

Americans and Macao

*Trade, Smuggling, and Diplomacy
on the South China Coast*

Edited by **Paul A. Van Dyke**



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Contents

Contributors	vii
Introduction	
Americans, Macao and China <i>John E. Wills, Jr. and Paul A. Van Dyke</i>	1
Chapter 1	
Revolutions and Divergences: The Macao Vortex in a Transforming World <i>John E. Wills, Jr.</i>	7
Chapter 2	
A Clash of Civilizations in the Pearl River Delta: Stephen Girard's Trade with China, 1787–1824 <i>Jonathan Goldstein</i>	17
Chapter 3	
American Ships, Macao, and the Bombay Marine, 1806–1817: Delicate Lines for a Junior Officer to Tread—the Role of Daniel Ross in the Charting of the China Seas <i>Stephen Davies</i>	33
Chapter 4	
Smuggling Networks of the Pearl River Delta before 1842: Implications for Macao and the American China Trade <i>Paul A. Van Dyke</i>	49
Chapter 5	
The April 1820 Debt Settlement between Conseequa and Benjamin Chew Wilcocks <i>Frederic D. Grant, Jr.</i>	73
Chapter 6	
The Importance of the China Trade in American Exploration and Conquest in the Pacific, 1830–1850 <i>Michael Block</i>	95

Chapter 7	
Henrietta Hall Shuck: Engendering Faith, Education, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Macao	105
<i>Isabel Morais</i>	
Chapter 8	
Five American Women's Perceptions of China 1829–1941: “A Yard-stick of Our Own Construction”	125
<i>Susan E. Schopp</i>	
Chapter 9	
Duties and Limitations: The Role of United States Consuls in Macao, 1849–1869	143
<i>Vincent Wai-kit Ho</i>	
Notes	153
Bibliography	213
Index	237

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Frederic D. Grant, Jr. is a Boston attorney with a research interest in the business and legal history of early trade between the United

States and China. He continues an international tradition of scholarship by individuals with a family involvement in the trade, such as Liang Jiabin, 1937 and 1960, and H. A. Crosby Forbes, 1975.

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John E. Wills, Jr., “Jack” to all his friends and colleagues, was born in 1936 in Urbana, Illinois. He studied at the University of Illinois and took his M.A. and Ph.D. at Harvard University under the direction of John K. Fairbank and Yang Liansheng. From 1965 until his retirement in 2004 he taught Chinese history and the history of the early modern world at the University of Southern California. His research into the history of maritime China and its foreign connections,

1500–1800, led him to archives from Beijing to Madras to Lisbon, and to the sense of an interconnected world expressed in *1688: A Global History* (2001) and *The World from 1450 to 1700* (2009). He is also the author of two monographs on early Sino-European relations, *Pepper, Guns, and Parleys: The Dutch East India Company and China, 1662–1681* (1974, 2nd ed. 2005), *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi, 1666–1687* (1984, 2nd ed. 2011); a survey of Chinese history, *Mountain of Fame: Portraits in Chinese History* (1994); two chapters of the *Cambridge History of China*, now available in Wills, ed., *China and Maritime Europe, 1500–1800: Trade, Settlement, Diplomacy, and Missions* (2011); editor of *Eclipsed Entreposts of the Western Pacific: Taiwan and Central Vietnam, 1500–1800* (2002) and *Past and Present in China's Foreign Policy: From "Tribute System" to "Peaceful Rise"* (2011); and co-editor of *From Ming to Ch'ing: Conquest, Region, and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China* (1979).

Introduction

Americans, Macao and China

John E. Wills, Jr. and Paul A. Van Dyke

When we gathered in Macao in December 2008 we were constantly surprised by the richness of the historical connections. As soon as there was an independent United States, American traders set out by ship for China, arriving in the Pearl River Delta in 1784. The rapid growth of a Euro-American presence in the Pacific in the early nineteenth century owed much to the lure of trade with China and drew Americans across the vast continent and around Cape Horn to California. Jamaica, Hamburg, Calcutta, Hawaii, Lima . . . There seems to be no end of places that come into focus as we trace the careers and connections of Americans and others who were involved with Macao in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The first chapter in this volume uses as a springboard the somewhat marginal but very well-documented participation of Caleb Cushing, envoy of the United States, in the great transformation of China's foreign relations after the Opium War. It suggests ways in which the transformation of China's maritime world between about 1780 and 1850 requires attention to the great changes going on in maritime South Asia and Southeast Asia, and even to the French and Industrial Revolutions.

Macao and its global connections in the early nineteenth century were deeply entangled, as they are today, with the bigger picture of the global connections of the Canton Delta. Four chapters show us how much we still have to learn, from new sources and new questions, about the growing tensions in the old Canton trade and its final disintegration in the Opium War. Jonathan Goldstein opens up for us an episode of crisis though not disintegration around 1820, through the records and experiences of one America-based trading house, namely Stephen Girard of Philadelphia. Recounting the building, outfitting,

and commissioning of a small fleet of vessels in the early nineteenth century, Goldstein outlines Girard's China trade ventures from beginning to end. By the 1820s, however, many changes were taking place in the trade, including new technologies, increased competition from private traders from India, the "Terranova incident" of 1821, and a great expansion of the contraband trade in the Pearl River Delta, particularly opium. By 1824, Girard had become disillusioned about the trade with China and ceased sending ships there. But the legacy of his exchanges with Macao and China endures to the present-day at Girard College.

A stunning piece of globalization is Stephen Davies's account of one lieutenant in the Bombay Marine who wound up having to navigate on his own a very tricky situation in Macao waters; institutionally a representative of a very ambiguous part of the British Raj in India, his family history draws together Jamaica, Hamburg, and upstate New York. Ross raised a family in Macao during the years that Girard was sending his ships there. In 1807, during one of his routine navigating trips in the Pearl River Delta, he rescued the ship *Asia* from Philadelphia (a ship Girard had previously invested in), which had suffered much damage from storm and run aground. Upon further investigation, Ross discovered that the supercargo aboard the *Asia* was his cousin. Davies's expertise on ships and shipping is one of several reminders in this collection of how much we can learn from a wide range of specialized knowledge.

Paul A. Van Dyke continues to ask new business history questions of the most varied sources, here showing the commercial linkages in all directions among Canton, Macao, and the opium smugglers of the Lintin anchorage. Connecting very much with the previous two chapters, Van Dyke deepens the discussion of the smuggling going on in the delta, showing more clearly the connections between the rice trade and the opium trade, of which Girard, Ross, and everyone else trading with China would have been well aware. Americans were very closely connected to the smuggling networks that ran through Macao, Whampoa, and later, Lintin Island. Van Dyke retraces the operations of each of these networks showing how Americans contributed to this illicit activity, and why Lintin Island rose to prominence in the 1820s.

Frederic D. Grant, Jr.'s chapter is one of the most surprising in this collection, combining fresh sources and his own legal expertise to show the great *Hong* merchants suing their American debtors in U.S. courts, apparently coached in legal procedure by the Britons to whom the *Hongs* owed huge sums. Grant's recounting of the legal case

between the Canton merchant Conseequa and the Philadelphian Benjamin Wilcocks provides many fresh insights and brings the entanglements of global trade, including opium, into yet another complicated vortex of interactions. These chapters are what make the archive-grubbing hard work of the historian its own reward.

The next chapter by Michael Block takes us across the Pacific to explore some of the influences that the interactions with Macao and China were having on Americans. Working within the sources and questions of U.S. history, Block makes a strong and novel case for the role the China trade played in the American push towards California. It will be difficult to play tourist in Monterey again without thinking of Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones's forces storming the Spanish fort even though the Spanish already had surrendered, then withdrawing the next day when he learned that the United States and Spain were not at war after all. What was happening in Macao and the Pearl River Delta was indeed having its effects on events and politics in America. Block shows China looming large in the minds of Americans who used the Sino-American trade as one of the primary justifications for capturing California from the Spanish.

A very important change around 1800 in the network of European and American connections linking the continents was that ladies, not just the occasional woman of dubious reputation, began taking long sea voyages. Some accompanied their ship-captain husbands, kept decent quarters aboard, and helped manage the shipping operation. More settled in some commercial or colonial outpost, raised a family and managed a household, and often helped manage their husbands' business ventures. Important forms of intercultural interaction declined as the gentlemen had to abandon their "pillow dictionaries" of Bengali or Indonesian and live respectable segregated lives.

The chapters of Isabel Morais and Susan E. Schopp show us how much we can learn from the different angles of vision and leisure to write diaries and long letters of some of these ladies. None of them, to be sure, was free of Euro-American attitudes of superiority. Isabel Morais's Henrietta Hall Shuck was a pioneer in crusading against the trade on female slaves which had been going on in Macao for a very long time. Protestant influences in Macao, of which not a few Americans were involved, included promoting female education and establishing schools for girls. Although many of these efforts by Shuck and others had no lasting results, they contributed, in their own ways, to the many layers of influences and exchanges that complicated China's foreign relations.

Schopp reminds us that the ladies in Macao in the early 1800s stand at the beginning of a striking line of acute observers of pre-revolutionary China. Protestant missionaries very frequently had wives and families. The wives had to be dedicated to the enterprise if they were to cope at all with the strangeness of China. Some of them started schools for Chinese girls, and became, despite their own very traditional understandings of gender roles, role models for young Chinese women seeking a place in the public sphere.¹ Schopp's Sarah Pike Conger was unusually well placed and well educated, a college graduate and the wife of the U.S. minister to Beijing, and a remarkably open-minded and perceptive observer. Her published letters were an important piece of a remarkable wave of publishing about China after the Boxer troubles. But Mrs. Conger still was isolated from the Chinese, quite unlike the last two of Schopp's figures, Pearl Buck, whose first language was Chinese, and Ruth Hemenway, who ran a medical mission station in rural Fujian on her own, 1924–1937. For each of these women, and for such very different contemporaries of theirs as Emily Hahn² and Agnes Smedley,³ the outsider status of an intelligent woman in a world in which very few women had any real power outside the family, contributed a great deal to their distance from Western prejudices and their sympathies for the struggles of the Chinese people.

In the final chapter, Vincent Wai-kit Ho shows us that Macao had a small place in the first stages of formal Western diplomacy in China after the Opium War, in the form of consuls and vice-consuls of the United States, sometimes part-time and always, in their telling, underpaid. And then in the middle of these apparently marginal stories we find a global dimension in the form of the conflicts of these consuls with the Spanish consul over the shipment of coolies to Cuba. In the wake of the general suppression of the Atlantic slave trade from Africa, the recruiting of indentured labor from China and India, often under very unpleasant and repressive conditions, was transforming the ethnic map of places as diverse as Cuba, Guyana, Fiji, and Mauritius. When, as in all these chapters, it is combined with fresh perspectives on the origins of the intricately interdependent world that links Macao and the United States today, delight and relevance walk hand in hand.

This collection of chapters on Americans, Macao and China covers a vast array of topics and peoples. But a theme that runs through all of them is the importance of China in the minds of Americans, and the role Macao played in all of these Sino-American exchanges.

Americans influenced the history of China, the Pearl River Delta, and Macao, as much as China influenced and shaped the lives of Girard, Ross, Wilcocks, Shuck, and the many other personages discussed in these chapters. The interweaving of the global, the local, and the personal begun in Wills's opening chapter continues throughout the collection.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984).
- 2 Ken Cuthbertson, *Nobody Said Not to Go: The Life, Loves, and Adventures of Emily Hahn* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1998). We do not recall much about Macao in Hahn's stream of vivid books about China, but she was linked to its history by her long marriage to Charles Ralph Boxer, the most important historian of Macao writing in English in the twentieth century.
- 3 Janice R. McKinnon and Stephen R. McKinnon, *Agnes Smedley: The Life and Times of an American Radical* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988).

Chapter 1

- 1 This chapter was delivered as the keynote lecture for the conference on "Americans, Macao and China 1784–1950: Historical Relations, Interactions, and Connections," University of Macau, December 7–9, 2008. I thank Dean Hao Yufan and Hao Zhidong and all my colleagues in the Department of History of the University of Macao, including Paul A. Van Dyke, George Chuxiong Wei, and Robert Antony.
- 2 The fullest English-language summary of these negotiations drawing on both English and Chinese sources is Earl Swisher, "The Treaty of Wanghia," in Kenneth W. Rea, ed., *Early Sino-American Relations, 1841–1912: The Collected Articles of Earl Swisher* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977), pp. 56–107. A first and in some ways still the best English-language summary of the negotiations at the end of the Opium War using Chinese sources is John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953). On the Cushing negotiations see Vol. 1, pp. 196–199. For translations of

many basic Qing documents see Earl Swisher, *China's Management of American Barbarians: A Study of Sino-American Relations, 1841–1861, with Documents* (Ann Arbor: Far Eastern Association, 1953, reprint New York: Octagon Books, 1972), Chs. 2, 3. The Library of Congress Cushing Papers, used by Belohlavek and others, are surveyed in Jacques M. Downs, “The Caleb Cushing Papers and Other China Trade Materials at the Library of Congress,” and Jonathan Goldstein, “Comment,” *Committee on East Asian Libraries Bulletin*, Number 86, February 1989, pp. 1–28. I thank Goldstein for sending me a copy of this paper.

- 3 The name is pronounced to rhyme with “bushing,” not with “crushing”.
- 4 For a thoroughly researched account of Cushing’s many-sided life see John M. Belohlavek, *Broken Glass: Caleb Cushing and the Shattering of the Union* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2005). For Cushing’s China phase in the English-language sources see Belohlavek, Ch. 6 and Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia: A Critical Study of the Policy of the United States with Reference to China, Japan and Korea in the 19th Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1922, reprinted New York: Barnes & Noble, 1941), Chs. VII, VIII. For the perspectives of the distinguished American medical missionary Peter Parker, who did much interpreting and advising for Cushing, see Edward V. Gulick, *Peter Parker and the Opening of China* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), Ch. 8.
- 5 Fang Chao-ying, “Ch’i-ying,” in Arthur W. Hummell, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, 2 vols. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), Vol. 1, pp. 130–134.
- 6 Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy*, Vol. 1, pp. 110–113.
- 7 Belohlavek, *Broken Glass*, p. 167.
- 8 Swisher, “Treaty of Wanghia,” p. 84.
- 9 Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy*, Vol. 1, p. 110.
- 10 Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- 11 For an excellent summary and citation of the controversial literature see Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800–1830*, 2 vols. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 2009), Vol. 2, pp. 565–576.
- 12 For an excellent account by a distinguished writer on financial topics see Peter L. Bernstein, *Wedding of the Waters: The Erie Canal and the Making of a Great Nation* (New York and London: Norton, 2005); quote from p. 353.
- 13 Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Making of a Hinterland: State, Society, and Economy in Inland North China, 1853–1937* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993); Jane Kate Leonard, *Controlling from Afar: The Daoguang Emperor’s Management of the*

- Grand Canal Crisis, 1824–1826* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1996).
- 14 C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830* (London and New York: Longman, 1989).
 - 15 James R. Fichter, *So Great A Profit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-American Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2010).
 - 16 I discuss these books in Wills, “Interactive Early Modern Asia: Scholarship from a New Generation” [a review article on eight books from TANAP Ph.D. program at Leiden], *International Journal of Asian Studies* (Japan), Vol. 5, No. 2, July 2008, pp. 235–245. The directly relevant works are Ota Atsushi, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State, and the Outer World of Banten, 1750–1830*; Kwee Hui Kian, *The Political Economy of Java’s Northeast Coast, c. 1740–1800: Elite Synergy*; and Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780–1815*; Leonard Blussé, General Editor and Hendrik E. Niemeijer, Project Co-ordinator, TANAP Monographs on the History of the Asian-European Interaction, Vols. 2, 3, 7 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006 and 2007). Also important is Nordin Hussin, *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang, 1780–1830* (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies and Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2007).
 - 17 Schrikker, *Sri Lanka*, pp. 100–102.
 - 18 For summaries in a stimulating comparative framework see Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, Vol. 1, pp. 300–304, 424–426.
 - 19 Pierre-Yves Manguin, *Les Nguyen, Macau, et le Portugal: Aspects Politiques et Commerciaux d’une Relation Privilégiée en Mer de Chine, 1773–1800* (Paris: École Française d’Extrême Orient, 1984).
 - 20 Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan, Aomen jijinhui, and Jinan daxue guji yanjiusuo, eds., *Ming Qing shiqi Aomen wenti dangan wenxian huibian*, 6 vols. (Beijing: Renmin, 1999), Vol. 1; Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, eds. *Correspondência Oficial Trocada Entre as Autoridades de Cantão e os Procuradores do Senado: Fundo das Chapas Sinicas em Português (1749–1847)*, 6 vols. (Macau: Fundação Macau, 2000), Vol. 1.
 - 21 Phan Văn Các and Claudine Salmon, ed., *Épigraphie en Chinois du Viêt Nam* (Paris and Hanoi: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1998–); Wolfgang Franke and Chen Tieh Fan, collectors, annotators, and editors, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia*, 3 vols. (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1982); Wolfgang Franke, Claudine Salmon, and Anthony Siu, collectors, annotators, and compilers, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia*, 3 vols. (Singapore: South Seas Society, 1988–1997). Much of the material from Jakarta in this volume also is available in Claudine Lombard and Denys Lombard, *Les Chinois de Jakarta: Temples et Vie Collective* (Paris: Maison des Sciences

- de l'Homme, 1980); Bao Leshi (Leonard Blussé) and Wu Fengbin, eds., *Gong'an Bu, Gong An Bu* (Minutes of the Board Meeting of the Chinese Council) 2 vols., in Series Bacheng Huaren Gongguan (Baguo Gongtang) Dang'an Congshu, The Chinese Council of Batavia Archives Series (Xiamen: Xiamen Daxue Chubanshe, 2002).
- 22 Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- 23 Ronald Toby, *Sakoku to iu gaikō* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2008), esp. pp. 85–91. James Fichter's book cited above has many excellent passages on American involvement in the Pacific trades in furs, sandalwood, and much more.

Chapter 2

- 1 Portions of this chapter are drawn from my book *Stephen Girard's Trade with China, 1787–1824: The Norms versus the Profits of Trade* (Portland, Maine: MerwinAsia, 2011). A version of this chapter was read at the international conference “Americans, Macao and China 1784–1950: Historical Relations, Interactions, and Connection,” held at the University of Macau, December 8–9, 2008. The author appreciates the research and editorial assistance of the following individuals: John Battick, professor emeritus of history at the University of Maine; Robert Bettarel of Ft. Lauderdale, Florida; Leonard Blussé, professor of Asian-European relations at Leiden University; Stephen Davies, director of the Hong Kong Maritime Museum; the late Jacques M. Downs, professor of history at the University of New England; Robert A. Gardella, professor emeritus of history at the United States Merchant Marine Academy; Roy Goodman and the late Murphey Smith of the American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia; Frederic Delano Grant, Jr., graduate student at Leiden University; Mel Johnson of the Fogler Library, University of Maine; Elizabeth Laurent and the late Phyllis Abrams of Girard College Library, Philadelphia; Raymond E. Lum of the Harvard Yenching Library; the late Marvin McFarland, chief of the Science and Technology Division of the Library of Congress; Angela Mehaffey and Myron House of the University of West Georgia Library, Carrollton, Georgia; Paul A. Van Dyke, professor and chairman of the history department at the University of Macau; John E. Wills, Jr., professor emeritus of history at the University of Southern California; and two anonymous readers for Hong Kong University Press. Final responsibility is, of course, the author's alone.
- 2 All Girard correspondence cited in this chapter comes from the Girard archive unless otherwise specified. The original Girard papers are housed in Founder's Hall, Girard College, Philadelphia. Microfilm copies are accessible in the American Philosophical Society Library, also in Philadelphia.

