

Narratives of Free Trade

The Commercial Cultures of
Early US–China Relations

Edited by Kendall Johnson



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

© Hong Kong University Press 2012

ISBN 978-988-8083-53-4 (*Hardback*)

ISBN 978-988-8083-54-1 (*Paperback*)

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed and bound by Kings Time Printing Press Ltd., Hong Kong, China

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Contributors

Paul A. Bové teaches English at the University of Pittsburgh where he is Distinguished Professor. Editor of *boundary 2*, an international journal of literature and culture, he is the author of the prize-winning 1986 study, *Intellectuals in Power* as well as several other major books in critical theory, American literature, modern literature, and poetics. His most recent book, *Poetry Against Torture*, is the result of a lecture series at the University of Hong Kong where Bové has regularly visited as a professor. The author of nearly 100 refereed articles, his most recent essay is “Misprisions of Utopia: Messianism, Apocalypse, and Allegory” in the *Field Day Anthology*. He is currently completing two books, *Art Against Allegory* and, for Harvard University Press, *Henry Adams and the Creative Love of Imagination*.

May-bo Ching is a professor of history in the Centre for Historical Anthropology at Sun Yat-sen University. Her major research interest is the social and cultural history of modern China. Her book *Regional Culture and National Identity: The Shaping of “Guangdong Culture” Since the Late Qing* (in Chinese) discusses changes in the articulation of regional identity against the rise of nationalism at the turn of nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Her current projects include a preliminary study of the introduction of natural history drawings and knowledge into China since the late eighteenth century and a social history of Cantonese opera from the 1860s to 1950s.

John R. Haddad currently teaches American Studies at Penn State Harrisburg, where he is an associate professor of American Studies and Literature. He holds a Ph.D. in American Studies from the University of Texas at Austin (2002). His book, *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in U.S. Culture, 1776–1876* (Columbia University Press, 2006) explores ways that

Americans learned about and constructed China in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Sibing He received his Ph.D. in US diplomatic history from Miami University and his research interests are in the areas of Sino-US relations, overseas Chinese studies and international relations in space exploration and utilization. He is currently serving as guest professor at the Center for the Studies of Overseas Chinese Culture, Huaqiao University in Quanzhou, China.

Yedan Huang is a Ph.D. candidate, Department of Sociology, and Research Associate, Centre for Anthropological Research, University of Hong Kong.

Kendall Johnson is an associate professor and director of the American Studies Programme at the University of Hong Kong. His recent books include *Henry James and the Visual* (Cambridge University Press 2007) and *A Critical Companion to Henry James: A Literary Reference to his Life and Work* (2009). He has also published essays on Native American law and literature. He is currently working on the literature of early United States trade and diplomacy in “Canton”.

Yeewan Koon is an assistant professor of fine arts at the University of Hong Kong. She is currently working on a manuscript looking at art in Guangdong in the early nineteenth century as the region transitioned from a trading hub to a place of war, focusing in particular on the artist Su Renshan (c.1814–50).

Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce is an associate professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Hong Kong.

Rogério Miguel Puga holds a Ph.D. on Anglo-Portuguese Studies (FCSH, New University of Lisbon), was a lecturer at Institute of Education and Sciences (ISEC, Lisbon, 2000–2005), assistant professor at the University of Macao (2007–2009) and is now a senior researcher at the Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies (CETAPS, New University of Lisbon), where he also teaches. He is a research collaborator at Centre for Overseas History (CHAM, New University) and the Centre for Comparative Studies (University of Lisbon), and an invited researcher at the University of Macao (History Department). He has published several studies on Anglo-Portuguese literary and historical relations, the Portuguese and British Empires, and on Lusophone and Anglophone Literatures, namely: *The Portuguese Historical Novel* (Lisbon, 2006), *A World of Euphemism: Representations of Macao in the*

Work of Austin Coates. City of Broken Promises as Historical Novel and Female Bildungsroman (Lisbon, 2009), *The English Presence and Anglo-Portuguese Relations in Macao (1635–1794)* (Lisbon, 2009), and *Chronology of Portuguese Literature, 1128–2000* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, UK, 2011). He is the editor of the *European Journal of Macao Studies* (Portugal), and subject editor for the journal *Romance Studies* (United Kingdom).

Paul A. Van Dyke is a historian and the author of *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong University Press, 2005). He has published many articles on different aspects of the trade in Canton and Macao, including Armenians, Muslims and the Chinese junk trade to Southeast Asia, and is presently writing new histories of the Chinese merchant families.

Introduction

Revising First Impressions

American Stereotypes of China and the National Romance of Free Trade

Kendall Johnson

What China now is—that will it be as long as the Empire shall exist. Its arts, tastes, costume, manners, and government, are *stereotyped*; and the author who shall write its history, or visit its coasts and canals in order to describe them a hundred years hence, will have but little more to do than to copy the works that were published in the nineteenth century.

It is in consequence of this permanent character—this tideless oozing of Chinese life—that we do not hesitate to write of the country from our personal recollections, albeit some twenty years have elapsed since we trod the “flowery land.”

—Brantz Mayer, “China and the Chinese”
July 1847, *Southern Quarterly Review*, p. 8

In justifying Britain’s tactics in the Opium War (1839–42), it might seem that the Baltimore-based lawyer and historian Brantz Mayer (1809–79) had a tough case to make. His article “China and the Chinese” (1847) acknowledges that England had disregarded China’s rule of law by saturating its economy with opium, and he further notes the devastation visited on the local population in Guangdong by both the opium and the war. But Mayer sees a greater good beyond this disaster, averring that England’s aggressions are “an assertion of the right of all civilized nations to *demand* the sanction and safeguard of treaties from people with whom they entertain a large and lucrative trade.”¹ Citing former US President John Quincy Adams, Mayer declares that “the great result of the China War was that it brought the stubborn Empire within the pale of diplomatic negotiation, and placed it upon the common platform of the commercial world.”² One assumes that the prescription of

trade would open the “tideless oozing” of Chinese life to civilizing channels of global commerce. Given the dramatic nature of Mayer’s characterizations, the question arises: What degree or kind of communication and diplomacy between China and the United States would have been possible in the first decades of the United States’ relatively insecure existence?

At least since John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson highlighted the informal and indirect pressures of England’s global economic influence, the British practice of flooding the Chinese market with opium harvested in India has vexed the casual usage of the phrase “free trade” in scholarship about China and England during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³ In *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism* (1970), Bernard Semmel extends the skepticism by arguing that the nineteenth-century era of so-called “free trade” was an extension, rather than a refutation, of the overtly political and constitutional terms by which England had administered its imperial “system of mercantilist colonialisms” in the eighteenth century.⁴ Semmel points to articles in the *Westminster Review* on the Opium War by Liberals and Radicals who lamented England’s endurance of Chinese insults and of the emperor’s close-minded and putatively arbitrary interference with commerce. Amitav Ghosh picks up on the evangelical tone of these articles’ indignation, weaving into the narrative of his recent novel *Sea of Poppies* (2008) a rather chilling quote attributed to John Bowring, a good friend of Jeremy Bentham and Lord Byron, as well as a co-editor of the *Westminster Review* and the British Consul at Canton for four years beginning in 1849, and fourth governor of Hong Kong (1854–59).⁵ While campaigning in 1841 to be a member of parliament for Bolton, Bowring summed up his moral claim in the stunning chiasmus: “Jesus Christ is Free Trade, and Free Trade is Jesus Christ.”⁶

President John Quincy Adams also dipped his hand into the fount of biblical adage to justify the British war on China. In an 1841 speech to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which Brantz Mayer later quoted from its republication in Elijah Bridgman’s *The Chinese Repository*, Adams declared: “The moral obligation of commercial intercourse between nations is founded, exclusively, upon the Christian precept to love your neighbor as yourself.”⁷ Seeming deeply concerned with violations of the Christian law, Adams perceives China to be a diabolical adversary whose “enormous outrages upon the rights of human nature, and upon the first principle of the rights of nations,” lead to the damning conclusion: “the fundamental principle of the Chinese empire is anti-commercial.”⁸ However, as Siping He argues in his essay in this

volume on the American firm Russell & Company, the phrase the “imperialism of free trade” more fittingly describes the political and economic mode to which China was reacting.⁹

Today, how should we react to these caricatures of China and the Christian nations of the United States and Great Britain? We might begin with the word *stereotype* itself, which developed from early nineteenth-century print technologies of image reproduction, whereby printers stamped out a metal plate from the plaster mould of an engraved wooden block. These metal plates were more durable than the wooden forme, but they also sacrificed the engraving’s clarity. By mid-century, about the time that Mayer invited future historians to describe China by merely copying pictures of its “coasts and canals” (see this introduction’s epigraph), the English term *stereotype* was beginning to connote the limiting effect of preconceptions on our abilities to perceive the world.¹⁰ Generalizations may be necessary in coping with life’s complexity, but they potentially settle into a deceptively solid foundation of prejudice.

Looking over the centuries of textual materials printed in Europe after Marco Polo’s thirteenth-century travels and before the existence of the United States, China seems to promise fantastic but elusive wealth, the pursuit of which fueled the imaginations of Christopher Columbus and many other fifteenth-century imperial explorers who embarked under the flags of Catholic kings. In the first half the of the sixteenth century, Portugal was the first to establish a foothold in China, even as the Chinese relegated them to Macao, which was geographically positioned to be a key site from which to regulate the traffic up the Pearl River Delta; the Jesuit missionaries Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci lived in Macao and composed the first Chinese-Portuguese dictionary. Ricci eventually traveled to Peking (Beijing), where he worked for decades before his death in 1610. In the seventeenth century, after the fall of the Ming Dynasty and rise of the Qing, and as various Jesuit priests continued to publish about China from Peking, European financiers and traders set their course for Canton. The royally chartered East India Companies of Austria, Denmark, England, Estonia, France, Portugal, Prussia, Scotland, and Sweden as well as the Dutch United East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or VOC) established a global mercantilist system that swelled the coffers of banks and busied the workshops of Europe.¹¹

By the eighteenth century, China still did not have much interest in Western goods although the extraordinary profitability of tea continued to draw many Western traders to China. In order to regulate the European expectation of

trade, the Qing Dynasty instituted in the 1760s the “Canton System” that quarantined Europeans to a specific zone outside the walls of Guangdong Province’s port city of Guangzhou.¹² In this zone, all trade was administered by thirteen Chinese merchant organizations called *Cohongs* to whom the emperor had granted exclusive privileges of transacting with foreigners.¹³

In the city of Canton and the quarantine zone, fires were frequent and feared occurrences. In 1822, the foreign factories burned nearly to the ground. Figure I.1 is a retrospective picture of what the factory buildings in Canton looked like before another devastating fire in 1856 consumed the entire factory area and prompted their relocation to Honam Island and eventually to an area on Shamian Island.¹⁴ In the days of the Canton trading system, *Cohongs* rented the buildings to the countries of France, the United States, and Sweden, whose flags fly in front.

The rules governing Westerners’ presence in this space were strict. All foreign women were banned, as was the teaching of Chinese to foreigners. The sale of opium was prohibited by law, making smuggling a very lucrative practice that was facilitated by an unofficial headquarters on Lintin Island and by trading companies quartered in the Portuguese-controlled city of Macao, about 120 miles (195 kilometers) down the Pearl River. Under this Canton arrangement, the market in tea worked greatly to Chinese advantage. Hong merchants such as the immensely wealthy Howqua leveraged European demand into massive transfers of silver specie, exacting a heavy toll on Western stores of the precious metal. Even when silver was in especially short supply, the Hong merchants managed to control the market for tea by extending credit in notes underwritten by promises to pay in silver.

Opium helped Britain to shift this commercial balance of power and lessen the dependence on silver. With their late eighteenth-century colonial control of India they established the “Country Trade” by which the East India Company and an increasing number of private traders shipped Indian products to China, generating a paper-based system of exchange in Canton that was facilitated by London banks. The most powerful of England’s colonial products from India was opium, with which the British company began to saturate the Chinese market in the nineteenth century. Although in 1729 the Qing emperor had issued an imperial decree banning the trade of opium, by the early nineteenth century, there were highly developed networks in place to smuggle the drug and facilitate its lucrative traffic.¹⁵ In this context, the idea of “free trade” had very little to do with mutual respect or mutual benefit

among those participating in a shared market. Instead, those who claimed freedoms to trade demanded that no restriction be placed on them in their attempt to traffic whatever it was that they wanted to sell.

In the very year that the North American colonies declared their independence from England, insisting on their rights of direct trade unfettered by mercantilist restriction, Adam Smith offered in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) what has become the classical description of liberal economic sentiment.¹⁶ He theorized, in language that has endured, the aggregate benefit of individual participants' pursuits of economic self-interest. In describing China, Smith marvels at the wealth that agriculture has brought to the empire, which, he writes:

has been long one of the richest, that is, one of the most fertile, best cultivated, most industrious, and most populous countries in the world. It seems, however, to have been long stationary. Marco Polo, who visited it more than five hundred years ago, describes its cultivation, industry, and populousness, almost in the same terms in which they are described by travelers in the present times. It had perhaps, even long before his time, acquired that full complement of riches which the nature of its laws and institutions permits it to acquire.¹⁷

In representing China as "stationary," Smith sets up an allegory of what happens without free trade. It goes something like this: China's despotic ruler artificially confines the country's prodigious wealth to circulating in a closed system of imperial tributaries that ought rather to flow into the economic channels forged and agitated by more enterprising nations of Christendom. Smith finds it "remarkable, that neither the ancient Egyptians, nor the Indians, nor the Chinese, encouraged foreign commerce, but seem all to have derived their great opulence from this inland navigation."¹⁸ To Smith, China exemplifies a relatively primitive agrarian plan, framed by "several great rivers" that "form, by their different branches, a multitude of canals, and, by communicating with one another, afford an inland navigation much more extensive than that either of the Nile or the Ganges, or, perhaps of both of them put together."¹⁹ It is difficult not to read into Smith's description an implicit encouragement for the private investors of the world's nations to open lines of commercial navigation and thus communicate their way through what Mayer calls in the epigraph the "tideless oozing of Chinese life."

