Minto papers, ms13137 ff28–9; the beginning of the letter has not survived; we have guessed the date. Concerning relationships that Christmas of 1839, Lord Palmerston married Lord Melbourne's widowed sister, Lady Cowper, on 11 December – an apparently happy and successful personal and political move.
- 2 The *Ariel* left Macao on 24 May; it was supposed to be particularly fast.
- 3 There are various versions: *Canton Register*, 14 January 1841; W.D. Bernard, *The Nemesis in China* (1969), p. 213. Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes*, says that Gribble fired on a Chinese boat and was released on 7 January without the intervention of the *Volage* (p. 91).
- 4 Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes*, p. 94; Kuo, *A Critical Study*, p. 135; Eames *The English in China*, p. 418.
- 5 By contrast, on 14 December, a jovial Lin received Dr Hill and other British survivors of a barque shipwrecked in October. One of the subjects of discussion was Lin's health which he suggested was excellent, Bingham, *Narrative of an Expedition to China*, vol. 2, p. 382–9.
- 6 Minto papers, ms11795 ff62–3.
- 7 Minto papers, ms11795 f48.
- 8 Lobbying took place by 39 Manchester firms in the Cotton industry (30 September), 96 London firms (1 October), and firms from Leeds and Liverpool (4 October), followed by those from Bristol and Blackburn.
- 9 Jardine had a detailed meeting with Palmerston on 27 September 1839 and another on 6 February 1840 (Collis, 264–9). Palmerston wrote to Jardine on 28 November 1842 – following the Treaty of Nanking – acknowledging Jardine's influence. (p. 266).
- 10 H. Hamilton Lindsay, a former member of the East India Company's Select Committee, published, in 1836, a letter addressed to Lord Palmerston under the title 'British Relations with China'.
- 11 John Cam Hobhouse, *Recollections of Long Life* (1909), p. 227–9.
- 12 Minto papers, ms11795 ff59–61.

- 13 Philip Wilson *The Greville Diary* (1927), 21 February 1840, p. 506, vol. 2; jobber – one who turns a position of public trust to private advantage.
- 14 Quoted Costin, *Great Britain and China*, p. 68.
- 15 The ships that left Macao with letters called at Singapore so that Charles's letters could be taken off by Clara, added to and sent on; the other way, she could take letters from home off, read them and send them on to Charles.
- 16 See pp. 84–6.
- 17 This is an assumption.
- 18 Graham, *The China Station*, p. 104.
- 19 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 163–4.
- 20 Charles Elliot to Emma Hislop, letter of condolence, 26 June 1843.
- 21 Taylor, *Autobiography*, pp. 170–2.
- 22 Between January 1804, when the former French colony of Saint-Domingue became independent Haiti, and October 1806 when he was assassinated, its ruler, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, constantly instigated massacres of whites – mainly former French colonists. Women and children were not exempt, though some were protected by former slaves and others by American merchants. The relationship between M.M. Jouve and R.H. Windsor may have developed from such a situation.
- 23 There was, according to Leyburn, *The Haitian People*, no tradition of formal marriage in Haiti; nor was there any stigma attached to children born out of wedlock. Dessalines recognised these realities; Christophe, on the other hand, proscribed unmarried union, so that weddings in the North slightly increased after 1806. In the South, where Robert Harley Windsor was based, Pétion accepted his citizens as they were. During his time, from 1806, 'there came into common usage the term "plaçage" to describe the extramarital union of respectable people.' (p. 187) *Plaçage* was 'the union of a man and a woman for pleasure, companionship, and a measure of home life without the assumption by either person of any legal obligations.' (p. 187) Such unions were within or between classes. A woman who was *placée* had a public union (unlike a 'mistress' who might be hidden). Leyburn adds that 'many such couples have, late in life, gone through the wedding ceremony at the insistence of children aspiring to social prestige.' (p. 188). There were two practical reasons for the marriage of M.M. Jouve and R.H. Windsor (assuming they did not know he was dying). Pétion, with his relaxed attitudes, died in March 1818; and that same spring, Christophe (by then known as King Henry) issued an edict under which a white man who married a Haitian woman would qualify for full citizenship after one year. We assume that M.M. Jouve qualified as a 'Haitian woman'. She was born in Bordeaux in 1790 of a French mother and probably travelled to Haiti (with, at least, her mother) soon thereafter, possibly because of the revolutionary situation in France, possibly to rejoin her father already in Haiti as a French settler (see note 25). While many Frenchmen and women were massacred, and many escaped abroad (see note 22), M.M. Jouve, whose father may have been a Creole, i.e. a colonist born in Haiti, managed to continue to live there and to qualify as a citizen.
- 24 This part of Elliot's career is touched on in Charles Mackenzie's *Notes on Haiti* but discussed in more detail in Mackenzie's papers in the Public Record Office, Kew, which include letters from Charles Elliot.
- 25 The genealogical details of Clara's background in Haiti come from Jacques de Cauna in France and Peter J. Frisch in Haiti, drawing on *Almanach National de la République d'Haiti pour l'Année 1827, 24 de l'Indépendance* (Port-au-Prince, J. Courtois) and *Archives Nationales d'Haiti*. A more informal document, obtained for us in Paris in February 1998 by Peter Frisch, is 'General Dufrené' – information

given to the Haitian historian Cadelon Rigaud in 1972 by Mme Fernand Barthe, a descendant of Clara Windsor Elliot's mother by her second marriage to General Dufrène. According to this oral history, some of whose details do not tie up, but whose general outline makes sense, Charles had glimpsed Clara Windsor at the theatre in New York. Recognising her in the street some time later in Port-au-Prince, he sought an introduction and later asked for her hand in marriage. Other oral information obtained by Peter Frisch concerns M.M. Jouve's birth in Bordeaux – not substantiated from records (perhaps because of the situation in France at the time). In Hoe's 'Who was Clara Elliot?', in *Chinese Footprints*, Clara's Haitian background was known about but not yet substantiated, as it has been since.

- 26 Under Emperor Faustin (1849), Dufrène was Maréchal Duc de Tiburon and Foreign Minister.
- 27 As if to contradict this hypothesis, Mme Barthe's oral history suggests that Clara returned to Haiti to have her first child (Harriet Agnes/Chachy) on the Lloyd property at Martissant. Certainly Charles has an unexplained career gap at the relevant time. He married Clara in July 1828 at an unknown location. On 14 August 1829, his sister Emma's diary notes him arriving home; on 11 September she went up to town to take leave of him. Chachy was born in December 1829. On 5 February 1830, Charles arrived in England from Bordeaux (the most common destination from Haiti). On 5 March he was appointed to Demerara; on the 10th he left for Bordeaux (perhaps to collect Clara arriving later from Haiti); on 31 March Charles and Clara arrived in England and on 22 April Emma went to Gravesend with them (to see them off to British Guiana). It cannot be gainsaid that Clara never mentions her Haitian family to Emma in letters that survive; nor does Emma mention Haiti in the engagement book of her family's comings and goings.
- 28 She is called both Mary Anne and Anne Marie; his name was Adam Sewell.
- 29 Clara Elliot to Harriet (Chachy), 18 October 1846.
- 30 Education in Haiti during Clara's childhood would have been problematic. In the North, King Henry did invite British teachers in from 1816 onwards and at one time 700 children were being educated by them – but they were all boys. In the South, where Clara probably grew up, life under Pétion was more lackadaisical. Traditionally, daughters of colonists, if educated, had been sent to France where most of them had families, but that system had long since broken down; indeed, it was not until 1825 that there was any resumption of relations between France and Haiti. According to Mme Barthe's account, Clara was educated in 'Europe'; she was returning from her studies there when Charles – who was already stationed in the West Indies – saw her in New York. Clara was only twelve when her father died, but Europe may have meant England where her father had relatives, including his sister Miss Mary Windsor who was later to look after Clara's own children. Certainly Clara's English, judged by her letters, does not suggest that she is not English, and that would have been the most obvious time and place for her to perfect it.

Chapter 10 – Looking Westwards

- 1 Minto papers, ms2671 ff181–2, Admiral George Elliot to Martin Nipper, 22 March 1840.
- 2 Minto papers, ms11795 ff79–80, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 11 June 1840.
- 3 Minto papers, ms11796 ff3–6, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 9 May 1840.
- 4 Violet Dickinson, *Miss Eden's Letters* (1919), p. 322.

- 5 Clara Elliot to Emma Hislop, 3 August 1840.
- 6 Antonio, in spite of his name, may well have been Chinese, assuming that he came into the Elliot household in Macao. There was no Portuguese servant class there but it was common for Portuguese families to take Chinese foundlings into their household and bring them up, usually with a Portuguese name, speaking Portuguese and, often, as Christians. The Robinsons, as Charles noted in an earlier letter, had a servant called Jose. (Carl Smith in conversation).
- 7 Postage was paid by the recipient of a letter and was expensive; there are several mentions by Charles and Clara of this cost – not all of them retained in our editing.
- 8 ‘Buckra’ is a West Indian expression, deriving from the West Coast of Africa, literally meaning a white man and from thence master. It appears, from Elliot’s use, to have been adopted by the Royal Navy serving in the Caribbean.
- 9 Elliot will have written after the *Volage’s* activities in the Autumn of 1839. Smith was nominated for a CB, 13 August 1840.
- 10 Blake, *Captain Elliot RN*, p. 40.
- 11 How much the issue was a party political parliamentary one, rather than a serious moral one, is suggested by a diary entry of 2 April by the Earl of Malmsbury: ‘The debate upon the corn laws was adjourned, and it is supposed will last two nights longer at least, and it is said will be adjourned again, as the government hope to get rid of the China question, which would come on again if it were not.’ (p. 84).
- 12 Graham had been a member of the Cabinet which sent Napier to Canton, but he had since changed his opinions and allegiances.
- 13 The implication that Palmerston chose to draw was, what else do you expect? This lost Gladstone sympathy in the House. Inglis suggests that Gladstone’s sister Helen had become an opium addict (p. 144). The future Whig was also more widely informed about the effects of opium.
- 14 Hobhouse, *Recollections of Long Life*, pp. 256–7. The entire debate can be read in Hansard; James Eames gives a useful and rather fuller summary than Hobhouse’s, pp. 447–69.
- 15 Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (1840) vol. 53, p. 179. See note 8, chapter 3 about Macaulay’s 1833 understanding of the situation.
- 16 Hobhouse, *Recollections of a Long Life*, pp. 264–5.
- 17 Minto papers, ms13140 f118.
- 18 17 May, 1840, Lytton Strachey, *The Greville Memoirs* (1938), vol. iv, p. 263.
- 19 Taylor, *Autobiography*, pp. 295–6.
- 20 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 296.

Chapter 11 – Two Such Imbeciles

- 1 Minto papers, ms11795 ff72–6.
- 2 When John Davis was briefly Chief Superintendent following Napier’s demise, he recommended the dispatch of a small fleet to the mouth of the Beihe (Eitel p. 43). Among other suggestions, Jardine also recommended the taking of a harbour near Canton – perhaps Hong Kong – paraphrased Kuo p. 193, Jardine to Palmerston, 26 October 1839.
- 3 Lord Macartney 1793, Lord Amherst 1816.
- 4 Costin, *Great Britain and China*, p. 71.
- 5 Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 216.
- 6 Costin, *Great Britain and China*, p. 71; Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 215.
- 7 Emily Eden, *Letters from India* (1872), vol. 1, p. 194.
- 8 Violet Dickinson, *Miss Eden’s Letters* (1919), p. 328.

- 9 Lord Jocelyn, *Six Months with the China Expedition* (1841), p. 42.
- 10 E.g. Graham, *The China Station*, pp. 119–21. Elliot wrote to Palmerston on 30 June, 'I am greatly afraid that a blow at the Bocca Tigris will be indispensable.' (p. 121).
- 11 The 1909 commentator Eames suggests that an accompanying letter in Chinese (and apparently in Chinese style) to the people of Amoy to explain the white flag was ludicrous. (Eames, 425–6; *Chinese Repository*, vol. IX, p. 222).
- 12 Christopher Munn, 'The Chusan Episode', (1997).
- 13 FO17/40, Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 257.
- 14 Bingham says it was Charles Bethune, vol. 1. p. 193.; see Eames p. 431.
- 15 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 354.
- 16 Elliot explains that Admiral Elliot admitted to him many years later that he had agreed with him at the time but that he had received a private letter from his brother, Lord Minto, at Chusan explaining problems with France and Syria which dictated policy on the China coast. The chronology which this document sets out must have been drawn up at some remove; Elliot ends his account of the interchange with his cousin, 'I have always considered that the determination to which he came on this occasion was the most unfortunate event in my public career.' (ms21218 ff 89–90). It was on the Yangzi that Pottinger was to succeed in 1842.
- 17 Armine Mountain *Memoirs and Letters* (1857), p. 173–4. He became lieutenant-colonel, August 1840, on the death of a superior.
- 18 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. 1, p. 223.
- 19 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. 1, p. 234.
- 20 Jocelyn, *Six Months with the China Expedition*, p. 115.
- 21 Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 233.
- 22 Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 234.
- 23 FO17/45, 9 January 1841, Lord Palmerston to joint Plenipotentiaries, paraphrased Graham p. 134.
- 24 Blake, *Captain Elliot RN*, p. 49.
- 25 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. 1, p. 249.
- 26 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. 1, p. 49. See similar quotation from Edward Cree, chapter 15, note 14.
- 27 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. 1, p. 248.
- 28 Eden, *Letters from India*, vol. 1, p. 204.
- 29 Graham, *The China Station*, p. 136.
- 30 Duncan McPherson, *Two Years in China* (1842), p. 22.
- 31 Minto papers, ms11796 ff18–9, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 20 November 1840.
- 32 Minto papers, ms11796 ff20–1, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 22 December 1840.
- 33 Minto papers, ms13140 ff122–3, Charles Elliot to the Duke of Wellington, 12 November 1840.
- 34 Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 268.
- 35 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. 1, p. 403.
- 36 Kuo writes, 'The reasons for his resignation were not recorded in history, but presumably it was on account of dissension between him and Captain Elliot'. (p. 144, depends on *Chinese Repository* IX, pp. 535–6); Eames, p. 439. It would be wrong to suggest that the two Elliots had no disagreements – see note 16.
- 37 Minto papers, ms11751 ff312–3, Admiral George Elliot to Eliza Elliot, 4 December 1840. The recipient could have been either of two daughters – Elizabeth Georgina Frances, or Hersey Eliza. It is unclear where Mrs George Elliot was; she was supposed to have accompanied her husband at least to Singapore but seems not to have done, nor are letters from him to her available.