- 3 Other early American millionaires were Elias Hasket Derby (1739–1799) and Joseph Peabody (1757–1844) of Salem, Massachusetts, and John Jacob Astor (1763–1848) of New York City. Derby “was probably America’s first millionaire” according to *Salem: Maritime Salem in the Age of Sail* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1987), p. 47. That “Girard was one of three or four millionaires in America, all of whom had made their money almost entirely on the China trade,” see Sydney and Marjorie Greenbie, *Gold of Ophir or the Lure That Made America* (New York: Doubleday, 1925), p. 146. The Greenbie quotation must be treated cautiously. Girard’s wealth came from a variety of sources: the buying and selling of goods, both domestically and internationally; banking; real estate; and farming. According to maritime historian Ralph D. Paine, in 1813 Girard “was believed to be the wealthiest merchant in the United States.” Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine: A Chronicle of American Ships and Sailors* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), p. 106. Girard is considered “the most famous among Philadelphia’s China traders” by Ann Bolbach White, “The China Trade from Philadelphia, 1785–1820,” unpublished M.A. research paper, History, University of Pennsylvania, 1962, p. 17. He is considered “the outstanding China trader” by Agnes Hewes, *Two Oceans to Canton* (New York: Knopf, 1944), pp. 121–129. According to James Fichter East Indian merchants “calculated profit and loss on a venture-by-venture basis; with so many ongoing ventures, the question of who was richer becomes unknowable . . . It is enough to know they were affluent, among the first American millionaires, and part of the first American investing class.” James Fichter, *So Great a Profit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed American Capitalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 331, n. 70.
- 4 Wills uses the term “interactive emergence” to characterize the process whereby Westerners and Asians worked conjointly to effect change. His thesis not only contradicts Holden Furber’s but also contrasts with M. N. Pearson’s statist hypothesis, which suggests that European powers were successful in maritime Asia because Asian powers were land focused and not interested in developing maritime connections. John E. Wills, Jr., “Interactive Early Modern Asia: Scholarship from a New Generation,” *International Journal of Asian Studies* 5, no. 2 (2008), pp. 236, 240; Wills, “Maritime Asia, 1500–1800: The Interactive Emergence of European Domination,” *American Historical Review* 98, no. 1 (1993), pp. 83–84; Holden Furber, “Asia and the West as Partners before ‘Empire’ and ‘After,’” *Journal of Asian Studies* 28, no. 4 (1969), pp. 711–721; and Paul A. Van Dyke, review of Tonio Andrade’s *How Taiwan Became Chinese*, *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 4 (November 2006), p. 1408. See also Wills’s “Revolutions and Divergences: The Macao Vortex in a Transforming World,” in this volume.

- 5 For further evidence of the complex and often confrontational nature of these interactions, see Frederic Delano Grant, Jr., “The Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong: Litigation as a Hazard of Nineteenth Century Foreign Trade,” in Jonathan Goldstein, ed., “Fresh Perspectives on Qing Dynasty Maritime Relations,” a special issue of *The American Neptune* 48, no. 4 (Fall 1988), pp. 243–260, and Grant’s chapter in this volume; Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War 1840–1842* (New York: Norton, 1976); and Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005). On the mechanics of the opium trade see “Select Committee on the Trade with China,” *Parliamentary Papers*, 1840, VII; Louis Dermigny, *Le Commerce a Canton au XVIIIe siecle 1719–1833*, 4 vols. (Paris: Service de Vente des Publications Officielles de l’Education Nationale, 1964); Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844* (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and London: Lehigh University Press, 1997); Fay, “The Irrepressible Drug: Opium and the Opium War,” *Bengal Past and Present: Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society* 90 (July–December 1971), pp. 149–164; Charles C. Steele, “American Trade in Opium to China, Prior to 1820,” *Pacific Historical Review* 9 (December 1940), pp. 425–444; Charles C. Steele, “American Trade in Opium to China, 1821–39,” *Pacific Historical Review* 10 (March 1941), pp. 57–74; Jacques M. Downs, “American Merchants and the China Opium Trade, 1800–1840,” *Business History Review* 42, no. 4 (Winter 1968), pp. 418–442; David E. Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934); and Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–1842* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1951).
- 6 On the overall economic depression in the United States in the mid-1780s, see Gary M. Walton and James F. Shepherd, *The Economic Rise of Early America* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1979). On the overall decline of the American-West Indian trade, see (New York City merchant William) Constable to [recipient unclear], December, 1783, in Clarence VerSteeg, “Financing and Outfitting the First United States Ship to China,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 23 (February 1953), p. 2; and James W. Snyder, Jr., “American Trade in Eastern Seas,” *Americana* 32 (October 1938), pp. 628–629. According to business historian Agnes Hewes, the deterioration of America’s West Indian trade brought the nation to the “verge of economic collapse.” Hewes, *Two Oceans to Cathay: The Story of the Old China Trade* (New York: Knopf, 1944), p. 6. On Girard’s involvement in the West Indian trade and his eventual arrival in Philadelphia, see *Log Book of the Deux Frères, 1772*; *Log Book of the Sally, 1773*; Copy of Insurance Contract, Bordeaux, March, 1774, LR 1774, L 3; M. Olomebel (St. Marc) to

- Girard (Port-au-Prince), March 30, 1774; April 8, 1774; M. Richard, Jr. (Cape Francis) to Girard (Port-au-Prince), May 4, 1774; M. Palluat (St. Marc) to Girard (Port-au-Prince), June 18, 1774; M. Lappinot, “Mississippi,” Declaration to Girard, March 1, 1776, LR 1776, L 30; *Log Book of La Jeune Bébé*, May 22, 1776; and Harry Wildes, *Lonely Midas* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1933), pp. 9, 13–15. Albert Gares maintains that “this is perhaps Girard’s most controversial voyage. His log book states that he sailed from “St. Pierre, Miquelon” Isle, yet his daily ship reckonings show unmistakably that he sailed from Cape Francis (Cap Francois or Cap Haitien—ed.)” Albert J. Gares, “Stephen Girard’s West Indian Trade, 1789–1812,” unpub. Doctor of Ed. Diss., Temple University, 1947, pp. 11–13, 21–27; Stephen Simpson, *Biography of Stephen Girard with His Will Affixed* (Philadelphia: T. L. Bonsal, 1832), p. 412.
- 7 Robert Albion, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815–1860* (New York: Scribner’s, 1939), p. 195; John Ledyard, *A Journal of Captain Cook’s Last Voyage* (Hartford: Nathaniel Patten, 1783); Jared Sparks, *Life of John Ledyard* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1847), p. 175, and Sparks, “By a Yankee,” *The Adventures of a Yankee, or the Singular Life of John Ledyard* (Boston: Carter, Hendee, and Babcock, 1831), p. 64. For Girard’s awareness of *Empress of China*’s voyage, see John Girard (Cape Francis) to Stephen, May 4, 1784. On the broader impact of that voyage, see Randall to Hamilton, August 14, 1791, in Alexander Hamilton, *The Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton*. Ed. by Arthur Cole (Chicago: A.W. Shaw, 1928), p. 132; and Hewes, *Two Oceans to Canton*, p. 64.
- 8 On the voyage of *Alliance*, see Richard Dale to John Barry, March 29, 1788, Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection, New York Historical Society; John Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, II (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1844), pp. 337–339; R. Fenton Duvall, “Philadelphia’s Maritime Commerce with the British Empire,” unpub. PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1960, p. 413; Kenneth Scott Latourette, *History of Early Relations between the United States and China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), p. 69; Frances Little, “America’s East Indiamen and the China Trade,” *Antiques* 15 (January 1929), p. 30; and Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, *The Empress of China* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1984), pp. 55, 245. Pacific relics gathered on the *Alliance* voyage were given to Charles Peale for his new Philadelphia museum, which in 1802 found a home in Independence Hall.
- 9 Samuel Woodhouse, “Log and Journal of the Ship ‘United States’ on a Voyage to China in 1784,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 55, no. 3 (1931), pp. 225–258.

- 10 On December 30, 1785, the *Canton*, Capt. Thomas Truxton, left Philadelphia. The *Independent Journal* of May 26, 1787 announced the *Canton's* return to Philadelphia, nineteen weeks out of Canton. Benj Fuller to Thomas Truxton and Jno Frazier, December 31, 1785, Society Miscellaneous Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Thomas Truxton to Clement Biddle, December 6, 1787 and June 24, 1789, Truxton-Biddle Letters, Library Company of Philadelphia; "Memorandum of Mr. Hazard of the Sailing Ship *Canton*," n.d., Donnalson Papers, Montgomery County Historical Society, Norristown, Penna.; Little, "America's East Indiamen," p. 30.
- 11 Page four of Girard's *Journal* contains the entry "Wharton and Lewis are credited on October 22, 1788 for L100 reinsurance on vessel, Goods or Cash pr. The ship *Asia* Capt. Barry from Philada. to the East India [sic] L100. @ 7 ½ pr.ct. Policy 10/L8.0.0." Harold Gillingham, *Marine Insurance in Philadelphia 1731–1800* (Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1933), p. 85; Girard to John Dorson, March 10, 1798; to Martin Bickham, March 10, 1798 and March 14, 1799; Samuel Shaw, *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton*, edited by Josiah Quincy (Boston: Wm. Crosby and H.P. Nichols, 1847), pp. 295–296; Rhys Richards, "United States Trade with China, 1784–1814," special issue of *The American Neptune* 54 (1994), p. 11; Kenneth Scott Latourette, "Voyages of American Ships to China, 1784–1844," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 28 (1927), p. 241; Smith, *The Empress of China*, p. 21; White, "The China Trade," p. 36; Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, p. 162.
- 12 South Carolina's tariff is given in the *Providence Gazette*, May 29, 1784. Pennsylvania's is mentioned by Congressman Fitzsimmons in a speech on the tariff of April 18, 1789, reproduced in Thomas Hart Benton, *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856* (New York: D. Appleton, 1857–1861), Vol. 1, pp. 41–42. See also: *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, Vol. 1, p. 25; Latourette, *History of Early Relations*, p. 78; Frank Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (New York: Putnam, 1910), p. 10; Albert Giesecke, *American Commercial Policy before 1789* (New York: Appleton, 1910), p. 138; Emory Johnson, *History of the Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1915), p. 338; Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1963), p. 8; Helen Klopfer, "Statistics of the Foreign Trade of Philadelphia, 1700-1860," unpub. PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1936, p. 221; and Duvall, "Commerce," pp. 133–134.
- 13 On March 12, 1795 Girard asked John Ferrers in New York to "let me know if you expect shortly . . . some vessels from Chiney [sic] or from any other place in the East Indies with nankeens." He requested "the wholesale price of that article in your city." Sometime before April 1795,

- Girard had one case of China goods shipped to himself from Canton aboard *Sophia*, Captain Lowther. John Ferrers (New York) to Girard, April 13, 1795; Girard to William Douglas (St. Petersburg), July 6, 1795; Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, p. 163.
- 14 *Salem*, pp. 97, 106; Jean Gordon Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade 1784–1844* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art/University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), pp. 27–28. In 1795 Derby sold the *Grand Turk II*, and it later returned from Canton loaded with teas and silks, and ran aground and was wrecked off Portland, Maine. Nicholas Dean, “Night of the ‘Grand Turk,’” *Down East* (Camden, Maine: December 1984), pp. 59, 70.
 - 15 “Commerce, Navigation, and Ship-Building on the Delaware,” in Report of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics, Official Document #10 (for the year 1891), *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Official Documents* (Harrisburg: Edwin Meyers, 1897), Vol. 4, p. 13; Michael Costagliola, “The Canton Packet *Cohata*,” *The American Neptune* 7 (1947), p. 5. Some historians have claimed that Girard began to build “several ships for the China trade” as early as 1790 or 1791. None of them has cited evidence from the Girard archives to substantiate this claim. The earliest claim is in Simpson, *Biography of Stephen Girard*, p. 43. See also Charles Oscar Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers 1778–1883* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1912), p. 165; W.S. Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce*, Vol. 3 (London: Sampson, Low, Martston, Low, and Searle, 1876), pp. 7–9, n. 2; Latourette, *History of Early Relations*, pp. 69–70; and Dermigny, *Le Commerce a Canton*, Vol. 3, p. 1174. The only ship Girard built between 1787 and 1793 was the *Good Friends*. This ship was never used in the China trade, and there is no evidence that Girard ever intended it for such usage. Ship *Good Friends* Builders Certificate, Morris Goff, 1793, Girard Papers; Ferdinand Graser, “Report on Ships,” mss. Girard College Library; “Story of the Ship *Good Friends*,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 39 (1915), pp. 98–107. A bibliographical note accompanying this article says “the story of *Good Friends* has been compiled from original letters in the collection of Major William L. Lambert.” Verifiable data for Girard’s entry into the China trade point to the date of April 15, 1795. On that day, he was sufficiently interested in the China trade to commission Isaac White to begin the construction of the first of four ships specifically designed for the China trade. “Articles of Agreement between Stephen Girard and Isaac White, builder, 15 April 1795.”
 - 16 Girard to Baring Brothers (London), January 18, 1808.
 - 17 Joseph Curwen, Antwerp, to Girard, Philadelphia, May 7, 1802, Curwen Collection, Atheneum of Philadelphia. Eastern ship builders long considered live oak “absolutely necessary, it being preferable to any other

wood” for frame timbers. “The best kinds are white oak, and black, or yellow bark oak. Much southern oak is now used.” [George B. Emerson], *Report on the Trees and Shrubs Growing Naturally in Massachusetts* (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1846), p. 19. On the construction of *Montesquieu* see “Agreement between Stephen Girard and Isaac White for Building, 25 July 1805, Girard Papers; for *North America* see “Articles of Agreement with Joseph Grice, 1808”; Girard to Baring Brothers (London), January 18, 1808; for *Helvetius* see “Agreement with Isaac White, Builder, 1804. See also Graser, “Report on Ships”; Gillingham, *Marine*, p. 100; John McMaster, *The Life and Times of Stephen Girard*, I (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1918), p. 411; Simpson, *Biography of Stephen Girard*, p. 9; and J.A. Fowler, *A History of Insurance in Philadelphia for Two Centuries* (1683–1822), (Philadelphia: Review Publishing, 1888), p. 100.

18 Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, p. 164.

19 Marion Brewington, “Maritime Philadelphia, 1609–1837,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 48 (April 1939), p. 109.

20 Biddle writes of “unsupported charges brought against me” and “property belonging to me attached by Mr. Stephen Girard.” Biddle, Macao, to his father Clement Biddle, April 15, 1807; to David Parrish, May 15, 1809, George W. Biddle papers, Cadwalader collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Girard to Robert Smith et. al, January 1, 1810; McMaster, *Girard*, Vol. 1, pp. 428–436; Vol. 2, pp. 5, 10; Francis Baring & Company to Albert Gallatin, August 18, 1803, Library of Congress, Baring Manuscripts; Ralph Hidy, *The House of Baring* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 30–31; Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, pp. 162–167, 177–178; *American Weekly Messenger*, 2, no. 3 (April 9, 1814), p. 34; “Stephen Girard,” *Hunt’s Merchants Magazine* 4 (April 1841), pp. 364–365; Henry Arey, “Girard College and Its Founder,” *North American Review* (January 1865), p. 85; and Robert Albion and Jennie Pope, *Sea Lanes in Wartime: The American Experience, 1775–1941* (New York: Norton, 1942), pp. 103–104.

21 John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 197–199; Girard to: John Grelaud, December 23, 1824; Arthur Grelaud, March 2, 1816; Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, p. 169. The “Howqua” Girard dealt was a member of a large clan of *Hong* merchants. On four different Howquas, see (Tam Ping Yiu), “Simple Explanation of Ancient Objects and Literature: Portrait of Howqua,” in *Newsletter of the Hong Kong Medical Society*, March 2004, p. 28 (in Chinese).

22 Girard to John Grelaud, December 23, 1824; Arthur Grelaud to Girard, May 16, 1816. Girard’s Chinese colleagues shipped him numerous gifts which are stored at Girard College. His will specifies that “in one or more of those buildings, in which they may be most useful, I direct my executors to place my plate and furniture.”

- 23 Girard to Mahlon Hutchinson and Myles McLeveen, January 2, 1806. On William Redwood, see SG Letter Book 9, #148 and #149, and Letters 1804, #241, 243.
- 24 John R. to Henry Latimer, April 3, 1829, John R. Latimer Papers, University of Delaware Library, Newark; Girard to Arthur Grelaud, March 2, 1816.
- 25 William A. Jardine to the Select Committee on the Trade with China, 1840, 7 (359), 95, *United Kingdom Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons, London, U.K.
- 26 The first Smyrna-Canton opium voyage was made in 1804 by Philadelphian James Wilcocks, sailing for his kinsmen William Waln and R. H. Wilcocks as supercargo aboard the brig *Pennsylvania*. Downs, "American Merchants," p. 421; Steele, "American Opium Trade to China Prior to 1820," p. 430; and Downs, *Golden Ghetto*, p. 115. The second Smyrna-Canton voyage was that of *Bingham*, sent out by Willings and Francis of Philadelphia in the spring of 1805. Letters from William Reed, supercargo, cited in Downs, "American Merchants," p. 421. James Wilcocks made a second Smyrna-Canton passage in 1805. Downs, "American Merchants," p. 421; and Shü-lun Pan, *The Trade of the United States with China* (New York: China Trade Bureau, 1924), p. 9. For a clear explanation of the processes whereby opium was cultivated and shipped, see Fay, *The Opium War*, pp. 3–14.
- 27 Girard to Mahlon Hutchinson and Capt. Myles McLeveen, January 2, 1806; Downs, "American Merchants," pp. 421–422.
- 28 The first U.S. vessel to touch at Manila was Elias Hasket Derby's *Astrea*, which stopped there in 1796 for sugar, pepper, and indigo. In 1799 Girard instructed Martin Bickham, supercargo of his *Sally*, in Mauritius, to head for Manila for sugar and indigo. Girard to Bickham, Mauritius, March 14, 1799; Nathan Bowditch, manuscript journal of the voyage of *Astrea*, Peabody Essex Museum Library, Salem, Mass.
- 29 Girard to Mahlon Hutchinson and Myles McLeveen, January 2, 1806; Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, p. 281.
- 30 Samuel Wagner (Canton) to Girard, October 28, 1815; Arthur Grelaud (Canton) to Girard, October 29, 1815; Girard to Arthur Grelaud, March 2, 1816; and Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, pp. 169–170.
- 31 Houqua [*sic*] (Canton) to Girard, April 21, 1820; Richard Parish (Hamburg) to Girard, November 10, 1817; Edward Hayes and LaFontaine to Girard, September 20, 1818; Girard to Daniel Crommelin & Sons (Amsterdam), April 29 and May 18, 1820; Forester & Co. (Batavia) to Girard, November 25, 1822; Downs, "American Merchants," p. 425; and Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, p. 171. Girard apparently took an on-again, off-again attitude toward shipping opium. See, for example, his 1816 advice to supercargo Arthur Grelaud: "I recommend you in the most particular manner not to opium or any other contraband . . . either on

my acct or on acct of others on board the ship *Voltaire* under any pretext whatsoever. I have done it once in view to collect a part of a bad debt but I shall do it again." "Shall" seems to be a Freudian slip, indicating his true intention. Girard to Grelaud, Amsterdam en route to Canton, March 2, 1816.