As John Rogers Haddad argues in his contribution to this volume, the China Trade inspired the imagination of many Americans in the decades after

the Revolutionary War; and yet, within the contemporary field of American Studies and literature, China's influence on the early United States seems underappreciated.²⁰ In the field of historical studies, scholars have had much to say about the fundamental and formative influences of the China Trade on the development of the United States.²¹ Sydney Greenbie and Marjorie Barstow Greenbie averred in *Gold of Ophir; or, The Lure that Made America* (1925) that "the trade with the Orient [*sic*] is one of two great economic facts of the history of the United States between the Revolution and the Civil War, the other fact being the development and westward extension of negro [*sic*] slavery."²² To these two economic facts, we might add a third, of the nation's systematic removal and quarantine of Native peoples in the development of a Far West beckoning in the wake of the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and the United States' war on Mexico (1846–48).

Whereas Mayer's notion of the stereotype borders on ridiculousness, it affords us an opportunity to consider the underappreciated role of China in the "imaginative geography" of American national development.²³ As a young man in 1827, Mayer had traveled to Canton to ply the China Trade and earn his "competency," enough capital with which to establish himself comfortably as a gentleman in Maryland.²⁴ He did not stay long, returning to study at the University of Maryland and to practice law in Baltimore. In 1841, he signed on as the secretary of the United States legation to Mexico, an experience that inspired him to write *Mexico as It Was and as it Is* (1844) and the *History of the War between Mexico and the United States, with a Preliminary of its Origin* (1848), tomes in which he argued that the war against Mexico was unfortunate but would, just like the tough love expressed by England in the Opium War, prove ultimately civilizing and beneficial.

Mayer's article "China and the Chinese" makes clear that the "economic facts" of the nineteenth-century China Trade are bound up with the belief that the United States was rising to international prominence in what we might call a national romance of free trade.²⁵ In Mayer's article, China appears as a third point of cultural reference in charting America's rise, thus turning the conventional formula of double-exceptional distinctiveness (whereby America realizes a cultural continuity by distinguishing itself from Europe and Native America), into a formula of triple-exceptionalism. Mayer's brand of triple-exceptionalism juxtaposes the related (but ultimately different) civilizing forces of England and the United States against two different styles of Chinese and Native American savagery. In marveling at the long

duration of the Chinese Empire, Mayer quotes an article entitled “War with China, and the Opium Question” that had appeared in the British Tory magazine *Blackwood’s* in March 1840, just before the Opium War. In the article, Alfred Mallalieu claims that China “alone, has stood firm, immovable, permanent, for thousands of years—scarcely ruffled by dynastic changes, giving the law even to its Mantchew [sic] emperors, who wisely merged the claims of conquest in those of adoption, and sank their own nationality in that of the vast country, pure, homogeneous, unmixed, and uncontaminated alone of all the earth, in its people and lineage.”²⁶ Mayer goes on to recognize in China’s “permanent character” a profound durability expressed in historical narrative (they have existed during all remembered time) and captured in literal textual representation by Western traders, travelers and missionaries (images of China will exist forever). Against China’s incredible power of sustentative assimilation Mayer contrasts North America’s “powerful red tribes” that have ostensibly vanished; he eulogizes the “red tribes” for whom we search “the modern atlas [...] in vain: while China alone remains the stereotyped impression of every map, and the enduring monument of every age. She alone substantially connects all the various and ever-varying phases of the past with the present, from all time unchanging, as still unchanged herself, amidst change and revolution all around her.”

Put in the context of the impending United States aggression against Mexico (a country that wavers in Mayer’s account between European degeneracy and American savagery), the stereotypic figures of the Chinese and tribes of red men are more similar than they might first appear. Both stereotypes are fixed points of reference for Mayer’s national American reader, whom he asks to appreciate the Mexican War as righteous territorial expansion and virtuous cultural development of the United States. The red savages have fallen out of time and the Chinese barbarians have risen above it, but both are out of the bounds in which the contractual time of the free trading market advances a national romance. Whereas the barbaric and savage peoples are frozen in stereotype, the United States moves through time like a developing character in a sequential narrative that plots the rise of a nation whose dynamic borders cannot be fixed in any single stereotyped map. One assumes that only a continuous series of maps would approximate the nation’s spatial extension of postcolonial (i.e. post-British) self-realization. In this context, it makes sense that Mayer freezes in a paradoxical sense of time both the Chinese and tribes of red men whose communal story is over,

relegated to the past while remaining fully and eternally accessible to present American readers as they gauge a future course of national progress in reference to the manifested truth of Mayer's printed stereotypes.²⁷

It could go without saying that the rhetorically eternal Chinese Empire and the evanescent red man have little to convey about any actual Chinese or Native people, and much to imply about Mayer's own tangle of professed confidence in, and underlying anxiety over, the instability of his own rapidly transforming country. Consider that his article appeared in the *Southern Quarterly Review* published in Charlestown, South Carolina, which in twelve years would be a treasonous state bound to others in the Southern Confederacy. Consider too that the seemingly confident narrative voice of Mayer's 1847 article depends on fusing citations from the Scottish Tory publication *Blackwood's* with quotes by President Quincy Adams from a speech delivered to the Massachusetts Historical Society and later reprinted in *The Chinese Repository*. The Civil War proves the precarious nature of Mayer's linkages across the contested geographies of putative free trade, suggesting his romance of American exceptionalism is more akin to a tangle of political compromise formations than the documentation of historical fact.

Nevertheless, even instances of stereotypical thinking as reductive as Mayer's are part of social contexts in which those peoples ostensibly frozen as stereotype were actually active agents in an unfolding relationship. In appreciative reconsideration of Edward Said's characterizations of Orientalism, Arif Dirlik emphasizes the relational nature of Western depictions of the Oriental Other in order to recover the ways in which Western fantasies were influenced and shaped by the experience of engagement. In proposing a key term for this style of relational thinking, Dirlik suggests Mary Louise Pratt's notion of "transculturation," whereby the "contact zone" is "not merely a zone of domination" but also a "zone of exchange, even if it is unequal exchange."²⁸ In this relational model, the interpretative concern is not simply to debunk stereotypes or to condemn their injustice. Instead, as the essays in this collection show, the goal becomes to think carefully about the relationships behind the stereotypes—relationships unfolding in contact zones too easily reduced in the romance of American expansion to the phrases the *Far East* and the *Far West*. If we pursue a more culturally dialogic sense of the past, we can continue to consider the perspective of Chinese merchants, government officials, and the wide variety of Chinese people participating in and affected by the Canton Trade. As our eyes continue to pass over many of the

same literally stereotyped books and journals that were available to Mayer, it is safe to say that we are interested in the commercial networks and social relationships behind the nineteenth-century copies representing “China,” the “United States,” “Great Britain,” and “free trade.”

First Impressions

Where might we begin the story of Sino-American encounters? In the early days of the United States, China was a tangle of psychic energy in the American imagination, and it is difficult to designate a *first* American to record his or her impression of China during or after the American Revolutionary War. One can only muse over the moments when North American British colonists trading in Canton (Guangzhou) or serving on ships anchored off Macao might have relinquished their affection for a particular colony (i.e., Pennsylvania or New York or Massachusetts) and acknowledged, let alone embraced, the early federal affiliation offered by the Articles of Confederation (1781–88) and the Constitution (ratified 1788). As indicated by the title of James Fichter’s recent *So Great a Proffit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-American Capitalism* (2010), it makes little sense to consider the United States’ involvement in the China Trade apart from the United States’ relationship to England. Most of the Americans highlighted in this collection were rather anxious about their own financial and cultural standing. For those Americans who took pride in a culturally American distinctiveness, Britain seems an abiding point of reference, whether for the dominance of the British East India Company and the Royal Navy or for the influential precedence of Britain’s diplomatic etiquette and putatively refined standards of social courtesy.

By emphasizing the roles and professions of the China Trade, the eminent twentieth-century historian John K. Fairbank provides a broad outline of how we might see these first Americans. He presents three kinds:

First to arrive was the merchant, who tried out what he could do on the foreign shores, and then, particularly if the merchant got into trouble, the naval diplomat, a captain or a commodore with a warship who provided a little gunboat diplomacy to help out the merchant. The missionary followed along behind, seizing the opportunity to try to improve the local people’s spiritual welfare.²⁹

The bibliography to this volume is not comprehensive but does suggest the wealth of primary documents and the historical scholarship concerning Americans' impressions of China. The most sustained account of the United States' first decade comes from Samuel Shaw, the supercargo of the first successful round-trip voyage to Canton aboard the *Empress of China* in 1784. Although not recognized as an official diplomat by the Qing government in China, Shaw was appointed by the United States to be the nation's first consul at Canton. His impressions did not become widely available until the 1847 publication of his posthumously edited memoir, *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton, with a Life of the Author by Josiah Quincy* (1847), which the second essay in this collection considers.

In 1790, a ship owned by Shaw named the *Massachusetts* carried to China Amasa Delano, another early American who recorded his observations in *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres: Comprising Three Voyages Round the World; Together with a Voyage of Survey and Discovery, in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental Islands* (1817). The earliest American accounts also include Connecticut-born John Ledyard, who embarked on Captain James Cook's third voyage in July of 1776; Ledyard landed in Macao in December 1779 after Cook's demise, and he returned to England in October 1780.³⁰ Ledyard subsequently advocated the fur trade and helped to inspire the Boston merchant John Barrell who, with five other investors, planned and financed two early voyages, one in the late 1780s and a second in the early 1790s.³¹ In June 1787, Thomas Reid captained to Canton the *Alliance*, the ship of John Barry's Revolutionary War heroics.³² In January 1788, Commodore John Barry, the "father of the American navy" himself, embarked for China as the "commander of the merchant ship *Asia*," and returned to Philadelphia in June 1789.³³ American voyages to China subsequently became more numerous.

As the nineteenth century began, private traders such as Samuel Snow, the more successful John Jacob Astor, Stephen Girard, Samuel Russell, and other many other financiers based in New England, New York, and Philadelphia amassed fortunes in the China Trade, particularly through direct opium dealing or indirect facilitation of its traffic.³⁴ In *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784-1844* (1997), Jacques Downs documents the rise of American trading companies such as Perkins & Company, J. P. Sturgis & Company, Russell &

Co., Olyphant & Co., Nathan Dunn & Co., Wetmore & Co., and others. As the essay by Paul A. Van Dyke considers, whereas the British East India Company was a monopoly operation that established a vast global network centered in its trade with China, the new breed of United States private traders worked on a smaller scale and on a different model, incorporating themselves under state jurisdiction as private companies or firms without either a monopoly advantage or any particular obligations to the federal government.³⁵ In these private company enterprises, a single person or small group of owners held the responsibilities of management, supervision of cargo, and the captaincy of the ships; this left little time for meticulous bookkeeping.

Some of the earliest ethnographic accounts of China penned by Americans emerge from those working with the private companies and firms in Canton and Macao. William Wood was an early influential American writer from Philadelphia who worked in Canton with Russell & Company. Not only did he publish the illustrated *Sketches of China: With Illustration from Original Drawings* (1830) but wrote for, edited, and published two early newspapers, the *Canton Register* in 1827 and, in 1831, the *Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette*.³⁶ Later in the century, Wood's more senior merchant contemporaries, such as Gideon Nye and William C. Hunter, published their accounts of life in Canton and Macao.

In the late 1820s, the American Christian missionaries David Abeel and Elijah C. Bridgman arrived. Sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and the Seamen's Friends Society, the two were also funded by the Philadelphia-based merchant W. D. C. Olyphant and, by their accounts, warmly greeted and supported by the British missionary and sinologist Dr Robert Morrison, who had arrived in 1807. In 1834, Abeel published his *Journal of a Residence in China, and the Neighboring Countries, from 1829 to 1833* (1834) with the stated objective being "to inform the Christian world of the state of these heathen countries."³⁷ Bridgman started the influential newspaper *The Chinese Repository* and worked to translate the Bible into Chinese. The missionary Samuel Wells Williams arrived in Canton in 1833. He worked in China for forty years, taking over the editorial duties of *The Chinese Repository* from Bridgman in the late 1840s, developing diplomatic relationships with China in the 1850s and 1860s, composing an English-Cantonese dictionary and other Chinese dictionaries; when Commodore Matthew C. Perry followed his naval victories

in Mexico with his expedition to Japan, he enlisted Williams as his translator.³⁸ In 1877, Yale University appointed Williams the first professor of Chinese Language and Literature in the United States.

To Fairbanks's list, one should add American women who have left a treasure trove of written impressions. Because China banned all foreign women from Canton, the wives, daughters, and nieces of traders spent the majority of their time living in Macao. As Rogério Miguel Puga outlines in his contribution to this volume on the journals of Caroline Hyde Butler, these women's diaries and correspondence document social life at the international crossroads of Macao. The first American woman whose writings we have is Harriett Low (1809–77). She was born into a Unitarian family in Salem, Massachusetts, and at the age of twenty she took the four-month journey to China, where she lived for four years with her aunt and uncle in Macao in the early 1830s; she even sneaked into Canton for a short visit. From 1829 to 1834, as her uncle worked for Russell & Company, Low wrote nine volumes, sending them across oceans to her sister Mary Ann Law, who was living in the United States.³⁹ In addition to Low's volumes, there are writings by Lucy Cleveland, Rebecca Kinsman, Caroline Hyde Butler Laing, Mary Parry Sword, Eliza Bridgman and Henrietta Hall Shuck, the first woman from the United States to be a missionary to China.⁴⁰ Shuck died in Hong Kong in 1844, and her "Memoir," compiled by J. B. Jeter, was published posthumously in 1850.