- 38 Minto papers, ms11751 ff314–8, Admiral George Elliot to Eliza Elliot, 14 December 1840.
- 39 Minto papers, ms11796 ff.22–3, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 22 January 1841.
- 40 Dickinson, *Miss Eden's Letters*, pp. 333–4, 15 January 1841.
- 41 Lytton Strachey, *The Greville Memoirs*, vol. IV, p. 363–4.
- 42 The invitation and reception seem to have been genuine enough. Lord Auckland had written to Charles Elliot on 6 July 1840, 'I hope soon to hear that Mrs Elliot will pay us a visit. She would be much better here, I venture to think than at Singapore and it will be a great pleasure to us all if she will come.' (Add ms715 Auckland China Books vol. 1.)
- 43 Eden, *Letters from India*, vol. 1, p. 196.
- 44 Eden, *Letters from India*, vol. 1, pp. 214–5.
- 45 Eden, *Letters from India*, vol. 1, p. 216.
- 46 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 34.
- 47 Lord Palmerston to Admiral George Elliot, 16 January 1841, Broadlands mss GC/EL/38/1, quoted Graham p. 169.

Chapter 12 – The Road to Gloary

- 1 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China* vol. 1, p. 143.
- 2 Dickinson, *Miss Eden's Letters*, p. 336.
- 3 There is no evidence of family estrangement between Hugh Elliot and his sister Eleanor Eden; nor of previous bad blood between the younger generation. In her memoir of Hugh, his great niece, Nina Hislop Minto, writes at one stage that 'The Elliots [Mintos] and Edens continued to be as dear and as tenderly attached to him as of old.' (p. 297). Later, when Hugh re-married and started a new family, the Mintos visited him in Dresden. After a visit in 1800 (the year before Charles's birth), Lord Minto wrote to Hugh, 'It is a happiness to me that for a moment our families have made one family.' (p. 339).
- 4 Phillimore, *The Life of Sir W. Parker*, vol. II, p. 426.
- 5 Costin, *Great Britain and China*, p. 84, quoting Add mss 37715 f 63, 20 September 1840, Lord Auckland to Admiral Elliot.
- 6 E.H. Parker, *Chinese Account of the Opium War* (1972), p. 23.
- 7 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, p. 422–3.
- 8 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 63.
- 9 Keith Stewart Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China* (1842), p. 12.
- 10 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 242.
- 11 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China* vol. 1. p. 370.
- 12 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 355.
- 13 Kuo, *A Critical Study*, p. 262–3, document 27. The documents that Kuo uses – *The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs* – were released into the public domain in Peking in the 1930s.
- 14 Parker, *Chinese Account of the Opium War*, p. 25.
- 15 See, for example, James Polachek *The Inner Opium War* (1992); see also Davis, *China*, vol. 1, p. 32–3.
- 16 Forbes observes of pre-1839 Canton, 'The feud between English and Scotchmen was in those times pretty marked.' *Personal Reminiscences*, p. 386.
- 17 Graham, *The China Station*, p. 144.
- 18 Davis, *China*, vol. 1, p. 35.
- 19 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 356.
- 20 Loines 'More Canton Letters of ... William Henry Low', 10 January 1841, p. 237.

The Taking of Hong Kong

- 21 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 24.
- 22 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 25.
- 23 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 74.
- 24 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 74.
- 25 Lord Jocelyn, *Six Months with the China Expedition*, p. 23.
- 26 Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 275. On the smaller stage of individuals, Elliot secured the release of an imprisoned French missionary, and Legrégois wrote to his directors on 20 January, 'Who else but dear Mr Elliot, in the position he was then in, would have thought of a poor missionary.' – quoted Costin p. 86.
- 27 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 31.
- 28 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 77; McPherson says February but he must mean January.
- 29 Eitel, *Europe in China*, p. 124.
- 30 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 37.
- 31 W.D. Bernard, *The Nemesis in China* (1969), p. 103.
- 32 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 242.
- 33 Yu Shengwu, *Hong Kong in the Nineteenth Century* (1994), pp. 44–6; from a private translation.
- 34 Kuo, *A Critical Study*, p. 284, document 42.
- 35 Kuo, *A Critical Study*, p. 272, document 34.
- 36 Clause 1, 'Circular: to her Britannic Majesty's subjects, Macao, 20 January 1841' issued by Charles Elliot HM's Plenipotentiary in China, quoted Sayer, additional notes p. 6. (Also published *Chinese Repository*, *Canton Press*, *Canton Register*).
- 37 Davis, *China*, vol. 1. p. 50.
- 38 This was, as he said, 'by clear public agreement between the high officers of the Celestial and British Courts', quoted in Sayer, additional notes p. 25, from *Canton Press*, 13 July 1841.
- 39 'Personal experience at Chusan had convinced me contrary to all my previous predilections that it was a totally unsuitable position for our objects in China.' Elliot goes on to list its disadvantages in his retrospective document, Minto papers, ms21218 f86: navigation perilous; large and poor population to administer; danger to health of European population. He noted, too, that although Chusan was later retaken by Pottinger, it was not kept under the Treaty of Nanking.
- 40 Minto papers, ms21218 f90.
- 41 Minto papers, ms21218 f84, 17 February 1841.
- 42 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 355; as often, figures do not tally.
- 43 Minto papers ms21218 ff84–5.
- 44 Bernard, *The Nemesis in China*, pp. 104–5. It seems likely that Bernard and Elliot are describing the same meeting; Elliot is writing up his notes some time later; he may not have been able to read his writing! Liu Shuyong writes of a meeting between Keshen and Elliot of 10 February at Snakes Head Bay. He quotes from Baopeng's 'confession', 'Elliot insisted on the cession of the whole island ... again the Grand Secretary balked.' (p. 33)
- 45 Bernard, *The Nemesis in China*, p. 106.
- 46 Bernard, *The Nemesis in China*, p. 112.
- 47 Quoted Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 276.
- 48 Minto papers, ms11793 ff82–4.
- 49 Hobhouse, *Recollections of Long Life*, vol. VI, p. 13.
- 50 Quoted Blake, *Captain Elliot RN*, p. 55.
- 51 Hobhouse, *Recollections of Long Life*, vol. VI, p. 14.
- 52 FO17/45, quoted Costin, p. 99.
- 53 FO17/40, quoted Costin, p. 84.

- 54 They married on 20 July 1841.
- 55 Lloyd Sanders, *Lord Melbourne's Papers* (1889), p. 493–4.
- 56 Wilson, *The Greville Diary*, 2 May 1841, vol. II, p. 506.
- 57 Quoted in Blake, *Captain Elliot RN*, p. 55.
- 58 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 371.

Chapter 13 – Whimsical as a Shuttlecock

- 1 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 88.
- 2 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 63.
- 3 Bernard, *The Nemesis in China*, p. 126.
- 4 Bernard, *The Nemesis in China*, p. 130.
- 5 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. II, p. 52.
- 6 Lady Ellis, *Memoirs and Services of Sir S.B. Ellis* (1866), p. 173.
- 7 Bernard, *The Nemesis in China*, p. 137–8.
- 8 Bernard, *The Nemesis in China*, p. 133–4.
- 9 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 105.
- 10 Mountain, *Memoirs and Letters*, p. 181; John Davis describes in detail the vast fortune that was confiscated from Keshen – it easily exceeded 8m sterling. Without it, he arrived in Peking destitute – ‘His wives and women were sold by auction to the highest bidders.’ Davis, vol. 1, p. 41–2. One must be a bit careful about believing details of punishment meted out to Elliot’s opposite numbers; Keshen was also said to have been executed, but he was not.
- 11 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 50.
- 12 Dickinson, *Miss Eden’s Letters*, p. 338–9.
- 13 We have re-punctuated that sentence.
- 14 John Davis quotes a mandarin’s suggestion at about this time that the British should ‘present us with the head of Elliot, the leader in every mischief, the disturber of peace, the source of all trouble.’ Davis, *China*, vol. 1, p. 93.
- 15 Dickinson, *Miss Eden’s Letters*, p. 341–3.
- 16 Benson, *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, vol. I, p. 265–6.
- 17 Minto papers, ms11793 ff86–7, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 22 April 1841. Auckland wrote Sir Gordon (Bremer) but he must have meant Sir Hugh (Gough).
- 18 Phillimore, *The Life of Sir W. Parker*, vol. II, p. 427.
- 19 Minto papers, ms11796 ff30–3, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 10 May 1841.
- 20 Minto papers, ms11795 ff66–7, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 13 February 1840.
- 21 Phillimore, *The Life of Sir W. Parker*, vol. II, p. 443.
- 22 Phillimore, *The Life of Sir W. Parker*, vol. II, p. 444.
- 23 Mountain, *Memoirs and Letters*, p. 177.
- 24 Bernard, *The Nemesis in China*, p. 138.
- 25 They probably watched out of curiosity, rather than out of sympathy towards British endeavours; John Davis suggests that Lin had already stirred up considerable hostility against the British in order to undermine Keshen’s attempts to negotiate a settlement (e.g. Davis, *China*, vol. 1, pp. 43 and 47).
- 26 During the course of the expedition, 115 guns, 9 war junks, several mandarin-boats, 6 batteries, and 3 government chop-houses or military stations were destroyed, Bernard p. 148.
- 27 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 106.
- 28 Loines, ‘More Canton Letters of ... William Low’, pp. 238–9.
- 29 Loines, ‘More Canton Letters of ... William Low’, p. 240.
- 30 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 78.

- 31 Phillips, *The Canton Letters of William Lou*, p. 31.
- 32 As so often, details differ: Fay, quoting Senhouse, says 19m (p. 287); Costin says 28m (p. 92); Graham quotes Elliot to Auckland, 21 June 1841, as 30m.
- 33 Dickinson, *Miss Eden's Letters*, 1 June 1841, pp. 346–7.
- 34 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 111.
- 35 MS11796 ff30–3, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 10 May 1841.
- 36 In the opinion of the historian Macaulay who wrote with such style, Madame de Stael was 'certainly the first woman of her age; Miss Edgeworth, I think, the second; and Miss Austen the third' (To Hannah M. Macaulay, 11 July 1831, Trevelyan, vol. I, p. 174). *Letters for Literary Ladies* (1795) was a plea for education for women. Her *Moral Tales* (1801) were the first original stories written especially for children. In her later adult writing, Maria Edgeworth portrayed men who were concerned with rearing children, and women who were interested in politics.
- 37 See p. 211, and chapter 17, note 19. John Morrison succeeded Elmslie as secretary and treasurer.
- 38 Robert Rait, *The Life and Campaigns of . . . Gough* (1903), vol. 1, pp. 169–71.
- 39 Mountain, *Memoirs and Letters*, p. 182.
- 40 Joshua Henshaw of the United States navy notes of 1839 that the only hotel in the place was Marwick and Smith (p. 197).
- 41 Minto papers, ms11789 ff222–5, Charles Elliot to Lord Aberdeen from New Orleans, 6 March 1844.
- 42 Williams, *The Life and Letters of S.W. Williams* pp. 121–2.