- 32 Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, pp. 169, 171.
- 33 Edward George to Girard, October 1, 1821. Other sources on the Terranova incident include U.S. Consul Benjamin Chew Wilcocks, Canton, to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, November 1, 1821, U.S. Department of State, Canton Consular Letters I, United States National Archives, reproduced in *United States House of Representatives Executive Documents* 26:2, no. 71, including translated Chinese documents; a British East India Company version of events in Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926–1929), Vol. 4, Appendix X, pp. 11–13, 23–27 and Appendix Y, pp. 28, 35; *The Times* (London), May 6, 1822, reproduced with commentary in George T. Staunton, *Miscellaneous Notices Relating to China* (London: J. Murray, 1822), pp. 429–432; and *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D., compiled by his widow*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Orme, 1839). Downs notes an account of the incident in the log of *Panther*, Captain James Edsall, in the Carrington Collection, Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, dated October 6, 1821, which seems to have been the basis for Edward Everett's article, "The Execution of an Italian at Canton," *North American Review* 40 (January 1835) and for an article in *The Chinese Repository* (Canton) 5 (September 1836). According to Downs, "Staunton adds minor information . . . but in general his stories corroborate those of Wilcocks-Morse and the *Panther*/*North American Review*/*Chinese Repository* versions. Finally, there are many sketchier accounts by various members of the committee that negotiated on Terranova's behalf. Except for a few minor details and a major disagreement between the British and American accounts on the wisdom and morality of the committee's decisions, the main lines of the story according to all English language accounts are clear." Jacques M. Downs, "The Fateful Case of Francis Terranova: An Incident of the China Trade," *Mains'l Haul: A Journal of Maritime History* (San Diego) 3, No. 2 (Spring 2003), pp. 7, 13.
- 34 Wilcocks to Adams, November 1, 1821, *United States House of Representatives Executive Documents*, no. 71, pp. 10, 14; Edward George to Girard, October 1, 1821; *Panther* Log and *Chinese Repository* cited in Downs, "Fateful," pp. 7, 10; and Pan, *The Trade of the United States with China*, p. 14.
- 35 Wilcocks to Adams, November 1, 1821, Canton Consular Letters, document #18 and enclosure #36, "Statement to the Emperor," in Downs,

- “Fateful,” p. 13; Edward George to Girard, November 1816, p. 21. Appendix X, “Statement of Proceedings in the Matter of the American Ship *Emily* and the Seaman Francis Terranova, October 28, 1821,” in Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, Vol. 4, p. 27.
- 36 Reproduced in *Niles' Weekly Register*, December 21, 1822.
- 37 For a few examples of this type of “justice,” and opposition to it from foreigners, see Wilcocks to Adams, September 22, 1817, *House Ex. Doc. 71*, p. 7. Edward George to Girard, November 16, 1821. Fairbank and Goldman argue that “nineteenth-century Westerners were most concerned over the Chinese [legal—ed.] system’s lack of due process to protect the individual. An accused person might be arrested arbitrarily and detained indefinitely, was presumed guilty, might be forced to incriminate himself through confession, and had no advice of counsel nor much chance to make a defense. The individual was unprotected against the state.” Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, p. 185.
- 38 Edward George to Girard, November 16, 1821.
- 39 Widow Peter van Veen & Sons, Amsterdam, to Girard, December 17, 1822.
- 40 By 1841, ten years after Girard’s death, tea, which had always been the major Chinese export to America, made up four-fifths of China’s exports to the United States. Hewes, *Two Oceans to Canton*, pp. 153–154; Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 48, 113. On domestic American manufacture of Chinese export objects, in terms of both design and technique, see Ellen Paul Denker, *After the Chinese Taste: China’s Influence in America, 1730–1930* (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1985); Dorothy Rainwater, “House of Kirk: America’s Oldest Silversmith,” *Spinning Wheel*, October 1955, p. 11; *Samuel Kirk and Son: American Silver Craftsmen* (pamphlet); and Jonathan Goldstein, “Cantonese Artifacts, Chinoiserie, and Early American Idealization of China,” in Goldstein et al., *America Views China: American Images of China Then and Now* (Bethlehem, Penn.: Lehigh University Press, 1991), pp. 44–55.
- 41 For an 1829 plan of “the Forbes Steamer in Calcutta” plus a general discussion of the challenge steam posed for the China trade, see G. R. Worcester, *The Junks and Sampans of the Yangtze* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1971), p. 59; Basil Lubbock, *The Opium Clippers* (Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1933), pp. 66–69, 78–80; John E. Wills, Jr., “Revolutions and Divergences: The Macau Vortex in a Transforming World,” unpub. version of paper presented at the conference “Americans, Macau and China, 1784–1950: Historical Relations, Interactions, and Connections,” University of Macau, December 8, 2008, p. 4; and Fay, *Opium War*, pp. 51–61, 81–82. On *Red Rover*, see Fay, *Opium War*, pp. 51, 58–60. In 1839 regular steamship service became available from India to Suez and then, after a passage across the relatively short distance between Alexandria and Suez, on to Falmouth,

- England. Disregarding *Forbes*, Worcester argues that, in 1842, the iron-clad, flat-bottomed, paddle-wheeled steamship *Nemesis* became “the first steamer to enter the Whangpoo.” Ten British steamers were part of the seventy-five-ship flotilla involved in the First Anglo-Chinese War [Opium War] of 1840–1842. Among those ten were *Ariadne*, *Atalanta*, *Enterprize*, *Madagascar*, *Nemesis*, *Phlegethon*, and *Queen*. Worcester, *The Junks and Sampans of the Yangtze*, pp. 29, 341; Arthur Waley, *The Opium War through Chinese Eyes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), pp. 103, 114, 135, 139, 140; John K. Fairbank et al., *East Asia: The Modern Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), plate 15; and Fay, *Opium War*, pp. 81–82, 187–189, 207, and 261–369, passim. Several varieties of steamboats appear in a gouache of approximately 1850 by an unknown Chinese artist. The painting is entitled “The Red Light District, Canton.” Jean Gordon Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade 1784–1844* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art/University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984) (exhibition catalog), p. 35. A painting by Sunqua, dated 1855–1856 and now in the Hong Kong Museum of Art, shows a steamship anchored in front of the Guangzhou factories. Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), dust jacket. Two side-wheel steamers appear in Canton harbor in about 1856 in Sunqua’s “Burning of the Hongs at Canton.” Carl Crossman, *The China Trade* (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1972), plate 45, p. 62.
- 42 Other Parsees who became active in the shipment of opium to China included Dadabhoy, Heerjeebhoy, and Maneckjee Rustomjee and Benjamin Hossongjee. Fay, *Opium War*, pp. 130, 146, 157, 325.
- 43 Nathan Katz, *Who Are the Jews of India?* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 130–132, 139–140.
- 44 Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke, “Armenian Footprints in Macau,” *Review of Culture*, International Edition No. 8 (October 2003), pp. 20–39; Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke, “Muslims in the Pearl River Delta, 1700 to 1930,” *Review of Culture*, International Edition No. 10 (April 2004), pp. 6–15; George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire. Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630–1754* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- 45 Girard to Edward George, March 2, 1816; Fay, *Opium War*, p. 122.
- 46 Downs, “American Merchants,” p. 430.
- 47 Girard to Thomas Riddle, December 20, 1824; to John Grelaud, December 23, 1824; Downs, “American Merchants,” p. 430; and Tim Sturgis, *Rivalry in Canton: The Control of Russell & Co. 1838–40 and the Founding of Augustine Heard & Co.* (London: Warren, 2006), passim.
- 48 Robert Bennet Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences* (Boston: Little Brown, 1878, 3rd. rev. ed. 1892), p. 150; Morse, *International Relations*, vol. 1, p. 210. For figures on the opium trade, see Greenberg, *British Trade*,

- p. 220; Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, p. 118; Downs, "American Merchants," pp. 430–435; Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor. Business Man*, II (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), pp. 613–614, 666; and Fay, *Opium War*, p. 140.
- 49 Mathew Carey, "Letter on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal," in James Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947), p. 91; J. V. Nash, "Stephen Girard, Pioneer Millionaire Philanthropist," *The Open Court* 42, no. 7 (July 1928), pp. 393–406. Girard's coal lands ran from Ashland to Girardville to Shenandoah to Mahanoy City, north of the present U.S. Highway 81, with Frackville to the south. After his death these lands were technically part of, and were informally known as, "the Girard Estate." They were administered by the trustees of his estate.
- 50 W. Frank Gorrecht, "Stephen Girard's Connections with Lancaster County," *Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 29 (1955), pp. 123–124.
- 51 Girard to C. Evans, February 11, 1823 and July 28, 1825; William J. Duane, Philadelphia, to Thomas Elder, Harrisburg, April 23, 1830; Girard to Daniel Montgomery, March 25, 1831; "Report of the President and Managers of Schuylkill Navigation Company, 4 January 1836," all in Historical Society of Pennsylvania; "Report of the Committee appointed at a meeting held in Philadelphia on the 10th Feb. 1829 relative to the Susquehanna and Pottsville Railroad," in *The Register of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia) 3, no. 9 (February 28, 1829), pp. 133–134; Julius Bogen, *The Anthracite Railroads* (New York: Ronald, 1927), pp. 14–15. Concerning Philadelphia's trade rivalry with Baltimore, James Livingood writes that "it is impossible to arrive at definite conclusions as to which city was victorious." The rivalry was effectively between the produce of the Susquehanna Valley versus that of Philadelphia and its hinterland, which included portions of southern New Jersey located in easy access to the Delaware River. The question becomes which city made more successful use of its hinterland. Both built railroads and expanded westward. Livingood, *Philadelphia-Baltimore*, pp. 111 and *passim*.
- 52 Sunqua, "The ship *Stephen Girard*," oil on board, ca. 1833–1840, CIGNA Museum and Art Collection, Philadelphia, reproduced in Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade*, p. 27. The ship is sailing by the Bogue forts in Canton's Pearl River Delta.
- 53 Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine*, p. 107. Girard's bank was closed after his death. Girard Trust Company was founded after his death. Its only relation to Girard was its name. Gustavus Myers, *History of the Great American Fortunes* (New York: Modern Library, 1937), p. 79; Nash, "Stephen Girard," pp. 393–406; Gorrecht, "Stephen," pp. 123–124; Simpson, *Biography of Stephen Girard*, pp. 197–199;

Webster Christman, “The Papers of Stephen Girard: Their Preparation and Historical Interest,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110 (1966), p. 385; Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade 1682–1846: Commercial, Cultural, and Attitudinal Effects* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), pp. 42–43.

- 54 Graham Hutchings, *Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 193; Fay, *Opium War*, p. 64.

Chapter 3

- 1 See Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, *The Empress of China* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1984), p. 3.
- 2 See Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade 1682–1846* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), p. 17.
- 3 “The Naval Officer, whose staff Ross had come to join, was one of the officials responsible for enforcing the Navigation Acts.” Hercules Ross made his money through the loopholes in those very acts. He was a gamekeeper-turned-poacher. Agnes M. Butterfield, *Hercules Ross of Kingston, Jamaica and Rossie, Forfar 1745–1816, with a sketch of the career of Captain Daniel Ross, FRS, Bombay Marine, later Indian Navy 1780–1849*, unpublished typescript, Montrose Public Library (M.A. thesis, University of Manchester, n.d.), pp. 1–2.
- 4 John Ross, Hercules’ father was, as an excise man in Johnshaven, Kincardineshire, Scotland, not a nobody, more a not conspicuously successful part of a typical, British eighteenth-century circle of aspirant middle-class “interest.” Information on Hercules Ross’s family from Butterfield, *Hercules Ross of Kingston*.
- 5 Michael Greenberg’s important early analysis of the China trade makes the point of the marked Scots presence. Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp. 37–38.
- 6 He was arrested, when running the British blockade in the West Indies in French ships flagged as American, after getting into a fire fight with a British squadron which included Capt. Horatio Nelson, recently made post. Thanks to some fancy footwork by his brother Hercules, he avoided the noose. See John Sugden, *Nelson, a Dream of Glory* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), pp. 113, 141, 142, 147, fn. 26, p. 808, citing the original Admiralty documents.
- 7 Daniel Ross was nominated by Hercules Ross’s neighbor, David Scott of Dunninald, member of Parliament (in London) for Forfar Burghs, an EIC director and an extremely powerful London businessman. David Scott had a relation, Lt. Robert Scott, in the Bombay Marine in 1799. British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR) H/730, index to letters of April 1797–November 1799, p. 79.

- 8 “Pre-eminent (amongst financiers in Hamburg) was John Parish of England (*sic*—he was born in Dundee, Scotland!), who had the greatest banking house in Germany in 1800 . . .” Charles Poor Kindleberger, *A Financial History of Western Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press US, 1993). See also [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Parish_\(Kaufmann\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Parish_(Kaufmann)).
- 9 “The American Consulate in Hamburg was established as one of the first U.S. Consulates on June 17, 1790, with the naming of John Parish, a naturalized Hamburg citizen of Scottish birth, as vice consul. In 1793, Parish was promoted to the rank of consul; he is the only non-American to have served in this post.” See <http://hamburg.usconsulate.gov/hamburg/history.html>.
- 10 Parish is said to have had a tea service for 101 people (see [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Parish_\(Kaufmann\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Parish_(Kaufmann)) citing Richard Ehrenberg, *Das Haus Parish in Hamburg*, 2 (unveränderte Auflage, Jena 1925)); it would be interesting to learn whether this had been made in Canton.
- 11 See Herbert O Johnson, *A History of Rossie*, NY, at <http://www.outerchaos.net/rossie.txt>. Close by to Rossie is the village of Canton, founded in 1787, said to have gained its name from the English name for Guangzhou—see <http://www.canton.ny.us/>. The more probable explanation is of it as just an “exotic” name in an early survey, others of which were Lisbon, Madrid, Potsdam, Stockholm, Hague and Cambray [*sic*]—see Dr. James Milford Payson, “The Story of a North Country Town,” *St. Lawrence Plaindealer* (October 28, 1930/1931) at <http://northcountry.bobsterner.com/Canton%20Payson%20History.htm>.
- 12 For the family data, see Butterfield, *Hercules Ross of Kingston*.
- 13 Also called a gun brig, built Bombay 1799 or possibly 1793, 199 tons, 14 guns, see *Shipping and Ship Building in India, a Check List of Ship Names* (London: India Office Records, 1995); C. R. Lowe, *History of the Indian Navy (1613–1863)*, 2 vols. (London: Royal Naval Museum Portsmouth/London Stamp Exchange; reprint of the 1877 ed.), with index by Capt. Douglas-Morris, ii, pp. 459, 597.
- 14 Jean Sutton, *Lords of the East, the East India Company and Its Ships 1600–1874* (London: Conway Maritime, 2000), p. 127 says the earliest name was the “grab service.” This referred to the usual vessel employed, the Indian west coast *gurab* (a Marathi term), anglicized as “grab” and both a corruption of the Arabic *ghorab*. It was originally a two- or three-masted galley but, by the late eighteenth century, had become a catch-all classifier (see Henry Yule & A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, 2nd ed., ed. William Crooke, 1903, reprint, fwd Anthony Burgess (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), p. 391). Informally in the mid-nineteenth century the “Grab Service” was used by some as a witty *double entendre*, given a rumored propensity of the Marine’s personnel for always being anxious to grab all

they could when they could. See also Lowe, *History of the Indian Navy*, i, Ch. II.

- 15 Admiral Rainier, commander-in-chief of the Royal Naval East India Station 1794–1805, commented that of the 100 Bombay Marine officers and 1000 seamen, more than half the latter were lascars and of the Europeans less than half were English—though going on the lists still existent in India Office Records (L/MAR series), this was a gross exaggeration. What he really meant is indicated by a later commander-in-chief of the station, Rear Admiral William O'Brien Drury (1804–1811) reportedly saying, “whatever their qualities of seamanship might be, they are mongrels, not gentlemen.” See Agnes Butterfield, *Captain Daniel Ross, FRS of the Bombay Marine, Later Indian Navy, 1780–1849, a Sketch of His Career*, typescript, signed 1982, archives of the Royal Society of London, RACTS X473/19, p. 2—where with respect to the first reference Butterfield is purportedly quoting C. Northcote Parkinson, *Trade in Eastern Seas, 1793–1813* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. 48 attributing both observations to Drury, though in fact only the second is and even that may be more likely to refer to the officers of the Company’s Maritime Service (i.e. the officers of the Indiamen) for which see Parkinson, *Trade in Eastern Seas*, p. 196.
- 16 The direct route was the long and hazardous overland route from Basra, at the head of the Persian Gulf, via Aleppo to the Gulf of Iskanderun on the Mediterranean, called direct because it was accessible to sailing vessels from India in almost all seasons of the year. The overland route was via the Red Sea to any of Berenice, Quseir, or Suez, whence to the Nile and then downstream to Alexandria, but was impracticable in the winter months because of the strong and almost incessant adverse winds.
- 17 A look at a summary map in Admiral Sir Archibald Day’s compendious account of the Royal Navy’s Surveying Service in the nineteenth century shows that by the 1830s it was to the EIC—which means almost wholly the work of the Bombay Marine—that Western hydrography owed the vast majority of its detailed knowledge of all of the coasts of the Red Sea, coast of Arabia, Persian Gulf, India, Burma, Southeast Asia and the China Seas as well as much of Papua New Guinea and elsewhere. See Archibald Day, *The Admiralty Hydrographic Service 1795–1919* (London: HMSO, 1967), between pp. 48–49.
- 18 BL: IOR *Canton Consultations*, G/12/153, p. 39.
- 19 See Dian H Murray, *Pirates of the South China Coast, 1790–1810* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1987); Robert J. Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea: The World of Pirates and Seafarers in Late Imperial South China* (China Research Monograph) (Berkeley: University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, 2003).

- 20 The *Dezembargador*, today an appeal court judge, was Macao's senior qualified crown magistrate—effectively the senior judicial officer—and the Senate (*Leal Senado*) the advisory body to the Governor although in Macao its particular importance was that it was with the Senate that the Chinese authorities dealt, not with the governor (see C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 288 and Glossary p. 389 for *Dezembargador*).
- 21 H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926–1929), Vol. 2, p. 33. Butterfield makes a great deal more of this incident, claiming that by entering the Taipa [Taipa anchorage] Ross made the Portuguese “furious,” demanding he leave at once and refusing him permission to return for supplies “for many months.” She describes how the Committee tried to persuade the Portuguese via the value of Ross's survey work and when that did not work, suggested an embargo on Portuguese ships from British-controlled ports in India until Goa told Macao authorities to behave; see Butterfield, *Captain Daniel Ross*, pp. 6–7.
- 22 Hailingshan Dao near Yangjiang, Guangdong Province at 21°38'N, 111°54'E.
- 23 A similar situation holds today off Somalia. There too, inadequate local coastal law enforcement, coastal poverty, commercial willingness to pay ransoms, and hesitant foreign interventions led piracy to balloon. The victims are slow, low freeboard ships, not today's Indiamen, the large, fast, high freeboard container liners.
- 24 “The ships were small, few being of five hundred tons burden. The ‘Eliza,’ in which Sturgis first went to the Northwest Coast, was one hundred thirty-six tons, and some of Cleveland's voyages were made in vessels of less than fifty tons.” Kenneth Scott Latourette, “The History of Early Relations between the United States and China 1784–1844,” in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* (New Haven: Yale University Press, August 1917), Vol. 22, p. 46.
- 25 Latourette, “The History of Early Relations,” p. 49.
- 26 This problem was one the Select Committee specifically singled out in a letter to the governor in council in Bombay dated June 17, 1807 pointing out the difficulty for survey work of *Antelope* not having a home base and asking for pressure to be brought to bear on the Portuguese authorities in Goa to enable Ross's ship to have the “indispensible convenience of occasionally frequenting the harbour of the Taipa.” BL: IOR *Canton Consultations*, G/12/153, p. 70, para. 3, for year 1806.
- 27 Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, p. 33.
- 28 During the Napoleonic Wars, for example, we know that British whalers were issued with Letters of Marque in order to legitimate any prize taking or other belligerent action against the vessels of the French and their allies.