As Brantz Mayer's article demonstrates, the abiding British influence helped shape the commercial and social life of Americans in Canton proper, and the Opium War marked a critical point of transformation in the United States China Trade. When Commissioner Lin Zexu (林則徐; 1785–1850) arrived with orders to enforce the emperor's long-standing prohibition on the opium trading in Guangdong, he shut down the factories at Canton, confiscating and destroying opium. England reacted to the confrontation with escalating rounds of aggression that resulted in the First Opium War (1839–42).⁴¹ With their technologically superior naval ships powered by steam and their capacity to inflict destruction with virtually unrivalled artillery, they destroyed the system of checkpoints through which China had managed the Canton Trade. At the war's conclusion, England negotiated the Treaty of Nanjing (1842) that forced China to open officially four more trading ports (Xiamen, Shanghai, Ningpo, Fuzhou), to give up Victoria (Hong Kong) to British possession "in perpetuity," to pay a stinging reparation of \$21 million, and to abide by the legal condition of extraterritoriality by which

English subjects would be judged under British law for any crimes committed on Chinese soil.

The Americans followed suit and dispatched their “envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary” Caleb Cushing (1800–79), a Massachusetts congressman who chaired the US House Committee on Foreign Affairs. He was appointed by President John Tyler and negotiated with the imperial representative Qiying (耆英; 1787–1858) in a process that Yeewan Koon considers in this volume.⁴² Although China had already extended the terms of the British treaty to the United States before Cushing’s arrival, he went through with the negotiations in order to emphasize the sovereignty and demonstrate the military resolve of the United States. The result was the Treaty of Wangxia (1844). At the Temple of Kun Ian, outside the walls of Portuguese-controlled Macao, Cushing formally secured terms comparable to those of the British treaty. The Treaty of Wangxia echoed the Treaty of Nanjing in many respects, opening the four additional ports explicitly to the United States, although the treaty did not annex any land or demand an indemnity or a ransom. In its Article 22, the treaty secures peace, amity, and friendship in the guarantee that the United States will be able to “trade freely to and from the five ports of China open to foreign commerce.”⁴³ This treaty also insisted on the condition of extraterritoriality, except in the case of Americans caught smuggling opium, the trade of which the treaty designated as illegal. However, with the premise of extraterritoriality in place, the Treaty of Wangxia’s ostensible prohibition of the opium trade was purposefully and practically unenforceable. As Teemu Ruskola has argued, Cushing justified the condition of extraterritoriality by limiting the principles of international law to Christian nations, a group from which he disqualified China.⁴⁴ On his route back to the United States, Cushing continued his circumnavigation of the earth by traveling through Mexico, where he would return within two years as a brigadier general to fight in the Mexican–American War. China again registers as a crucial point of reference in the United States’ supposed manifest destiny across North America.

For American China traders, as the historians Hosea Morse Ballou and W.E. Cheong have documented, the Cohongs in Canton were major power brokers before the Opium War. As intermediaries between the foreign traders and the imperial government, they managed a vast global network of commercial transactions that generated fabulous wealth. In this collection, May-bo Ching focuses on the styles of Cohong diplomacy that centered

on food banquets. By asking straightforward questions such as “What kind of knowledge did the Chinese cooks and servants possess for entertaining foreign guests?” Ching derives deep insight into “What kind of impact might this material cultural exchange have left on Canton in the subsequent years?” It is important to realize how the geographical and cultural divides between China and the United States were simultaneously challenged and maintained across vast distances. For example, Howqua’s collaboration with John Murray Forbes of Russell & Company continued after Forbes returned to the United States to pursue railroad development in 1836. Howqua “sent nearly half a million in surplus capital to invest in American enterprises” with Forbes.⁴⁵

The final two essays in the collection consider the period after the United States Civil War. Paul Bové reconsiders the Open Door Policy through which Secretary of State John Hay was able to negotiate international agreement among the world’s naval superpowers to not encroach on China’s territory and to maintain the openness of China’s treaty ports to all nations. In *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918), the eponymously entitled book by President John Quincy Adams’s grandson, Henry Adams appreciates his good friend John Hay for understanding that the rising power of the United States depends on an agitating energy that is bound up with cycles of power that exceed the bounds of any individual nation-state. Looking to China as the eventual center of world order, Adams and Hay saw the interests of the United States served best by maintaining China as an open field through which to project the commercial influence of the United States. The historiography of free trade becomes much more complex as Adams and Hay see in China’s rise to world prominence a way to sustain a romance of American trade that is not reducible to interests of the governing state.

In the collection’s final essay, the focus pivots to suggest the cultural importance of Chinese immigration from Guangdong to the United States. Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce and Yedan Huang consider the cultural impact of the Chinese religious practices based in Tianhou (天后) or Mazu (Matsu, Ma-Tsu, Machor, 妈祖) in the United States. They take a long view that approaches the subject of American–Chinese encounters through the development of Tianhou in the early Northern Song Dynasty (ca.960–1127) and traces its expanding network throughout the world to its eventual impact on the formation of San Francisco. In consideration of this diasporic religious practice and the corresponding life experience of Chinese-Americans, the legacy of trade in China takes on dimensions that are fundamentally transnational in

shaping the history and cultural identity of the United States. Kuah-Pearce and Huang suggest that the national terms (American and Chinese), through which this collection frames the theme of free trade, are themselves inadequate to sensing the force of religious practices that permeated the region of Guangdong in the centuries before and after Western presence. Their essay also suggests that the “United States” has been impressed fundamentally by a religious experience whose sense of commerce and kinship is not reducible to the axioms of Adam Smith.

There is an old saying that “you never get a second chance to make a first impression.” But, in a sense, each generation of writers seems to receive and to revise its own version of a first impression in the process of selecting, assembling, and interpreting its archive of investigation. At the very least, this collaborative essay collection expresses hope that as scholars and human beings we will continue to cultivate ways of sharing senses of the past that build a better way into the future.

Notes

Introduction

1. Brantz Mayer, "China and the Chinese," *Southern Quarterly Review* 12.23 (July 1847): 6.
2. ———, 48. Mayer is quoting from John Quincy Adams, "December 1841, Lecture on the War with China, Delivered before the Massachusetts Historical Society," *Chinese Repository* 11.5 (May 1842): 274–89.
3. John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review* 6.1 (1953): 1–15.
4. Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy, the Empire of Free Trade and Imperialism, 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).
5. Elizabeth Malcolm, "The Chinese Repository and Western Literature on China 1800 to 1850," *Modern Asia Studies* 7.2 (1972): 168.
6. David Todd, "John Bowring and the Global Dissemination of Free Trade," *The Historical Journal* 51.2 (2008): 385.
7. Adams, 277.
8. ———, 281.
9. American involvement in the opium trade is well documented (Fairbanks 1953; Goldstein 1978; Downs 1997); Michael Greenberg notes that, because of the British monopoly on India, Americans trucked "Turkey opium from Smyrna (in practice generally imported *ex bond* from London)" (108). See Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–42* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).
10. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) traces the English word *stereotype* to the French *stéréotype*, which derives from the Greek components *stereo-*, meaning solid, and *-type*, from the root of the word meaning to beat or to strike. The OED records the first usage of the word in the 1798 *Annual Chronicle Register; or a View of the History and Politics of the Year* in an article announcing the "new discovery in printing." In an interesting echo of the points of reference in this introductory essay, the OED traces the first figurative usage as "something continued or constantly repeated without change; a stereotyped phrase, formula, etc.; stereotyped

diction or usage” to William H. Prescott’s *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1850), as quoted in George Ticknor’s *Life of William Hickling Prescott* (1864).

The related meaning of *cliché* followed later, at the end of the century. The French word for a stereotype block is *cliché*, originally the past participle of *clicher*, a variant of *cliquer* and “applied by die-sinkers to the striking of melted lead in order to obtain a proof or cast.” The OED finds the first literal English usage in Charles Babbage’s *The Economy of Manufacturers* (1832) and the figurative usage as “a stereotyped expression, a commonplace phrase” in the December 1892 issue of *Longman’s Magazine*, in an article by the Scottish historian and poet Andrew Lang.

11. The VOC obtained its charter not from a king or queen but from the States-General of the Dutch Republic on March 20, 1620. See Leonard Blussé, *Visible Cities: Canton, Nagasaki, and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).
12. Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong University Press, 2005).
13. There is evidence, however, of an extensive network of informal trade, junk trade, and smuggling; see Van Dyke.
14. See Peter C. Perdue, “Rise & Fall of the Canton Trade System – III, Canton & Hong Kong,” http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/rise_fall_canton_03/index.html, MIT Visualizing Cultures, (accessed May 23, 2011).
15. On the impact of opium in China, see Yangwen Zheng, *The Social Life of Opium in China*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and, Hsin-pao Chang, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).
16. On the impact of Adam Smith’s writings on the young American nation in the 1780s and 1790s and, specifically, on John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, see Samuel Fleischacker, “Adam Smith’s Reception among the American Founders, 1776–1790,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59.4 (October 2002): Fleischacker argues that the founders read Smith closely and did not reduce him to the slogans of “free trade” by which Smith’s theories would be foreshortened in the nineteenth century.
17. Adam Smith, *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776; New York: Prometheus Books, 1991).
18. ———, 28.
19. ———, 9.
20. See K. Scott Wong, “The Transformation of Culture: Three Chinese Views of America,” *American Quarterly* 48.2 (June 1996): 201–32.
21. The historical work on the China Trade is vast. In affording the basis for this introduction’s overview, most important have been work by Jonathan Goldstein, Jacques Downs, Paul A. Van Dyke, John Haddad, P.C.E. Smith, John M. Belohlavek, John Fairbanks, Michael H. Hunt, George Souza, Leonard Blussé, and James R. Fichter.

As for the precedent of historical work on the China Trade, the work of Hosea Ballou Morse is perhaps the most influential in providing accounts of how the system of trade functioned. To trace a scholarly thread through twentieth-century work, please note James Callahan (1907), Kenneth Latourette (1917), Tyler Dennett (1922), Sydney and Marjorie Barstow Greenbie (1925), Foster Rhea Dulles (1930), George Danton (1931), Michael Greenberg (1957), Walter Cohen (1971), Margaret Christman (1984), and A. Owen Aldridge (1993).

22. Sydney and Marjorie Barstow Greenbie, *Gold of Ophir; or The Lure that Made America* (1925; New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937), xiii.
23. Edward Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered," in *Literature, Politics and Theory: Papers from the Essex Conference, 1976–84*, ed. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen, and Diana Loxley (London: Methuen, 1986), 211.
24. For definition of "competency" and its distinction from "affluence," see James R. Fichter, *So Great a Proffit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-American Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 116–8.
25. The romance of free trade was not limited to the nineteenth century. In *American Diplomacy in the Orient* (1903), the prominent late nineteenth-century diplomat John Watson Foster looks back over the previous century to characterize the United States as a civilizing force in Asia. Foster served in the Mexican–American War (as had Brantz Mayer) and in the Union Army during the United States Civil War, after which he became an influential United States diplomat in Europe, South America, and Asia. At the end of the First Sino–Chinese War (1894–95), Foster was the American advisor to General Li Hongzhang (李鴻章), the powerful viceroy of Beijing who brokered a costly end to the conflict with Japan (Vol. 4, p. 161). Consider Foster's following characterization as it seemingly echoes the sentiments of Mayer and President Adams:

"The people of the United States of America, as soon as they had achieved their independence in 1783, manifested a notable spirit of commercial maritime adventure. Within two years after peace was secured the flag of the new nation had been carried by American ships into all the waters of the globe. When they reached the Pacific Ocean in quest of avenues of trade, they found almost all the ports of Asia closed against them. Within the brief lifetime of this young nation, a great transformation has been wrought in that region of the globe, which is vitally affecting the political and commercial relations of many nations. In this transformation the United States has borne a conspicuous and honorable part" (1).

Foster goes on to credit the "government of the United States" with "bringing [the Orient] out of their seclusion and opening them up to commercial and political intercourse with the outside world" (2). In this narrative of national development, the United States joins the civilized Christian cultures of the West in competitive enterprise and industry as each nation pursues its own self-interests. Foster's appreciation of American distinctiveness gauges the degree to which the nation has opened up the disrespectfully recalcitrant patriarch to

- commercial intercourse. See John W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1903).
26. Mayer, 1.
On Mallalieu, Margaret Oliphant writes “apparently editor, or at least principle contributor, of various London papers, dating his letter from one newspaper office after another, and apparently also engaged in official work of some description in connection with the Foreign Office. His special department was politics and political economy, and his pretension to superior knowledge were very high” (Vol. 2, p. 201). On Mallalieu’s political views and reputation, see Margaret Oliphant (“Mrs. Oliphant”), *Annals of a Publishing House: William Blackwood and His Sons, Their Magazine and Friends*, 3 vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1897), Vol. 2, 201–5.
 27. Consider Edward Said’s more general description of Orientalism: “From roughly the end of the eighteenth century, when in its age, distance and richness the Orient was rediscovered by Europe, its history had been a paradigm of antiquity and originality, functions that drew Europe’s interests in acts of recognition or acknowledgement but *from* which Europe moved as its own industrial, economic and cultural development seemed to leave the Orient far behind. Oriental history—for Hegel, for Marx, later for Burkhardt, Nietzsche, Spengler and other major philosophers of history—was useful in portraying a region of great age, and what had to be left behind. Literary historians have further noted in all sorts of aesthetic writing and plastic portrayals that a trajectory of ‘westerling,’ found for example in Keats and Hölderin, customarily saw the Orient as ceding its historical pre-eminence and importance to the world spirit moving westwards from Asia and towards Europe” (“Orientalism Reconsidered,” 215).
 28. Arif Dirlik, “Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism,” in *Genealogies of Orientalism: History, Theory, Politics*, ed. Edmund Burke III and David Prochaska (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 401.
 29. John K. Fairbank, *Chinese-American Interactions: A Historical Summary* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1975), 12.
 30. See John Ledyard, *The Last Voyage of Captain Cook: The Collected Writings of John Ledyard*, ed. James Zug (Washington DC: National Geographic Society, 2005). As Zug explains, John Ledyard’s *A Journal of Captain Cook’s Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (New Haven: CT, 1783) was crucial to early attempts to secure copyright protection when Ledyard secured from the Connecticut Assembly a fourteen-year guarantee of sole rights of publication. Zug regards this as ironic, charging that Ledyard’s book is “marred by plagiarism,” particularly from an account of Cook’s first voyage published by John Hawkesworth (see bibliography) and from the anonymously published *Journal of Captain Cook’s Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean on Discovery; Performed in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779* (1781). In 1921, Frederick W. Howay attributed authorship of this text to John Rickman, a British Lieutenant aboard Cook’s ship *Resolution* (Zug, p. xxii). However, Zug’s charge of “plagiarism” overlooks the printing conventions of the era when the

precise nature of authorial proprietorship was being formulated, and many books appeared anonymously and were published by multiple printers. Ledyard's letter to the Connecticut Assembly was a bid for control over rights of republication and not necessarily a claim of originality.