Chapter 14 – Whipping off the Fox-hounds

- 1 Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, vol. II, p. 178.
- 2 Minto papers, ms11790 ff44–7, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 7 July 1841. Samuel Wells Williams wrote to his father on 26 April, 'By the ships which are now so rapidly departing you will infer that trade is going on very thrivingly yet the merchants, if we are to believe what they say, are very discouraged, and do not like the change or the prospects.' (p. 121).
- 3 Minto papers, ms21218, f91.
- 4 Mountain, *Memoirs and Letters*, p. 184.
- 5 Dickinson, *Miss Eden's Letters*, pp. 350–1.
- 6 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 86.
- 7 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. II, p. 109.
- 8 Parker, *Chinese Account of the Opium War*, p. 31.
- 9 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 8.
- 10 Some accounts have Elliot on the *Louisa*, others on the *Nemesis*; we have had to make a logical transition between the two.
- 11 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 94. Again, the chronology of this incident differs in accounts; we have avoided precision about when it happened.
- 12 E.g. *Dictionary of National Biography* for Belcher. Accounts were bound to differ – deliberately or inadvertently. Bernard gives an example of such a difference concerning February 1841: 'Such is the account published at the time. But in Captain Belcher's account of the affair, (vol. ii, p. 158) it is stated that this was a mistake . . . I have no means of judging between these accounts . . .' (p. 131)
- 13 There is no doubt that there was competition between various branches of the services. Bernard tells how Captain Hall of the *Nemesis* was already leaning out of the window of the British factory on the 18th when Captain Belcher came

- hurrying up to retake the factory from the Chinese. Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer hastened up soon afterwards. (pp. 156–7) Elliot got caught in this metaphorical cross-fire.
- 14 Elliot's opinion of Gough was later confirmed by the Duke of Wellington. Hobhouse tells a story of 1849 before and after news of the battles on the Chenab arrived; Wellington 'condemns in the strongest manner "running after a great battle," and forcing an enemy to fight.' (p. 231).
 - 15 Minto papers ms11789 ff204–9, Charles Elliot to Lord Minto, 6 June 1843.
 - 16 Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, vol. II, pp. 163–77. Bingham notes that on the 23rd the *Sulphur*, *Hyacinth*, *Cruizer* and *Columbine* arrived and 'Captain Belcher proceeded up the river with a division of boats for the purpose of surveying it, and to ascertain the most eligible spot for the troops to effect their landing . . .' (vol. 2, p. 120). This account is contemporary but not first hand. As far as the March expedition is concerned, Bernard describes similar activities to those of the *Nemesis* taking place elsewhere but writes, 'Captain Belcher endeavoured to bring the *Sulphur* through, but failed, as she grounded about four miles from the point of attack.' (p. 148). Elliot may have written as he did because Belcher's hostile book had just appeared in 1843; Belcher, in his turn, refutes Bingham's account, pp. 155–8.
 - 17 Phillimore, *The Life of Sir W. Parker*, vol. II, p. 441.
 - 18 Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China*, p. 113.
 - 19 Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, vol. 2, 213.
 - 20 Bernard quotes Gough as claiming that with the heights of Canton 'in his possession, he would have been responsible that the city should have been spared, and that not a soldier should have entered the town further than this fortified height.' (p. 175). Gough had also issued a directive in March about clemency, forbearance and gallantry.
 - 21 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, pp. 141–2.
 - 22 Mountain, *Memoirs and Letters*, p. 21.
 - 23 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 361. Bingham hints at one of Elliot's problems when he writes: 'It is but justice to the troops to remark, that they behaved in the most exemplary manner during their sojourn on the heights. Her Majesty's 49th, who had committed a slight *faux pas* at the capture of Chusan, here most fully retrieved their characters; having discovered many jars of shamsoo, they brought them to their colonel and broke them before his face, saying, we lost our characters at Chusan, we will retrieve them here. (vol. 2, p. 162).
 - 24 Elliot to Gough and Senhouse, 24 May; FO17/52, quoted Fay, p. 294. By chance, Auckland wrote to Elliot on 10 May, presumably of an earlier sparing of Canton, 'It was right and wise to spare that city; as it was proper to preserve the friendly feeling towards the English which the populace evinced.' (Auckland to Plenipotentiary, 10 May 1841, Add ms377115 f 100, quoted Costin, p. 92). On 20 June 1841, Auckland wrote to Bremer, 'I am sorry for Charles Elliot, for I am satisfied that he has acted zealously and as he thought for the best. But I have never agreed with him in view [of the basis of the expedition.] He has been greatly misled.' (Add ms37715 f 118, quoted Costin, p. 95).
 - 25 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, pp. 142–3.
 - 26 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 144.
 - 27 Sanders, *Lord Melbourne's Papers*, p. 513.
 - 28 In March 1799, Lord Cornwallis, governor-general, invested the stronghold of Seringapatam and, by the first treaty, forced the sultan to give up half his territory, thus ending the third Mysore war.
 - 29 Ms21217 ff119–23, Charles Elliot to Henry Taylor, 22 October 1873[?].

Chapter 15 – Wrecked Ashore

- 1 Palmerston and Whitehall had set their hearts on the Northern ports, pushed by industrialists and traders, because of the enormous potential market – one which they must get to before other European powers. Palmerston spelt this out in a letter to Auckland of January 1841 (quoted Beeching, *The Chinese Opium Wars*, p. 95). It was a policy which Elliot believed was not only impracticable but could only be realised by great loss of (Chinese) life. (Graham, *The China Station*, p. 171–2).
- 2 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 352.
- 3 Auckland himself was not particularly interested in money. Clara wrote to Emma on 9 November 1834: 'I am truly rejoiced to hear of Lord Auckland's appointment [as governor general of India]. I feel a high respect for him; a man who could manage to jog on in England with £400 per annum in his sphere of life is not to be despised.' MacPherson wrote of the ransom that Elliot could have got more: 'How unfortunate that Captain Elliot's temperament should be so conciliating! As it is, however, both the navy and the army will be well rewarded for the toils and troubles they have endured. This ransom money being quite unconnected with the original claims on the Chinese, it would be rather hard that those who succeeded in procuring it should not benefit therefrom.' (McPherson, *Two Years in China*, p. 144).
- 4 Ms11796 ff50–1, Lord Auckland to Lord Minto, 20 August 1841.
- 5 Dickinson, *Miss Eden's Letters*, pp. 350–1.
- 6 The first figure is Elliot's in his letter to Lord Aberdeen of 25 January 1841; Auckland has already given figures of 2,000 British to 47,000 Chinese; Ouchterloney suggests 2,200 against 20,000 (p. 148); Mountain says 50,000 (p. 186); Bingham says 49,000 plus 25,000 villagers and 2,753 British (vol. 2. p. 167); Davis gives 17,000 to 2,000 (vol. I, p. 110).
- 7 Minto papers, ms21218 f94, Charles Elliot to Lord Aberdeen, 25 January 1842.
- 8 Minto papers, ms21218 ff95–6, Charles Elliot to Lord Aberdeen, 25 January 1842.
- 9 One Chinese source gives the number of British killed as 200 (Parker, *Chinese Account of the the Opium War*, p. 35). Bingham describes this incident on pp. 160–1 (vol. II) and his appendix K is a proclamation issued by a collection of 36 villages in which they describe Elliot and his 'colleagues' as 'stupid people'. (pp. 417–9). Fay, using several sources, describes how the trapped British soldiers were rescued and suggests that only one man was killed, though several were seriously injured. The Prefect had to come and quieten the countryside in order to preserve the ceasefire.
- 10 Anon, *The Opium War* (1975), p. 546.
- 11 Looking only at loss of life, according to Elliot Chinese losses were put at 5,000 during the course of the war; British losses 'by an act of the enemy' (as opposed to sickness) were 25. (Minto papers, ms21218 f100).
- 12 Parker, *Chinese Account of the Opium War*, p. 37.
- 13 See, for example, Frederic Wakeman Jr, *Strangers at the Gate* (1966).
- 14 There is any amount of confirmation of anti-British feeling in the Canton area after 1839. But there is also evidence of the anti-government feeling with which the British sought to sustain themselves. The surgeon Edward Cree records in his diary on 4 April 1841, after Elliot had, for the second time, held back from taking Canton, the news his ship's comprador Assam gave him of Keshen: 'He go to Peking. I think Emperor squeeze him. You go burn Canton, very proper. You catch Emperor, hang him, all very proper.' (Michael Levien, *The Cree Journals* (1981), p. 77. See also chapter 11, note 26. On 21 April, Cree heard the untrue rumour of the execution of Keshen and all his family (p. 78).

- 15 Minto papers, ms21218 ff96–7, Charles Elliot to Lord Aberdeen, 25 January 1842.
- 16 Minto papers, ms21218 f99, Charles Elliot to Lord Aberdeen, 25 January 1842.
- 17 Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, p. 214.
- 18 Lindsay Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery* (1996), p. 221; precise sources are not indentifiable. Graham, who writes of this time from a naval point of view, has explored this accusation against Elliot and established 'that Senhouse was an ill man who should never have been given command during Bremer's absence in Calcutta.' (Graham, p. 164, fn39).
- 19 The romantic in us has Emma Clara conceived on board the *Louisa* where Charles insisted on sleeping when he took Clara to Canton on 10 May. This would mean that the child was born at 8 months but fits in with Charles's remark to Emma in his letter of 26 October 1841, '[Clara] is five months gone in the family way' – which suggests a May conception.
- 20 Taylor, *Autobiography*, pp. 365–7.
- 21 Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, p. 233.
- 22 Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, p. 225.
- 23 Taylor, *Autobiography*, pp. 367–8.

Chapter 16 – The Web of Calumny

- 1 Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 312. quoting *Canton Press*, 31 July 1841.
- 2 Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, vol. II, p. 229.
- 3 Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. II, p. 224.
- 4 James Matheson, Private Letter Books, vol. 7, Jardine Matheson Papers, quoted Fay, p. 312.
- 5 Quoted Fay, *The Opium War*, p. 312. The Jardine Matheson papers at Cambridge University Library also include several courteous and informative (though illegible) letters over the years from Elliot to Matheson, starting in 1835, eg reels 31, 528, 548.
- 6 Earl of Ilchester, *Letters of Elizabeth Lady Holland* (1946), p. 193.
- 7 Ilchester, *Letters of Elizabeth Lady Holland*, p. 194.
- 8 Dickinson, *Miss Eden's Letters*, p. 351.
- 9 McPherson, *Two Years in China*, pp. 201–2.
- 10 Nye, *The Morning of My Life*, p. 24. He pronounced Elliot's 'intrepidity' and diplomatic activity in the spring of 1839 a 'stroke of genius.' ('Canton Early Days', p. 24).
- 11 G.B. Endacott, *A Biographical Sketchbook* (1962); Hobhouse had it later (1844) from Lord Saltoun (who became military commander-in-chief) when he returned from China waters that Pottinger was 'very indiscreet in his dealings with the commander-in-chief, Parker, to whom he had written most unjustifiable letters.' (Hobhouse, *Recollections of Long Life*, vol. VI, p. 103.
- 12 Taylor, *Autobiography*, pp. 299–300.
- 13 Graham, *The China Station*, p. 164, quoting and paraphrasing Cooke, pp. 76–7. The most interesting question that arises from those remarks is, was Charles Elliot really 'little', or was Cooke being patronising?
- 14 *Punch*, July–December 1841, col. 2, p. 168. 'Equally damaging to Lord John,' one commentator wrote, 'was the fact that marriage necessarily connected him with the whole Elliot clan. . . . It seemed that there was an Elliot in every embassy and in command of every fleet. Nepotism was not unusual, but there was a universal feeling that the Elliots were below standard. . . . It was not an able family and when Lord John became Prime Minister [1846] there was great apprehension lest the government be over-Ellioted.' (Prest, *Lord John Russell* (1972), pp. 183–4.)

- 15 Dickinson, *Miss Eden's Letters*, p. 357.
- 16 Quoted Frank Welsh *A History of Hong Kong* (1993).
- 17 Minto papers, ms117796 ff58–9, Emily Eden to Lord Minto, 21 October 1841.
- 18 Minto papers, ms11751 ff69–70.
- 19 Hobhouse, *Recollections of Long Life*, vol. VI, p. 32.
- 20 The date is not fully legible.
- 21 MsS21217 f119–23, Charles Elliot to Henry Taylor, 22 October 1873 [?].
- 22 MsS21217 f119–23, Charles Elliot to Henry Taylor, 22 October 1873 [?].
- 23 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 300.
- 24 Strachey, *The Greville Memoirs*, vol. IV, p. 422, 19 November 1841.
- 25 *Friend of China*, 28 April 1842, p. 87.
- 26 The correspondence of Sir James Stephen (Assistant Under Secretary for War and the Colonies 1834–6; Permanent Under Secretary 1836–48) shows that Elliot was by no means the only officer to complain about treatment, particularly where money was concerned. Stephen wrote to Henry Taylor on 29 February 1848: 'To my apprehension, this is not equitable. How hard I have laboured and how much I have endured in the public service, it boots not to say. I claim nothing on the scale of any such deservings. I ask only simple justice that, at the end of 35 years hard work, I should not be turned adrift, in breach of the most distinct assurances, and upon terms on which I never have resigned, and never would have resigned.' (Stephen papers, 11/104–115).
- 27 Minto papers, ms11789 f203, James Stephen to Henry Taylor, 11 March 1842.

Chapter 17 – Elliot Where Is He?