- 29 I am indebted to a private communication from Paul A. Van Dyke for this perspective.
- 30 Latourette, "The History of Early Relations," pp. 48–49.
- 31 Amasa Delano, *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* (Boston: E. G. House, 1817), pp. 43–197.
- 32 BL: IOR *Canton Consultations*, G/12/153, dispatch of July 22, p. 94.
- 33 Latourette, "The History of Early Relations," p. 51.
- 34 The consultation of September 13, 1806 noted that an intended survey of the Paracels would require more than just one ship. BL: IOR *Canton Consultations*, G/12/153, p. 112. In a later entry concerning the eventual purchase of a second ship an entry reads ". . . the *Antelope* (whose build prevents her stowing sufficient (stores) for more than 3 or 3 ½ months)" (p. 211) and later pronouncing that the *Antelope* was "singly incompetent for the purposes of the survey, would remain in their hands a heavy, and in great measure, useless charge . . ." (p. 225).
- 35 Frederick Marryat, *Newton Forster: or, The Merchant Service* (London: J. M. Dent and Co., 1832), Ch. XLI, p. 238.
- 36 Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, Vol. 2, pp. 33–34.
- 37 BL: IOR *Canton Consultations*, G/12/153, pp. 112–113.
- 38 Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, Vol. 2 p. 33, where he notes, erroneously, that ". . . in November the Committee bought for 24,000 dollars a small English country ship at Whampoa to serve as tender." The *Canton Consultations*, G/12/153, p. 225 makes it clear the initial asking price was paid.
- 39 *Discovery (ex-Prime)*, cruiser/survey brig, 268 tons, 6 guns, Bombay-built 1801–1802, in Hong Kong waters 1807–1809. The *Canton Consultations* IOR G/12/154, pp. 69–70, entry for December 10, 1806, in the Select Committee's letter of instruction to Daniel Ross notes the ship was ". . . now named by us, and henceforward to be called the *Discovery*." Crewing his new ship was not an easy matter, see Butterfield, *Captain Daniel Ross*, p. 8.
- 40 This proved an over-optimistic assessment. A year later, when Ross and Maughan were engaged in their brilliant survey of the Paracels, Ross noted, in respect to a rescue of some survivors of a wrecked seagoing junk from Guangzhou, "Owing to our bad sailing and a current against us we could make no way to wind^d and at 5h finding we were losing, came to in 29 fms fine coral (about 5 or 6 miles from Woody Island)" and goes on to make it clear by inference that the *Antelope* was the more weatherly vessel! "Memoir prepared by Lieut^t Ross of the Bombay Marine, on the subject of his Survey of the China Seas," United Kingdom Hydrographic Office Archives, OD150, entry for March 19/20, 1808.
- 41 BL: IOR, G/12/154, p. 70.

- 42 There is no record of a ship of this name either in the Bombay Marine or the Royal Navy. It is in any event a somewhat odd name for a warship and is probably a miscopying. I have not been able to identify the ship in question, there being no near name for which “Retreat” would be a mistranscription.
- 43 Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, ii, p. 85. Paul Van Dyke has pointed out that a signal reason for this rejection was that the Chinese had already contracted Portuguese help to this end, see Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade, Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), p. 131.
- 44 *Survey of Part of the South Coast of China*, in two sheets, *Thien Sien (Tihen Pien or Tien Pack) Harbour, Hin Ling Shan (Hui Ling Shan) Harbour, Namu Harbour*, and *Plan of the Broadway to the Westward of Macao*.
- 45 Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, vol. 2, p. 63.
- 46 Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, vol. 2, p. 64.
- 47 Latourette, “The History of Early Relations,” p. 50.
- 48 Following standard naval history conventions, where a number appears after a ship’s name, it refers to the number of guns carried.
- 49 “On the third (of August), the American schooner . . . anchored in Macao Roads after a voyage of contraband trade along the western coast of South America”. Latourette, “The History of Early Relations,” p. 51.
- 50 In August 1808, Kempthorne had captured the Dutch *Vlieg* off Java, and in September 1809 Kempthorne was to lead *Diana* in a memorable action off Menado in Sulawesi against the Dutch brig *Zephyr* following his escape in January in the same chase which had seen Ross and the *Discovery* taken by the French. William James, *The Naval History of Great Britain, from the declaration of war by France in 1793, to the accession of George IV, a new edition, with additions and notes, and an account of the Burmese War and the Battle of Navarino, by Captain Chamier, R.N.*, Vol. 5 (London: Richard Bentley, 1837), pp. 183–184. In 1810 Kempthorne and his ship wrecked on the island of Rodriguez with no lives lost. See Kempthorne’s obituary in Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (London: John Bowyer Nichols & Son, new series Vol. IV, July–December 1835), p. 91.
- 51 *British Barbarity and Piracy!!*, *The Leopard Outspotted or Chesapeake Outrage Outdone*, Boston, March 25, 1808, accessed at http://www.vialibri.net/item_pg/2155944-1808-war-broadside-narrative-the-chesapeake-leopard-affair-precursor-the-war.htm.
- 52 Latourette here ascribes to Edmund Fanning’s *Voyages* a description of the incident. He does not cite the edition he is referring to, but in the first edition of 1834 the only detail on China dates to 1798, see Edmund Fanning, *Voyages Round the World; with selected sketches of voyages to the South Seas, North and South Pacific Oceans, China, etc., performed*

- under the command and agency of the author* (London: O. Rich, 1834). Fanning never appears to have visited China in 1807.
- 53 A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812*, 2 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston for the Cambridge University Press, 1905), Ch. 1 *passim*.
- 54 BL: IOR *Canton Consultations* G/12/160, pp. 57–63. Chuenpi was also known as “Anson’s Bay,” located in the entrance of the Pearl River at Bocca Tigris (Humen 虎門). Fuller details of this trade can be found in Leonard Blussé and Cynthia Viallé, *The Deshima Dagregisters*, Vol. 11, Intercontinenta Series XXIII (Leiden, 2005).
- 55 BL: IOR *Canton Consultations* G/12/160, pp. 57–63.
- 56 Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, i. p. 66. The record and Butterfield (p. 7) show that Ross got into a lot hotter water than Morse’s account argues. The Committee’s instructions had been unambiguous, so “his attempt to detain a vessel under Neutral Colours and within the limits likewise asserted to be neutral was a breach of Instructions which the grossest misapprehension cannot excuse . . .”, though evidently Ross’s other qualities spoke for him because the Committee noted that they were happy to rely “that the expression of our decided disapprobation of Lieutenant Ross’s conduct on the occasion will prevent any repetition.” But that did not matter because Bombay took a dim view anyway expressing “high displeasure” and giving the Committee *carte blanche* to dismiss Ross if, in the light of continued Portuguese displeasure, it so chose. Luckily for Daniel Ross the Select Committee let things rest. See also BL: IOR F/4/251/5614 and IOR F/4/295/6802 for relevant papers. BL: IOR *Canton Consultations* G/12/160, pp. 52–63, 97–100 have a clear exposition of the affair and of Daniel Ross’s fairly reasonable defense.
- 57 John Scofield, *Hail, Columbia, Robert Gray, John Kendrick & the Pacific Fur Trade* (Oregon Historical Society Press, 1993), Ch. 4. Both were small ships, the *Columbia* 83’ on deck and the *Lady Washington* 60’.
- 58 Latourette, “The History of Early Relations,” pp. 31–33. See also Delano, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels*, pp. 399–400.
- 59 John Kendrick is credited with having discovered Hawaii’s sandalwood (*santalum album*) on his first visit in 1791. At the time the main export source for the wood was India, where the wood was highly valued. The wood was also much sought after in China and was a high value import. With sea otter pelts and sandalwood aboard, Kendrick thought he had a cargo with a sure market. As things turned out, life was more difficult, see Scofield, *Hail, Columbia, Robert Gray*, Ch. 12.
- 60 Latourette, “The History of Early Relations,” p. 48, refers to this danger specifically with respect to American vessels: “The China seas were very stormy, and although no cases of actual shipwreck are on record, occasional typhoons wrought havoc, especially as the Americans, unlike

the earlier Europeans, persisted in coming at all seasons of the year.” Scofield explicitly claims typhoon damage but then fails to note the repairs in Hong Kong, placing them instead in Macao (*Hail, Columbia*, Robert Gray, p. 297).

- 61 Dalrymple was made hydrographer in 1779, a post he held until his death in 1808, having concurrently been the first holder of the newly created post of hydrographer on the Navy from 1795, see G. S. Ritchie, *The Admiralty Chart, British Naval Hydrography in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1967), pp. 18–19, 97. An early version of the directions appeared in Alexander Dalrymple’s *A Collection of Charts and Memoirs, Memoirs of the Chart of Part of the Coast of China* (London, 1771), which reproduced Kendrick’s original instructions for finding Aberdeen.
- 62 This is possibly the same *Asia*, 292 tons, that was sent to China in 1787 by a consortium of seventeen Philadelphia investors under Capt. John Barry, which was the first Philadelphia built ship to make the voyage, see Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade*, p. 35. Far from merely being worthy of a passing mention as a ship’s captain who was engaged in the China trade, John Barry is one of America’s most famous seaman and thought to be the father of the U.S. Navy, not least since he held Commission Number One, dated June 4, 1794. He died in 1803, see <http://www.ushistory.org/people/commodorebarry.htm>.
- 63 For Philip Maughan’s award see his letter to the secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, July 3, 1840, where he describes the incident as one of the two outstanding events of his years of service with Ross in the China Seas—the other was the rescue of 400 wrecked Chinese passengers of a junk wrecked on the Paracels quoted in Butterfield, *Hercules Ross of Kingston*, p. 85 and Butterfield, *Captain Daniel Ross*, pp. 10–11. I owe my knowledge of the cup and its fate to Mrs. Elizabeth Glentworth, one of Ross’s descendants through one of his daughters.
- 64 *Greyhound* (32) built 1783 at Mistlythorn, wrecked 1808. Capt. Pakenham perished in the *Saldanha* frigate at the entrance to Loughswilly on December 4, 1811.
- 65 Details of the action given in report at IOR/F/4/366/9146. Summary also gives the date of the action as January 17, 1809.
- 66 Originally a French frigate, the *Minerve* (40), captured off Toulon in a sharp four frigate action on June 24, 1795 (French *Minerve* (40) and *Artemise* (36); British *Lowestoffe* (32) and *Dido* (28)). Became British *Minerve* (38) and served brilliantly until, under Capt. Jahleel Brenton, under a pilot, she ran aground off Pte. de Corries near Cherbourg on July 2, 1803 and was captured. Renamed *Cannonnière* and armed *en flute* (i.e. primarily as a transport) with fourteen guns she was lent to the merchants of Mauritius to transport a valuable cargo to France. Once in Mauritius she was rearmed with forty-four guns, captured the *Laurel* and

then went on various privateering missions (including a bullion run to Acapulco from Manila!) before the action with the *Diana* and *Discovery*. Largely disarmed and renamed the *Confiance*, she was running a valuable cargo back to France in 1810 when she was recaptured by the British on February 3 off Belle Isle and sold as prize.

- 67 *Laurel* (22) (built 1806 Bridport. Wrecked 1813) 1807 Captured September 1808 off Port Louis, Mauritius recaptured April 12, 1810 off Ile de Rhe as the *Espérance* and taken back into the Royal Navy as *Laurestinus*.
- 68 See *Bombay Courier Extraordinary*, Tuesday, February 21, 1809, which notes that Admiral Sir Edward Pellew sent the *Russell* () to the Straits of Drion and Banca and then to Batavia, while the main force of the *Culloden* (), *Phaeton* (), and *Procris* () went to the mouth of the Straits of Singapore in a failed attempt to intercept the French warships. The entry continues: “We are sorry to add, that the *Discovery*, Capt. Ross, which had been sent with the *Diana* under a flag of truce to Manilla for the purpose of bringing away Capt. Pakenham and the *Greyhound*’s men, had been captured by the French frigates above mentioned,—unfortunately Capt. Pakenham and 150 men were on board the *Discovery*.”
- 69 The Dutch-fortified camp, Meester Cornelius, was five miles in circumference with 280 pieces of cannon.
- 70 Minutes of Evidence, *Second Report from the Select Committee appointed to consider of the means of improving and maintaining the Foreign Trade of the Country*, Sess. 1821, (535) Vol. 6, p. 250.
- 71 Butterfield, *Captain Daniel Ross*, p. 9.
- 72 For the more conventional marriage in Macao of Ross’s second-in-command Philip Maughan, see Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, Vol. 1, p. 78, Vol. 2, pp. 34, 64–66, 178, 315, 327.
- 73 Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, Vol. 1, p. 327.
- 74 There may have been nine or even ten children. Various records account for: 1. Wm. Hercules Ross (1811–1849), Capt., 30th Regt., Bengal Inf. killed at Chilianwala January 13, 1849; 2. (Daniel) who, if he existed, evidently died when a baby; 3. Robert Scott Ross, served in Indian Navy, said in Butterfield (*Hercules Ross of Kingston*, p. 128) to have distinguished himself in a campaign against the Malay pirates “while in command of a government steamer and was mentioned in Sir Thomas Cochrane’s despatches” and was said at the time of his death to be “a marine storekeeper in Calcutta.” It is not clear whether he married; 4. Maria (b. 1812) married Richard Mercer Lloyd (who succeeded Ross as marine surveyor general to the EIC in 1833), m. October 3, 1831 when under age in the Cathedral at Fort William. She died after giving birth to a still-born child on March 1, 1841 when 29; 5. Jane (date of birth unknown but c. 1815) married John Lloyd of the Royal Artillery; 6. Eliza (b. c. 1818–1820) m. Calcutta, July 15, 1833 Francis Seaton

(1808–1837) Capt. 66th Bengal Native Infantry. Son Francis Lambert Seaton, in 1851–1863 took the double-barrelled name Ross-Seaton. F. L. Seaton had two sons, one daughter. Francis Daniel Ross-Seaton b. Rangoon 1881, d. Dehra Dun in 1954, no issue, the others were W. A. Seaton and Ethel Seaton who presented the prize cup to the Royal Society; 7. Annie married a Charles Thatcher, Esq., in Bycullah on April 18, 1837; 8. Juliana, 1821–1829; 9. Frances Elizabeth, 1827–1833; 10. Charlotte Emma, 1829–1833.

75 Butterfield, *Hercules Ross*, p. 128.

76 See Dhurba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed., 2006), pp. 8, 11, 253.

Chapter 4

- 1 Lau Fong 劉芳 and Zhang Wenqin 章文欽 (eds.), *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen dang'an huibian* 清代澳門中文檔案匯編 (A Collection of Qing Chinese Documents Concerning Macao), 2 vols. (Macao: Aomen Jijin Hui 澳門基金會, 1999), 1, nos. 242–247; 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), 3, pp. 208, 236–239; and National Archives, The Hague (NAH): Canton 101, August 20, 1814, and the following dates in 1815: January 1, March 25, May 20, June 1 and 15, August 27, September 10, and December 21.
- 2 During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Portuguese traders usually did not have their own building (factory) in Canton, but there were exceptions. In 1748, for example, a Swedish map shows a “Portuguischist Factorie” next to the building the Swedes rented on the riverfront. Stockholm: Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences (KVB, Kungliga Vetenskaps-akademiens Bibliotek), J. F. Dalman, “Dagbok under resan från Gjötheborg til Canton 1748–1749,” map entitled “Cantons Förstad.”
- 3 For the Portuguese smuggling gold out of China, which they purchased from Canton merchants and which would have travelled via the Macao network, see A. J. R. Russel-Wood, “An Asian Presence in the Atlantic Bullion Carrying Trade, 1710–50,” *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 17 (2001), pp. 148–167. Hunter mentioned that compradors regularly shipped private merchandise on passage boats between Canton and Macao; see William Hunter, *The “Fan Kwae” at Canton before Treaty Days 1825–1844* (London: 1882; reprint, London, 1885; London, 1911; Shanghai: Mercury Press, 1938), p. 55. There are other references that mention foreigners and Chinese smuggling goods between the two cities.
- 4 Portuguese records from Macao provide very little information about Portuguese activities at Canton, and almost nothing about the Chinese

merchants with whom they traded. But other foreigners, such as the English, Dutch, Swedes, and Danes regularly recorded Portuguese comings and goings at Canton and Macao.

- 5 In September and October 1764, for example, the Canton porcelain dealers, Suchin, Chinqua, Lisjoncon, and Pinqua had their cargo boats conscripted to transport the new governor-general's luggage to Canton. The porcelain boats were carrying had to be unloaded on the spot to make room for the luggage, which resulted in a long delay in those products arriving at Canton. Cynthia Viallé and Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters*, 1764 (Macao: Macau Cultural Institute, 2009), p. 215.
- 6 Compradors and other servants, for example, regularly carried private merchandise aboard these passage boats, and they went back and forth between the two cities whenever their foreign employers, Chinese merchants or government officials summoned them. They needed to obtain a permit for the boat to pass the tollhouses, which would require sponsorship from one of those persons, but the Chinese servants could then traverse the river without their employers being aboard. For one example of the Dutch supercargoes in Canton receiving letters from their comprador, who had arrived from Macao, see NAH: Canton 86, August 3, 1777. There are many other examples of these servants, and Portuguese and Chinese merchants, travelling back and forth between the two cities in the English, Dutch, and Swedish East India companies' records. See also Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), p. 187 n. 40.
- 7 *Merchants' Magazine*, vol. 10 (1844), "The Chinese Smuggling-Boats," pp. 161–163.
- 8 For a summary of the issues presented in these paragraphs, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*.
- 9 British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR), L/MAR/B/642D Haeslingfield 1742–4, October 30–1 and November 1–2, 1743.
- 10 For a couple examples of the Dutch exporting goods to Batavia on Portuguese ships, see NAH: VOC 4386, January 1, 1761, p. 152 and Canton 86, January 10 and 12, 1778.
- 11 Paul A. Van Dyke, "Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690–1845" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 2002), pp. 447–453; and NAH: VOC 4556, entries under "Gewigten" and "Macau."
- 12 Morse, *Chronicles*, 2, pp. 85–86.
- 13 Morse, *Chronicles*, 2, pp. 85–86; and Samuel Wells Williams, *A Chinese Commercial Guide, Containing Treaties, Tariffs, Regulations, Tables, etc., Useful in the Trade to China & Eastern Asia; with an Appendix of Sailing Directions for Those Seas and Coasts* (Canton: Chinese Repository,

- 1856; 5th ed., Hong Kong: A. Shortrede & Co., 1863; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966), p. 281.
- 14 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, p. 221 n. 80. Several maps from the period show clearly the location of Lark's Bay on the southwest side of Hengqin Island. The name "Lark's Bay" may have come from a ship by that name which anchored there in 1786: "The Lark Snow Capt. Wm. Peters from Bengal anchored in a Bay near the Typa"; BL: IOR, G/12/82, June 11, 1786, p. 21.
 - 15 Charles Marjoribanks, *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, President of the Board of Controul, on the Present State of British Intercourse with China* (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1833), pp. 17–18.
 - 16 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, see introduction and conclusion.
 - 17 For a more detailed explanation of the procedures of trading at Whampoa, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*.
 - 18 Smuggling was common among even the most wealthy and reputed merchants in Canton down to the smallest operators. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 118–128.
 - 19 A list of some of the tidewaiters connivance fees to allow goods to be smuggled in and out of Canton can found in John Robert Morrison, *A Chinese Commercial Guide, Consisting of A Collection of Details Respecting Foreign Trade in China* (1st ed., Canton: Albion Press, 1834), p. 30.
 - 20 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 127–134; and "Memorials Addressed to Her Majesty's Government, by British Merchants Interested in the Trade with China. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, August, 1840," letter addressed to Andrew Henderson and G. G. de Larpent dated October 21, 1839, pp. 18–20, in *Papers Relative to the Establishment of a Court of Judicature in China, for the Purpose of Enabling the British Superintendents of Trade to Exercise a Controul over the Proceedings of British Subjects, in Their Intercourse with Each Other and with the Chinese* (London: J. Harrison & Son, 1838–40).
 - 21 Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen (RAC): Ask 956, see entries in 1784 dated October 17, November 14, 16, 21, 23, 30, and December 3, 12, 18, 29.
 - 22 For a couple of extensive studies on the rise of piracy in Pearl River Delta in the 1790s and early 1800s, see Robert J. Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea. The World of Pirates and Seafarers in Late Imperial South China*. (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2003); and Dian H. Murray, *Pirates of the South China Coast 1790–1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).
 - 23 Van Dyke, "Port Canton", pp. 460–522; and Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 128–9.
 - 24 One of these warehouse vessels was the small Danish ship *Fredriks Nagor* and another was the private English ship *Nancy*. NAH: Canton