31. In the late 1780s, the *Columbia Rediviva* and *Lady Washington* embarked from Boston en route to Cape Horn and Nootka Sound on the Northwest Coast and then on to Canton. In the early 1790s, the *Columbia* performed the voyage again. The first voyage, lasting from 1787 to 1790, included both the *Columbia* and the *Washington*. The ships embarked on September 1787, to collect furs throughout the Northwest Coast and eventually split up. The *Lady Washington* arrived in China on January 26, 1790, where its captain, John Kendrick, altered it and sold it. Only the *Columbia*, under the command of John Gray, returned to Boston on August 17, 1790. On the second voyage that began in September 1790, John Gray captained the *Columbia* to the Northwest Coast of North America, where he negotiated with the Native peoples for furs before proceeding to China. He returned to Boston on June 29, 1793. Frederick Howay's *Voyages of the Columbia to the Northwest Coast 1787–1790 & 1790–1793* collects the journals and logs of these voyages. Howay also notes that the first United States ship to engage in “maritime trade on the Northwest Coast” with a destination in Canton may have been the *Eleanora*, which arrived in Canton on August 12, 1788; there is no paper trail to that voyage (x).
32. Martin I. J. Griffin, *Commodore John Barry, Father of the American Navy: The Record of His Services for Our Country* (published by the author: Philadelphia, 1903), 259.
33. ———, 276–7.
34. On the full extent of American companies dealing in opium, see Jacques Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1997). Fichter (2010) includes Elias Derby (pp. 132–5) of Salem, and William Bingham (pp. 136–8) of Philadelphia among the merchants who made fortunes (often precarious ones) from the Indies trade.
35. On the distinctive logic behind the development of United States corporations of this period, see Chapter 10 (“American Capital and Corporations”) of Fichter's *So Great a Proffit* (2010), especially pages 254–7.
36. David Shavit, *The United States in Asia: A Historical Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 537–38.
37. David Abeel, *Journal of a Residence in China, and the Neighboring Countries, from 1829 to 1833* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1834), 7.
38. Samuel Wells Williams became the first Chair of Chinese Language and Literature at Yale University, where he and son, Frederick, who became a professor of modern Oriental history also at Yale, revised *The Middle Kingdom*, first published as two volumes in 1847 (Haddad 25). The missionary foundations of Chinese studies at Yale are evident in the early twentieth-century scholarship of

- Kenneth Scott Latourette, on the faculty of the Yale Divinity School, who wrote on China and the history of Christianity, and who served as president of the American Historical Association in 1948.
39. The most complete edition of Low's letters is Hodges and Hummel, 2002. Harriett's daughter Katherine Hilliard edited her mother's letters to publish *My Mother's Journal: A Young Lady's Diary of Five Years Spent in Manila, Macau, and the Cape of Good Hope from 1829–1834* (1900). This edition was greatly abbreviated and filtered by Low's daughter. There is another version, edited by Elma Loines: *The China Trade Post-Bag of the Seth Low Family of Salem and New York* (1953). Also, Rosmarie W. N. Lamas has recently published an account of Low's life in Macao by editing Low's letters and journals; see *Everything in Style: Harriett Low's Macau* (Hong Kong University Press, 2006). For more on Low, see Puga 2002, 2003.
 40. Lucy Cleveland accompanied her husband on his trading voyages throughout Asia. In 1829, she lived in Macao and was a friend of Harriett Low. Her journal and sketchbook are held at the Peabody Essex Museum. For more on Cleveland, see Puga 2007. Mary Parry Sword accompanied to Macao her husband, John Dorsey Sword. She resided in Macao from 1841 until her death in 1845. Her letters are held in the Sword family papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Rebecca Kinsman accompanied her husband to Macao in 1843 and lived there with her niece and two daughters until 1847. For more on Kinsman, see Puga 2004, 2006, 2008.
 41. See Hsin-pao Chang, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964) and Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War 1840–1842: Barbarians in the Celestial Empire in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century and the War by Which They Forced Her Gates Ajar* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).
 42. John M. Belohlavek, *Broken Glass: Caleb Cushing and the Shattering of the Union* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2005), 163.
 43. David Hunter Miller, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931–34), Vol. 4, 566.
 44. Teemu Ruskola, "Canton Is Not Boston: The Invention of American Imperial Sovereignty," *American Quarterly* 57:3 (September 2005): 874.
 45. John Lauritz Larson, *Bonds of Enterprise: John Murray Forbes and Western Development in America's Railway Age*, expanded ed. (1984; Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001), 21.

Chapter 1

1. This list and summary of the differences between company and private bookkeeping practices is based on many years of work in those respective archives. It is impossible to list all of the documents and archives here, but in general, they include the company archives of the EIC, VOC, DAC, SOIC, GIC, and CFI; Portuguese records in Macao; and the American China Trade records in

numerous libraries and archives in Salem, Boston, Providence, Mystic Seaport, Philadelphia, and several other cities in the United States. For a more complete list of archives and sources consulted, see the bibliography in Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong University Press, 2005; reprint, 2007).

2. The EIC consultations and diaries of the eighteenth century, for example, were kept in duplicate, and the VOC diaries (called *dagregisters*) were kept in triplicate. The DAC kept duplicate and/or triplicate copies of their trade journals (the sections that cover the time the Danes were in China). The GIC often kept multiple trade journals for each ship, and sometimes in three languages (Dutch, English, and French). These companies and others regularly copied many other documents from their China Trade as well.
3. For a summary analysis of the decline of the East India companies in China and the rise of private traders in the early nineteenth century, see Van Dyke, Chapter Six.
4. A recent study has shown that Chinese junk ratios stood at about 2.5 tons-per-man, whereas Western ships sailing to China had ratios ranging from 1.8 to 11 tons-per-man. The overwhelming majority of Western vessels operating in East Asia were much more labor-efficient than Chinese junks, only a few falling below 2.5 tons-per-man. The number of cannons a junk could carry was tightly restricted by the Chinese government, often only allowing a couple to each, so they had no choice but to minimize their armaments. The number of men in junk crews was also regulated according to the size of the vessel, but the enforcement of this policy does not appear to have been as uniform as the one restricting cannons. Paul A. Van Dyke, “Operational Efficiencies and the Decline of the Chinese Junk Trade in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Connection,” in *Shipping Efficiency and Economic Growth 1350–1800*, ed. Richard Unger (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming in 2011), Table 4: “Tons-per-man ratios of vessels in Asia.”
5. The small American vessels that sailed to China in the early nineteenth century were often the targets of pirates. Company ships, in contrast, were usually free from such threats as they were much too large and heavily armed for pirates to overcome them. For examples of small private ships being attacked in China, while company ships sat safely at anchor, see entries in Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834*. 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926; reprint, Taipei: Ch’eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966).
6. The post of an American consul in Canton was often a voluntary assignment with little or no pay involved, so there were no regulations requiring the keeping of extensive records. In fact, the documents that have survived from the American consuls are anything but complete or sophisticated, often being a simple note, receipt, or letter. These documents have no order to them, no page or document numbers, and many have no title or date. They can be correctly

described as nothing but a box full of miscellaneous notes. Washington, DC, National Archives: “Despatches from United States Consuls in Canton, 1790–1906.” In contrast, the Dutch consular records in Canton are fairly complete and sophisticated. See examples in National Archives, The Hague: Canton 265–74, 378, and 389–90.

7. For examples of the EIC diaries, see Morse. For VOC diaries translated into English, see Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters*, 1762 and 1763 (Macau: Macau Cultural Institute, 2006 and 2008, respectively).
8. The American “shoe box” style of accounting is still visible today, as those records are now kept in the archives using the same method (one box of loose papers per ship or voyage). For examples, see the many private archives of China traders in the Phillips Library at Peabody Essex Museum, Massachusetts Historical Society, Rhode Island Historical Society, the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, and the Barry-Hayes Papers in the Independent Seaport Museum in Philadelphia. In contrast, the VOC put all of the original receipts and papers together from each voyage, in a systematic sequence, and then sowed them together into very large bound bundles with leather covers. The GIC and DAC recorded most of their information into bound books. The DAC entered original documents from China into these bound books, including contracts, receipts, and agreements. Each type of document was entered in the books in a predetermined sequence and order. The EIC followed a similar practice but used bound booklets instead of books. Unlike the Danes, English officers copied documents into the booklets and then discarded the originals, which was the practice of the GIC as well. As a result, there are now very few original documents from Chinese merchants in the EIC and GIC archives, whereas the VOC and DAC archives are full of them. The American archives have some of those types of records but nothing compared to what is in the VOC and DAC archives. There are also a few original contracts from the Canton merchants in the SOIC and CFI archives. Understanding these different bookkeeping practices of the China traders is essential in explaining why those archives contain different documents today.
9. These observations are based on analyzing several hundred American logbooks and thousands of European journals and diaries. For a list of the specific records and archives, see the bibliography at Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, 2005.
10. Printed Price Currents for major ports in Asia were fairly widespread by the 1820s. For an example of one from Canton in 1823, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, Plate 24.
11. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the EIC often charged Chinese merchants each year for goods that they delivered in previous years that were found to be deficient. For examples, see Morse. Look for entries of “rubbish teas.”
12. For examples of the Canton junks consigning cargo space, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, 145–50.
13. The Shreve family papers at Peabody Essex Museum and the Carrington papers at the Rhode Island Historical Society are exceptions, as they contain

ledger-type books. But when comparing them to those of the companies, they fall far behind, as the latter contain multiple cross-referencing to other books and documents and are very consistent in the type of information they contain. The overwhelming majority of the American China traders created no such documents. In bookkeeping, Shreve and Carrington were among the best of the Americans. They created trade ledgers and did a fairly good job of balancing their accounts. But both of them also employed the shoe box method, throwing all the receipts from a ship or voyage into a box or folder, and their ship logbooks are very simple documents. There are no financial records in the American China Trade collections consulted for this study that can compare to the sophisticated accounting systems of the East India companies.

14. For a couple of examples of these privately kept journals and expense books of the EIC ships, see British Library, India Office Records: Mss Eur D 1199 “Journal of accounts of Capt. John Hamilton to Canton 1800–1801”; and the many private journals and records of Captain John and Archibald Hamilton in the National Maritime Museum Archive in Greenwich. Because the ships these captains commanded were not owned by the EIC (even though they were employed by the EIC), those documents were not the company’s property and are therefore not in the company archives today. Because all the other East India companies owned their ships, those documents appear in their archives today.
15. For a discussion of the differences in the port fees that companies and private traders paid in China, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, 104–8.

Chapter 2

1. The first ship to embark for China was probably the sloop named *Harriet*. See James Fichter, “American History on Other Continents,” *Common-Place* 7.1 (October 2006), <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/cp/vol-07/no-02/tales/> (accessed July 20, 2010). Also see Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia: A Critical Study of United States’ Policy in the Far East in the Nineteenth Century* (1922; New York, Barnes and Noble, 1963), 9.
2. See Chen Jianhua, “Eighteenth Century Guangzhou—A Witness to the Prelude to the Friendly Exchanges between China and the United States,” Prologue to *Empress of China* (Chinese version) (Guangzhou: Guangzhou Publishing House, 2006), 9. Another major financier of the voyage was Robert Morris, who had been the major financial architect of the Revolutionary War. In his later years, he miscalculated in land speculation that bankrupted him, and he spent time in prison for his debts. For the financing of the voyage, see Clarence L. Ver Steeg, “Financing and Outfitting the First United States Ship to China,” *Pacific Historical Review* 22.1 (1953): 1–12.
3. Samuel Shaw, *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton: With a Life of the Author by Josiah Quincy*, ed. Josiah Quincy (Boston, MA: Wm. Crosby and H.P. Nichols, 1847), 229.

4. Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1682–1846* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), 33.
5. Shaw, 232.
6. Dennett, 9.
7. Shaw, 129.
8. Anon, Review of *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton: With a Life of the Author, by Josiah Quincy*, *North American Review* CXXXVIII (January 1848): 250.
9. On character, see Martin Price, *Forms of Life: Character and Moral Imagination in the Novel* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983).
10. Shaw, 105.
11. For Adam Smith's influence on the young American nation in the 1780s and 1790s and, specifically, on John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, see Samuel Fleischacker's "Adam Smith's Reception among the American Founders, 1776–1790." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59.4 (October 2002): 897–924.
12. Quoted from Philip Chadwick Foster Smith in Jean Gordon Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade, 1784–1844* (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984): 23. Also see Goldstein, 17.
13. Quoted from Smith, *The Empress of China* (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1970), 70.
14. Shaw, 183.
15. See Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1780–1834* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). Also see, Vine Deloria and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Self-Government* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984).
16. Shaw, 231–2.
17. Smith, 203; Shaw, 232.
18. See Kristen Johannson, *Ginseng Dreams: The Secret World of America's Most Valuable Plant* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2006); Jerry Bradley Knox, *History, Geography, and Economics of North American Ginseng* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 2000); David A. Taylor, *Ginseng, the Divine Root* (Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2006); and Alexandra Cook, "Linnaeus and Chinese Plants: A Test of the Linguistic Imperialism Thesis," *Notes & Records of the Royal Society* 64 (2010): 121–38.
19. See Lydia Liu, "The Question of Meaning-Value in the Political Economy of the Sign," in *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 19. Also see Eric Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan* (1991; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

20. Jean Baptiste Du Halde, *A Description of the Empire of China and Chinese-Tartary, Together with the Kingdoms of Korea and Tibet: Containing the Geography and History (Natural as well as Civil) of those Countries. Enrich'd with General and Particular Maps, and Adorned with a Great Number of Cuts*. From the French of P. J. B Du Halde, Jesuit: With Notes Geographical, Historical, and Critical; and Other Improvements, particularly in Maps, by the Translator [R. Brookes]. 2 vols. (London: Printed by T. Gardner in Bartholomew-Close, for Edward Cave, at St. John's Gate, 1738, 1741), Vol. 1, 322.
21. ———, 322.
22. Chris Parsons, "Ginseng in Canada?" John Carter Brown Library (August 2008), http://brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/1%20found%20it%20JCB/august08.html (accessed November 17, 2010).
23. For the translation of "Garent-oguen" and the standardization of Linnean nomenclature, see Cook, who quotes from *Mémoire présenté à S. A. R. Mgr le duc d'Orléans, Régent du Royaume de France: Concernant la précieuse plante du Gin seng de Tartarie, découverte en Canada par le P. Joseph-François Lafitau, de la Compagnie de Jesus, Missionnaire des Iroquois du Sault Saint Louis* (Joseph Mongé, Paris, 1718), 11–2.
24. Quoted from Edwin Wolf and Kevin J. Hayes, *The Library of Benjamin Franklin* (American Philosophical Society, 2006), 262. Wolf quotes Franklin from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 27, 1738.
25. See final page of John Green's "Receipts, Canton in China, 1784–1786," Archival Materials in the Rare Book and Ms Library Manuscripts of the Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania (Ms. Coll. 499).
26. See Shaw, 207–8.
27. ———, 140–1.
28. Goldsmith's overview of six races holds true in the 1774, 1782, 1795, and 1823 editions of *History* that I have consulted. See Oliver Goldsmith, *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, Vol. 2 (Dublin: Printed by James Williams, No. 21, Skinner-row, 1782).
29. Shaw, 178–9.
30. In Benjamin Franklin, *Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (Library of America, 1987), 735.
31. From the University of Notre Dame Libraries, Coin and Currency Collections in the Department of Special Collection: <http://www.coins.nd.edu/ColCurrency/CurrencyText/CC-05-10-75a.html> (accessed June 2, 2010).
32. Shaw, 10.
33. ———, 21, 54.
34. ———, 58; emphasis in the original.
35. ———, 77; emphasis in the original.
36. ———, 100.
37. ———, 91.
38. ———, 91; emphasis in the original.

39. ———, 111.
40. ———, 111–2.
41. Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence*. 2 vols (1853; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860), Vol. 1, 695.
42. Shaw, 198–9.
43. Amasa Delano, *Delano's Voyages of Commerce and Discovery: Amasa Delano in China, the Pacific Islands, Australia, and South America, 1789–1807*, ed. Eleanor Roosevelt Seagraves (Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House Publishers, 1994), 6.
44. Delano, 6.

Chapter 3

1. This essay contains material previously published by the author in *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in U.S. Culture, 1776–1876* (Columbia University Press, 2006).
2. Caroline Howard King, *When I Lived in Salem, 1822–1866* (Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Daye Press, 1937), 28–30. Walter Muir Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, a Sesquicentennial History* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1949), 37–8, 45–6.
3. William Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery* (New York: Penguin, 1986), 1.
4. *Chinese Repository* (January 1843), 6. According to the historian Kenneth Latourette, China in the early part of the nineteenth century “was almost as remote from ordinary American life as the planet Mars.” Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The History of Early Relations between the United States and China 1784–1844* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1917), 124.
5. William Wood, *Sketches of China* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830), vii, x–xi.
6. Gideon Nye, *The Morning on My Life in China* (Canton, 1873), 4.
7. Nancy Ellen Davis, “The American China Trade, 1784–1844: Products for the Middle Class” (Ph.D. Dissertation, George Washington University, 1987), 114.
8. ———, 67, 122. Ping Chia Kuo, “Canton and Salem: The Impact of Chinese Culture upon New England Life during the Post-Revolutionary Era,” *New England Quarterly* 3 (1930), 431. In the early nineteenth century, a Boston or Salem dwelling might have as much as one-tenth of its “effects” originating in China, and Philadelphia would not have fallen too far short of that figure. Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphians and the China Trade, 1682–1846* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), 6. In Charleston, South Carolina, Chinese export porcelain is one of the most commonly found ceramics at archeological sites, accounting for twenty-four percent of all ceramics uncovered. The majority of these are shards of the blue and white inexpensive dinner and tea wares. Robert A. Leath, “After the Chinese Taste: Chinese Export Porcelain and Chinoiserie Design in Eighteenth Century Charleston,” *Historical Archeology* 33 (1999), 50.

9. Crosby Forbes, *Hills and Streams: Landscape Decoration on Chinese Export Blue and White Porcelain* (International Exhibition Foundation, 1982), preface.
10. Whereas all Chinese ceramics were hand painted, the British employed this mechanical technique. A design engraved on copper was printed onto a piece of tissue paper, which was then transferred onto the ceramic object. Forbes, preface; Davis, 119.
11. Harry Barnard, *The Story of the Wedgwood Willow Pattern Plate* (Hanley, England: Catalogue Printers), 2–7.
12. In this version of the story, the father, not the duke, finds the lovers on the island. Ada Walker Camehl, *The Blue-China Book* (1916; New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 287.
13. David Quintner, *Willow! Solving the Mystery of Our 200-year Love Affair with the Willow Pattern* (Burnstown, ON: General Store Publishing House, 1997), 152.
14. Perhaps realizing that Americans preferred to think of the willow legend as of Chinese origin, the Buffalo China Company, the first American pottery company to produce Willow Ware, misinformed potential customers in its 1905 catalogue: “The legend illustrated by the Blue Willow ware decoration is centuries old. It originated in China and forms a love story so alive with human interest that it never grows old.” Quintner, 128. Similarly, Ada Walker Camehl wrote that what she believed was a Chinese story had inspired Thomas Minton to make the original Willow Pattern. Camehl, 287. Finally, Amy Carol Rand, in an article instructing women how to design table linen using the Willow Pattern, also wrote under the misconception that the pattern was Chinese in origin. *The Modern Priscilla* (July, 1910), 4.
15. Benjamin Silliman, *American Journal of Science and Arts* (January, 1839), 392–3; *Public Ledger* (December 28, 1838). Also see Dunn’s obituary in that same newspaper (October 24, 1844).
16. Philadelphia Directories, *Nelson B. Gaskill Papers*. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
17. Arthur Hummel, “Nathan Dunn,” *Quaker History* 59.1 (1970): 34–8.
18. Yen-P’ing Hao, “Chinese Teas to America—A Synopsis,” *America’s China Trade in Historical Perspective*, ed. John King Fairbank and Ernest May (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 29.
19. Goldstein, 51–3. Elma Loines, ed., *The China Trade Post-bag of the Seth Low Family of Salem and New York* (Manchester, ME: Falmouth Publishing House, 1953), 7 and 298.
20. Patrick Conner, *George Chinnery, 1774–1852: Artist of India and the China Coast* (Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collectors’ Club, 1993), 227.
21. John Curtis Perry, *Facing West: Americans and the Opening of the Pacific* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 41. John Murray Forbes and John Cushing in just a few years each made enough money to retire and invest their substantial profits in American industry. Yen-P’ing Hao, 29–30. The trader Benjamin Shreve of Salem listed his priorities in life: “approving conscience...irreproachable character,

- good health, a good wife, and plenty of money!” Carl Crossman, *The China Trade: Export Paintings, Furniture, Silver & Other Objects* (Princeton, NJ: The Pyne Press, 1972), 7.
22. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* (January 3 and February 16, 1820).
 23. *Isaac Jones, Richard Oakford, and Samuel T. Jones Vs. Nathan Dunn, Defendant, February 1832* (Philadelphia, PA: Brown, Bicking & Guilbert, Printers, 1835), 34–5. Library Company of Philadelphia.
 24. Letter from Nathan Dunn (November 19, 1821). The Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
 25. *Isaac Jones, Richard Oakford, and Samuel T. Jones Vs. Nathan Dunn*, 33–4.
 26. ———, 37.
 27. Perry, 29. Loines, 300–1.
 28. Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 59.
 29. Perry, 29. Loines, 300–1. Howqua's fortune would translate into over US\$1 billion in current terms and represent a very high percentage of the United States' gross domestic product (GDP) in the 1840s.
 30. The events surrounding the fire of 1822 also impressed upon Dunn a favorable view of China's poorer citizens. For in the midst of all the chaos, an elderly Chinese gentleman walked away with about ten bags of silver belonging to Dunn, each worth \$1,000. As well as being poor, the man possessed a large family and could easily have kept the small fortune without getting caught. However, in an act of honesty that, according to Dunn, “says something for the poor people of China,” he returned the bags of silver to the pleasantly astonished owner. *Isaac Jones, Richard Oakford, and Samuel T. Jones Vs. Nathan Dunn*, 34–5. Library Company of Philadelphia. Joan Kerr Facey Thill, “A Delawarean in the Celestial Empire: John Richardson Latimer and the China Trade” (M.A. Thesis, University of Delaware, 1973), 40.
 31. *Isaac Jones, Richard Oakford, and Samuel T. Jones Vs. Nathan Dunn*, 33–4. William Wood, a friend of Dunn, explained the economic situation and England's retaliatory measures: “The extensive importation of British goods in American vessels had been materially detrimental to the Company's trade in China, and, as they found it impracticable to prevent the exportation from England by Americans, they resolved to thwart them, by using their influence to affect their sales in Canton.” Wood, 64.
 32. For Dunn's collecting, see Brantz Mayer, *A Nation in a Nutshell* (Philadelphia, PA: Brown, Bicking, & Guilbert, 1841). Pamphlet in the Rare Books Department, Library of Congress. E. C. Wines, *A Peep at China in Mr. Dunn's Chinese Collection* (Philadelphia, PA: Ashmead and Co., 1839), 10. J. S. Buckingham, *Buckingham's America: Eastern and Western States*, Vol. 2 (London: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1842), 44.
 33. Silliman, *American Journal of Science and Arts*, 393.
 34. Joseph Kastner, *A Species of Eternity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), xii–xiv, 3–5.

35. Peale was organizing his museum in 1792, two years after Franklin's death. Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1980), 60.
36. William H. Goetzmann and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986), 15–35.
37. Dennett, 49. Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), 18–9.
38. Letter from Nathan Dunn (April 13, 1824). The Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
39. Mayer, *A Nation in a Nutshell*.
40. Wines, 10–1.
41. Silliman, *Mr. Dunn's Chinese Collection*.
42. Buckingham, 44.
43. Daniel Bowen, *A History of Philadelphia...Designed as a Guide to Citizens and Strangers* (Philadelphia, PA: Daniel Owen, 1839), 85–6.
44. "Chinese Collection," *Philadelphia Saturday Courier* (December 22, 1838).
45. Wood, 243.
46. Hummel, 34–8.
47. According to Bowen's 1839 guide to Philadelphia, Dunn was one of the city's "most wealthy and respectable citizens." Bowen, 82.
48. Sellers, 273.
49. ———, 15, 19, 60, 215. Neil Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P.T. Barnum* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), 35. Edward Alexander, *Museum Masters* (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1883), 5.
50. Wines, 12.
51. Dunn, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA, 1838), 92.
52. Letter dated November 23, 1838. The Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
53. Wines, 10, 15; *Public Ledger* (December 28, 1838).
54. "Chinese Collection," *Philadelphia Saturday Courier* (December 22, 1838).
55. Sellers, 294–5.
56. Wines, 15.
57. *Chinese Repository* (November 1843), 567–8. Since Nathan Dunn's friends and acquaintances in Canton were intrigued by his museum, he sent the *Repository* a packet of press clippings that it used as the nucleus of an article.
58. William Wood described the same shrine. Wood, 87.
59. Buckingham, Vol. 2, 46–7. Buckingham probably appreciated Dunn's anti-opium stance, having himself brought before Parliament on June 13, 1833, an invective on the demoralizing tendency of opium. R.B. Forbes, *Remarks on China and the China Trade* (Boston, MA: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1844), 51.
60. Silliman, *American Journal of Science and Arts*, 394. Crossman, 205.
61. *Chinese Repository* (March 1840), 583–4.
62. Mayer, "China and the Chinese," 6–7; Mayer, *A Nation in a Nutshell*.

63. Mayer, *A Nation in a Nutshell*.
64. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 485–92. The original work was published in France in two volumes, 1835 and 1840.
65. Dunn, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 7, 13, 97, 100.
66. ———, 30–3, 105.
67. Silliman, *Mr. Dunn's Chinese Collection in Philadelphia*.
68. Dunn, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 118–20.
69. Mayer, *A Nation in a Nutshell*.
70. ———.
71. Bowen, 86.
72. Buckingham, Vol. 2, 55.
73. Joseph Sturge, *A Visit to the United States in 1841* (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1842), 62.
74. *Public Ledger* (December 28, 1838).
75. “Chinese Collection,” *Philadelphia Saturday Courier* (December 22, 1838).
76. “Curiosities in Philadelphia,” *The Farmers' Cabinet* (August 14, 1840).
77. Mayer, *A Nation in a Nutshell*; Mayer, “China and the Chinese,” 6–7.
78. *Chinese Repository*, v. 12, 570.
79. Williams's residence in China did not overlap with Dunn's. However, in the pages of the *Chinese Repository*, the English language newspaper that he published in Canton, Williams mostly lauded the museum and its proprietor, pronouncing Dunn “a true Friend of the Chinese.” *Chinese Repository* (March 1840), 585 and (November 1843), 582.
80. This poem apparently enjoyed a wide circulation. A Dr Scott (whose first name is not given) cited it in his “Lecture on the Chinese Empire,” delivered in New Orleans before the Mechanics' Institute, January 26, 1854. New York Public Library. The poem is also quoted in an adventure novel set in China. Harry French, *Our Boys in China: The Thrilling Story of Two Young Americans Scott and Paul Clayton Wrecked in the China Sea, on their Return from India, with their Strange Adventures in China* (New York: Charles Dillingham, 1883), 45.
81. Frederick Wells Williams, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D.* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1889), 144–6. Samuel Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1848), xiii–xvi. In the mid-1840s, Osmond Tiffany, who visited China in 1844 and admired the Chinese, decried the same rampant mockery observed by Williams: “Their manners, their habits, language, dress, and sentiments, have all been made the butt of witless ridicule.” *The Canton Chinese* (Boston, MA: James Monroe & Co., 1849), 266.
82. According to Stuart Creighton Miller, China received national attention for the first time during the Opium War because the conflict coincided with the rise of the penny press. And since these widely read newspapers portrayed China's military efforts as futile and its leadership as pompous, many Americans grew to be

- more critical of Chinese culture. *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785–1882* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 83–4.
83. Smyth wrote his detailed description of current views towards China to set up an analogy with the Episcopal Church. He likened the pomp and ceremony of that denomination to the Chinese empire. Thomas Smyth, “The Prelactical Doctrine of Apostolical Succession Examined,” *Princeton Review* (January 1842), 139–41.
84. Smyth, 139–41.
85. ———, 139–41.
86. ———, 139–41.