- 1 On 22 November 1842, the London *Times* declared Elliot 'unfit to manage a respectable apple stall.'
- 2 6 September 1843.
- 3 To Frederick Elliot, 2 December 1843.
- 4 In private letters to the Foreign Office, Elliot promoted a cocktail of: independence for Texas, anti-slavery, Britain's commercial interests, and wariness of the United States. (Ephraim Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas* (1910), p. 110–116). Adams, in a footnote, writes of these letters to Henry Addington (Permanent Under-Secretary 1842–54): 'The first impression upon looking at these letters is that they would never be of any influence because of Elliot's illegible penmanship. Possibly a friend with experience and practice may have been able to decipher them fairly readily, but for any one else their reading involves laborious effort [see also note 22, chapter 18]. The letters do, however, furnish valuable and interesting contemporary information about governmental conditions in Texas. Elliot was very intimate with the leading men of that government, and his estimates of the abilities and intentions of such men as Houston, Jones, Ashbel Smith, and others, render his letters decidedly entertaining.' (footnote, p. 110). The letters to Addington, and the impressions given by historians of Texas, are rather different from how Elliot wrote to his family.
- 5 Endacott, *A Biographical Sketchbook of Early Hong Kong*, pp. 16–17.
- 6 Endacott, *A Biographical Sketchbook of Early Hong Kong*, p. 16.
- 7 Roger Fulford, *The Greville Memoirs* (1963), p. 194.
- 8 Pottinger stayed on as governor for nearly a year, relieved by John Davis in May 1844. Pottinger was not as successful as an administrator as he had been as a soldier. William Tarrant, a Hong Kong journalist with a notoriously vitriolic pen, wrote of him: 'During the last few months of his stay in China, (he) exercised a wayward

discretion, was petulant to a degree, and, excepting those whose obsequiousness formed a special qualification for his company, his deportment was hardly bearable by those about him ... to some Sir Henry seemed to have become prematurely senile, his eye, so sharp and piercing when he arrived in China, assuming that sluggish, leaden look invariably marking the tired politician.' (William Tarrant, *The Early History of Hong Kong* (1862), p. 80). See also Hoe, *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong*, pp. 58–62. Hobhouse thought highly of Pottinger. After a meeting with him on 4 January 1845, he ended his diary entry, 'He is certainly one of the most remarkable men of his time, and I may say truly that, after his own great merit, he owes his advancement to me.' (vol. VI, p. 135).

- 9 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 301.
- 10 Taylor, *Autobiography*, pp. 301–5.
- 11 Several London clubs are in Pall Mall and then, as now, many politicians were members.
- 12 6 September 1843.
- 13 China came up in Parliament at least three times in early 1843: 7 February, 14 February, 3 May (Hansard vol. 66).
- 14 See notes on Minto and family patronage (p. 108, p. 158 and note 18 below.)
- 15 Cockney and Cockneyism were common insults of the day, originally (1817) used against a group of London writers – all of humble origins – which included Leigh Hunt, Hazlitt, Shelley and Keats. They suggested a combination of low birth and low habits. By the time Charles was writing they had become insults you levelled loosely at those who disagreed with your own political views or (social) ways of doing things.
- 16 There was a family precedent: Hugh Elliot was in the service of the Russian Tsarina Catherine the Great for a time; he is recorded as distinguishing himself at Giurgevo against the Turks in 1773. (Countess of Minto, *Notes from Minto Manuscripts*, p. 18).
- 17 See note 26, chapter 16 – James Stephen making a similar complaint.
- 18 Once again, Charles Greville continues to pin Minto down in history, at least from the political diarist's point of view. Foreshadowing a new Whig administration, he wrote on 13 December 1845, 'Then Minto in his own person presents an enormous difficulty, being universally considered a detriment and a disgrace to the government, a man whom all would repudiate, but who, being John Russell's father-in-law, will come in if he insists on it, and to whom it would be difficult for the others out of delicacy to object. (Fulford, *Greville Memoirs*, p. 223). Russell became Prime Minister in 1846, and appointed Minto Lord Privy Seal. Hobhouse notes of a meeting with Auckland on 1 January 1845, 'I had a great deal of talk with (him) on various matters. He said that Lord Minto was not a popular First Lord of the Admiralty, and was much condemned for employing his own relations on commands for which they were totally unfit, e.g. the Elliots in China.' (vol. VI, p. 157). Interesting to see lack of loyalty from Auckland to Minto, and we know that Charles Elliot believed that he owed nothing to Minto. Auckland entered Russell's 1846 cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty, but his health had been undermined in India and he died on 1 January 1849. Hobhouse wrote on his death that 'He was by common consent one of the best Governors-General that ever ruled India, putting, of course, the disasters of the Afghan expedition out of the question, and confining the remark to his civil administration.' (2 January 1849, vol. VI, pp. 230–1).
- 19 P.D. Coates writes in *The China Consuls*, that 28 year old Emslie had 'gone home, sick in body and permanently affected in mind, leaving his only son by a Chinese mistress unsupported.' (p. 10). He notes, too, that he was 'of weak mind in later life' (as late as 1872).

- 20 Minto papers, ms21218 f55, Charles Elliot to Lord Palmerston, 20 July 1846.
- 21 Peel praised Elliot several times in his speech with such remarks as, 'I, myself, when attacks have been occasionally directed against Captain Elliot, have taken the opportunity of his name being mentioned to bear my testimony to the high character, for moral as well as personal courage, which he has shown on several occasions, under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty. I have also borne willing testimony to his high character for disinterestedness and integrity....' (*Hansard*, 'Supply – Opium Compensation', Sir Robert Peel, 4 August 1843, p. 297). from Charles Stuart Parker, *Speeches of Sir Robert Peel* (1899).
- 22 See previous note.
- 23 Elliot, here, dates his letter to Aberdeen 19 January 1842; he probably means that of the 25th – Minto papers, 21218 ff1–107. The copy received by Aberdeen seems to be FO17/61.

Chapter 18 – Exiled to St Helena

- 1 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 166.
- 2 Hugh Elliot had been governor of Madras; Thomas Hislop, commander-in-chief of one of the Indian armies; Gilbert Elliot (1st Lord Minto), governor-general of India.
- 3 See chapter 9. See also p 221 for effect upon the next generation.
- 4 H.C. Wilkinson, *Bermuda from Sail to Steam* (1973), p. 597.
- 5 Aubrey de Vere, *Recollections*, (1897), p. 146.
- 6 Edward Dowden, *Correspondence of Henry Taylor* (1888), p. 289. In his letter to Nina of 28 December 1868 about her book, Charles tellingly remembered his father: 'What my father lacked will doubtlessly be diligently noted and solemnly and sternly rebuked by those whose track or pleasure it is to find the fault that is in Men and things. What my father possessed in larger proportion than 99 men out of every hundred in the public service (military or civil) was a generous sense of duty, a head brim full of resource, courage to match, and an eye sure and swift to sense the right moment for action in all circumstances of crisis; and never more so, than when those circumstances were perilous. In ordinary seasons, the strings of that exquisite instrumentation were less liable to relaxation, but in his good days of vigour, nothing could be more fallacious on the part of those acting on the other side than to count upon that supineness. He was up to concert pitch in an instant, as I have seen on many occasions.'
- 7 John Beames, *Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian* (1961) p. 68.
- 8 de Vere, *Recollections*, pp. 164–5. According to the Bengal magistrate John Beames, Freddy suggested that when his father was Governor of Bermuda, he (Freddy) met there 'his relative, the old Lord Dundonald, who took him on his flagship to Halifax where he was for some time at school.' (Beames p. 69). By relative, Beames is suggesting that it was Clara Elliot who was related to Dundonald; we have been able to find no evidence for that (see also chapter 9). Some details of his life that Beames remembers Freddy telling him are patently wrong and refer to either Charles or Hugh Elliot (who were not related to Dundonald either). But certainly Dundonald (who was a nephew of Lady Napier's father) was commander-in-chief of the North American and West Indian stations when Freddy was 10 years old. Dundonald's account of a visit to Bermuda talks of 'the zealous cooperation of Governor Elliot ...' and, on 3 July 1848, on board his flagship the *Wellesley*, he wrote, 'We are now on our passage from Bermuda to Halifax.' (Dundonald papers, GD233/122/2; 2/12, confidential letter book 1848–9). Freddy may have used the

word 'uncle' loosely, the way children used to speak of their parents' friends. Beames also says that Clara was related to Lord Auckland; it is likely that Freddy called Eden 'Uncle George' when he visited him in Calcutta with Clara; he certainly called Emily Eden 'Aunt Emmy', and she called Clara 'cousin'.

- 9 Charles (Viscount) Canning (1812–1862) was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Peel's government, 1841–6, but we can find no details of the kindness Elliot mentions. He was Governor-General of India from 1856.
- 10 28 March 1872, Clara to Freddy.
- 11 Admiral Sir August Kuper (1809–1885) was the son-in-law of Sir Gordon Bremer. Kuper was appointed by Bremer acting captain of the *Alligator* to go to China waters from India in March 1840 and, in June 1841, Bremer moved him to the *Calliope* – the ship which took part of the Canton ransom to India in July. In 1862, Kuper was appointed commander-in-chief of the China Station and was on his way home to retirement from active service when he passed by St Helena.
- 12 Dowden, *Correspondence of Henry Taylor*, p. 259.
- 13 Wilkinson, *Bermuda from Sail to Steam*, pp. 598, 599, 608. See pp. 596–609 for a more detailed impression of Elliot's governorship of Bermuda.
- 14 John Mitchel, *Jail Journals* (1876), p. 115.
- 15 Mitchel, *Jail Journals*, p. 141.
- 16 Gertrude Carmichael, *History of Trinidad and Tobago* (1961), p. 245.
- 17 Olga J. Mavrogordato, *Voices in the Street* (1977), p. 93. In England between his appointments to Bermuda and Trinidad, Elliot had heard of a cholera epidemic in Bermuda. Leaving Clara to make the final arrangements for Trinidad, he hurried back to Bermuda 'and everyone was heartened and delighted to see him ...' (Wilkinson, p. 608).
- 18 Blake, *Charles Elliot RN*, p. 119, quoting *Port of Spain Gazette*, 21 September 1925.
- 19 Philip Gosse, *St Helena 1502–1938* (1938), p. 324.
- 20 Gosse, *St Helena 1502–1938*, p. 324.
- 21 Unfortunately, on neither island were Elliot's initiatives followed through to success.
- 22 By now, as is apparent from the gaps in our transcription, Charles's writing had deteriorated still further; indeed, Henry Taylor wrote to him in St Helena: 'After so long a time that I have seen neither you, dear old Charles, nor your detestable old handwriting, I cannot see the latter without finding it pleasant to behold, however inscrutable.' (Dowden, *Correspondence of Henry Taylor*, p. 287, 27 March 1863). Charles was conscious of this Achilles heel: he wrote to his sons on 17 July 1843, '... I am half afraid that you will not be able to read my note ... which reflection leads me to counsel you to take great pains with your handwriting ... (you will) have the advantage of making yourselves intelligible to your correspondents – an advantage which I have very often missed to my serious injury.' See also chapter 2, note 15; chapter 6, note 30; and chapter 17, note 4.
- 23 Caroline Stephen, *The Right Honourable Sir James Stephen: Letters* (1906), p. 207–8.

Chapter 19 – Epilogue

- 1 W.C. Hunter, *An American in Canton* (1994), p. 181.
- 2 Hunter, *An American in Canton*, p. 182. Another American merchant, Gideon Nye, puts flesh on relations between Howqua and Elliot. After the British had left the Canton factories in May 1839, taking everything with them, Nye asked Howqua if he could move into No. 2. The chief of the Hong merchants 'replied with a peremptory – "No can – Elliot liky that house."' (Nye, 'Canton Early Days', p. 39).

The Taking of Hong Kong

- 3 Minto papers, ms21218 f/6, Charles Elliot to Lord Aberdeen, 25 January 1842.
- 4 Minto papers, ms21217 ff01-2, Charles Elliot to Henry Taylor, 25 May, 1873[?].
- 5 Gideon Nye 'Notice of the China Review of September and October 1872', 'Peking the Goal', PL.
- 6 Taylor, *Autobiography*, p. 353.
- 7 Coates, *Macao and the British*, p. 216.

INDEX

- (all vessels under the heading 'ships')
- Aberdeen, 4th Earl of, 159, 182, 198–9, 202–4, 210–11, 225, **259**
- Afghan War, First, 107, 122, 251n18
- Africa, 117; West Coast of, 5, 58, 233n30, 241n8
- Albert, Prince, 200
- Algiers, 34, 125
- Alice, Miss, 214–5
- Althorp, Viscount, 41, 231n6, **259**
- Amoy (Xiamen), 131, 167, 174, 191, 193, 203
- Anger, 81
- Anson Bay, 149
- Anstruther, Captain, 135–6, 155, **259**
- Antonio, 119–21, 187, 241n6, **259**
- Astell, John, 20–1, 26, 37–8, 43, **259**
- Anunghoy (Yeniangxie), 150, 160
- Arbitration, xiv, 74, 230–1n4, 232n7, 233n8
- Atlantic Ocean, 12, 15, 217–8
- Auckland, 1st Earl of (George Eden), xiv, xviii, 4, 8, 59, 62–3, 103–4, 106–9, 116–8, 120, 122, 128–9, 132, 135–6, 139–41, 143, 146, 156–8, 162–4, 167, 174–5, 180–1, 191, 193–5, 199, 206–7, 210, 243n42, 247n24, 248n3, 251n18, 253n8, **259**
- Australia, 16, 213; Botany Bay, 201; New South Wales, 118; Sydney, 188; Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) 16, 19
- Bacon, Francis, 210
- Baopeng (Paoupang), 135, 146, 244n44, **259**
- Baring, Sir Francis, 107
- Barrackpore, 118, 135
- Barrow, Sir John, 65, 129
- Barthe, Mme Fernand, 239–240n25, n27, n30
- Beaconsfield, see Disraeli
- Beames, John, 216, 252–3n8
- Beatson's lotion, 71
- The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs*, 243n13
- Beihe (Peiho), 128, 133–4, 136, 138, 143, 241n2
- Belcher, Edward, 151, 176–8, 180, 186–7, 189, 246n12, 246–7n13, 147n16, **259**
- Belgium, 84, 112
- Bengal (and Bay of, and *Bengal Hurkan*), 7, 42, 50–2, 74, 112, 192, 194, 214
- Bernard, W.D., 154–5, 160–1, 164–5, 244n44, 246n12, 247n16, **259**
- Bethune, Captain Charles, 186, 209, 242n14, **260**
- Bethune, John Drinkwater, 198, **260**
- Bingham, Lieutenant J., 64–5, 67, 97, 134–5, 137, 145, 147, 160, 179, 189, 247n16, **260**
- Blackheath, 1, 111, 195
- Blackwood, Captain Price, 34, 36, 39, **260**
- Blake, Clagette, 45, 60
- Blake, Captain Patrick, 70, 72–3, 75, **260**
- Blue Book (Parliamentary Papers), 125, 232n2
- Bogue, The (Bocca Tigris), 33–5, 67, 79, 84–5, 96–7, 104, 137, 139, 143, 148, 151–2, 155, 176, 178, 242n10