- 97, August 17, 1797; and BL: IOR, G/12/118, July 14, 1797, p. 58, G/12/122, p. 174, G/12/126, p. 236, and G/12/134, pp. 48–51. In the 1830s, “outside” Chinese merchants in Canton (not usually Hong merchants) were arranging the smuggling of goods in and out Canton, Whampoa, and Lintin. Marjoribanks, *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant*, pp. 15–16; Jeremiah 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), p. 353; *The Select Circulating Library* (Philadelphia: Adam Waldie, 1838), p. 354; and testimony of John Argyle Maxwell in *England and America: A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations*, ed. Edward Gibbon Wakefield (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1834), pp. 165–166.
- 25 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 64–66.
- 26 BL: IOR, G/12/216, July 21, 1819, p. 72; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 3, p. 355.
- 27 BL: IOR, G/12/216, July 26, 1819, p. 74.
- 28 BL: IOR, G/12/216, August 25, 1819, p. 93.
- 29 David Abeel, *Journal of a Residence in China, and the Neighboring Countries from 1829 to 1833* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1834), p. 47. Coconut trees and other plants were introduced to Lintin in the 1820s to help supply the fleet at anchor with the provisions they needed. W. W. Wood, *Sketches of China: with Illustrations from Original Drawings* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830), p. 38. Wood also mentioned there were several springs on the island for fresh water.
- 30 In 1799, an official investigation of the contraband trade found that pilots were smuggling opium in their boats; see Morse, *Chronicles*, 2, pp. 344–346. Rather than stopping this trade, the knowledge resulted in pilots being continual targets of officials anxious to benefit from the contraband; see *Canton Register*, August 23, 1828, pp. 132–133, article entitled “Pilots and Compradors.” Despite (or perhaps because of) the impositions, pilots continued to be a channel through which opium and contraband entered China; see *Canton Register*, March 24, 1835, pp. 47–48, article entitled “Edict Issued from the Hoppo’s Office.”
- 31 Morse, *Chronicles*, 3, pp. 354–359.
- 32 Foreigners tried to hire Chinese seamen throughout the eighteenth century, to replace European sailors who had died but Chinese were unwilling to go. It was not until the 1780s that captains were successful at attracting Chinese sailors to serve aboard foreign ships, which coincides with advances in foreign shipping in Asia and a corresponding decline in the competitiveness of Chinese junks in Southeast Asian trade. As the junk trade began to decline, Chinese seamen were displaced and began seeking employment aboard foreign ships. 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, 2011), pp. 223–246.
- 33 From the 1780s onward, references appear in the foreign archives to ships picking up Chinese sailors at Lintin and other places in the delta, and dropping them off at various locations when they returned to the lower delta and before proceeding upriver to Whampoa. For a few examples of Danish, British, and Dutch ships employing Chinese sailors, see RAC: Ask 948; John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America* (London: Logographic Press, 1790; reprint, Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1967), p. 10; NAH: Canton 54, Resolution no. 6, dated September 13, 1792 and Canton 96, January 19 and 29, 1795.
- 34 For examples of American ships employing Chinese sailors, see Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum (PEM): Log of Ship *Massachusetts* 1790–1793; and Dick A. Wilson, “King George’s Men: British Ships and Sailors in the Pacific Northwest-China Trade, 1785–1821” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Idaho, 2004), p. 92.
- 35 Morse, *Chronicles*, 3, p. 359.
- 36 Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS): Samuel Cary Papers 1766–1870, box 3, volume 19, Journal of ship *Levant* 1819–21, September 18 and November 16, 1820; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 3, pp. 360–361, 373. PEM: Logbook of Ship *Congress* 1819–1820.
- 37 Morse, *Chronicles*, 3, p. 359. Smuggling at Whampoa was already common by the time Europeans arrived there in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. In 1704, for example, Lockyer recommended smuggling silver into Canton so gold could be smuggled out. Charles Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade in India* (London: S. Crouch, 1711), p. 138. The historical literature, however, contains much contradictory and confusing information on the contraband trade at Canton, primarily because there is so little information available in the documents. The following reference claims that the Portuguese dominated the opium trade before 1780 and that 1794 saw the beginning of opium ships at Whampoa: “The Portuguese at Macau engrossed the opium trade till 1780, when some English merchants disposed of a small quantity, and established a depot to the southward of Macau [Lark’s Bay]. They were subjected to much annoyance, but in 1794, they sent a vessel, laden with about two hundred chests, to Whampoa, from which period the trade continued there, in the very port of Canton, till 1820, when an imperial edict drove the opium vessels from Whampoa; since which time they have remained outside the port, at Lintin, and amongst the islands in the mouth of the Canton river, where the contraband trade took by degrees, in conjunction with the Chinese smugglers, an organized form, which enabled the parties to set the local authorities (many of whom

- were also bribed) at defiance. The parties who engaged in this traffic were British and Indian merchants of Calcutta and Bombay, who had agents at Canton, and Americans who dealt chiefly in Turkey opium.” Article entitled “Opium Trade” originally published in the *Asiatic Journal* and republished in *The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art*, New Series, vol. 9, September to December 1839 and vol. 37 (Philadelphia: E. Little & Co., 1839), pp. 525–534. This quotation is on page 529. We know now there were many other persons involved in the opium trade in the early years besides Portuguese including private Europeans, Chinese Christians and Armenians in Macao, and others. Opium was already being openly traded at Whampoa by the 1760s, which had nothing to do with Portuguese in Macao. Opium showed up in Canton in the 1730s, 1740s, and 1750s, so 1794 was clearly not the start of that trade upriver. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 120–124; Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke, “Armenian Footprints in Macau,” *Review of Culture*, International Edition, no. 8 (October 2003), pp. 20–39; Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke, “Four Armenian Families,” *Review of Culture*, International Edition, no. 8 (October 2003), pp. 40–50.
- 38 “Memorials addressed to Her Majesty’s Government” (1840), pp. 18–20.
- 39 For a discussion of the differences in Chinese administration above and below Humen, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 45–46, 165–166; and Van Dyke, “Port Canton,” pp. 40–41, 44–45, 53, 132, 136–137, 507.
- 40 In an earlier publication, I had incorrectly stated that the eastern part of Lintin Island was under the control of Xinhui County 新會縣. Paul A. Van Dyke, “Smuggling Networks of the Pearl River Delta before 1842: Implications for Macau and the American China Trade,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, Vol. 50 (2010), pp. 67–97, see p. 81. The Xiangshan Xian Zhi, however, clearly shows that the eastern part of Lintin Island was under the control of Xin’an County and not Xinhui County. Tian Mingyao 田明曜, *Chong xiu Xiangshan xian zhi* 重修香山縣志. 五冊, 5 vols. (同治十二年 1874; reprint, 台北: 台灣學生書局, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 30–31 and vol. 5, pp. 1990–1991; and *Xiangshan xian zhi (xin xiu)* 香山縣志 (新修) (Xiangshan County Gazetteer), 2 vols. (光緒七年 1828; reprint, 台北: 台灣學生書局, 1985), vol. 1, p. 650. The Guangdong Tong Zhi also shows the area east of Cumsingmoon and the Nine Islands to be under control of Xin’an County. Chen Changzhai 陳昌齋 et al., *Guangdong Tong Zhi* 廣東通志 (Annals of Guangdong) (同治三年 1865; reprint, 華文書局股份有限公司印行), vol. 3, p. 1443, map entitled “香山縣圖.”
- 41 In 1828, Boelen mentioned war junks anchoring in a harbor on the northwest side of the island, while other sources reported them to be in a harbor on the northeast side. They perhaps used both anchorages. J. Boelen, *Reize naar de Oost-en Westkust van Zuid-Amerika, en, van daar,*

naar de Sandwishes-en Philippiunsche Eilanden, China enz. gedaan, in de jaren 1826, 1827, 1828 en 1829. Met het Koopvaardijfchip: Wilhelmina en Maria (Amsterdam: Ten Brink and De Vries, 1836), pp. 226–227. Reynolds, *Voyage of the United States frigate Potomac*, pp. 339–340; and testimony of Charles Marjoribanks in *England and America: A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations*, ed. by Edward Gibbon Wakefield (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1834), pp. 162–163.

- 42 War junks were also sent down from Canton, on occasion, to rid the delta of smugglers, but often just chased them away or ambushed them for a fee and let them go. For one eyewitness's account of a war junk arriving at Lintin, see article entitled "Sketches of China—English Trade," on pp. 230–231 in *The Dublin Penny Journal* (1833–34). There are many other such accounts.
- 43 *Canton Register*, August 23, 1828, p. 132. "The west side of the Offing at Lintin is under the Heongshan District, and the East side under Sunoan District. The aggrieved parties have applied to the local Officers on both sides in vain. Because the case would require the apprehension of the Pirates within two months on pain of dismissal from the service, therefore the Officers on neither side of the water wish to take up the subject."
- 44 Carl Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy. A Study of the Asian Opium Trade 1750–1950* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 95.
- 45 The *Canton Register* has numerous references to junks picking up opium at Lintin Island. For opium being brought to other ports in China aboard Chinese junks and other vessels, see Ei Murakami, "The Collapse of the Trade Control System of the Qing Government: The Opium Trade before the Opium War," paper presented at a workshop entitled "Chinese Economic History in 18th–20th Century" (May 2009), London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), available online at the LSE website.
- 46 BL: IOR, G/12/76, pp. 203–205, and G/12/77, p. 59.
- 47 In 1786, for example, Pan Qiguan agreed with the EIC to accept bills on Bengal goods as payment for teas in Canton; see BL: IOR, G/12/82, p. 116. For Baboom's connection to Pan Changyao, see Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP): Willings and Francis Papers, "Sales of Opium received per the Ship Bingham" and declaration dated December 28, 1805 and signed by Gregory M. Baboom. For an example of Barretto's link to the Pans, see National Archives, The Hague (NAH): Canton 101, April 26, 1815. For Barretto and Baboom's partnership and their link to the Bengal Assurance Society, see NAH: Canton 99, September 14, 1807, Canton 270, doc. no. 10, Canton 271, doc. no. 9, and Canton 272, doc. no. 9. For Barretto's connections to Manila, see MHS: John and Thomas Perkins Papers "Invoice of Opium shipped by Perkins &

- Comp. on board the American Brig Nile . . . bound for Manila” dated April 9, 1825, and for a member of the Baboom family operating in Manila, see *Canton Register*, October 17, 1832 and *Chinese Courier*, October 20, 1832.
- 48 *Canton Register*, February 19, 1829, “Cultivation of Opium at Manila,” and March 2, 1829, “Statement of the Trade of Manila for 1828.” For examples of Americans shipping rice to Lintin and Whampoa, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 135–137; Rhode Island Historical Society (RIHS): Carrington Papers, Box 187, Ship *Panther* Papers 1835–1843 and Mss 828 Logbook of Ship *Lion* 1832–1833; and HSP: Rulon Papers, Box 12, Linguist’s Reports for 1835.
- 49 James Holman, *Travels in China, New Zealand, New South Wales, Van Diemen’s Land, Cape Horn, etc. etc.* (London: George Routledge, 1840), pp. 162–163, 257. The depth of water in these harbors is mentioned (in fathoms or feet) on numerous maps of the nineteenth century. There are other references to the depths of each harbor and how to enter them safely. For one commonly used reference, see John W. King, *The China Pilot* (London: Hydrographic Office, 1861), chapter 2 entitled “Approaches to Canton River, including Hong Kong—Chu Kiang or Canton River, and Si Kiang or West River.”
- 50 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 120–137 and Plate 37.
- 51 Reynolds, *Voyage of the United States Frigate Potomac*, p. 342.
- 52 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 106–7.
- 53 Van Dyke, “Port Canton”, Appendixes L and AF. Conversion from taels to Spanish dollars was at the rate of 1 Spanish dollar equal to 0.72 taels, which was the exchange rate Americans used.
- 54 *The Penny Cyclopædia* (1836), pp. 251–252; and John Francis Davis, *The Chinese* (London: Charles Knight, 1840), pp. 367–368. Some of the figures in Table 4.2 were modified based on information in Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 66–69.
- 55 Van Dyke, “Port Canton,” Appendix AG.
- 56 HSP: Sword Family Papers, box 1, letter to Ms. Mary Parry, dated February 19, 1836; *The Quarterly Review* (January to March 1830), pp. 156–157; Holman, *Travels in China*, pp. 143, 271; and Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 135–137.
- 57 For a few examples of *Hong* merchants being requested by officials to ship rice to China, and to encourage foreigners to do the same, see BL: IOR G/12/82, September 30, 1786, p. 66 and November 14, 1786, p. 136; and NAH: Canton 93, April 26, 1787, p. 5, Canton 100, April 1, 1809 and Canton 271, General Report 1806, paragraph 10, pp. 1–3.
- 58 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 135–137. Holman claimed that the port fees charged to rice ships went towards supporting the asylum for the blind in Canton; see Holman, *Travels in China*, p. 271. One captain bought a small quantity of rice at Lintin then went upriver with several

- hundred chests of opium to Whampoa, where he sold it. Siwel, “Some notices relative to the present position of the Opium Trade in China” (article dated “China, June, 1838”), in *The Calcutta Christian Observer*, vol. 7 (1838), p. 519. The private Dutch merchant J. Boelen in the Ship *Wilhelmina and Maria* sailed from Macao to Manila in 1828 with the specific reason of getting a load of rice so he could take the ship upriver to Whampoa without paying the high fees. The ship could then sail back to Europe with a full cargo of Chinese products. Boelen, *Reize*, p. 293.
- 59 HSP: Sword Family Papers, Box 1, letter to Ms. Mary Parry, dated February 19, 1836; *The Quarterly Review* (January to March 1830), pp. 156–157; and Holman, *Travels in China*, p. 143.
- 60 *The Penny Cyclopædia* (1836), pp. 251–252.
- 61 Lau and Zhang, *Qingdai Aomen*, 1, no. 382; and *Chinese Repository* (January 1842), 11, pp. 17–20.
- 62 BL: IOR G/12/86, October 19, 1787, p. 166.
- 63 For a list of thirty-two Spanish ships that arrived in China from Manila in the late eighteenth century, many of which were carrying rice, see Paul A. Van Dyke, “New Sea Routes to Canton in the 18th Century and the Decline of China’s Control over Trade,” in *Studies of Maritime History*, ed. by Li Qingxin. Vol. 1 (Beijing: Shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010), pp. 57–108. For examples of American ships carrying rice to China, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 135–138.
- 64 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 33, 135–138; Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1997), pp. 128–129; and John Robert Morrison, *A Chinese Commercial Guide, Consisting of A Collection of Details Respecting Foreign Trade in China* (1st ed., Canton: Albion Press, 1834; reprint, 2nd ed., Macao: Wells Williams, 1844; 3rd. ed., Canton: *Chinese Repository*, 1848), p. 185.
- 65 For a more thorough discussion of the omissions in the Mandarins’ reports downriver, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 170–181.
- 66 William Hunter, *The “Fan Kwae” at Canton before Treaty Days 1825–1844* (London, 1882; reprint, London, 1885; London, 1911; Shanghai: Mercury Press, 1938), pp. 39–40.
- 67 For examples of Portuguese ships trading at Cumsingmoon, Lintin, and Hong Kong, see the many lists of vessels in the *Canton Press*, from the September 10, 1836 issue and after.
- 68 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 138–139.
- 69 A form was published in a supplement to the *Canton Register* explaining all of the new stipulations at Macao, many of which were directly aimed at the opium smugglers. *Canton Register*, March 15, 1836; *Supplement to the Canton Register*, “The Administration of the National Revenue of the City [Macao], wishing to promote her Commerce and to remove

the obstructions which have hitherto encumbered it.” The form is also reproduced in Paul A. Van Dyke, “Macao, Hawaii, and Sino-American Trade: Some Historical Observations, Interactions, and Consequences,” in *Macao and Sino-U.S. Relations*, ed. by Yufan Hao and Jianwei Wang (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010), pp. 71–96. The application form is on page 84.

- 70 For more extensive and detailed coverage of American involvements in these processes, which also brought Hawaii into the picture, see Van Dyke, “Macao, Hawaii, and Sino-American Trade.”

Chapter 5

- 1 Principal contributions, in English, include: Kuo-tung Anthony Ch'en, *The Insolventy of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760–1843* (Nankang, Taipei: Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, 1990); Weng Eang Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997); Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005); and Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).
- 2 International conference, “Americans, Macao and China 1784–1950: Historical Relations, Interactions and Connections,” University of Macau, December 8–9, 2008.
- 3 Ch'en, *Insolventy of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 330–339; Weng Eang Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, p. 91; Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, p. 100; Frederic D. Grant, Jr., “Hong Merchant Litigation in the American Courts,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 99 (1987), pp. 44–62; Frederic D. Grant, Jr., “The Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong: Litigation as a Hazard of Nineteenth Century Foreign Trade,” *American Neptune*, Vol. 48 (1988), pp. 243–260; Frederic D. Grant, Jr., “The Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong: Litigation as a Hazard of Nineteenth Century Foreign Trade” (in Chinese), *Shi Lin* (Historical Review), Institute of History, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, 2004, No. 4, Serial No. 79.
- 4 Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, p. 119.
- 5 Conseequa was a nephew of Puankhequa I (Pan Wenyen), a cousin of Puankhequa II (Pan Zhixiang), and an uncle of Puankhequa III (Pan Zhengwei). Ch'en, *Insolventy of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, p. 330; Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, p. 91.
- 6 Grant, “Hong Merchant Litigation,” pp. 44–62; Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong,” pp. 243–260.
- 7 Grant, “Hong Merchant Litigation,” p. 48 n. 18.

- 8 Larry and Sandi Faria of Monett, Missouri located and recognized the importance of this document, which is now in author's collection. It has been restored through the courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society, under the care of Oona E. Beauchard, and it is the author's intention to deposit the document with that institution.
- 9 Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 330–331 and 338–339; Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," pp. 244–245; Lo-shu Fu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644–1820)* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), p. 610 n. 166.
- 10 Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," p. 244.
- 11 During the period covered by this article, the Spanish dollar (which traded as the silver equivalent of a U.S. dollar) was treated in the accounts of the British EIC as equivalent to taels 0.72. A tael therefore traded for 1.388 dollars. Hosea B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1844* (table of "Conventional Equivalents" at the front of each volume); Frank H. H. King, *Money and Monetary Policy in China 1845–1895* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 82. For a discussion of the complex and evolving relationship between the tael and the Spanish dollar, see King, pp. 69–90.
- 12 Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, p. 335. Gregory Marcar Baboom was an Armenian, from Madras. Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, p. 334. For a brief history of Baboom's trade in China, see Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke, "Four Armenian Families," *Review of Culture*, International Edition No. 8 (October 2003), pp. 40–50.
- 13 Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," p. 249.
- 14 Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," pp. 259–260. The large dollar amount of promissory notes payable to Consequa, attached by the Sheriff in Philadelphia on April 2 and 4, 1808 (\$500,000), shows that Consequa's outstanding loans were far greater in amount than can be reconstructed from surviving litigation and archival records. Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," p. 249.
- 15 Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. 2, pp. 354 and 365; Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 332–333.
- 16 Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," p. 248; Letter from William Read (Canton) to Willings & Francis, dated November 27, 1805; Willings & Francis papers, 1805 folder, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- 17 Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," pp. 259–260.
- 18 Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," pp. 251–252; Deposition of Benjamin C. Wilcocks, Philadelphia, May 31, 1811, in *Consequa v. Willings & Francis*, October term 1809, No. 49, Records of the Circuit Court for the District of Pennsylvania.
- 19 Declarations (complaints) in *Consequa v. Joshua and Thomas Gilpin* (filed March 3, 1810), October term 1809, No. 9, and in *Consequa v.*

- Edward Dunant (filed March 3, 1810), October term 1809, No. 33, Records of the Circuit Court for the District of Pennsylvania.
- 20 Grant, "Hong Merchant Litigation," p. 53 n. 32; Deposition of Benjamin Chew Wilcocks, December 5, 1810, in *Consequa v. Joshua and Thomas Gilpin*, October term 1809, Records of the Circuit Court for the District of Pennsylvania.
 - 21 Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. 3, p. 183, Vol. 4, pp. 410–411 and 414; Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," pp. 253–254.
 - 22 Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. 3, pp. 233–234; Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 335 and 355.
 - 23 Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. 3, pp. 233–234.
 - 24 Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, p. 336.
 - 25 Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. 4, pp. 1 and 8.
 - 26 Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 337–338.
 - 27 Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 338–339.
 - 28 Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, p. 96 (Table 2.7).
 - 29 Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 338–339.
 - 30 Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, p. 96 (Table 2.7).
 - 31 Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1997), pp. 41–43. Benjamin Chew Wilcocks served as U.S. consul at Canton from 1812 to 1822. Jacques M. Downs, "America Merchants and the China Opium Trade, 1800–1840," *Business History Review*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (Winter 1968), pp. 418–442, 423; Jean Gordon Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade 1784–1844* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), pp. 44–46; Charles S. Kennedy, *The American Consul: A History of the United States Consular Service, 1776–1914* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. 107.
 - 32 Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, p. 115; Downs, "America Merchants and the China Opium Trade," pp. 418–442, p. 421 n. 11; Charles C. Steele, "American Trade in Opium to China: Prior to 1820," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (December 1940), pp. 425–444, 431; Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade 1682–1846: Commercial, Cultural, and Attitudinal Effects* (University Park and London: Penn State University Press, 1978), p. 53; *Wilcocks v. Union Insurance Co.*, 2 Binn. 574 (Penn. Supreme Court 1809) (suit to recover insured losses after privateer capture of the brig *Pennsylvania* on a voyage from Philadelphia to Canton via Smyrna); Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade*, p. 122.
 - 33 Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, pp. 124–126; Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade*, p. 49.
 - 34 Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, p. 366.
 - 35 Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, pp. 41–42 and 90.