Chapter 4

1. John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, “The Imperialism of Free Trade,” *Economic History Review*, Second series, 6.1 (1953). 1–15.
2. Derek S. Linton, “Asia and the West in the New World Order—From Trading Companies to Free Trade Imperialism: The British and Their Rivals in Asia, 1700–1850,” in *Asia in Western and World History*, ed. Ainslie T. Embree and Carol Gluck (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 83–116.
3. On this voyage, see Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, *The Empress of China* (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1984); and Samuel Shaw, *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton* (Boston, MA: Wm. Crosby and H. P. Nichols, 1847).
4. Leonard Blussé, *Visible Cities: Canton, Nagasaki, and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).
5. Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 210; Blussé, 64.
6. For the United States’ early contact with Siam, see Edmund Roberts and W.S.W. Ruschenberger, *Two Yankee Diplomats in 1830s Siam* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2002). For development of the US Canton trade, see Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1997), 128; Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong University Press, 2005), 135–7. For the rice trade, see also Benito J. Legarda, *After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), 157–78; and Huang Zisheng and He Sibing, *Feilubin Huaqiao Shi [History of the Philippine Chinese]*, rev. and enlarged ed. (Guangzhou: Guangdong Gaodeng Jiaoyü Chubanshe [Guangdong Higher Education Press], 2009), 262–3.
7. “Copartnership Agreement between Cyrus Butler, Edward Carrington and Co., B. and T. C. Hoppin and Samuel Russell” (December 26, 1818), Russell and Company Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
8. P. Ammidon to his brother (December 27, 1823), Russell and Company Records.

9. Robert B. Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1882), 128–30; Carl Seaburg and Stanley Paterson, *Merchant Prince of Boston: Colonel T. H. Perkins, 1764–1854* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 368–70.
10. He Sibing, “Qichang Yanghang Yu Shijiu Shiji Meiguo Dui Guangzhou Maoyi” [“Russell and Company and American Trade with Canton in the Nineteenth Century”] *Xueshu Yanjiu [Academic Research]* 6 (2005): 109–16; “Russell and Company, 1818–1891: America’s Trade and Diplomacy in Nineteenth-Century China” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Miami University, 1997).
11. On the Canton System, see Randle Edwards, “The Old Canton System of Foreign Trade,” in *Law and Politics in China’s Foreign Trade*, ed. Victor H. Li, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978): 360–78; and Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*. For the origins and ramifications of the Cohong, see Kuo-tung Anthony Ch’en, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760–1843* (Taipei: The Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, 1990); W.E. Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade* (London: Curzon Press, 1997); Patrick Conner, *The Hongs of Canton: Western Merchants in South China, 1700–1900, as Seen in Chinese Export Paintings* (London: English Art Books, 2009); and Zhang Wenxin, *Guangdong Shisan Hang Yu Zaoqi Zhongxi Guanxi [The Thirteen Hongs of Guangdong and the Early Sino-Western Relations]* (Guangdong Jingji Chubanshe [Guangdong Economics Press], 2009).
12. William Hunter, “*The Fan Kae*” at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844 (London: Paul Trench and Co., 1882; reprinted, Shanghai: Oriental Affairs, 1938), 24; Sarah Forbes, Hughes, ed., *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes*. 2 vols. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1900; reprinted, New York: Arno Press, 1982), Volume 1, 86.
13. Paul G. Pickowicz, “William Wood in Canton,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 107 (January 1971): 3–14.
14. *Canton Register*, 15 November 1827.
15. ———, 30 November 1827; 4 February 1828.
16. William W. Wood, *Sketches of China; with Illustrations from Original Drawings* (Philadelphia, PA: Carey and Lea, 1830), 63–4.
17. Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 179, 184.
18. *Canton Register*, 19 February 1831.
19. Rosmarie W. N. Lamas, *Everything in Style: Harriett Low’s Macau* (Hong Kong University Press, in conjunction with Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau, 2006), 292.
20. *Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette*, 28 July 1831.
21. ———, 4 August 1831.
22. ———, 18 August 1831.
23. ———, 13 October 1831.

24. ———, 31 August 1833.
25. W.E. Cheong, *Mandarins and Merchants: Jardine Matheson & Co., A China Agency of the Early Nineteenth Century* (London: Curzon Press, 1979), 5–8.
26. Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth-Century China: The Rise of Sino-Western Mercantile Capitalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 31, 215.
27. Te-kong Tong, *United States Diplomacy in China, 1844–60* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 22.
28. Robert B. Forbes to Rose Forbes, 31 March 1839, in Phyllis Forbes Kerr, ed., *Letters from China: The Canton-Boston Correspondence of Robert Bennet Forbes, 1838–1840*, (Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1996), 114–5.
29. B. and T. Hoppin to S. Russell & Co. (25 April 1819), Russell and Company Records.
30. Robert B. Forbes to Rose Forbes, 21 May 1839, Kerr, *Letters from China*, 142.
31. A Memorial from the American Merchants at Canton (25 May 1839), US House Document, No. 40, 26th Congress, 1st Session, Serial Number 364, in *United States Policy Toward China: Diplomatic and Public Documents, 1839–1939*, ed. Paul Clyde (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), 3–6. This document was signed by eight members of the Russell firm: Russell Sturgiall, W. Delano, Jr., Gideon Nye, Jr., R.B. Forbes, A.A. Low, Edward King, S.B. Rawle, and Jas. Ryan.
32. Jules Davids, ed., *American Diplomatic and Public Papers: The United States and China. Series 1: The Treaty System and the Taiping Rebellion, 1842–1860*. 21 vols. (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1973): Vol. 1, xxxviii. P. W. Snow was US consul in Canton from 1835 until 1843 when he was forced to leave China because of ill health.
33. Quoted in Geoffrey C. Ward, *Before the Trumpet: Young Franklin Roosevelt, 1882–1905* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), 74.
34. Hunter, 146–9; Ward, 75–6.
35. Stuart Creighton Miller, “Ends and Means: Missionary Justification of Force in Nineteenth Century China,” in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 249–82.
36. For Bridgman, see Michael C. Lazich, *E.C. Bridgman (1801–1861), America's First Missionary to China* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000).
37. “Intercourse with the Chinese,” *The Chinese Repository* 1 (August 1832): 141–7.
38. “Free Trade,” *The Chinese Repository* 1 (December 1833): 355–73.
39. “Free Intercourse with China,” *The Chinese Repository* 3 (July 1833): 128–37.
40. “Promulgation of the Gospel in China,” *The Chinese Repository* 3 (January 1835): 428–37.
41. “Universal Peace,” *The Chinese Repository* 3 (March 1835): 516–27.
42. “Christian Missions in China,” *The Chinese Repository* 3 (April 1835): 559–68.
43. “Treaty with the Chinese,” *The Chinese Repository* 4 (February 1835): 441–9.
44. Message (December 30, 1842), *The Papers of Daniel Webster: Message and Papers*, ed. Kenneth E. Shewmaker (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College and University Press of New England, 1983–88), Vol. 4, 211–4.

45. Charles Hall to John C. Calhoun (November 30, 1844), *The Papers of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Robert L. Meriwether and W. Edwin Hemphill. 21 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1963–1993): Vol. 20, 405–11.
46. Jules Davids, ed., *American Diplomatic and Public Papers*, Vol. 1, xlii.
47. Circular (March 20, 1843), Shewmaker, *The Papers of Daniel Webster: Diplomatic Papers*, Vol. 1, 901–2.
48. Sarah Forbes Hughes, ed., *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899; Reprinted, New York: Arno Press, 1981), volume 1, 115.
49. John Murray Forbes et al. to Daniel Webster (April 29, 1843), in Shewmaker, *The Papers of Daniel Webster: Diplomatic Papers*, Vol. 1, 917–21. The letter was signed by John M. Forbes, Robert B. Forbes, Thomas H. Perkins, Samuel Cabot of the firm of Thomas H. Perkins, William Appleton, a merchant and later a congressman from Suffolk, Massachusetts, Nathan Appleton, a textile manufacturer and congressman from Boston, and John Lowell Gardner, East Indian merchant and railroad magnate.
50. John Green and N. Alsop Griswold to Daniel Webster (13 May 1843). Quoted in Qiao Mingshun, *Zhongmei Guangxi De Diyi Ye: 1844 Nian Wangxia Tiaoyue Qiangding De Qianqian Houhou* [The First Page of Sino-U.S. Relations: The Signing of the Wangxia Treaty of 1844] (Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe [Social Sciences Documentation Press], 1991), 68.
51. Kenneth E. Shewmaker, “Forging the ‘Great Chain’: Daniel Webster and the Origins of American Foreign Policy Toward East Asia and the Pacific, 1841–1852,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 129.3 (1985): 225–59.
52. In 2005, the *American Quarterly*, the journal of the American Studies Association, published international law scholar Teemu Ruskola’s essay on Cushing’s invention of American imperial sovereignty in the Treaty of Wangxia. Historian Belohlavek’s new biography of Cushing was also published in the same year. A chapter of this book is devoted to the China mission, which provides new insights into Cushing’s diplomatic endeavors in Macao. See Teemu Ruskola, “Canton Is Not Boston: The Invention of American Imperial Sovereignty,” *American Quarterly* 57.3 (September 2005): 859–84; and John M. Belohlavek, *Broken Glass: Caleb Cushing and the Shattering of the Union* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2005), “The Road to China, 1843–1844”: 150–80.
53. Macabe Keliher, “Anglo-American Rivalry and the Origins of U.S. China Policy,” *Diplomatic History* 31.2 (April 2007): 227–57.
54. ———, 228–9.
55. See Letters 183, 198, and 201 in *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong, 1827–1843*, ed. Alain Le Pichon (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2006); and Cheong, *Mandarins and Merchants*.
56. Lamas.

57. Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China, 1807–1848* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1996).
58. Downs, 292.
59. Davids, *American Diplomatic and Public Papers*, Vol. 1, Documents 48–51.
60. Hunter, 146–7.
61. Forbes, 152–3, 155.

Chapter 5

1. This article is an outcome of the research project entitled “Jindai Sheng-Gang-Ao Dazhong Wenhua yu Dushi Bianqian” [Popular Culture and Urban Transformation of Modern Canton, Hong Kong, and Macau], granted by the Ministry of Education, PRC, for the Centre for Historical Anthropology, Sun Yat-sen University (Project No. 2009JJD770032). The author would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions.
2. In 1664, the French made their first organized attempts to enter the trade of the Indian Ocean with the foundation of the French East India Company. They maintained a low profile for the greater part of the seventeenth century. See Lakshmi Subramanian, ed., *The French East India Company and the Trade of the Indian Ocean* (New Delhi, India: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1999), “Introduction.” The Swedish came even later. The 1732 departure of the *Fredericus R.S.*, the first vessel staffed and armed by the newly established Swedish East India Company, marks the beginning of regular relations between Sweden and India and more particularly China. See Paul Hallberg and Christian Koninckx, eds., *A Passage to China: Colin Campbell's Diary of the First Swedish East India Company Expedition to Canton, 1732–33* (Göteborg, Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, 1996).
3. Weng Eang Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade* (London: Curzon Press, 1997), 9–11. For a thorough discussion of the Canton Trade System, see Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong University Press, 2005).
4. For a short biography of Puankhequa I and Puankhequa II, see Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony, “Pan Youdu (Pan Qiguan er shi): Yiwei chenggong de yanghang shangren” [Pan Youdu (Puankhequa II): A Successful Hong Merchant], in his *Dongya Haiyu Yiqian nian* [A Thousand-Year History of the East Asian Waters] (Taipei: Caituan Faren Cao Yonghe Wenjiao Jijinhui, Yuanliu Chuban Shiye Gufen Youxian Gongsì, 2005), 419–65.
5. William Hickey, *Memoirs of William Hickey 1749–1775*, ed. Alfred Spencer (London, Hurst & Blackett, Ltd., Paternoster House, E.C., 1913), Vol. 1, 223–4.
6. ———, 224.
7. See Zhao Rongguang, *Man-Han Quanxi Yuanliu Kaoshu* (Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe, 2003), 135–6.
8. For Staunton's account, see George Thomas Staunton, *Notes of Proceedings and Occurrences during the British Embassy to Peking in 1816* (1824 by Havant Press; London: Routledge, 2000), 49–50. For Abel's account, see Clarke Abel, *Narrative*

of a Journey in the Interior of China, and of a Voyage to and from that Country, in the Years 1816 and 1817; containing an account of the most interesting transactions of Lord Amherst's Embassy to the Court of Peking, and Observations on the Countries which is visited (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Bow, 1818), 84.