- Bogue, Battle of the, 36
Bombay, 96, 104, 107, 118, 189, 193, 195–6, 214
Bordeaux, 114, 215, 128–9
Bremer, Sir Gordon, 118, 128, 131, 138, 140, 145, 147–9, 155, 163, 167, 186–9, 191, 193, 196, 199, 246–7n13, 249n18, 253n11, **260**
Britain (England, place and people of), xiii, 92, 106, 117, 120, 125, 127–8, 130, 141, 143, 146, 151, 156–7, 159, 161, 168, 181–2, 186, 188, 191, 193–6, 200–1, 203, 209–10, 212–3, 215, 220–1, 224–7
Britain and China (British and Chinese), relations, attitudes, etc., 21–2, 28, 32, 50, 52–4, 59–60, 65, 78, 86, 95–8, 100, 117–8, 123, 126, 132, 134–5, 147, 149–3, 156–8, 161, 181, 183, 185, 203, 206–7, 224–5, 234n6, 235n31, 235–6n39, 244n38, 245n25, 248n14
British Cabinet, 106–7, 126, 158; embassies to Peking, 228; foreign policy, 84, 107, 209, 221; Government (including Whitehall), 146, 198, 199, 203, 209–11, 220, 222, 248n1; China policy, 22–3, 40, 43–4, 46–7, 50, 52, 56–9, 67, 75, 83–4, 92, 95, 107, 109, 116–18, 121, 123, 128, 132, 153, 156, 206–8, 232n9, 233n11, 137n2, 242n16, 244n38, 248n1; Government Ministries: Colonial Office, 5, 9, 16, 45, 111, 210; Foreign Office (FO), 38, 40, 43, 45, 50, 52, 107, 116, 122–3, 139, 208, 231n10, 232n13, 232n2; Treasury, 171–2, 198, 210; people in Macao and Guangdong, 34, 91–3, 96–7, 104, 108, 118, 191, 226, 243n16; politics, 106, 123, 148, 158, 162, 164, 191, 193–4, 204, 221, 241n11; system of advancement, 16–17, 23, 31–2, 38, 44–5, 108, 158, 239n13, 249n14
British Guiana, 5, 9, 11, 16, 58, 111, 119, 233n30, 237n1, 240n27
Buckinghamshire, Countess of (née Eden), 162
Bustee, Province of, 216
Calcutta (including government house), 63, 104, 118, 122, 125, 130, 132, 140–3, 156, 162–4, 167, 172, 186, 191, 226, 249n18; Black Hole of (1756), 125
Canada, 169
Canning, Viscount (Charles) 215, 253n9
Canton (Guangzhou), 16, 20–3, 27–9, 45, 49, 54, 56, 58, 65, 68–9, 71–2, 87, 91, 95–6, 103, 106, 118, 125, 128–9, 135, 143, 147–8, 151, 153–5, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165–6, 168–70, 172, 174–84, 186, 189, 192–3, 198–9, 203, 205–6, 209, 224–5, 247n24, 248n19; confinement at (siege), 69, 71–79, 81, 84–6, 96, 103, 106, 109, 121
Canton Register, 23, 103, 155
Cape of Good Hope, 16, 20, 31, 77, 107, 117
Capsingmoon (Kap Shui Mun, Jishuimen), 129
Ceasefire: (8 January 1841) 150, 155, 160; (4 March 1841) 161; (20 March 1841) 166; (26 May 1841) 177–81, 248n9
Ceylon, 118
Chads, Captain Henry, 2, 5, 15, 21, 36, 229n12, **260**
Chamber of Commerce, 69
Chang, Hsin-pao, 21, 48
Charlton Villa, 1, 39, 45–6, 102, 112, 116, 120, 195, 217
China (and the China Question), xiii, 5, 13, 45, 47, 50–1, 84–6, 95, 106–8, 111–12, 114, 117, 120, 125, 128–31, 140–1, 148, 151, 156, 158, 163–4, 181, 185, 191–2, 194, 196–9, 202–4, 206–12, 215, 219–22, 224, 241n11, 251n13; China and Britain, see Britain and China; China Station, the, 65, 107, 253n11; China Trade, see Trade; China Waters (including China Sea and Coast of China), 1, 12, 21, 34, 45, 66, 70, 74, 104, 106, 118, 132, 146, 194, 226, 253n11
China: During the War and Since the Peace, 54
The China Station: War and Diplomacy, xiii
Chinese, the, 27, 29–30, 32, 54, 132, 141, 145, 162, 169, 172, 226; Court or government, 1, 21–2, 43, 51, 64, 89, 99, 118, 120, 128, 133–4, 148, 153–4, 163–4, 167, 172–3, 208, 211, 226, 237n18, 244n38; infighting, 236n42, 235n38; instructions/system, xiv, 21–2, 28, 32, 43, 49, 54–5, 59, 66,

- 132, 148; language and custom, 20, 65, 68, 78, 144, 154, 165, 187, 204; legal system, 79, 92, 99, 234n22, 235n23, 236n40; and militarism (fighters, military science, war), 35, 76, 118, 129–31, 134, 148–51, 157, 161–2, 166–7, 169, 172, 175, 183–5, 237–8n15; opium law violators, 235n38; patriots and patriotism, 78, 183–5, 248n13; reportage, 78, 88, 100, 152, 184–5, 237–8n15; and traders, 31, 33, 51, 73, 96, 100
- Chinese Repository*, 5
- Ching, see Manchu
- Chinnery, George, 27, 29, 60–1, 115, **260**
- Christophe, Henry (King Henry), 239n23, 240n30, **260**
- Chuenpee (Chuanbi), 34, 66, 97, 123, 138, 147, 149, 152; 1st Battle of (4 November 1839), 97; 2nd Battle of (7 January 1841), 149; Convention of (January 1841), 151–3, 156–9, 162–3, 180
- Churchill, Lord John, 118, 129
- Chusan (Zhoushan), 106, 128–37, 141, 148, 150–1, 153–6, 158–9, 162–3, 191, 203, 211, 244n39, 247n23
- Clarendon, 4th Earl of (George Villiers), 199
- Class, 3–4, 31, 113–5
- Coates, Austin, 40, 226
- Cockney, cockneyism, 209, 221, 252n15
- Cochrane Johnstone, Andrew James, 229–30n13, 252n8
- Colledge, Dr Thomas, 35–6
- Collis, Maurice, 34, 67, 73
- Colonialism (and colonies and empire), xiv, 132, 153, 220–22, 224
- Commission, see Superintendency
- Communication (language) or lack of, 78, 134, 153, 225, 235–6n39, 242n11
- Confrontations/incidents, 43, 64–6, 70, 73–4, 84, 91–4, 97, 103–4, 123, 131–2, 137, 147, 149, 154–6, 159, 166, 175
- Congreve rockets, 149, 157
- Conyngham, Lennox, 42, 45
- Cooke, George Wingrove, 192–3
- Coolidge, Joseph, 176
- Cornwallis, Charles, 1st Marquis, 2nd Earl, 180, 247n28
- Corruption, 27, 51–2, 64–5, 67, 117, 137, 148, 161, 189, 192, 226
- Cree, Edward, 248n14
- Cromwell, Oliver (Protector), 125
- Crown, the (and droit of), 21, 172, 199, 207
- Dagu (Taku), 133
- D'Almada e Castro, Leonardo, 75, 110, 186, **260**
- Daniell, J.F.N., 31, 46, 96, 237n13, **260**
- Daniell, Jane (Mrs James, nee LeGeyt), 30–1, 46, 96, **260**
- Daniell, Matthew, 96
- Daoguang Empress, 118
- Daoguang Emperor (Tao Kuang), 58, 65, 67, 69, 82, 84, 88, 100, 104, 106, 117, 128, 132–3, 135, 137–8, 146–7, 152–3, 156, 162–3, 167, 170, 185, 248n14, **260**
- Davis, Emily, (Mrs John, nee Humfrays), 20, 30–1, 49
- Davis, John F., 20–1, 26, 32–4, 36, 38, 40, 45, 49–50, 53–4, 128, 148, 237n18, 241n2, 245n10, n14, n25, 250n8, **260**
- Deccan Prize, 7, 44
- De Cauna, Jacques, 239n25
- De Clifford (see Edward Russell)
- Demerara, 5, 9–10, 120, 229n17, 240n27
- Deng Tingzhen (Teng T'ing-chen), 56–9, 64–7, 75, 78, 82, 88, 96, 104, 137, 160, 235n38, **260**
- Dent, Lancelot, 73, 79, 85, 91, 135, 146, 155, 175, 198, 235n23, n27, 236n9, **261**
- Dessalines, Jean-Jacques (Emperor), 239n22, n23, **261**
- Devonport, 1–2, 14, 32
- De Vere, Aubrey, 214–5
- Dinghai (Tinghae), 131, 191
- Disraeli, Benjamin, (1st Earl of Beaconsfield), xiii, 129
- D'Urban, Sir Benjamin, 5, 16, **261**
- Downing, C. Toogood, 56, **261**
- Downing Street (place and British government), 75, 116
- Doyle, Percy, 203
- Dresden, 4, 243n3
- Dryden, John, 188
- Dufrène, General Louis (later Marechal Duc de Tiburon), 114, 239–40n25, 240n26

- Dumaresq, Captain, 166
- Dundonald, 10th Earl of (Thomas Cochrane), 252n8
- East India Company (British) (EIC), 1, 20–1, 26, 31–2, 40, 46, 48, 49, 51, 57–8, 96, 104, 106, 212–3, 216, 230–1n4, 238n10
- East Indies Station, 65, 117
- Eden, Eleanor (Lady Auckland, née Elliot), 243n3
- Eden, Emily, xiv, xvii, 62–3, 107–8, 118, 120, 129, 135–6, 140–3, 145–6, 158, 162, 167, 174–5, 182, 191, 193–4, **261**
- Eden, Fanny, 193
- Eden, Robert, 162
- Edgeworth, Maria, 168, 246n36
- Egypt, (including Alexandria, Cairo, Suez), 106–7, 195, 200
- Elliot, Caroline (Carry, Mrs Henry Forster), 110, 113–4, 196, **261**
- Elliot, Charles, 206
- Elliot, Captain Charles, appearance (including clothes e.g. uniform), 6, 17, 34, 43, 56, 60, 72, 103, 187, 229n10, 249n13; and arbitration, 74, 230–1n4, 232n7, 233n8; arrival in England, 1, 196–8; as artist, 60, 234n38; aspirations/ambition, 6–8, 16–7, 19, 23, 26, 40, 42, 44, 51–3, 78, 121, 181, 189, 193–5, 202–3; background, 4–5, 9, 17, 148, 252n8; Bermuda, 213–4, 220–1, 252–3n8, 253n13, n17; Bordeaux, 114, 215, 218–9; and Britain, 19, 153, 209, 225–6; and Canton, 23, 38, 55, 174–5, 179; career, 5, 6, 8, 16–7, 23, 26, 32, 37–8, 40–1, 44, 47, 49–50, 58, 116, 120, 130–1, 159, 164, 181, 188–9, 213–5, 217–8, 220, 228n6, 229n3, 232n7, 237n1, 239n24, 242n16; and China, 85, 100, 199, 206; and Chinese, 34, 42–4, 46, 48–50, 56, 58–9, 62–3, 82, 86, 100–1, 117, 130, 144, 146, 150, 152, 157, 163–4, 167, 174, 178, 180, 182, 185, 189, 193, 206, 208, 225–6, 236n40, 237n18, 245n14, 253n2; and children, 12–3, 15–6, 19, 42, 46, 59, 61–2, 70, 75–6, 81–2, 90, 94–5, 101–3, 109–11, 116, 120, 122, 139, 147, 168, 195–6, 212–4; Clara's opinion of, 17, 62–3, 77, 88, 98, 119–20, 145, 182, 193, 201–2; complaints (disaffected, sensitive etc.), xiv, 3–7, 9–11, 16–7, 19, 23, 37, 41–2, 44, 48–9, 89–90, 109–10, 118, 121, 194, 196, 199, 201–2, 207, 210, 215, 217–8, 220, 222; connections (for advancement), 8, 16, 41, 44–5, 49, 59, 251n18; criticism of, 34, 37, 45, 49, 52, 56, 59–60, 62, 66–7, 73, 86, 95, 103, 136, 140–1, 143–4, 152, 155–9, 161–3, 169, 174, 178–9, 182, 186, 191–3, 199–200, 208, 211, 234n4, 248n3, 250n1, 251n18; and Davis, 40, 49–50; death of, 221–2; as diplomat, 67, 76, 97, 130, 134, 137, 139, 144, 146–8, 151–3, 168, 178, 187, 191, 199, 203, 249n10; and duty, xiv, 5, 7, 9, 12, 79, 89–90, 108, 122, 126–7, 172, 202, 207, 209; as Earl of Athulf, 204; education of and views on, 5, 61–2, 81, 101, 122, 168, 213, 217, 228n5; and Emma, 18, 42, 56, 58, 70, 81, 89, 109–11, 115, 120, 122, 138, 182; and equality of women, 12, 101, 109–10, 113, 221; gaps in life story, 215, 218, 220, 240n27; as 'guide-plenipo', 118, 133, 161, 140, 161, 164–5; handwriting, xviii, 13, 18, 82, 110, 222, 235n30, 239n17, 244n44, 248n5, 250n4, 253n22; health and spirits, 38, 44, 58, 81, 102–3, 116, 121–3, 129, 189, 196, 201, 212, 217–8, 233n30; influences upon, 9, 214, 237n1, 252n6; insults, 49, 76, 84, 113–4, 117, 194, 209, 221, 232n3, 247n14, 251n15; judgements, 56–8, 64–5, 68, 75, 82, 84–6, 88–9, 117–8, 121–2, 128, 134, 137, 158, 174, 183–5, 199, 206–9, 215, 225, 235n30, 241n10, 242n16, 244n39; justification/vindication, 117, 159, 182–3, 185–6, 193–200, 202–3, 206–9, 225, 247n14, n23, n24, 249n18; and Keshen, 133–4, 137, 139, 146–8, 151–5, 161; and law, 9, 50, 79, 91–2, 232n7, 237n1, 244n44; letters, xiii, 6, 18, 23, 45, 73, 76, 81, 99, 101, 111–2, 115, 117, 127, 130, 137, 239n15, 250n4; and Lin, 75–8, 84–8, 90, 92, 95, 98–100, 225, 238n18; as linguist (Chinese and French), 3, 60, 187; literary style, 3, 56, 58, 65, 88–9, 116, 188, 200, 202,