- 36 William C. Hunter, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton before Treaty Days 1825–1844* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882), p. 44 (“You and I are No. 1, ‘olo flen”).
- 37 Deposition of Benjamin Chew Wilcocks, Philadelphia, December 5, 1810, in *Consequa v. Joshua and Thomas Gilpin*, October term 1809, No. 9, Records of the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania, Federal Archives and Records Center, Philadelphia.
- 38 The release states (in part): “[W]hereas the said Benjamin Chew Wilcocks under my authority acted as Agent in America for the recovery of certain specific monies due me on notes of hand by Citizens of the United States and caused them to be paid to me from time to time as the same were by him received I hereby expressly declare that this release is intended to be a complete discharge to him in Law and in Equity for or on account of all and every the said concerns so transacted by him as agent.” See Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” p. 247.
- 39 Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” p. 249.
- 40 Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade*, p. 45.
- 41 Hunter, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton*, pp. 43–44. The story of cancellation of Wilcocks’s debt, doubted in some sources, is true. Philip de Vargas, “William C. Hunter’s Books on the Old Canton Factories,” *Yenching Journal of Social Studies*, Vol. 2 (July 1939), pp. 91–117, 104 (“The story may or may not be apocryphal, but it has long been taken as symbolic . . .”).
- 42 Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, p. 124; Joan Kerr Facey Thill, “A Delawarean in the Celestial Empire: John Richardson Latimer and the China Trade” (Master’s Thesis, University of Delaware, 1973), p. 163.
- 43 Downs, “America Merchants and the China Opium Trade,” pp. 434–435 n. 59 (no source cited).
- 44 Downs, “America Merchants and the China Opium Trade,” pp. 434–435 n. 59; Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade*, p. 122 (Waln’s daughter Sarah married Wilcocks in 1842).
- 45 Declarations (complaints) in *Consequa v. Joshua and Thomas Gilpin* (filed March 3, 1810), October term 1809, No. 9, and in *Consequa v. Edward Dunant* (filed March 3, 1810), October term 1809, No. 33, Records of the Circuit Court for the District of Pennsylvania.
- 46 *Lanfear v. Sumner*, 17 Mass. 110 (1819) (priority dispute among creditors asserting rights in teas shipped from Canton by Benjamin C. Wilcocks to William Waln as consignee and owner, one creditor under a written assignment by Waln at Philadelphia on July 2, 1819 and the other by physical attachment of the teas by the Sheriff in Boston on the same day, July 2, 1819); *Bainbridge v. Wilcocks*, 2 F. Cas. 407, 408 (C.C.E.D. Pa. 1832) (No. 755) (suit by London bankers against Benjamin C. Wilcocks to recover debts for which William Waln had acted as Wilcocks’s agent through 1819; among other things, Wilcocks asserted that he had paid Waln the amounts which were due to the plaintiff bankers).

- 47 Each dollar collected by Wilcocks for another *Hong* merchant from that merchant's U.S. debtor, lessened the potential pro rata collective guaranty repayment burden that would be placed on Howqua, if that *Hong* merchant were to fail.
- 48 Fu, *Documentary Chronicle*, p. 610 n. 166. "According to a letter dated CC 18:11:4 (November 26, 1813) he lost his fortune because he had lent 300,000 liang of silver to the Wilcocks brothers (this letter is in the Archive of Jardine, Matheson and Company, located in the Anderson Room of the University Library, Cambridge, England.)"
- 49 Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, p. 126.
- 50 Wilcocks remained involved in the opium business after his return to the United States. *Wilcocks v. Phillips*, 29 F. Cas. 1198 (C.C.E.D. Pa. 1843) (No. 17, 639) (action brought to recover "kumshaws" paid by opium purchasers for deliveries of opium off the ship *Thomas Scattergood* in 1829; includes detailed description of sales practices on the Lintin Island opium storehouses); Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, p. 126.
- 51 Debt collection and credit conditions in the United States, while outside of the scope of this chapter, have also been illuminated by recent scholarship. Bruce Mann, *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Edward J. Balleisen, *Navigating Failure: Bankruptcy and Commercial Society in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
- 52 Account of sales of opium from the ship *Bingham* dated Canton, December 28, 1805, Willings & Francis Papers, 1805 folder, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, reproduced in Jonathan Goldstein, "Resources on Early Sino-American Relations in Philadelphia's Stephen Girard Collection and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i*, Vol. 4 (1980), pp. 114 and 121; Statement of Gregory Baboom dated December 28, 1805, Willings & Francis Papers, 1805 folder, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Baboom represented his friend Conseequa in making this purchase).
- 53 Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," p. 252 (litigation arising from credit purchases of tea by the supercargo of the *Bingham*); Grant, "Hong Merchant Litigation," p. 56 (same); Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, p. 115.
- 54 Grant, "Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong," pp. 255, 257, and 260.
- 55 The text of the release is reproduced with this article.
- 56 Hunter, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton*, p. 30.
- 57 One other example of the use of identically watermarked paper has been found. Laid paper with this watermark was used by Thomas Love Peacock for a September 24, 1820 letter to English, English & Becks. Donald H. Reiman and Doucet Devin Fischer, eds., *Shelley and His Circle, 1773–1822*, Vol. 10, p. 854 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002) ("Watermark: [East India Company cipher] S & C WISE|

- 1818”). In 1820, Mr. T. L. Peacock was an employee of the British EIC, assistant to the examiner at India House. <http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi/peacock.htm>
- 58 An identical signature (“Liquan hang Pan” and “Conseequa”) appears on Conseequa’s Canton April 3, 1813 letter to Peter Dobell, Breck Family Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia, on deposit with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. (Reproduced in Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” p. 253). See An-yun Sung, “A Study of the Thirteen Hong of Kuangtung; A Translation of Parts of the Kuangtung Shih-San-Hang Kao of Liang Chia-Pin” (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1958), pp. 4–6 (table of the Chinese names of *Hong* merchant firms, and the family and personal names of the *Hong* merchants, in transliteration and in Chinese characters, and trading names, in English).
- 59 Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade*, p. 93; Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians Now Deceased*, p. 362 (Philadelphia: William Brotherhead, 1859).
- 60 Thomson—or Richard R. Thompson—succeeded Wilcocks as U.S. consul at Canton. Kenneth S. Latourette, “The History of Early Relations between the United States and China,” *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 22 (1917), p. 17 n. 33.
- 61 Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. 3, pp. 346 and 368, Vol. 4, p. 112 (portrait). Urmston’s infant son George, who died in May 1813, is buried at Macau. Lindsay and Mary Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996), p. 198.
- 62 Petition of Conseequa, a Hong Merchant of the City of Canton in China, February 10, 1814 (contemporary English-language translation). Despatches of United States Consuls at Canton, Volume I, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; published in File Microcopies of Records in the National Archives, No. 101, Roll 1; Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1922), p. 86; Fu, *Documentary Chronicle*, pp. 391–393 (modern translation). No record has been found of any response to Conseequa’s petition to President Madison.
- 63 Grant, “Hong Merchant Litigation,” pp. 44–62; Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 243–260.
- 64 Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 259–260.
- 65 Ch’en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 297–298 and 302.
- 66 Ch’en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 229, 239 and 96 (Table 2.7).
- 67 Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. 4, p. 173; Ch’en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 348 and 351; Robert Bennet Forbes, *Remarks on China and the China Trade* (Boston: Samuel M. Dickinson, 1844), p. 38 (Manhop I owed \$1,125,538 on his failure).

- 68 Forbes, *Remarks on China and the China Trade*, p. 39; Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, p. 210; Ping-chia Kuo, *A Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War with Documents* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press Ltd., 1935), p. 73.
- 69 Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. 5, pp. 95 and 96; British Library, India Office Records, R/10/4, 1760/04/12, pp. 12–14.
- 70 Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. 4, pp. 293–301 (text of the 1831 Regulations), p. 296; Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China 1800–42* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 58.
- 71 *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 3, pp. 579–584 (April 1835) (text of the 1835 Regulations), p. 584.
- 72 Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, pp. 73–75; Kuo, *Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War*, pp. 4–5; Hunter, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton*, pp. 28–30.
- 73 Hunter, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton*, p. 28.
- 74 Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, p. 96 (Table 2.7).
- 75 Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, p. 211; Kuo, *Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War*, p. 166; Peter W. Fay, *The Opium War 1840–1842* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 362.
- 76 Kuo, *Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War*, p. 168 (Treaty of Nanking).
- 77 Kuo, *Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War*, p. 188 (Treaty of Wangxia).
- 78 內柜.
- 79 The author is grateful to David Faure, John Wong, Paul Van Dyke, and others for thoughts on the meaning of this term. The conclusions drawn here—and any errors—are those of the author alone.
- 80 See Ch'en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 123, 126, 329, and 349.
- 81 By 1796, quota revenue generated by the Canton customs exceeded 1,000,000 taels annually. Preston M. Torbert, *The Ch'ing Imperial Household Department: A Study of Its Organization and Principal Functions, 1662–1796* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 98–99. The "surplus" part of this revenue stream, sent directly to the Imperial Household Agency (*neiwufu*) in Beijing, averaged 855,500 taels annually during the next twenty years (1796–1821). Proceeds from the Canton customs which were earmarked for the emperor's privy purse exceeded one third of the average national annual surplus quota collection during this period (38% of the 2,261,301 tael annual average). Chang Te-ch'ang, "The Economic Role of the Imperial Household in the Ch'ing Dynasty," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (February 1972), pp. 243–274, 258.

- 82 Forbes, *Remarks on China and the China Trade*, p. 39 (“This debt arose out of obligations, or ‘chops,’ which originated before 1824, and bearing interest at ten to fifteen percent . . .”); E. W. A. Tuson, *The British Consul’s Manual* (London: Longman & Co., 1856), p. 250 (“British subjects are strongly recommended to exact a sale or purchase note (vulgarly called a Hong-chop), without which document in the event of fraud or failure, the sufferer would find great difficulty to establish his claim in a Chinese Court of Law.”). The term “hong chop” is independently used in the 1820 release to describe the seal used by a *Hong* merchant in the transaction of business.
- 83 Ch’en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 169 and 170.
- 84 *Consequa v. Fanning*, 3 Johns. Ch. 587, 600 (N.Y. Chancery 1818).
- 85 *Consequa v. Fanning*, 3 Johns. Ch. 587, 607 (N.Y. Chancery 1818).
- 86 “The rate of interest in China, for instance, is so well established to be twelve per centum per annum, that the court would not require it to be proved.” *Consequa v. Willings*, 6 F. Cas. 336, 338 (C.C.E.D. Pa. 1816) (No. 3, 128) (Washington, C.J.).
- 87 \$28,886 in interest+ \$20,060 in principal = \$48,946.
- 88 Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 256–257.
- 89 In making the sale, Howqua II presumably sought to realize a better return on the 1808 note than his debtor Conseequa was then able to pay. Did Howqua know of the intended export and use of this note? Was this transaction part of his “support” for Wilcocks? Did he see the sale as having any real effect on Conseequa, or did he see the EIC as the real party in interest, and loser? Did Howqua consider the potential impact on him, as one of the collective guarantors of Conseequa’s debts, of a loss in value to Conseequa resulting from its collection at Philadelphia?
- 90 Release: “Benjamin Chew Wilcocks (hereby declaring that he neither had, nor has, any participation in the emolument arising from said transaction but that of a mere Agent).”
- 91 According to the release, the note was “purchased here [at Canton] by the said Benjamin Chew Wilcocks as the agent of William Waln of Philadelphia and sent to the United States of America without my [i.e. Conseequa’s] knowledge or concurrence.”
- 92 Release (“(no demand having been made on me by the said Benjamin Chew Wilcocks for payment of the said claim or Chop previous to his sending the same to America”).
- 93 Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 259–260.
- 94 Alexander Pearson, EIC employee and one of Conseequa’s trustees, says he acted as “amanuensis to your friend Conseequa” in drafting his April 1813 letter to Peter Dobell in Philadelphia, complaining about the *Hong* merchant’s financial and legal problems. Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 253–254; Letter from Conseequa to Peter Dobell, dated Canton April 3, 1813, Breck Family Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia, on deposit with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Chapter 6

- 1 Sydney and Marjorie Greenbie, *Gold of Ophir, or The Lure That Made America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1925).
- 2 Robert Glass Cleland, "Asiatic Trade and American Occupation of the Pacific Coast," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, Vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), pp. 281–289; Robert Glass Cleland, "The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California: An Account of the Growth of American Interest in California, 1835–1846, I," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (July 1914): 1–40; Robert Glass Cleland, "The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California: An Account of the Growth of American Interest in California, 1835–1846, II," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (October 1914), pp. 121–161; Robert Glass Cleland, "The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California: An Account of the Growth of American Interest in California, 1835–1846, III," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (January 1915), pp. 231–260; Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922).
- 3 Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930).
- 4 See especially Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral, 1769–1848, Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. 34 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888).
- 5 At least two books share the title "Pacific Destiny": Richard O'Connor, *Pacific Destiny: An Informal History of the U.S. in the Far East, 1776–1968* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969); Edwin Palmer Hoyt, *Pacific Destiny: The Story of America in the Western Sea from the Early 1800s to the 1980s* (New York: Norton, 1981).
- 6 The most recent scholarly historical treatment of the Wilkes Expedition is William Ragan Stanton, *The Great United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). For more recent work by an anthropologist, see Barry Alan Joyce, *The Shaping of American Ethnography: The Wilkes Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842, Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology*, ser. eds. Regna Darnell and Stephen O. Murray (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).
- 7 Nathaniel Philbrick, *Sea of Glory: America's Voyage of Discovery; The U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (New York: Viking, 2003).
- 8 Now sometimes known as trepang, but usually called "beche de mer" or "beach la mar" by Americans in the nineteenth century.
- 9 See particularly, Norman A. Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955).
- 10 Neal Harlowe, *California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846–1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

- 11 See for instance, George M. Brooke, Jr., “The Vest Pocket War of Commodore Jones,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 31, no. 3 (August 1962), pp. 217–233; G. G. Hatheway, “Commodore Jones’s War,” *History Today* 16, no. 3 (March 1966), pp. 194–201; John Haskell Kemble, Introduction to R. T. Maxwell, *Visit to Monterey in 1842*, ed. John Haskell Kemble, Early California Travels Series 25 (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1955); and Robert J. Woods, Introduction to *Visit to Los Angeles in 1843: Unpublished Narrative of Commodore Thomas ap C. Jones, U. S. Navy, Reprinted from the Daily Alta California* (Los Angeles: Printed for the 5th Roxburghe-Zamorano Joint Meeting, 1960).
- 12 19th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Navy Department, Doc. No. 23: *Survey of Northwest Coast: Report of the Secretary of the Navy, upon the Subject of Employing a Sloop of War, in Exploring the Northwest Coast of America; Made in Pursuance of a Resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 16th Ult.*, January 4, 1826. Read, and laid upon the table (Washington: Printed by Gales & Seaton, 1826). Also see Jonathan Goldstein, “For Gold, Glory and Knowledge: The Andrew Jackson Administration and the Orient, 1829–1837,” *International Journal of Maritime History* 8, no. 2 (December 2001), pp. 137–163, for an illuminating discussion of the political maneuvering behind the long delays in dispatching a government-sponsored expedition from the United States to the Pacific.
- 13 *Survey of Northwest Coast*, p. 4.
- 14 20th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Doc. No. 201: *Massachusetts: Petition of Citizens of New Bedford, Praying that a Naval Expedition May Be Undertaken, for the Exploration of the North and South Pacific Ocean, and Other Seas, Visited by Whale Ships and Others*, March 17, 1828, Referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs (Washington: Printed by Gales & Seaton, 1828).
- 15 20th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Doc. No. 179: *Memorial of Inhabitants of Nantucket Praying that an Expedition May Be Fitted Out, under the Sanction of Government, to Survey and Explore the Islands and Coasts of the Pacific* (Washington: Printed by Gales & Seaton, 1828), p. 3.
- 16 20th Congress, 1st Session, Ho. of Reps. Rep. No. 209. *Explore South Seas*, March 25, 1828 ([Washington]: 1828), p. 1.
- 17 *Explore South Seas*, p. 4.
- 18 *Explore South Seas*, pp. 6–7.
- 19 *Explore South Seas*, p. 7.
- 20 *Explore South Seas*, p. 7. Like sea otters, seals had become rare in the wild as American merchants shipped tens of thousands of their skins to China.
- 21 Timothy Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America: Including Also an Account of Banks, Manufactures and*

- Internal Trade and Improvements; Together with that of the Revenues and Expenditures of the General Government, Accompanied with Numerous Tables* (New Haven: Durrie & Peck, 1835), p. 250.
- 22 *Explore South Seas*, p. 9.
- 23 *Explore South Seas*, p. 12.
- 24 20th Congress, 2d Session, 77, Senate: *Message from the President of the United States, with a Report from the Secretary of the Navy, Relative to the Exploring Expedition, &c., Made in Compliance to a Resolution of the Senate* ([Washington]: 1829).
- 25 23d Congress, 1st Session, 10: *Memorial of Edmund Fanning, To Illustrate the Views in a Petition Presented to Congress, Praying that a National Discovery and Exploring Expedition Be Sent Out to South Seas, &c.* ([Washington]: 1833), p. 2.
- 26 Edmund Fanning, *Voyages Round the World; with Selected Sketches of Voyages to the South Seas, North and South Pacific Oceans, China, etc., Performed under the Command and Agency of the Author, also, Information Relating to Important Late Discoveries; between the Years 1792 and 1832, together with the Report of the Commander of the First American Exploring Expedition, Patronised by the United States Government, in the Brigs Seraph and Annawan, to the Southern Hemisphere* (New York: Collins & Hannay, 1833), p. 118.
- 27 *Memorial of Edmund Fanning*, p. 4.
- 28 *Memorial of Edmund Fanning*, pp. 4–5.
- 29 *Memorial of Edmund Fanning*, p. 14.
- 30 23d Congress, 2d Session, [75] *Memorial of the East India Marine Society of Salem, Mass.; Praying that an Expedition be Fitted Out by the Government to Make a Voyage of Discovery and Survey to the South Seas* ([Washington]: 1834); 23d Congress, 2d Session, Ho. of Reps. Doc. No. 48: *Explore Southern Hemisphere. Memorial of Citizens of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Praying an Appropriation of the National Funds for the Purpose of Making Discoveries, &c. in the South Seas, Pacific Oceans, &c.* ([Washington]: Gales & Seaton, 1835); 23d Congress, 2d Session, Ho. of Reps., Navy Dept. Doc. No. 105. *Letter from the Secretary of the Navy, Transmitting a Report of J. N. Reynolds, in Relation to Islands, Reefs, and Shoals in the Pacific Ocean, &c.* ([Washington]: Gales & Seaton, 1835); 23d Congress, 2d Session, Ho. of Reps. Rep. No. 94: *Explore Pacific Ocean, &c.: To Accompany Bill H. R. No. 719* ([Washington]: Gales & Seaton, 1835); 24th Congress, 1st Session, No. 262. *Report with S. Bill no. 175* ([Washington]: Gales & Seaton, 1836).
- 31 Jones proved unsuited for the job, and after public feuds with Secretary of the Navy Mahlon Dickerson, Charles Wilkes took his place.
- 32 Mahlon Dickerson to Edmund Fanning, June 15, 1836, Box 1, Watson (John Fanning) Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California (hereafter, John Fanning Watson papers).