9. See, for example, Gugong Bowuyuan, ed., *Qingdai Waijiao Shiliao* [Jiaqing chao] (Beijing: Gugong Bowuyuan, 1932), Vol. V.
10. For a groundbreaking study of the American traders in Canton in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844* (Bethlehem, PA: Leigh University Press; London: Associated University Press, 1997).
11. In this essay, the major reference I use to identify the Hong merchants is Liang Jiabin, *Guangdong shisanhang kao* (1937; Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1999).
12. Tilden 7 (Ship Canton, Third Voyage of BPT to China, 1818–1819), 39–40; in the manuscript, collection of the Philips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. Throughout the journal, spellings and punctuations are not strictly consistent. In most cases Puankehequa is spelled “Paunkeiqua.” The italics indicate Tilden’s own emphasis.
13. ———, 40–1.
14. ———, 43–4.
15. ———, 45.
16. For a brief history of Madeira wine, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madeira_wine (accessed June 26, 2009).
17. Robert Morrison, *Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect* [廣東省土話字彙] (Macao: Printed at the Honorable East India Company’s Press, 1828).
18. Tilden 7, 45–6.
19. ———, 48.
20. ———, 48–9.
21. However, whether this practice should be considered “Western” needs more documentation. Harvey Levenstein suggests “serving *à la Russe* had swept the dining table of the British and French elites in the 1850s and 1860s and became fashionable in the United States in the 1870s. Instead of placing a goodly number of dishes on the table at once, with the host carving and serving them while guests helped themselves from other dishes placed around the table, a butler carved and served each course at a sideboard, arranging it attractively on individual plates or platters from which servants would then serve the guests.” See Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988), 16.
22. Henry Charles Sirr, *China and the Chinese: Their Religion, Character, Customs, and Manufactures* (London: Wm. S. Orr & Co., 1844), 155–8.

23. William Hunter, *The Fan Kwae at Canton: Before Treaty Days 1825–1844* (London 1882), 40. Hunter noted that the best quality of birds' nests was brought from Java and that this "whimsical luxury" was worth 4,000 Spanish dollars per picul of 133 1/3 pounds.
24. Walter William Mundy, *Canton and the Bogue: The Narrative of an Eventful Six Months in China* (London, Samuel Tinsley, 1875), 152, 154.
25. Sirr, 155, 157.
26. John Reeves's letter to Joseph Banks (27 December 1812) from Canton, *Banks Correspondence*, manuscript, collection of the British Library.
27. Charles T. Downing, *The Fan-Qui or Foreigner in China*. 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, Publisher, 1840), Vol. 3, 119.
28. Mundy, 152.
29. Sirr, 156.
30. See Neville John Irons, *Silver & Carving of the Old China Trade* (London: House of Fans, 1983).
31. Mundy, 152–3.
32. Charles T. Downing, *The Fan-Qui or Foreigner in China*, Vol. 3, 82–6. Downing happened to be in Canton on the day when the new Hoppo was installed in his office, and had the opportunity of seeing him attending the feast.
33. William Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1885) 38–9.
34. See Roy Strong, *Feast: A History of Grand Eating* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002), 291–2. One of my reviewers suggests that in pre-electricity times, dinner had to be started earlier so that good food could be seen in proper daylight. But Puankhequa II's chopstick dinner did not end until 9:00 or 10:00 p.m. One can imagine that a luxurious residence such as his must have been equipped with enough lanterns and candles to light up the later courses.
35. Ida Preiffer, *A Woman's Journey Round the World* (London, 1850), 96
36. Samuel Wells Williams, *Easy Lessons in Chinese* [拾綴大成] (Macau: Xiangshan Shuyuan, 1842), 96.
37. Tilden 7, 109.
38. For more details about this Chinese theatre, see May-bo Ching, "A Preliminary study of the theatres built by Cantonese merchants in the late Qing," *Frontiers of History in China*, 5.2 (2010).
39. "Inauguration of the New Chinese Theatre 'Hing Chuen Yuen'; Grand Banquet at the Hang Heong Low Restaurant," *Daily Alta California* (January 28, 1868).
40. *The Visit of the Royal Highness: The Duke & Duchess of Connaught to Hong Kong*, May 21, 1890 (Government Records Service, PRO, Hong Kong).
41. In Gansu Province, as a consequence of the outbreak of SARS in 2003, there was a promotion of "food distribution practice" (*fencan zhi*) that looks so atypical that the *People's Daily* (Overseas edition) pays a brief tribute to it. See the illustrated report of *People's Daily* (Overseas edition), June 14, 2003.

Chapter 6

1. Harriett Low, *Light and Shadows of a Macao Life: The Journal of Harriett Low, Travelling Spinster*, 2 vols, ed. Nan P. Hodges and Arthur W. Hummel (Woodinville, WA: The History Bank, 2002), Vol. 1, 67.
2. “Macau nos anos (18)30: o diário de Caroline Hyde Butler Laing (1837),” *Revista portuguesa de estudos chineses (Zhongguo yanjiu)* 1.2 (2007): 71–112.
3. Edith Nevill Smythe Ward, *Caroline Hyde Butler Laing (1804–1892). A Family Heritage: Letters and Journals of Caroline Hyde Butler Laing, 1804–1892* (East Orange, NJ: Abbey Printers, 1957), 1–31, 75.
4. I will be quoting from the typescript version of the “Journal of Caroline Hyde Butler (Laing) on Trip to China 1836–1837,” [Journal of a voyage to China in the year 1836–7 on the ship *Roman*, Capt. Benson], 198 pages (New York Historical Society: “Papers of the Butler-Laing Family 1804–1892, bulk 1865–1871”).
5. Ward, 46.
6. J. N. Reynolds, *Voyage of the United States Frigate Potomac, under the Command of Commodore John Downes, during the Circumnavigation of the Globe in the Years 1831, 1832, 1833, and 1834* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), vi.
7. ———, 336–7, 341, 353.
8. See Rogério Miguel Puga, “A Vivência Social do Género na Macau Oitocentista: O Diário de Harriet Low (Hillard). *Administração: revista de administração pública de Macau*. 15.56 (2002): 605–64; “Imagens de Macau Oitocentista: A Visão Intimista de Uma Jovem Americana. O Diário de Harriet Low (Hillard) (1829–33),” *Estudos sobre a China V*, ed. Ana Maria Amaro. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Chineses-Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas (2003): Vol. 2, 713–67; “‘A Gem of a Place’: Macau Após a Guerra do ópio: O Diário de Rebecca Chase Kinsman.” *Estudos sobre a China VI*, ed. Ana Maria Amaro. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Chineses-Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas (2004): Vol. 2, 903–55; “Images of nineteenth-century Macau in the journals of Harriett Low (1829–1834) and Rebecca Chase Kinsman (1843–1847),” *Oriente* 14 (April 2006): 90–104.
9. Butler, 108.
10. ———, 109.
11. ———, 108; For more, see Rogério Miguel Puga, “O Primeiro Olhar Norte-Americano sobre Macau: Os Diários de Samuel Shaw (1754–1794),” *Intertextual Dialogues, Travel & Routes: Actas do XXVI encontro da APEAA*, ed. Ana Gabriela Macedo et al. (Braga: University of Minho, 2007): 227–51.
12. ———, 109.
13. ———, 110.
14. ———, 109, 111.
15. Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “The Daily Life of Mrs. Nathaniel Kinsman in Macao, China. Excerpts from Letters of 1844,” *The Essex Institute Historical Collection*. LXXXVI (October 1950): 311–30.
16. ———, 324.

17. See Puga, 2004.
18. Rogério Miguel Puga, *A World of Euphemism: Representações de Macau na Obra de Austin Coates: City of Broken Promises enquanto Romance Histórico e Bildungsroman Feminino* (Lisbon: Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia-Ministério da Ciência, Tecnologia e Ensino Superior/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2009), 141.
19. Butler, 121.
20. Monkey Island (*Maliuzhou*) is the Chinese name for the Island(s) of the Bugios.
21. Butler, 127–8.
22. ———, 121.
23. William C. Hunter, *Bits of old China* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1885), 73–77.
24. Harriett Low, Vol. 1, 74–5; George Bennet, *Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir Coast, Singapore, and China. Being the Journal of a Naturalist in those Countries, during 1832, 1833, and 1834*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley London, 1834), Vol. 2, 36–52; W.S.W. Ruschenberger, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World during the Years 1835, 36, and 37; including a Narrative of an Embassy to the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam*. 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), Vol. 2, 199–201; Cyrille-Pierre Theodore LaPlace, *Voyage Autour du Monde par les Mers d'Inde et de la Chine Exécuté sur La Corvette de L'État la Favorite pendant les Années 1830, 1831 et 1832 sous Le Commandement de M. Laplace Capitaine de Frégate*. 5 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1833–39), Vol. 2, 269; Charles Toogood Downing, *The Fan-qui in China, in 1836–7*. 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1838), 38–9.
25. Butler, 124–5.
26. ———, 179.
27. Padre Manuel Teixeira, *A Gruta de Camões em Macau* (Macao: Fundação Macau-Instituto Internacional de Macau, 1999), 52.
28. Butler, 168.
29. ———, 153.
30. ———, 117.
31. ———, 117–8.
32. ———, 154.
33. ———, 118.
34. See Rogério Miguel Puga, “Macau and Timor in 1929: The Journal and the Unpublished Drawings of Lucy Cleveland,” *Oriente* 18 (2007): 3–33.
35. For the descriptions of the rich Chinese residents, see Butler, 118–9; the Chinese beggars who make New York beggars look like kings, 132; the local monks, 118; and, the Tanka or boat women, 123–4.
36. Butler, 123–4.
37. Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “Life in Macao in the 1840’s: Letters of Rebecca Chase Kinsman to Her Family in Salem. From the Collection of Mrs. Rebecca Kinsman Munroe,” *The Essex Institute Historical Collection* LXXXVI (April 1950), 139, my italics.

38. Yen-Ping Hao, *The Comprador in Nineteenth-century China: Bridge between East and West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 1–77, 154–223,
39. Butler, 126–7.
40. Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macau: A Cultural Janus* (Hong Kong University Press, 1999).
41. Butler, 155
42. ———, 155.
43. ———, 131. These same fields and the poor people's houses in the fields visited by Caroline Butler during her frequent strolls are also described by a Portuguese author, José Manuel de Castro Sampaio, in *Os Chins de Macau [The Chinese of Macao]* (Hong Kong: Tipografia Noronha e Filhos, 1867), 6–7.
44. See the “Journal of Rebecca Chase Kinsman kept on her voyage to China in 1843,” Typescript 1958, by Mrs. Storer P. Ware (Boston, MA: Baker Library, Harvard Business School [call number: WPBK56]), 1–2; and, “Life in Macao in the 1840's: Letters of Rebecca Chase Kinsman to her Family in Salem, from the Collection of Mrs. Rebecca Kinsman Munroe, *The Essex Institute Historical Collection LXXXVI* (January 1950), 17, 20, 15; Kinsman (April 1850), 137; Kinsman (October 1850), 317.
45. On the “Cameons [sic] Cave,” see Butler, 165–70; on the “beautiful Garden at Macoa” (Thomas Beale's garden), 171–5; on “The Penha,” 176–80; and on “Life of Foreign Ladies at Macoa,” 186–9.
46. Butler, 186.
47. Robert Bennet Forbes asks: “You have never been in a Catholic Town have you?—the bells are going all day & half the night—ding dong—ding dong—this is a great annoyance.” In *Letters from China: The Canton-Boston Correspondence of Robert Bennet Forbes, 1838–1840*, ed. Sarah Forbes Hughes (Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1996), 165.
48. Butler, 187.
49. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 6–7.

Chapter 7

1. Adapted from S.Y. Teng and John K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839–1923* (Cambridge, MA: University of Harvard Press, 1954), 38–40. This memorial is now housed at the Public Records Office, National Archives, Kew, London, accession number: FO 931/484. This article was made possible by a grant from the General Research Fund, Hong Kong.
2. This portrait was later hung in the East India Company base in Canton, and a smaller full-size portrait of Lord Amherst hung opposite.
3. Public Records Office, National Archives, Kew London, accession number: FO 1048/29/9, dated to Daoguang 9th year, 1829, 9th day of the 5th month.
4. See Teng Ssu-yu, *Chang-Hsi and the Treaty of Nanking 1842* (University of Chicago Press, 1944), 80.

5. There is a long history of tribute rituals, and textual records of the ceremonies are carefully detailed in early Chinese texts such as the *Yi li* and the *Zuo chuan*. They include the ceremonial reception, rules governing the privileges of envoys, alliances, customs, access, warfare, etc.
6. Marcel Mauss's concept of the inalienable gift (that differentiates the object from a commodity because it contains a part of the donor's spiritual essence) and Annette B. Weiner's theme of inalienable possessions have informed this paper's central theme of gifting practices. See Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); and Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don* (London: Cohen & West, 1954).
7. Philip Henry Stanhope, Fifth Earl Stanhope (1805–75), first introduced the idea of a national portrait institution to the House of Commons in 1846. He introduced it again in 1852, and he finally succeeded in 1856. He made a plea for the establishment of a "Gallery of original portraits, such portraits to consist as far as possible who are most honorably commemorated in British history as warriors, or as statesmen, or in arts, in literature or in science."
8. There are numerous books that can further elucidate these various positions, including Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in 18th Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993); Marcia Pointon and Kathleen Adler, eds., *The Body Imagined: The Human Form and Visual Culture Since the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991).
9. For an excellent introduction to ancestral portraits, see Jan Stuart and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, 2001).
10. A third type of portraiture, and the one least researched, is that of famous worthies and emperors, which were made as replicas in printed or rubbing forms. An example of printed images of emperors is from the *Sancai tu hui*, an encyclopedia that contains extensive illustrations of historic rulers up to the Jiajing Emperor (r.1522–66); see Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 98–9.
11. Richard Vinograd's pioneering work, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600–1900* (Cambridge, MA: University of Cambridge Press, 1992), explores issues of identity and individuality in portraiture and underscores the importance of the portrait event; see in particular pages 2–11. Identity plays are also explored by Wu Hung in "Emperor's Masquerade—Costume Portraits of Yongzheng and Qianlong," *Orientalisms* (July 1995), 25–41. In this article, Wu examines portrait-masquerades as examples that confirmed the universality of emperor with portraits made for historical posterity rather than public consumption.
12. Vinograd, 2–11.