234n4, 237n20; marriage and Clara, 5, 102, 109–10, 122–3, 139, 141, 168, 186, 207, 226; memoirs, 197; and money (and debtor and creditor), 7–8, 11, 19, 26–7, 37, 42, 44, 46–7, 58, 100, 103, 117, 121–2, 171–2, 189, 191–3, 198, 201, 208, 210–11, 213–5, 217–8, 221, 229n14, 232n7, 250n26; and Napier, 2–4, 6–7, 15, 17, 23, 36; narrow escapes, 34, 43, 95, 130, 166, 172, 175, 187; opinion of, xiv, 8–9, 38, 50, 54–5, 59–60, 73, 86, 89, 123, 125–7, 130, 139, 155–6, 166, 180, 189, 191, 193–4, 197, 199, 204–5, 211, 220, 222, 224–6; and opium, 47, 52, 66–7, 84–6, 95, 100–1, 117, 121, 146, 233n38; and Palmerston, 57, 59, 132, 143–4, 157–9, 182, 194–5, 204, 221, 225; Plantation House, 217, 219; as Plenipotentiary, 32, 130, 132–4, 136–7, 139, 152–3, 169, 172, 175, 244n38; posterity and reputation, 117–8, 127, 181, 189, 194–5, 210, 220, 224, 226; and powers, 53, 67, 72–4, 86, 95, 233n12, 234n11, 237n2; price on head, 1, 130, 187; public perception of, 125, 181, 192, 194, 198, 200, 202–4, 208, 210, 215, 220; qualities (courage, conscience, integrity, open-mindedness, sense of humour, zeal etc.), 11, 20, 34, 52, 54, 59, 72–3, 84–6, 98, 109, 117–9, 126–7, 138, 160, 191, 194, 199, 204–5, 209, 220, 225–6, 231n17, 249n19, 252n21; and Robinson, 37, 41, 43–4, 47, 49–50, 232n3; and relatives (Auckland, Eden, Admiral Elliot, Minto etc.), 8, 116, 122, 130, 132, 137–9, 146, 157, 167, 193–4, 206, 209, 242n16, n32, 243n42, n3, 347n24; and St Helena (and Jamestown), 217, 219–21; and the sea and Royal Navy, 5–6, 14, 20, 133, 140, 160, 164–5, 176, 180, 187, 194, 199, 229n12; self criticism or self-deprecation, 60, 89, 101, 109, 127, 169, 253n22; and siblings, 81, 110, 112–4; and slavery and slave trade, 9–11; staff and suite, 120, 152, 175; status, 52, 89, 152, 180, 200, 226; and superiors, 3–5, 8, 15, 44–6, 56–8, 112, 116–7, 121, 130, 225, 232n3;

temperament (conciliating, dramatic, improvident, whimsical, etc.), 7–8, 12, 20, 44, 59–60, 70, 72–3, 75–6, 78–9, 90, 116, 120, 161, 169–70, 199, 200, 220, 222, 229n10, 248n3; Texas, 115, 195, 200–4, 210–12, 214; takes action, 66–7, 75, 82, 84–6, 88–9, 117–8, 121–2, 128, 134, 137, 158, 166, 174, 176, 183–4, 186, 220; and trade (legitimate), 40, 58 66–7, 88, 108, 117, 120, 128, 151–3, 155, 161, 166, 169, 173–4, 185, 202, 207, 212, 233n12; and traders, 66–7, 76, 96, 98–9, 103, 191; Trinidad (and Port of Spain), 17, 215, 218, 220, 253n17; values (ecology, egalitarianism, humanity etc.), 9–11, 45, 52, 68, 97, 101, 109, 118, 132, 146, 149–50, 154–5, 185, 193, 204–5, 220–1, 226, 244n26, 248n1; at Wythycourt, Wythycombe, Exmouth, 221–2

Elliot, Clara (Mrs Charles, née Windsor), absence from Charles, 11, 115–6, 119–22, 168, 172, 253n17; anxieties about Charles, 33, 72, 74, 77, 88, 93, 98–9, 103, 108, 119, 130, 187, 211; appearance, 15, 24, 39, 61, 229n5, 230n1; background, 11, 15, 61, 114–5, 239n23, n25, 240n27, n30, 252–3n8; and Bordeaux, 114, 215, 218–9, 240n27; in Calcutta, 140–3, 252–3n8; and Canton, 27, 39, 174–5; and Charles's family, 62–3, 71, 77, 99, 102, 114, 119–20, 140–3, 240n27, 243n42, 252–3n8; Charles's opinion of, 12–4, 90, 108–10, 168, 201, 207, 218; and children, 11–13, 27, 39–40, 46, 62, 70–1, 88, 90, 99, 102–3, 119–20, 131, 202, 212–13, 226; and Chinese, 26–7, 39, 63, 130; death of, 222; and Edens, 118, 122, 162, 193, 194; education and views on, 62, 115, 240n30; health, 12, 14–5, 38–9, 42, 44, 46, 116, 141, 194, 202, 217–9; as grandmother, 221; and letters, xiii, 15, 20, 24, 27, 99, 114, 120, 226, 239n15, 240n30; as linguist, 61–2, 115, 240n30; marriage and Charles, 11, 13, 38, 46, 88, 98–9, 109–10, 122–3, 131, 140, 145, 186, 207, 226, 239–40n25, n27; and merchants, 98–9, 114, 119, 145; and money, 6–7, 26–7, 38, 46, 120, 195,

- 201–2, 211, 248n3; and Napiers, 17–8, 27, 36; and opinions, 47, 86, 99, 103, 193, 197, 201, 236n14, 236–7n15; and pregnancy, 13–4, 40, 56, 61–2, 194, 229n3; and principles, 226; and religion, 219, 221; self-image, 15, 38–9, 60, 115, 141, 197, 219, 221, 227, 240n27; social life, 27, 46; and status, 24, 46, 114–5, 226; talents, 38–9, 61, 109–10, 115, 219; temperament, 12, 99, 109–10, 193, 227
- Elliot, Edward (Ned), 110, 112, 116, 122, 188, 195, 197, **261**
- Elliot, Miss Eliza, xviii, 139, 242n37
- Elliot, Eliza (Mrs George), 119, 242n37.
- Elliot, Emma Clara, 113, 186, 214, 217–8, 249n19, **261**
- Elliot family (and clan), 2, 111, 127, 192–3, 210, 212–3, 249n14
- Elliot, Fanny (later Lady John Russell), 158, 193, 245n54, **267**
- Elliot, Frederick (Fred), 14, 16, 27, 36, 40, 45, 59, 63, 70, 81, 110–11, 116, 120, 122, 139, 168, 197, 210, 228n4, **261**
- Elliot, Frederick Eden (Freddy), 59, 61, 63, 77, 93, 99, 101, 118, 120, 168, 191, 194, 214–6, 218, 229n14, 229n10, 252–3n8, **262**
- Elliot, Admiral George, 107, 116, 118–9, 130, 132, 134–41, 143, 146, 156, 158, 189, 196–7, 209, 242n16, n36, 251n18, **262**
- Elliot, Captain George, 130, 136, 138–43, **262**
- Elliot, Gilbert (The Very Reverend, Gib), 56, 197, **262**
- Elliot, Gilbert (Gibby), 2, 12, 15–16, 19, 39, 42, 46, 56, 59, 62, 70, 77, 81, 101, 103, 122, 168, 212–3, 229n14, **262**
- Elliot, Harriet (Chachy), 2, 5, 12–3, 15, 39–40, 42, 44, 46, 56, 61–3, 70–1, 77, 81, 88, 101–3, 115, 119–20, 122, 168, 196, 201, 215, 217–8, 221, 240n27, **262**
- Elliot, Harriet (Mrs James Plumridge), 13, 63, 81, 99, 110, 112–4, 122, **262**
- Elliot, Henry, 110
- Elliot, Rt Hon. Hugh, 4–5, 9, 17, 112, 214, 229n14, 229n9, 229–30n13, 251n16, 252n2, n6, **262**
- Elliot, Hugh Hislop (Hughie), 2, 5, 12–13, 15, 42, 44, 46, 56, 61–2, 70–1, 77, 81, 101–3, 120, 122, 168, 197, 212–14, 218, 228n4, 243n3, **262**
- Elliot, Hugh Maximilian (Maxey), 196, **262**
- Elliot, Marcia (Mrs Frederick, née Ouseley), 221, **262**
- Elliot, Margaret (Mrs Hugh, née Lewis or Jones), 4–5, 111, **262**
- Elliot, Jane (Mrs Frederick, née Perry), 120, 122
- Elliot, Jean or Jane, 63, 234n42
- Elliot, Hon. John, 60, 234n38
- Elliot, Captain Robert, 60, 234n38
- Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound, see Minto
- Elliot's Vale, xix
- Ellis, Lieutenant Samuel, 160
- Elmslie, Edward, 168, 210–11, 251n19, 262
- Empire, families of, 5, 12–13, 70–1, 102–3, 109–10, 112, 197n12, 221
- England, see Britain
- English Channel, 90, 188
- English Common Law, 92
- Ethnocentricity, 54
- Eton (College), 221
- Europe, Continent of, and European, and European Powers, 46, 214, 221, 240n30, 248n1
- Expeditionary Force (and troops and naval squadron), 107, 116–18, 120, 125, 128–30, 132, 136, 140, 145–7, 151, 155–6, 159–60, 162–3, 167, 169–70–2, 175–6, 178–9, 181–3, 186, 189, 191–3, 196–7, 200, 208, 215, 245n26, 247n23, 248n3
- Factories, foreign in Canton, 22–3, 31, 33–4, 54–5, 59, 66, 69, 73, 78–9, 125, 166, 175–6, 253n2
- Falmouth, 113, 195–6
- Fay, Peter Ward, 151, 248n9
- Follet, Sir William, 123
- Foreign Mud*, 34
- Fleeming, Admiral (Hon. Charles Elphinstone), 122, 237–8n15, **262**
- Fleeming, Catalina (Hon. Mrs Charles), 122
- Foochow (Fuzhou), 203
- Forbes, Robert Bennet, 86–7, 95, 148, **262**