- 33 Dickerson to Fanning, June 15, 1836, Box 1, John Fanning Watson papers.
- 34 Edmund Fanning to John Fanning Watson, June 25, 1838, Box 1, John Fanning Watson papers.
- 35 Benjamin Morrell, Jr., *A Narrative of Four Voyages, to the South Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, Chinese Sea, Ethiopic and Southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Antarctic Ocean. from the Years 1822 to 1831. Comprising Critical Surveys of Coasts and Islands, with Sailing Directions, and an Account of some New and Valuable Discoveries, Including the Massacre Islands, where Thirteen of the Author's Crew were Massacred and Eaten by Cannibals. to which is Prefixed a Brief Sketch of the Author's Early Life* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832).
- 36 Morell, *Narrative of Four Voyages*, p. 466.
- 37 Benjamin Morrell, *To Commercial Men!! An Important Enterprise; Capt. Benjamin Morrell, Jr. Late of the Schooner Antarctic from a Voyage to the South Pacific Ocean, Takes the Liberty of Laying His Views before the Commercial and Other Citizens of this City* (Baltimore, 1832), p. 1.
- 38 Morell, *To Commercial Men*, pp. 1–2.
- 39 Thomas ap Catesby Jones to Waddy Thompson, in 27th Congress, 3d Session, Ho. of Reps., Executive, Doc. No. 166: *Taking Possession of Monterey: Message from the President of the United States, in Reply to the Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 2d February, Calling for Information in Relation to the Taking Possession of Monterey by Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones* ([Washington]: 1843), p. 15.
- 40 See James O. Pattie, *Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, of Kentucky, During an Expedition from St. Louis, through the Regions between that Place and the Pacific Ocean, and thence Back through the City of Mexico to Vera Cruz, During Journeyings of Six Years; in which He and His Father, Who Accompanied Him, Suffered Unheard of Hardships and Dangers, Had Various Conflicts with the Indians and were Made Captives, in which Captivity His Father Died: Together with a Description of the Country, and the Various Nations through which They Passed*, ed. Timothy Flint (Cincinnati: John H. Wood, 1831).
- 41 Morrell, *Four Voyages*, 197.
- 42 Such thinking was common during the early nineteenth century, when cartographers often embellished unexplored portions of their maps with fantastic geographical features, such as the Rio Buenaventura, a river supposedly flowing from the Rocky Mountains into San Francisco Bay. See, for instance, C. Gregory Crampton and Gloria G. Griffen, "The San Buenaventura, Mythical River of the West," *The Pacific Historical Review* 25, no. 2 (May 1956), pp. 163–171.
- 43 Bernard DeVoto, "An Inference Regarding the Expedition of Lewis and Clark," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 99, no. 4 (August 30, 1955), pp. 185–194.

- 44 John Charles Fremont, *Narrative of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and California in the Years 1843–44* (Washington: H. Polkinhorn, 1845).
- 45 Thomas ap Catesby Jones to James Armstrong, C. K. Stribling, and Thomas A. Dornin, September 8, 1842, in *Taking Possession of Monterey*, pp. 84–85.
- 46 Jones to Armstrong, Stribling, and Dornin, September 8, 1842, in *Taking Possession of Monterey*, p. 85.
- 47 Jones to Armstrong, Stribling, and Dornin, September 8, 1842, in *Taking Possession of Monterey*, p. 85.
- 48 Jones to Armstrong, Stribling, and Dornin, September 8, 1842, in *Taking Possession of Monterey*, p. 70.
- 49 John Lawrence Fox, *Journals of John Lawrence Fox*, vol. 1, manuscript BANC MSS 96/101 cz, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, (hereafter Fox Journals), p. 229.
- 50 Fox Journals, vol. 1, p. 230.

Chapter 7

- 1 F. Y. O. Ling, member of the church Henrietta Shuck helped to erect in Hong Kong. Ethlene Boone Cox, *Following His Train*, 1st ed. 1938, 2nd ed. (Whitefish: Kessinger Publisher, 2005), p. 37.
- 2 For some of the more recent discussions on this period, see Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade, Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), pp. 102–103.
- 3 By the 1759 decree from the Minister of the Kingdom Marques de Pombal, the Jesuits were expelled from all the Portuguese territories (but only became effective in 1762 in Macao), *Infopedia. Expulsão dos Jesuítas*, [http://www.infopedia.pt/\\$expulsao-dos-jesuítas](http://www.infopedia.pt/$expulsao-dos-jesuítas), accessed August 26, 2009.
- 4 The Reforma Administrativa Colonial (Colonial Administration Reform) of January 1834 transferred the powers of the Senate to the governor and imposed the forced withdrawal of the Chinese customs officials from Macao. Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia da História de Macau, Séculos XVI–XVII* (Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação de Macau, 1992), vol. 3, p. 73.
- 5 The Jesuits established a School for Reading and Writing in 1572 which became a University College in 1594. The 1759 decree expelling the Jesuits led to the closing of the St. Paul's College and the St. Joseph Seminary. Portugal cut diplomatic relations with the Holy See in Rome, and secularized education. Another decree of May 28, 1834 extinguished the Jesuit congregation. *Infopédia*.
- 6 Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia*, p. 37.
- 7 For general information on the opposition of the British East India Company to the Protestant missionaries in Macao, see Elizabeth L.

- Malcolm, “The Chinese Repository and Western Literature on China 1800 to 1850,” *Modern Asian Studies* (1973), 7, pp. 165–178. In Portugal, Protestantism became only legally recognized with the right to assemble after the promulgation of the constitution of 1976 which guarantees all religions the right to practice their faith. Before that date, laws restricted the activities of non-Catholics in Portugal and in every Portuguese possession. João Francisco Marques, “Para a História do Protestantismo em Portugal,” *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: História*, série II, vol. 21 (2004), pp. 431–476.
- 8 J. B. Jeter, *Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, The First American Female Missionary to China* (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1846), p. 221.
 - 9 Marques, “Para a História do Protestantismo,” pp. 438–439.
 - 10 Darcy G. Richardson, *Others: Third-Party Politics from the Nation’s Founding to the Rise and Fall of the Greenback-Labor Party*, p. 269.
 - 11 Rui Simões, “Education and Change in Macau’s Portuguese Community,” *Macau on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (Macau: Instituto Ricci de Macau, 2003), p. 825.
 - 12 C. W. Ohypphant offered a passage and funding for a year stay in China to a missionary. Susanne Wilson Barnett, “Protestant Expansion and Chinese Views in the West,” *Modern Asian Studies*, 6:2 (1972), p. 130.
 - 13 M. Miles, “Disability and Deafness in East Asia: Social and Educational Responses, from Antiquity to Recent Times,” A bibliography of European-language materials with introduction and some annotation, revised Version 4.0, August 2007, <http://www.independentliving.org/docs7/miles200708.html>, accessed April 20, 2009.
 - 14 Her husband, Karl Gutzlaff, worked for the Netherlands Missionary Society.
 - 15 Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia*, p. 37.
 - 16 Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia*, p. 189.
 - 17 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 199.
 - 18 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 89.
 - 19 Peter Mundy is quoted from Charles Boxer, *Estudos para a História de Macau, séculos XVI a XVIII*, 1º tomo (Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 1991), p. 176.
 - 20 The population census conducted in the years 1839–1842 and available at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Overseas Historical Archives), for example, indicates a total of 5,612 persons (2,164 men, 2,350 women, 471 male slaves, 627 female slaves). Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia*, p. 93. Slaves make up 24 percent of the population, and that high percentage was maintained for much of Macao’s history.
 - 21 Carl Smith, “The Chinese Church, Labour and Elites and the Mui Tsai Question in the 1920s,” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 21 (1981), pp. 91–113.

- 22 Karen Yuen, “Theorizing the Chinese: The Mui Tsai controversy and constructions of Transnational Chineseness in Hong Kong and British Malaya,” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 6:2 (December 2004), pp. 95–110.
- 23 Jeter, *Memoir*, 22.
- 24 These ideals are exemplified in a letter Henrietta’s father gave to her when she left for China advising her to always be an obedient, dutiful wife and sexually submissive. Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 383.
- 25 The couple was commissioned for missionary service by the board of the “Baptist Triennial Convention,” later renamed the Baptist Fellowship in 1845. Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 105.
- 26 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 93. Portuguese sources indicate more precise figures regarding the number of residents. For instance, Monsignor Teixeira indicates that in 1830 the Macau’s population was around 4,628 (1,202 white men, 2,149 white women, 350 male slaves, 779 female slaves and more than 38 men and 110 women of different castes). The Portuguese born in Portugal were no more than 90 individuals. Manuel Teixeira, “Macau Através dos Séculos,” *Separata dos nos. 2 e 3*, vol. XI, *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional), p. 66.
- 27 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 94.
- 28 Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, “The Chinese Christian Transnational Networks of Bangkok–Hong Kong–Chaozhou in the 19th Century,” Paper presented at the International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas’ 5th Conference (ISSCO V), LO-School, Elsinore, Copenhagen, Denmark, May 10–14, 2004, pp. 1–25.
- 29 Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia*, p. 85.
- 30 Anders (Andrew) Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China* (1832. Reprint, Boston: James Munroe & Co. eds., 1836; Hong Kong: Viking Hong Kong Publications, 1992), p. 207. I am indebted to Paul Van Dyke for pointing out this reference to me.
- 31 Simões, “Education and Change,” p. 828.
- 32 The Decree of 28 May of 1834 extinguished the Congregation of the Jesuits in 1836.
- 33 A. Carmo, *A igreja Católica na China e em Macau no contexto do Sudeste Asiático—Que futuro?* (Macau: Fundação Macau / Instituto Cultural de Macau / Instituto Português do Oriente, 1997), p. 636.
- 34 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 169.
- 35 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 95.
- 36 Henrietta Shuck, *Scenes in China; or, Sketches of the Country, Religion, and Customs of the Chinese* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1853), p. 130.
- 37 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 179.
- 38 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 200.
- 39 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 369.

- 40 John Rogers Haddad, *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in the U.S. Culture, 1776–1886*, <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/haj01/haj05.html>, accessed October 10, 2008.
- 41 Quoted by Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia*, p. 79.
- 42 Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2005). Julie Broadwin, "Walking Contradictions: Chinese Women Unbound at the Turn of the Century," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 10, no. 4 (December 1997), p. 428.
- 43 Howard Skiles, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), pp. 101–102.
- 44 Henrietta H. Shuck's portrait is available at: The Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.
- 45 Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 1, 23, 32.
- 46 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 91.
- 47 Shuck, *Scenes in China*, p. 109.
- 48 Shuck, *Scenes*, pp. 90–91.
- 49 Shuck, *Scenes*, p. 135.
- 50 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), pp. 57 and 100.
- 51 Jonathan Goldstein, Jerry Israel, and Hilary Conroy (eds.), *America Views of China: American Images of China Then and Now* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1991), p. 67.
- 52 Goldstein, Israel, and Conroy, *America views*, p. 68.
- 53 Jeter, *Memoir*, pp. 145–146.
- 54 Jeter, *Memoir*, pp. 145–146.
- 55 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 168.
- 56 Baptist History Preservation Society, <http://www.baptisthistorypreservation.com/content/henrietta-hall-shuck.htm>., accessed November 2, 2011.
- 57 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 138.
- 58 The presence of single missionary women or women without male escorts in China only becomes common from 1875 onwards. Wilbert R. Shenk, *North American Foreign Missions, 1810–1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy* (Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004), p. 293.
- 59 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 94.
- 60 Henrietta Hall Shuck, "Cave of Camoens, in Macao: Notices of His Life and Works, Especially of His *Lusiad*," Communicated for the *Repository*, by H. S. *The Southern Literary Messenger* 6:12 (December 1841), p. 823.
- 61 In 1835 Edgar Allan Poe became editor, staff writer, and critic of *The Southern Literary Messenger* where he published many first printings of his famous works. He left the journal in 1837 but he continued his

- collaboration. *The Southern Literary Messenger*, www.southernliterarymessage.com, accessed November 20, 2008.
- 62 William Julius Mickle (1735–1788) was a Scottish poet and translator of the *Lusiad* into English which brought him fame.
- 63 Robert Pollok (c. 1798–1827) was a Scottish poet best known for his poem *The Course of Time*, published the year of his death, a form of didactic verse aimed to instruct as well as enhance morals, describes the mortal and immortal destiny of man, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Didactic_poetry, accessed April 20, 2009.
- 64 Paulo Medeiros, *Presence of Camoes: Influences on the Literature of England, América and Southern Africa* (Lexington: The University Press Kentucky, 1996), p. 13.
- 65 Medeiros, *Presence*, p. 13.
- 66 The property where the grotto is located belonged to a wealthy Portuguese trader Manuel Pereira (1757–1826). The grotto and the farmland were sold by Lourenço Marques (1811–1902), the former proprietor's son-in-law to the *Leal Senado* in 1885. Francisco Pereira Marques, one of Lourenço Marques' sons, in a letter dated March 26, 1903 mentioned that there were no documents that could prove the identity of the original owner of the garden. Fundos Documentais, "Fundo Marques Pereira," *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, Doc 8 (9). Yet, a Jesuit inventory of the St. Paul's College of Macao dated 1632 states that the area of the grotto or cave of Camões once belonged to the Jesuits who sold it. Manuel Teixeira, *Camões esteve em Macau* (Macao: Fundação Macau and Instituto Internacional de Macau, 1999), p. 31. In 2005, the building adjacent to the garden (Casa Garden) was officially enlisted as part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site.
- 67 Protestants were not allowed to bury their dead inside Macao's city walls because it was sacred Roman Catholic ground. The Protestant community of British, American and other European traders as well as non-Catholic Indian traders and seamen buried their dead in several different locations outside the city walls. There are several versions to when the cemetery was opened. According to Portuguese sources, although the year of 1814 is shown at the top of the entrance of the cemetery, it was not until 1821 that the first burial took place when Robert Morrison's wife died. It was then that the EIC opened the "Protestant Cemetery" after Francisco Pereira Marques had obtained the Portuguese government's approval. Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia*, p. 34. In 2005, it was also officially enlisted as part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site.
- 68 Apparently, such position did not exist at that time in Macao. See also José Augusto Seabra, "Macao, O Oriente e a Poesia Portuguesa: De Camões a Camilo Pessanha," *Revista da Cultura*, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 37 (1992), pp. 114–115.

- 69 Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory, The Construction of a French Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
- 70 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- 71 Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*.
- 72 The first bust dedicated to Camões already existed at the date of the Embassy of Lord Macartney to China (1792–1794) as stated by George Staunton in his *Journal of an Embassy to China* but it was vandalized between 1837 and 1840. Manuel Teixeira, *Camões esteve em Macau* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Cultura, 1981), p. 44. In 1840, the damaged bust was replaced by Lourenço Marques' initiative who also ordered the current bronze statue in 1866. Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia*, pp. 100 and 212.
- 73 Shuck, "Cave of Camoens," p. 822.
- 74 Shuck, "Cave," p. 823.
- 75 Shuck, "Cave," p. 824.
- 76 *The Friends of China* started its publication on March 17, 1842 but its second issue was incorporated with the *Hong Kong Gazette*. Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong, Pre-1841 to 1941* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1990), p. 23.
- 77 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 181.
- 78 Rhonda Anne Semple, "Under the Influence of Wise and Devoted and Spiritually Minded Colleagues," *Missionary Women, Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 2.
- 79 Sarah Robbins, *Managing Literacy, Mothering America: Women's Narratives on Reading and Writing in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), p. 12.
- 80 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 161.
- 81 Jeter, *Memoir*, pp. 167–168.
- 82 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 141.
- 83 Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the politics of the 1850s* (1992), <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=52767975>, accessed October 2, 2010.
- 84 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 201.
- 85 Li Li, "Christian Women's Education in China in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," paper presented at the "Fourth Annual Lilly Fellows Program National Research conference, Christian and Human Rights," November 11–14, 2004, p. 7; <http://www.samford.edu/lillyhumanrights/papers.html>, accessed October 20, 2008.
- 86 For such a history, see Alison R. Drucker, "The Influence of Western Women on the Anti-Footbinding Movement 1840–1911." In *Women in China: Current Directions in Historical Scholarship*, ed. by Richard Guisso and Stanley Johannesen Youngstown (New York: Philo Press, 1991).

- 87 Student enrollment increased in all of the Christian girls' schools. From 1860 onwards, the enrollment was as follows: 1860: 196 Chinese girls; 1869: 556; 1877: 1,307; 1896: 6,798; 1907: 9,929; 1910: 16,190; 1915: 45,168; and 1916: 50,173. The first anti-foot binding society was created in Shanghai in 1894. L. Ethel Wallace, *Hwa nan College: The Women's College of South China* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in China, 1956), pp. 7 and 10.

Chapter 8

- 1 Unnamed author speaking of China. Quoted in Sarah Pike Conger, *Letters from China, with Particular Reference to the Empress Dowager and the Women of China* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1909), p. 206.
- 2 In her diaries and correspondence, Harriett Low spelled her name with two t's, which we have also adopted.
- 3 Hillard, Harriett Low, Nan Powell Hodges, and Arthur W. Hummel, *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life: The Journal of Harriett Low, Travelling Spinster* (Woodinville, WA: The History Bank, 2002), p. 63. Diary entry for September 30, 1829. The diary ultimately totaled nine volumes and was acquired by the U.S. Library of Congress in 1944. Abridged versions include Elma Loines, *The China Trade Post-Bag: The Seth Low Family of Salem and New York 1829–1873* (Manchester, ME: Falmouth Publishing House, 1953), and Harriett Low Hillard and Katharine Hillard, *My Mother's Journal: A Young Lady's Diary of Five Years Spent in Manila, Macao, and the Cape of Good Hope from 1829–1834* (Boston: G. H. Ellis, 1900).
- 4 Kinsman, Rebecca Chase, "Life in Macao in the 1840's, Letters of Rebecca Chase Kinsman to Her Family in Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 86 (1950). In 1843, Rebecca Chase Kinsman noted the following nationalities in Macao: "In walking out we meet almost every variety of people, the representatives, as it would seem, of almost every nation on earth. Jews, Parsees (who are descendants of the ancient Persians and are fire worshippers) Malays, Bengalees [sic], Lascars (these are all dressed in their several native costumes) then there are Coffers, slaves to the Portuguese, to say nothing of Europeans, English, Scotch, French, Germans, Swedes, etc.
- 5 Hillard, Hodges, and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 179.
- 6 Hillard, Hodges, and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 77.
- 7 Hillard, Hodges, and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, pp. 107–108.
- 8 Hillard, Hodges, and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 69.
- 9 Hillard, Hodges, and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 503.
- 10 Hillard, Hodges, and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 577.
- 11 Hillard, Hodges, and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 634.
- 12 Hillard, Hodges, and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 637.
- 13 Hillard, Hodges, and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 657.