13. Natasha Eaton, "Between Mimesis and Alterity: Art, Gift and Diplomacy in Colonial India, 1770–1800," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46 (2004), 816–44.
14. ———, 824.
15. Some indication of Chinnery's movements can be traced from his dated works. He was in Guangdong in the late summer and autumn of 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, and again in 1832, when he stayed from mid-April to December.
16. Although the difference between the Chinese ancestor portrait and Chinnery's oil painting is stark, there is a crucial if subtle feature seen in both: Wu's gesture. His left hand is slightly raised and his fingers are delicately holding a large bead on a court necklace. The pictorial roots of this gesture can be traced to portraits of the Chinese Imperial Court, in which the pictorial language of prestige utilized the necklace as a symbol of contemplative authority. Court necklaces were worn with ceremonial robes by men and women at the court. It follows the form of Buddhist rosaries, made up of 108 beads with 4 large beads (known as "Buddha heads" or "beads of four seasons") of contrasting colors and placed between each group of 27 beads. See Stuart, 56.
17. Versions of Chinnery's portraits of Wu Bingjian were sold as mementos to traders and their shipping crews as a form of tourist art. Many of these portraits are similar, and it may be that Chinnery and his followers made several versions, based on Chinnery's sketches of Howqua, and adapted them for different customers. There is also a sketch of the painting by Chinnery in pen and ink that has on the back the words "December 26th, 1827, Canton." This painting is now believed to be the one in the Hong Kong Shanghai Bank Collection.
18. Jules Itier, *Journal d'un Voyage en Chine en 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846* (Paris: Chez Duvin et Fontaine, 1848), 2 vols, 74.
19. Qiyong was in charge of investigating corruption cases in Jiangxi and Guangdong in 1836–37, which was the only time he was involved in work south of the capital. As an imperial commissioner, he could exercise power equal to that of the emperor, within the limits of his commission. This satisfied the British demand for negotiating with representatives with "full powers."
20. Qi Shan had ceded Hong Kong to the British and agreed to diplomatic equity and an indemnity of \$6 million. See Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839–1861* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 81–2.
21. Public Records Office, National Archives, Kew, London, accession number: FO 17/68 (no.74). Please note that the transliteration of Qiyong's name is Keying after the Cantonese pronunciation.
22. Whether knowingly or not, Qiyong's request was particularly fitting because miniatures were part of the sentimental and social life of "institutionalized separation": mementos of loved ones taken on lengthy tours, naval campaigns, and maritime trading of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western expansionism.

23. Public Records Office, National Archives, Kew, London, accession number: FO 682/137/13.
24. Teng and Fairbank, 40–1.
25. There are many examples of this usage found in the correspondence between the two men. For case in point, see the Public Records Office, National Archives, Kew, London, accession number: FO 682/68/3.
26. See John Rogers Haddad, “The Cultural Fruits of Diplomacy,” in *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in U.S. Culture: 1776–1876* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008). See “Chapter 7: The Cultural Fruits of Diplomacy: A Chinese Museum and Panorama,” <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/haj01/haj08.html> (site accessed May 22, 2011).
27. Caleb Cushing Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Box 40, Macau, July 3, 1844. The final signing of the treaty was at the Buddhist Temple of the Goddess of Mercy, located in the settlement of Wangxia or Wang-Hsia in Macao, which was then a Portuguese colony. Caleb Cushing of Newburyport, Massachusetts, a United States representative prior to his mission to China, successfully negotiated this first treaty between the United States and China. Signed on July 3, 1844, it won the same concessions that the British had gained in the Treaty of Nanjing following the conclusion of the Opium War in 1842.
28. Cushing. Minutes of meeting taken by Peter Parker.
29. The McCartney Mission in 1793 included gifts of scientific objects that demonstrated, in their eyes, technological advances that also by extension represented the possibilities of free trade. However, the Qianlong Emperor deemed the objects tributary gifts and, using the rhetoric of tributary relations, dismissed the mission. Simon Schaffer, “The Instruments of Cargo in the China Trade,” *History of Science* 44 (2006), 216–46.
30. Ronald J Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, “Between ‘Crockery-dom’ and Barnum: Boston’s Chinese Museum, 1845–47,” *American Quarterly* 56.2 (June 2004), 271–307.
31. Lydia Liu suggests that the connotations of fear and hatred behind the popular use of the term “fan gui” to designate foreigners stemmed from the Sanyuanli Incident in 1841, when the local militias defeated a small group of British Army men. Lydia Liu, *Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 101–8.
32. Ye Cha and Luo Cha were two fearsome ghosts.
33. Pan Shicheng, *Guiqu tu yong ti*, 73a/b, manuscript dated 1851. For translation and further information about this painting, see Yeewan Koon, “Lives and Afterlives: Luo Ping’s Guiqu tu,” *Orientalisms* 40 (September 2009).

Chapter 8

1. The work of Lisa Lowe at the University of California, San Diego, exemplifies but does not exhaust this development. See, for example, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996). The

- Duke University Press journal, *Positions*, under the editorship of Tani Barlow, has done much to develop the same sort of interests, deepening the applicability of Western critical categories and systems to Asian and Chinese realities. See, for example, Tani Barlow's edited volume, "Alain Badiou and Cultural Revolution," 13.1.
2. The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations have supported the journal *Diplomatic History* since 1976, but recently have added cultural materials to inflect their own discourses. See, for example, Joan Huff, "American Diplomacy from a Postmodern Perspective," 33.3 (2009): 512–6.
 3. Andy Xie, "If China Loses Faith the Dollar Will Collapse," *The Financial Times* (May 4, 2009), http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/2f842dec-38d8-11de-8cfe-00144feabd0.html?nclick_check=1 (accessed May 16, 2009).
 4. See the informative and challenging book by *The New Yorker* writer Peter Hessler, *Oracle Bones: A Journey Between China's Past and Present* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006).
 5. The State is not a subject and we should not attempt to interpret it psychologically or in any way that suggests it is available for analysis and description in terms derived from theories of subjectivity. Those who approach the state in this way are guilty of anthropocentrism and commit the same faults as those who anthropomorphize a divinity. In essence, such an error is metaphysical and at worst magical thinking that substitutes its own discursive fantasies for the hard details of state operations. Scholars of the weak US state, with its divisions of government, and its highly regionalized and fragmented economic interests, especially within large capital formations, should especially understand the inapplicability of subject-based theories to thinking about the state. For an understanding of the basic errors involved in such anthropomorphism, see David Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, 2nd ed. (New York: Hackett Publishing Co., 1998).
 6. "The Opening to China Part I: the First Opium War, the United States, and the Treaty of Wangxia, 1839–1844," *Timeline of U. S. Diplomatic History*, produced by the office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, at <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/dwe/82011.htm> (accessed May 16, 2009).
 7. See, for example, David Gedalecia, "Letters from the Middle Kingdom: The Origins of American's China Policy," *Prologue Magazine*, 34.4 (Winter 2002). *Prologue* is a publication of the US State Department.
 8. Implicit in my discussion and in the State Department's history stands an important fact that I cannot treat in this space. In a way that Henry Adams later theorizes in his letters on China and John Hay, we come to see that the Europeans, especially the British, operated to impose on China a form of international and internal order parallel to that established by the Treaty of Westphalia. Just as China and Russia were themselves outside this order by virtue of what Europeans would call "under-development," so America was outside it,

self-defined as uniquely exceptional it could not understand itself nor act on itself as a Westphalian state.

9. “The Burlingame-Seward Treaty, 1868,” at <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/gp/82013.htm> (accessed May 19, 2009).
10. *Letters of John Hay and Extracts from Diary*, Vol. 3 (New York: Gordian Press, 1969; printed in 1908 but not published), 139f. These volumes were edited by Henry Adams but redacted by Hay’s widow. Adams’s name does not appear.
11. Cf. “Henry Adams and the ‘American System,’” translated in Hindi as “Henry Adams O Markini Byabosthya,” *Abobhash*.3.2 (July–September 2003).
12. Garry Wills, *Henry Adams and the Making of America* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2003).
13. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York: The Library of America, 1983), 1077.
14. ———, 1077.
15. ———, 1020.
16. ———, 1120–1.
17. ———, 1121.
18. ———, 1121.
19. *Letters of John Hay*, 153.
20. ———, 171.
21. ———, 192–3.
22. ———, 142–3.
23. ———, 195.
24. Adams, 1077.
25. ———, 1078.
26. ———, 1078.
27. ———, 1078.
28. Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1987; originally published in 1894).
29. H. J. Mackinder, “The Geographical Pivot of History,” a paper presented in 1904 to the Royal Geographical Society, meeting in London. For a record of the meeting, see *The National Geographic Magazine* 15 (1904), especially pages 331ff.
30. Mackinder, quoted in *The National Geographic*, 331.
31. ———, 332.
32. ———, 334.
33. ———, 333.
34. ———, 333.
35. Adams, 1078.

Chapter 9

1. We are grateful to Bryan Philips, who assisted in collecting data from the Ma-Tsu Temple in San Francisco in April 2009.

2. See J. Bosco and P. P. Ho, *Temples of the Empress of Heaven* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1999); and H.X. Jiang, “Mingqing shiqi mazu xinyang chuantai guocheng ji yingxiang xunzong (The process of Mazu belief spreading to Taiwan in Ming and Qing Dynasty),” *Dongnan Chuanbo* (Southeast Media) 1 (2008): 24–5.
3. Bosco and Ho, 46–7.
4. Q.Y. Wu, *Mazu xinyang yu haiwai minnanren de “shenyuan”: yi xinjiapo tianfugong weili* (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2003): <http://www.fjql.org/qszl/xsyj39.htm>. (accessed June 11, 2009)
5. Y. L. Wang and M. R. Deng. “Mingqing shiqi hainandao de mazu xinyang” (“A Study of the Worship of Mazu in Hainan Island during Ming and Qing Dynasties”) *Humanities and Social Sciences Journal of Hainan University* 22.4 (2004): 382.
6. J. H. Lin, J. Q. Fu, and L. L. Zhuang. “Shangmao fazhan yu mazu xianghuo wangluo kuozhan de guanxi” (“The relationship between the commerce and trade development and the expansion of Mazu incense networks”) *Journal of Putian University* 14.6 (2007): 91.
7. The Confucian hierarchy places the scholar, *shi* (士), in the top place, followed by the farmer, *nong* (农), artisan, *gong* (工), and merchants, *shang* (商), the lowest of the four categories.
8. See Wu; and Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce, “Cultural and Network Capitals: Chinese Women and the ‘Religious’ Industry in South China,” in *Chinese Women and Their Social and Network Capitals*, ed. Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International, 2004), 121–43.
9. Bosco and Ho, 10.
10. J.B. Jacobs, *Local Politics in a Rural Chinese Cultural Setting: A Field Study of Mazu Township, Taiwan* (Canberra: Contemporary China Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1980), 96.
11. Wu, 254.
12. Bosco and Ho, 41.
13. Young Kil Zo, *Chinese Emigration into the United States, 1850–1880*, Ph.D dissertation, Columbia University, 1971 (Imprint: Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1971), 60.
14. Yong Chen, “China in America: A Cultural Study of Chinese San Francisco, 1850–1943” (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1993) (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International Imprint, 1994), 37.
15. Jonathan H. X. Lee, “Creating a Transnational Community: The Empress of Heaven and Goddess of the Sea, Tianhou/Mazu, from Beigang to San Francisco,” in *Religion at the Corner of Bliss and Nirvana: Politics, Identity, and Faith in New Migrant Communities*, ed. Lois Ann Lorentzen et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 169.
16. Zo, 3, 56.
17. ———, 56.
18. Lee, 169.

19. Zo, 57.
20. M. Hsu, "Trading with Gold Mountain: *Jinshanzhuang* and Networks of Kinship and Native Place," in *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America during the Exclusion Era*, ed. Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 22.
21. Hsu, 22.
22. Yong Chen, "Understanding Chinese American Transnationalism during the Early Twentieth Century: An Economic Perspective," in *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America during the Exclusion Era*, ed. Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 163.
23. Hsu, 25.
24. ———, 26.
25. ———, 26.
26. ———, 27.
27. ———, 27.
28. Y. Chen, 1993, 130.
29. Lee, 170.
30. *The California Illustrated Magazine* (June–Nov 1982): 728–41.
31. Y. Chen, 1993, 134.
32. ———, 135.
33. ———, 135.
34. ———, 136.
35. ———, 136.
36. Erika Lee, "Defying Exclusion: Chinese Immigrants and their Strategies during the Exclusion Era," *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America during the Exclusion Era*, ed. Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 10–11.
37. Zo, 57.
38. Lai, 2004, 49–50.
39. Hsu, 31.
40. E. Lee, 10–11.
41. See Sucheng Chan, "Against All Odds: Chinese Female Migration and Family Formation on American Soil during the Early Twentieth Century," in Chan, 34–135.
42. Shehong Chen, "Republicanism, Confucianism, Christianity, and Capitalism in American Chinese Ideology," in Chan, 185–6.
43. Chen, 186.
44. Ginger Chih, "Immigration of Chinese Women to the U. S. A. 1900–1940" (M.A. Thesis, Sarah Lawrence College, 1977), 33.
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46. Chan, 72.
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49. Lai, 1980, 65.
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55. Information derived from the printed brochure of Ma-Tsu Temple U.S.A., provided by the temple caretaker.
56. Jonathan H. X. Lee, “Transnational Goddess on the Move: Meiguo Mazu’s Celestial Inspection Tour and Pilgrimage as Chinese American Culture Work and Vernacular Chinese Religion” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Santa Barbara; UMI Microform 3375556, 2009), 154.
57. Lee, 166–83.
58. Printed brochure of Ma-Tsu Temple U.S.A.
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