- Forster, Captain Henry F., 113
 France, French, 114, 156, 167, 224,
 239n23, n25, 240n27, n30, 242n16,
 244n26
 Freemantle, Captain, 43
Friend of China, 199–100
 Frisch, Peter J., 239n25
- Galveston, 201
 George IV, 79
 Gladstone, William Ewart, 123, 241n13,
 262
 Goodrich, Viscount (Frederick John
 Robinson), 11, **262**
 Gough, Major-General Sir Hugh, 136,
 140, 161, 163–5, 169–70, 172, 174,
 176–80, 192–3, 199, 209, 247, n1,
 n20, **263**
 Goulburn, Henry, 198–9, 211, **263**
 Graham, Sir James, 123, 231n5, 241n12,
 263
 Graham, Gerald, xiii, 249n18
 Grant, Charles (Baron Glenelg), 41,
 231n6, **263**
 Grand Canal, 132
 Great Wall of China, 134
 Grant, Captain, 29
 Greville, Charles, 108, 126–7, 141, 158,
 199, 204, 217, 251n18, **263**
 Grey, 2nd Earl, 32, 231n5
 Gribble, Henry, 104, 238n3
 Gribble, Harriet (Mrs Henry), 104
 Gribble, Miss Emily, 104
 Guan, Admiral Tianpei (Kwan T'ien-
 p'ei), 66, 97, 104, 150, 160, 167,
 263
 Guangdong Province (Canton,
 Kwangtung), 51, 67; Chinese
 authorities of, 33, 35–6, 55–6, 58,
 64–7, 73, 76, 118, 183, 189, 193, 226,
 237n18; people of, 33–4, 130, 137,
 148, 152, 164, 179, 183–5, 206, 225,
 245n25, 247n24, 248n14
 Gutzlaff, Charles, 43, 93–4, **263**
- Haileybury, 213–4, 216
 Haiti, 11, 15, 61, 114–5, 229n4, 233n30,
 237n1, 239n22, n23, n24, n25,
 240n26, n27, n30
The Haitian People, 239n23
 Halifax and North American Station,
 152n8
- Hall, Captain William, 154, 175–6,
 246n13, **263**
 Han people, 132, 148
Hansard, 123, 241n15
 Harper, 201–2
 Hastings, 1st Marquis (Francis Rawdon),
 7, 229n13, **263**
 Havana, 115
 Helena May Club, xix
 Hemel Hempstead, 222
 Herbert, Captain Thomas, 161, 166, 167,
 263
 'Heroism in the Shade', xix, 204–5
 Hill, General Rowland (1st Viscount
 1842), xiii
 Hislop, Lady (Emy) (née Emma Elliot),
 1–2, 18–19, 109–12, 116, 168, 195,
 217, 240n27; and Charles, 18, 42, 56,
 58, 70, 81, 89, 109–11, 115, 120, 122;
 and Charles's children, 13, 112, 120;
 263
 Hislop, Emma Eleanor (Nina), 2, 4, 13,
 27, 39–40, 42, 44, 46, 63, 120, 122,
 141, 196–7, 213–4, 252n6, **263**
 Hislop, Sir Thomas Bt, 2, 7–8, 13, 27, 39,
 42, 44, 111–2, 120, 122, 196–7, 217,
 228–9n12, n13, 229n17, 252n2, **264**
 History, recreation of, xiii–xiv, 93, 102,
 242n36; consequences of for Britain
 and China, 152–3, 183–5, 203, 207,
 224–5; inconsistencies in primary
 sources, 244n44, 246n10, n11, n13,
 247n16, 248n6, n9, 252n23; oral, 239–
 40n25, n27
 Hobhouse, Sir John Cam, 106–7, 123,
 156–7, 196–7, 251n8, n18, **264**
 Hog Lane, 86
 Holland, Lady (née Elizabeth Vassall),
 191, 201, **264**
 Holland, Lord (Henry, 3rd Baron), 126
 Holland and the Dutch, 188
 Hong Kong (Xianggang) and taking of,
 xiii–xiv, 32–3, 45, 50, 91–3, 97, 129,
 151–3, 155–6, 158, 162–3, 169, 174,
 186, 192, 203–4, 206–7, 210, 217,
 222, 224–6, 241n2; cession of, 151–3,
 156, 244n38, n44; roads in (Nathan,
 Kennedy, Hennessy, Macdonnell,
 Bonham Strand, xix
 Hong merchants (Co Hong), 21, 28, 49,
 57–9, 64–7, 69, 73, 86, 154, 166, 172,
 225

- Howick, Lady (née Maria Copley), 191
 Howick, Viscount (3rd Earl Grey), xiv, 7–11, 44, 191, 231n5, 232n11, **264**
 Howqua, 59, 66–68, 79, 160, 179, 225, 234n14, 253n2, **264**
 Howqua's Folly, 160, 176
 Huc, Abbé, 224–5
 Hunter, William C., 74, 79, 224–5, 235n27, **264**
- India, 34, 51, 59, 75, 87, 106–7, 111, 117–8, 121, 135, 143, 146, 162, 167, 177, 182, 186, 193, 203–4, 206, 212–16, 221, 252n2, 253n9, n11
- Inglis, Robin, 61
 Innes, James, 66, 230–1n4, **264**
 Irish Registration Bill, 164
 Isle of Wight, Mother Bank, Portsmouth, Southampton, and Ryde (arrival of Elliots in England), 196–8
- Jackson, Mrs, 30–31
Jail Journal, 220
 Jardine Matheson, 32, 34, 52, 73, 91, 128, 151, 155, 236n14
 Jardine, William, 32–3, 35–6, 51, 73, 86, 106–7, 128, 155, 189, 231n6, 238n9, 241n2, **264**
 Jeejebhoy, Jamsetjee, 193
 Jobbing, see Patronage
 Jocelyn, Viscount (Robert), xiii, 129, 134, 147, 150, **264**
 John Bull (British public), 192–3
 Johnston, Alexander, 48, 50, 74–6, 186, **264**
 Johnston, Sir Alexander, 49
 José, 101
 Jouve, Marie Magdeleine (Mrs Robert Windsor), 114, 218, 239n22, n23, 239–40n25, **264**
- Kane, Archibald, 114
 Keshen (Qishan), 133–5, 137–9, 146–9, 152–4, 157–62, 184, 192, 224–5, 244n44, 245n10, n25, 248n14, **264**
 Killigrew, Tom, 188
 King, Charles W., 55, 76, 82–6, 110, 236n14, **265**
 King, Charlotte (Mrs Charles née Mathews), 76, 82
 Kowloon (Jiulong), 91, 93, 97, 100, 137
- Kuo, P.C., 37, 45, 59–60, 67, 69, 233n12, 235n27, 242n36
 Kuper, Admiral Sir Leopold, 219, 253n11
 Kwangtung Province, see Guangdong
- Labouchere, Henry (later 1st Baron Taunton), 106–7, 126
 Lady Pamela Youde Hospital, xix
 Lady Violet Peel Clinic, xix
 Lankeet (Longxue), 75, 79
 Lansdowne, 3rd Marquis of (Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice), 126, 199
 Lantao, 50
Law of Nations, 92
 Legatt, Miss, see Jane Daniell
 Legrégois, Pierre-Louis, 108, 244n26, **265**
 Leopold, King of the Belgians, 157
 Le Sage's *Atlas*, 81, 122, 236n1
 Letters, xiv, xvii, 24, 55, 93, 116, 146, 221, 239n15
 Leyburn, James, 239n23
 Lin Weixi (Lin Wei-hsi), 91–2, 97, 137
 Lin Zexu (Lin Tse-hsu) Commissioner, xiii, 67–70, 73–9, 82–92, 95–100, 104, 106, 117–18, 130, 134–5, 137, 148, 160, 175, 200, 225, 235n38, 238n4, **265**
 Lindsay, Hugh Hamilton, 106, 238n10, 245n25
 Lloyd property, Martissant, 240n27
 Lintin, 45, 47, 50–2, 55, 58, 65, 67, 78, 118
 Lobbying (by press, merchants in Britain), 36, 106, 155, 225, 238n8, n9, 248n1
 London (place, city, and government), 139, 47, 81, 92, 111, 129, 132, 146, 155, 189, 197, 199, 208, 217; City of, 114, 195
 Loot (indemnity, prize money, ransom), xiv, 7, 118, 145, 163–4, 175, 180, 182–3, 186, 191–2, 207, 215, 248n3, 253n11, see also Corruption and Money
 Louise, Mme, 119–20, 202, **265**
 Low, Abiel Abbot, 72–3
 Low, Harriett, 20, 47, 72, **265**
 Low, William, 95, 149, 166–7
 Lu Kun, Viceroy, 22, 28, 33, 35, 43, 51, 56
- Macao, 1, 20–1, 24–33, 45, 50, 52, 58–60, 65, 70–1, 76, 81, 87, 91–3,

- 96–7, 103, 108, 115, 118, 120,
129–30, 132, 136–40, 143, 145–6,
151, 155, 157, 168, 172, 174, 187–9,
193, 195, 203, 209, 211, 224, 226,
236–7n15; Macao Passage (Broadway,
Inner Passage), forcing of, 164–6, 176
Macauley, Thomas Babington, 72, 106,
123, 125–6, 231n8, 241n15, 246n36,
265
Macdonald, Captain, 42–3
Mackenzie, Charles, 228n6, 233n30,
239n24
Mackenzie, Mrs J., 119
Mackenzie, Keith, 147, 150–2, 160–2,
166, 175–6, 178, **265**
McPherson, Duncan, 136, 143, 147,
150–1, 160–1, 166–7, 178, 180, 191,
265
Madeira, 14–16
Madras, 5, 70, 111, 228; Madras Native
Infantry and Army (including Mysore
Division), 136, 161, 252n2
Maitland, Admiral Sir Frederick, 65–6,
75, 106–7, 109, 116–17, 235n33, **265**
Malacca, Straits of, 75
Malmsbury, Countess of (formerly Mrs
James Harris, née Harriet Amyand), xiv
Malmsbury, 3rd Earl of (James Howard
Harris, s. 1841), 4, 241n11
Malta, 194, 196
Manchu (including rulers), 132, 148, 184
Manila, 95, 98, 136, 138–9
Marseilles, 114
Matheson, James, 36, 51, 53, 86, 95, 151,
155–6, 189, 231n6, 234n14, 248n5,
265
Melbourne, 2nd Viscount (William
Lamb), xiii, 106, 123, 126, 146, 157–8,
163, 199, 231n5, 238n1, **265**
Melgund, Viscount (later 3rd Earl of
Minto), 214
Merchants, see Traders
Mexico, 202–3, 206, 228–9n12
Militarism, British (honour gained in war
and towards enemy, insult taken, rivalry,
threats issued, patriotism),
65–6, 123, 125, 129, 143, 146–7,
149–151, 158, 160, 162, 180, 185,
191–3, 203–5, 246n13, 247n14, n16,
n20
Mill, James, 180
Mill, John Stewart, 180, **266**
Minto, 1st Countess of (née Maria
Amyand), xiv
Minto, 2nd Countess of (née Mary
Brydone), 209
Minto, 1st Earl of (Gilbert Elliot), 4, 45,
266
Minto, 2nd Earl of (Gilbert Elliot), xiii,
xvii, 4, 8, 44, 65, 104, 107–8, 117,
128, 136, 139–40, 156–8, 163–4, 167,
174, 176, 181, 193–4, 206–210,
242n16, 251n18, **266**
Missionaries, 55, 82, 226, 233n22,
244n26
Mitchel, John, 220
Money (mammon, dollar-making), 54,
99, 228–9n12, n13, see also Loot and
Corruption
Montaigne, Michel, 3
Morgan, Captain, 186–7
Morrison, John Robert, 33, 54–5, 68,
73–4, 134–5, 146, 152, 164–5, 186,
231n10, 235–6n39, 246n37, **266**
Morrison, Robert, 32–3, 36, 55, **266**
Morse, H.B., 48
Moses, 194
Mountain, Major (later Colonel) Armine,
132–3, 161, 164, 169, 172, 174, 179,
242n16, **266**
Nanking (Nanjing) including Treaty of,
1842, 153, 185, 203–4, 210, 244n39
Napier Fizzle, 20–1, 40, 51, 128, 232n9
Napier, Reverend Henry, 27
Napier, Lady (née Elizabeth Cochrane
Johnstone), 1, 3–5, 14–18, 20, 24,
27–9, 33, 36, 51, 53, 229–30n13,
252n8, **266**
Napier, 9th Baron (William John), 1–6,
8, 14–18, 20–1, 23, 27–9, 31–8, 40–1,
43–4, 49–50, 53, 59–60, 65, 96, 106,
196, 225, 229–30n12, n13, 231n10,
n18, 241n12, 241n2, **266**
Napier, 14th Baron (Francis Nigel, and
Ettrick, 5th Baron), 229n12
Napier, the Misses Maria and Georgina,
3, 5, 15, 17, 33, 36
Napier, Priscilla, 32, 230n14
Napoleon, 102, 107
National Library of Scotland, xiv, xvii
New York, 239–40n25, n30
Ningpo (Ningbo) and river, 132, 136–7,
146, 155, 191, 203

- Nightingale, Florence, 136
 Noble, Anne, 135–7, 155
 Nye, Gideon, 64–5, 89, 191, 225, 249n10, 253n2
- Olyphant, D.W.C., 55
 Opium, addiction, 51, 241n13; bond, 68–9, 79, 87, 96–7, 99–100, 166, 236n40; legalisation of, 64, 85–6, 110; destruction of, 82–3, 87; quarrel about, 84–6; smuggling (illegitimate trade), xiv, 47, 51–3, 55, 58, 64–9, 72–3, 76, 82, 84–9, 92, 95, 100, 106, 117, 123, 126, 134, 167, 173, 212, 215, 225, 226, 233n15, 234n14; surrender of, 68–9, 71–2, 74–5, 78, 106, 154, 211, 225, 236n11; Opium War (First), xii, 15, 34, 50, 64–5, 72, 97, 100, 102, 123, 158, 162–3, 170, 225
- Pacific Ocean, 15
 Pall Mall, 206
 Palmer, George (?), 84
 Palmerston, 3rd Viscount (Henry John Temple), xvii, 6–7, 22, 37, 41, 45–9, 52, 55–59, 65–6, 68, 72, 75, 83–4, 95, 106–7, 109–10, 123, 125, 127–8, 130–5, 138, 143–4, 147–8, 151, 156–9, 164, 179, 182, 185–6, 192, 194–6, 199, 204, 221, 225, 231n5, 232n9, 232n14, 234n11, 238n1, n9, 241n13, 247n1, **266**
 Palmerston, Viscountess (formerly Countess Cowper, née Emily Lamb), 204, 238n1
 Paris, 61
 Parker, Sir William, 163, 177, 189, 191, 249n11
 Parkes, Sir Harry, 86
 Parliament, Acts of, elections to, debates, etc., 1, 5, 21, 31, 41, 52, 72, 92, 121, 123–7, 137, 146, 151, 164, 189, 198, 204, 206–7, 211, 220–1, 229–30n13, 232n14, 232n2, 234n11, 251n13
 Patronage, political (including jobbing and nepotism), 108, 158, 239n13, 249n14, 251n8, n18, see also British system of advancement and Charles Elliot, connections
 Pearl River (including Canton waters), 1, 20–1, 29, 34, 50, 58, 70, 91–2, 95, 97, 129, 147, 151, 153–5, 160, 163, 165, 167, 174, 176, 178, 209, 226
 Pechele, Gulf of and Province, 127, 133
 Peel, Sir Robert (2nd Baronet), 106, 164, 198–9, 211, 231n5, 232n9, 252n21, 253n9, **266**
 Peiho, see Beihe
 Peking (Pekin, Beijing), 68, 75, 79, 82, 106, 128, 133–5, 137, 143, 152, 161, 167
 Penang, 130
 Penha Hill (Peena), 29, 60
 Pennell, Reverend G.B. (George), 217
 Pennell, (Clement) Hope, 218–9, 221
 Pereira family, 31
 Pétion, Alexandre, President, 239n23, 240n30, **266**
 Philippa, Queen (of Hainault?), 199
 Pinto, Don Adriaio Accacio da Silveira, 77, 91–2, 103, 108, 236–7n15, **267**
 Plessey, Battle of (1757), 125
Plutarch's Lives (Langhorne), 101, 168, 238n19
 Plumridge, Captain James Hanway (later MP), 112–3
 Plymouth, 1, 107
 Port-au-Prince, 114
 Port Royal, Jamaica, 5, 114
 Portraits and depictions, 17, 24, 27, 29, 60, 185
 Portugal, Portuguese (and language) in Macao, 29, 31, 34, 52, 77, 88, 92, 108, 143, 187, 191, 236–7n15, 241n6; Portuguese opium, 235n35
 Possession Point, 151
 Postal Service, writing and receiving letters and dispatches, 1, 24, 28, 39, 47, 62, 103–4, 116, 122, 241n7
 Pottinger, Sir Henry, 158–9, 164, 169, 191, 193, 197, 203–4, 206, 208, 211, 224, 242n16, 244n39, 249n11, 250–1n8
 Prefect of Canton, 160, 175, 248n9, of Macao, 104
 Press, the, 125, 157, 192–3, 196, 199, 215, 220
 Private/Public, xiii, 102, 106, 111
 Protestant Cemetery Macao, 36, 186
 Provisions (supplies), 30, 54, 88, 92–5, 97, 100, 107, 135, 167, 231n18
Punch, 193

- Qishan, see Keshen
 Qiying (Keying), 203
- Robinson, Sir George Best Bt, 20–1, 26, 33, 37–8, 43, 45–50, 52–3, 55–6, 164, 232n3, **267**
- Robinson, Lady, 20, 30–1, 36
- Rome, 220
- Robertson, A., 6, 17, 24
- Royal Navy, 6, 8, 17, 21, 66, 75, 108, 113, 193, 235n33, 241n8
- Russell, Charlie, 121
- Russell and Company, 67, 86
- Russell, Hon. Edward Southwell (later 23rd Baron de Clifford), 217, **262**
- Russell, Hon Mrs, see Elliot, Harriet (Chachy)
- Russell, Lady John, see Elliot, Fanny
- Russell, Lord John, 158, 193, 199, 245n54, 249n14, 251n18, **267**
- Russia, Tsar of (Nicholas I), 210, Tsarina of (Catherine the Great), 251n16
- Saint-Domingue, see Haiti
- San Francisco Monastery and Green, 60, 233n35
- St Helena, 217, 219–21, 253n11
- St Paul's (London), 71
- Sanchuen, 188–9
- Sanyuanli, xiv, 184–5, 248n9
- Scotland, Scots and Scottish, 17, 27, 36, 148, 231n18, 243n16
- Scott, Walter, 168
- Senhouse, Captain Sir Humphrey Le Fleming, 167, 176–80, 186, 249n18, **267**
- Seringapatam, 180, 247n28
- Shanghai, 37, 131, 203
- Ships: *Alligator*, 119, 253n11; *Andromache*, 1, 2, 5, 13–14, 17, 20, 21, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 229n1, 229n12; *Algernine*, 66; *Argyle*, 42, 43, 49; *Ariel*, 81, 103, 129, 238n2; *Atlanta*, 191; *Aurora*, 175; *Baleares*, 110; *Bilbaino*, 95; *Black Joe*, 93; *Blenheim*, 160, 167; *Blonde*, 131; *Bombay*, 66; *Calliope*, 161, 166, 176, 186, 253n11; *Conway*, 186; *Cringer*, 135; *Cruiser*, 119; *Druid*, 118, 129; *Enterprise*, 191; *Fort William*, 92–3, 99; *Harlequin*, 5, 11, 15, 114, 229n4; *Hyacinth*, 97, 100, 104, 129; *Imogene*, 33, 34, 35, 39; *Kite*, 136, 137; *Larne*, 66, 70, 72–3, 77; *Liverpool*, 195; *Louisa*, 21–3, 33–6, 43, 50, 72, 74, 92, 151, 175, 186, 187, 189, 195, 230n23, 246n10, 249n19; *Madagascar*, 133; *Melbourne*, 70–1, 88; *Melville*, 130, 132–3, 137; *Modeste*, 134, 144; *Mor*, 107; *Nemesis*, 140, 149, 151–5, 160–1, 164–5, 166, 174–7, 179, 246n10, 247n16; *Nerbuddah*, 130; *Pearl*, 93; *Queen*, 137, 139; *Red Rover*, 51; *Reliance*, 88; *Royal Saxon*, 97, 100, 237–8n15; *Spartan*, 206; *Sulphur*, 147, 176–7, 247n16; *Thomas Coutts*, 96, 100, 237n13; *Virginia*, 95; *Volage*, 93, 97–9, 104, 122, 129–30, 136, 139, 238n3, 241n9; *Wellesley*, 65–6, 107, 128, 131, 133, 139, 146, 150, 186, 252n8
- Showpei Pi (Captain White), 133, 135, 137, 146, **267**
- Shuck, Henrietta (Mrs Lewis, née Hall), 93
- Singapore, 98, 108–9, 116, 118–21, 123, 128–30, 140, 145, 162, 172, 188, 193, 243n42
- Six Months in China*, 129
- Skinner, Nanny, 19, 39
- Slave Trade and slavery, 5, 9, 191, 221, 228n7, 229–30n13, 231n6, 239n22, 250n4
- Smith, Captain Henry, 93, 35, 97, 122, 129, 237–8n15, 241n9, **261**
- South African Station, 107
- Spain, 84
- Stanley, Viscount (Edward, later 14th Earl of Derby), 123
- Stanton, Reverend Vincent, 135–6, 139
- Statistics, 248n6, n9, n11
- Staunton, Sir George, 104, 123, **267**
- Stephen, Sir James, 200, 206, 222, 250n26, **267**
- Stewart, James Calder, 54
- Stilwell, Mr, 122
- Stone's, Miss (school), 217
- Suarez, d'Andrea, Governor, 31, 36, 77, 91–2, 103
- Sullivan, Elizabeth (née Temple), 45, 83
- Superintendency (or Commission) of Trade in China, 1, 4, 6, 20, 23, 32, 37, 40, 43, 47, 50, 53, 55–6, 65, 99, 123, 172, 225, 257n1
- Switzerland, 92
- Symbiography, xiv
- Syria, 107, 242n16

- Taku, see Dagou
 Taylor, Mrs George (Henry's stepmother), 39, 199
 Taylor, Henry (later Sir), xix, 16, 20, 45, 52, 111–12, 120, 126–7, 139, 148, 180–1, 186–88, 192, 196–7, 199–200, 204–6, 211–12, 214, 216, 219, 222, 225, 231n17, 250n26, 253n22, **267**; 'Edwin the Fair', 204; 'Philip Van Artevelde', 111
 Teng, Viceroy, see Deng Tingzhen
 Texas, 115, 232n13, 250n4
 Tibet and Lhasa, 224
 Tientsin (Tianjin) 133, 135
 Timbactu, 221
 Time lag, 47, 104–5, 123, 132, 156, 159, 189
The Times (of London), 83–4, 123, 157–8, 192, 221, 251n1
 Tonggu (Tong Koo), 118, 137, 151
 Tories, the, 40, 123, 125–7, 162, 204, 231n5
 Trade, the China, 1, 21, 23–4, 28, 40, 49, 51, 53, 65, 69, 84, 88, 95, 108, 117–18, 128, 132, 146–7, 153, 157–8, 166–7, 169–70, 185, 202–4, 206–8, 212, 246n32, n2; Stoppage of (supplies etc., blockade), 28–9, 33, 35, 71, 77–8, 88, 92, 95, 104, 128–9, 132, 136, 161, 166
 Traders and free traders (merchants), 21–2, 24, 31–3, 35, 43, 50–1, 53–4, 56, 65–6, 68, 78, 86–7, 97–7, 107, 114, 117, 121, 123, 128, 155, 170, 172, 175, 182, 211, 230–1n4 n6, 246n2, 248n1; American (traders and trade), 86–7, 95–6, 114, 118, 157, 166–7, 175–6, 191, 239n22
 Trading or merchant fleet, 91–5, 129, 235n29
 Trading season, 21, 24, 87, 97–7, 151, 166
 Trafalgar, Battle of, 32
 Transliteration, xvii–xviii
 Trincomalee, 118
 Tseng Poo (Zengbu), 176–7, 179
 Tsim Sha Tsui (Jianshazui), 91
 Turner, Mary (Mrs Richard, née Croft), 75, 235n32
 Tycocktow (Dajiaotou), 149
 Unequal Treaties, 185, 203
 Union Jack or flag, 22, 59, 70, 72, 125, 151–2, 155, 166–7, 175
 United States (and State of the Union), 202, 250n4; see also Traders, American and Texas
 Vaillant, Captain Auguste, 60–1, **267**
 Van Bearle, Caroline (Mrs Lucius, née Hislop?),
 Vattel, Emer, 92
 Victoria, Queen, 41, 66, 87–8, 104, 106–7, 125, 146, 151, 155, 157–8, 163, 180, 199–100, 209, 226
 Villiers, Edward, 126
 Voltaire, François, 3
 Waley, Arthur, 78
 Wang Tuh (Wang Du), 146
 Waterloo, Battle of 102
 Warner, Captain, 96
 Weather/climate (including monsoons and winds), 1, 3, 12, 14–16, 20, 24, 27–9, 38, 93, 103, 119–20, 134, 154, 168, 179, 186–7, 189, 194–5, 200, 202, 208, 213, 218, 220, 230n3
 Wellington, 1st Duke of (Arthur Wellesley), 126–7, 137, 228–9n12, 232n9, 247n14, **267**
 West India Board, 11
 West Indies/Caribbean, 5, 11, 44, 58, 229–30n13, 241, 8; West Indies Station, 5, 9, 11, 93, 114, 122, 229n4, 237–8n15, 241n8, 252n8
 Whampoa (Huangpu), 21, 33, 35–6, 52, 65–6, 91, 96, 101, 118, 151, 153, 161
 'Whenever there is a breeze', 11
 Whigs, 40, 123, 125–6, 162, 191, 231n5, n6, 251n18
 White, Captain, see Showpei Pi
 Whiteman, Mr, 213
 William IV, King, 3, 23, 32, 37, 41, 231n5
 Williams, Samuel Wells, 51, 55, 83, 172, 233n22, 246n2, **267**
 Windsor (Castle), 83, 128
 Windsor, Clara Genevieve, see Elliot, Clara
 Windsor, Clara, 115
 Windsor (family of Clara Elliot), 195
 Windsor, Miss Mary, 39, 62–3, 70–1, 77, 88, 93, 95, 99, 103, 114–15, 120, 169, 195, 240n30, **267**
 Windsor, Mary Anne (or Anne Marie, later Mrs Adam Sewell), 240n28

The Taking of Hong Kong

- Windsor, Robert Alexandre, 114–15
Windsor, Robert Harley, 114, 239n22, n23, **267**
Windsor, Thomas, 114
Wingrove, Captain, 220
Women: Chinese, 160–1, 245n10, 251n19; confined in Hong Kong harbour, 93; Edgeworth's portrayal of, 246n36; equality of, 101, 221; foreign in China, 24, 33; in Haiti, 239n22, n23, 240n30; history, place in/inclusion in, xiv, 60, 102, 226; influence in politics, 146; issues concerning xiv; and placage, 239n23; traders' wives, 31; and war, 160–1
Yang fang, 166
Yangzijiāng (Yangtse kiang), 128–9, 131–2, 136, 167, 175, 203, 209, 242n16
Yilibu (I-li-pu), 137, 148, **267**
Zhejiang (Chekiang), 175
Zhenhai (Chinhai), 132
Zhenjiang (Chinkiang), 202