- 14 Elizabeth Peabody founded the kindergarten movement in the United States; Mary often assisted her and married educational reformer Horace Mann; and Sophia married American author and one-time Salem resident Nathaniel Hawthorne.
- 15 Kinsman, Rebecca Chase, in Peabody Family Papers, Series II: Rebecca Chase Kinsman, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. “The cow and calf are a source of much amusement to all on board, and are petted and visited by all—Captain, mates, passengers and crew,” Mrs. Kinsman wrote from the ship, not quite a week out of Salem. “We have found among the sailors a young man, brought up on a farm, who milks and feeds the cow, and I love to see the man caress and feed her.”
- 16 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “Life in Macao in the 1840’s,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* [hereafter *EIHC*] 86 (1950), p. 20.
- 17 Kinsman, Rebecca Chase, in Peabody Family Papers, Series II: Rebecca Chase Kinsman, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Mass.
- 18 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “Life in Macao in the 1840’s,” *EIHC* 86 (1950), p. 15.
- 19 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “Life in Macao in the 1840’s,” *EIHC* 86 (1950), p. 19.
- 20 Mary Kinsman Munroe, “Nathaniel Kinsman, Merchant of Salem, in the China Trade,” *EIHC* 85 (1949), p. 127.
- 21 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “Life in Macao in the 1840’s,” *EIHC* 86 (1950), p. 22.
- 22 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “Life in Macao in the 1840’s,” *EIHC* 86 (1950), p. 35.
- 23 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “Daily Life of Mrs. Nathaniel Kinsman,” *EIHC* 88 (1952), pp. 81–82.
- 24 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “Life in Macao in the 1840’s,” *EIHC* 86 (1950), pp. 35–36.
- 25 Mary Kinsman Munroe, “Nathaniel Kinsman, Merchant of Salem, in the China Trade,” *EIHC* 85 (1949), pp. 132–133. Example of Rebecca Chase Kinsman’s duties as the *de facto* agent for Wetmore & Co. in Macao, outlined in a letter to her from her husband, Nathaniel Kinsman: “We have just passed a draft on you; as Wetmore & Co., for \$3,000, which you will please pay on presentation of the draft and send us the draft receipted by the Chinese who receive the money. I have ordered the Comprador to send down money boxes this evening, and if they come, want you to send for Mr. S. and have the money paced and got ready to send up. There will be about twenty thousand dollars to be put into boxes, which will require 7 boxes—6 of \$3,000 each and 1 of \$2000. You must keep \$500 or \$1000 for current expenses.”
- 26 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “Life in Macao in the 1840’s,” *EIHC* 86 (1950), pp. 323–324.

- 27 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, "Daily Life of Mrs. Nathaniel Kinsman, 1846," *EIHC* 88 (1952), p. 73.
- 28 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, "Daily Life of Mrs. Nathaniel Kinsman, 1846," *EIHC* 88 (1952), pp. 95–97. She describes her husband's grave site as follows: "The precious remains repose in a quiet corner, shaded by some lovely trees from which I have taken leaves to preserve. There may they rest in peace. A plain granite monument is being prepared."
- 29 Sarah Pike Conger Papers, 1901–1908, Harvard University, Peabody Museum Archives, Cambridge, Mass., Call No. 991-12.
- 30 Sarah Pike Conger, *Letters from China, with Particular Reference to the Empress Dowager and the Women of China* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1909), p. vii.
- 31 Conger, *Letters*, p. vii.
- 32 Conger, *Letters*, pp. 3–4.
- 33 Conger, *Letters*, p. 4.
- 34 Conger, *Letters from China, with Particular Reference to the Empress Dowager and the Women of China* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1909).
- 35 Conger, *Letters*, p. 6.
- 36 Letter from Sarah Pike Conger to Mary Baker Eddy dated March 8, 1906. Mary Baker Eddy Library, Boston, Mass. L 16517:22–28.
- 37 Conger, *Letters*, p. 49.
- 38 Conger, *Letters*, p. 45.
- 39 Conger, *Letters*, p. 188.
- 40 Conger, *Letters*, p. 202.
- 41 Conger, *Letters*, p. 33.
- 42 Pearl Buck, *My Several Worlds: A Personal Record* (New York: John Day Co., 1954), p. 10.
- 43 Pearl Buck, *China As I See It* (New York: John Day Co., 1970), p. xi.
- 44 Buck, *China As I See It*, p. 18.
- 45 Ruth V. Hemenway and Fred W. Drake, *Ruth V. Hemenway, M.D.: A Memoir of Revolutionary China, 1924–1941* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), p. 14.
- 46 Ruth V. Hemenway Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. diary entry for February 25, 1924, Vol. 1, Book 1, p. 43.
- 47 Ruth V. Hemenway Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. diary entry for April 22, 1924, Vol. 1, Book 1, page unnumbered.
- 48 Lin Yutang, *My Country and My People* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1935).
- 49 Ruth V. Hemenway Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Entry for Mon, March 3, 1937 p. 76.
- 50 Hemenway and Drake, *Hemenway*, p. 129.

- 51 Hemenway and Drake, *Hemenway*, p. 16.
- 52 Hemenway and Drake, *Hemenway*, p. 215.
- 53 Hemenway and Drake, *Hemenway*, p. 215.
- 54 *Holyoke (Mass.) Transcript-Telegram*, Friday, December 7, 1956.

Chapter 9

- 1 The author is grateful to Paul Van Dyke, Leonard Blussé, and Cullen Jay Wilder for their comments.
- 2 Macao played a role in the trade with China as is witnessed by the Americans who are now buried in the Old Protestant Cemetery. They include William Lejee and George Washington Biddle. Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery*, pp. 54 and 140.
- 3 Teemu Ruskola, “Canton Is Not Boston: The Invention of American Imperial Sovereignty,” *American Quarterly*, No. 57 (September 2005), p. 859.
- 4 Manuel Teixeira, “Samuel Shaw: the First American Consul in Macao,” *Review of Culture*, vol. 27/28 (1997), p. 45 and John C. Calhoun and Clyde N. Wilson, eds., *The Papers of John C. Calhoun* (Columbia: South Carolina Press, 1959), Vol. 21, January–June 1845, p. 286. Washington D.C., “National Archives: Despatches from United States Consuls in Macao, 1849–1869” (DUSCM), Series Consular Despatches, Microcopy no. 109. The volumes are part of a body of records in the National Archives designated as Record Group No. 59, General Records of the Department of State. Those archival documents include correspondences and reports between Macao consuls to U.S. government which are arranged in chronological order from 1849 to 1869. Usually, the documents are dated without page numbers. This paper was written according to the microfilm version of the archive. Some of the documents can also be found in a reprinted selected edition of Jules Davids, ed., *American Diplomatic and Public Papers: The United States and China. Series 1: The Treaty System and the Taiping Rebellion, 1842–1860* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1973), vol. 20, “Consular Affairs and Trade Reports: Amoy, Foochow, Hong Kong, Macao, and Ningpo.”
- 5 Eldon Griffin, *Clippers and Consuls: American Consular and Commercial Relations with Eastern Asia, 1845–1860* (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, inc., 1938.), pp. 278–279 and 362; DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated June 18, 1849; George Henry Preble, edited by Boleslaw Szczesniak, *The Opening of Japan; a Diary of Discovery in the Far East, 1853–1856. From the Original Manuscript in the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 54. He may come from Philadelphia as his name appears in John W. Jordan, ed., *Colonial Families in Philadelphia* (New York: Lewis Publishers, 1911), p. 1505. Sometimes, his name appeared as “Robert Desilver” or “Mr. D” in the diary of George Henry Preble and other publications. George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, passim.

- 6 Gary B. Nash, *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 82. Robert De Silver edited and/or authored several publications, including *The Philadelphia Index, or Directory, Philadelphia Directory and Strangers Guide, 1828* (Philadelphia: James Maxwell, 1828)
- 7 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated August 21, 1849. In the meantime, the infamous Governor Amaral was assassinated, but not before the request was forwarded to Portugal.
- 8 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated May 20, 1850.
- 9 The Despatches consisted of many examples of such kind of reports, such as the one prepared by Consul De Silver. See DUSCM, “Consular Return,” dated July 1, 1850; DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated June 5, 1852; DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated January 1, 1853 and DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated July 20, 1853.
- 10 DUSCM “Declaration,” dated May 20, 1851.
- 11 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated January 1, 1852.
- 12 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated January 30, 1854.
- 13 George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, pp. 71, 258, and 310. In the eyes of George Henry Preble, De Silver was considered “a very amiable man,” but his wife was described as “a more masculine woman and has the misfortune of being unpopular with her own sex.” But they were welcomed as “an attached couple.” *Ibid.*, pp. 71 and 312.
- 14 George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, 70.
- 15 DUSCM Document beginning with “Having every confidence in . . .”, dated January 2, 1854.
- 16 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated July 1, 1855 and DUSCM Document beginning with “The U.S. Government having . . .”, dated January 26, 1854.
- 17 Eldon Griffin, *Clippers and Consuls*, pp. 278–279 and 362; George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, p. 54; the inscription of his gravestone indicated his name as “S. Burge Rawle” who was the “Late American Consul at Macao.” See Lindsay Ride and May Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996), p. 217.
- 18 Francis M. Carroll, *The American Presence in Ulster: A Diplomatic History, 1796–1996* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), p. 57.
- 19 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated July 1, 1856.

- 20 George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, p. 57 n. 118.
- 21 Harold D. Langley, "Gideon Nye, Jr. and the Formosa Annexation Scheme," *The Pacific Historical Review*, 34: 4 (November 1965), pp. 419–420.
- 22 Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery*, p. 217.
- 23 DUSCM Document beginning with "I have the honor to . . .", dated January 1, 1856 and DUSCM "Consular Return," dated April 1, 1857.
- 24 DUSCM "Consular Return," dated April 1 to June 30, 1857.
- 25 DUSCM Document beginning with "I have the honor to . . .", dated January 13, 1858.
- 26 DUSCM Document beginning with "I have the honor to . . .", dated January 13, 1858.
- 27 Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia: A Critical Study of the Policy of the United States with Reference to China, Japan and Korea in the 19th Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1922; reprint, New York: Barnes & Noble, 1963), pp. 311–331.
- 28 Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), p. 20.
- 29 John Stevens Cabot Abbott, *South and North; or, Impressions Received during a Trip to Cuba and the South* (New York, Abbey & Abbot, 1860), p. 50.
- 30 Mr. Reed to Consul Rawle, "Coolie Trade," "Legation of the United States," Macao, January 5, 1858. This document is reprinted as an "Appendix" in William Beach Lawrence, *Visitation and Search, or, An Historical Sketch of the British Claim to Exercise a Maritime Police over the Vessels of All Nations: in Peace as Well as in War: with an Inquiry into the Expediency of Terminating the Eighth Article of the Ashburton Treaty* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1858), pp. 210–213.
- 31 Lucy M. Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People without a History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), p. 232.
- 32 Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South*, p. 236.
- 33 DUSCM Document beginning with "I have the honor to . . .", dated September 22, 1857.
- 34 For the detail of such kind of coolie trade, please refer to Robert J. Plowman, "The Voyage of the 'Coolie' Ship *Kate Hooper* October 3, 1857–March 26, 1858," *Prologue, Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration*, vol. 33, No. 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 87–95.
- 35 Quoted from Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), p. 24.
- 36 Mrs. Catharina Visscher Bonney (Van Rensselaer), *A Legacy of Historical Gleanings* (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1875), p. 307.
- 37 William A. Macy, "Remarks on the Mode of Applying the Electric Telegraph in Connection with the Chinese Language," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 3 (1853), pp. 195–207.

- 38 K. Scott Wong, “Cultural Defenders and Brokers: Chinese Responses to the Anti-Chinese Movement,” in K. Scott Wong and Sucheng Chan, eds., *Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities during the Exclusion Era* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), p. 23.
- 39 Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South*, p. 37.
- 40 Gideon Nye, Jr., *Peking the Goal,—the Sole Hope of Peace. Comprising an Inquiry into the Origin of the Pretension of Universal Supremacy by China and into the Causes of the First War: with Incidents of the Imprisonment of the Foreign Community and of the First Campaign of Canton. 1841* (Canton, [unknown publisher], 1873), p. 19.
- 41 Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery*, p. 217.
- 42 The initial of S. B. Rawle was mistaken by Jules Davids as J. B. Rawle in the content page and transcription of the manuscript in Jules Davids, eds., *American Diplomatic and Public Papers: The United States and China. Series 1: The Treaty System and the Taiping Rebellion, 1842–1860* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1973), vol. 20, “Consular Affairs and Trade Reports: Amoy, Foochow, Hong Kong, Macao, and Ningpo,” pp. xxii, 372 and 373. S. B. Rawle’s full name was Samuel Burge Rawle as indicated on his tombstone and Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery*.
- 43 Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery*, p. 217.
- 44 Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery*, p. 217.
- 45 DUSCM “A Chinese Proclamation,” dated July 1, 1858. The English translation of the Chinese text was done by the author.
- 46 DUSCM Document beginning with “I regret to inform you . . .”, dated September 3, 1858. Gideon Nye, Jr. was born in Fair Haven, near New Bedford, in 1808. After his arrival in China in 1831, he became a well-known tea trader. Anonymous, “Spent in the China Trade; a Sketch of the Life of the Late Gideon Nye, Jr.,” *New York Times*, March 4, 1888, Wednesday. For a brief biography of him, see Harold M. Otness, *One Thousand Westerns in Taiwan, to 1945: A Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary* (Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Preparatory Office, Academia Sinica, 1999), pp. 123–124. George Henry Preble’s dairy has many entries to Nye being very generous and hospitable to friends in Canton, Macao, and Hong Kong. George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, pp. 247, 257, 282, 304, 306, and 309.
- 47 Langley, “Gideon Nye, Jr.,” p. 399. In an attempt to recover some of his losses, Nye resorted to being a commission merchant arranging trade for others for a fee (such as possibly Purdon and Company).
- 48 DUSCM Document beginning with “I beg leave to refer . . .”, dated February 22, 1859.
- 49 Langley, “Gideon Nye, Jr.,” pp. 419–420; DUSCM Document beginning with “Referring to my Dispatch No. 10 . . .”, dated March 28, 1859; DUSCM Document beginning with “Referring to my Dispatch No. 12 . . .”, dated July 20, 1859; DUSCM Document beginning

- with “Referring to my Dispatch No. 17 . . .”, dated March 27, 1860; DUSCM Document beginning with “Referring to my Dispatch No. 19 . . .”, dated June 5, 1860; DUSCM Document beginning with “Referring to my Dispatch No. 20 . . .”, dated July 6, 1860 and DUSCM Document beginning with “Referring to my Dispatch No. 20 . . .”, dated October 4, 1860.
- 50 Anonymous, “Biography [of William Patterson Jones],” “William Jones (1831–1886) Papers, 1857–1932” (an Online Article), Series 36/1, Boxes 1–3, Northwestern University Archives Evanston, Illinois, http://www.library.northwestern.edu/archives/findingaids/jones_papers.pdf, 1.
 - 51 Ibid. He established the Northwestern Female College in Evanston, Illinois, in 1855 which later merged with Northwestern University. David Shavit, *The United States in Asia: A Historical Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. 272. Jones married Mary Elizabeth Hayes on February 22, 1857, in Evanston, Illinois, and together they had total of three children. “Earl Lee Jones & Shirley Jane Wilson Family Tree,” “Note,” online genealogy directory, <http://www.earljones.net/pafn5288.htm#156683>.
 - 52 Barbara B. Kehoe, “William Patterson Jones: American Consul in China, 1862–1868,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 73:1 (Spring 1980), pp. 46–47.
 - 53 Kehoe, “William Patterson Jones,” p. 47; “U.S. Consul, Macao: Appointment, Correspondence,” 1862, Box 1, Folder 5, “Container List,” “William Jones (1831–1886) Paper, 1857–1932” (an online article), 5.
 - 54 Barbara B. Kehoe, “William Patterson Jones: American Consul in China, 1862–1868,” p. 47.
 - 55 “Acting U.S. Naval Storekeeper (Macao): Appointment, Correspondence 1863–1866,” Box Folder 1. 6, “William Jones (1831–1886) Paper, 1857–1932” (an online article), 5.
 - 56 This letter had typed English translation later. Ibid., p. 3.
 - 57 DUSCM Document beginning with “I beg to call your . . .,” dated March 27, 1863. He claimed that his present salary was just “Fifteen Hundred Dollars” which was “inadequacy of salary at Macao” and a proper “style of living” to support his family. Jones asked his friend Gideon Nye, Jr. and other merchants in Canton to support him by sending letters to the secretary of state, stating the same.
 - 58 DUSCM Document beginning with “We, the undersigned Citizens of . . .,” dated November 12, 1863.
 - 59 DUSCM Document beginning with “I beg to call your . . .,” dated March 27, 1863.
 - 60 “Appointment as Vice-Consul at Amoy 1866,” 1865–1866, Box Folder 1.7, “Container List,” “William Jones (1831–1886) Paper, 1857–1932” (an Online Article), 5. In 1868, Jones returned to the United States where he conducted lectures throughout the country about the situation

- in China. DUSCM Document beginning with “Whether feeling be a reasonable . . . ,” dated October 24, 1863. He died on August 3, 1886, in Fullerton, Nebraska. David Shavit, *The United States in Asia: A Historical Dictionary*, p. 272. He was described as an “old China hand,” but some, for the six years he spent in China. Robert T. Beisner, *American Foreign Relations since 1600: A Guide to the Literature* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2003), p. 468.
- 61 Stephen Howarth, *To Shining Sea: A History of the United States Navy, 1775–1998* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), p. 217.
- 62 DUSCM Document beginning with “The purpose of the . . . ,” dated February 27, 1867.
- 63 DUSCM Document beginning with “The call of others duties . . . ,” dated Ebell October 9, 1869.
- 64 DUSCM “Report,” dated December 6, 1869. Refer to the statement before the introduction of DUSCM, p. ii.
- 65 There were some American-Macao interactions in the mid-1940s, but of a very different nature. Owing to misinformation the American Navy bombed Macao during World War II on January 16, February 25, and June 11, 1945. Richard J. Garrett, *The Defences of Macau: Forts, Ships and Weapons over 450 Years* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), p. 116. There was some speculation at the end of World War II that the Americans would try to establish military bases in Macao, and the Azores. Simón Duke, *United States Military Forces and Installations in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 237. Other scholars have pointed to pressure from the U.S. government on Chiang Kai-Shek not to meddle in Macao. Hsin-hai Chang, *Chiang Kai Shek-Asia's Man of Destiny* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran And Company, Inc., 1944), p. 323. Macao continued to be monitored by the U.S. government, but it was not until the twenty-first century that serious talks emerged again of establishing a consul there.
- 66 The U.S. consuls in Macao suffered from the “lowest salary of any other U.S. Consul in China,” see DUSCM Document beginning with “We, the undersigned Citizens of . . . ,” dated November 12, 1863.

Index

- Abbott, John Stevens Cabot 146,
209 n. 29
- Aberdeen (Hong Kong) 44–5, 175
n. 61
- Adamastor 117
- Adams, John Quincy 27, 164 n.
33–5, 165 n. 37
- Aden 8, 28
- Africa 4, 152
- Ah Loo (Chinese convert) 114
- Albion, Robert 18, 159 n. 7, 162
n. 20
- Alexandria 165 n. 41, 170 n. 16
- Alley, John 130–3
- Alta California 100–1
- Alton 149
- Amaral, João Ferreira do 144, 208
n. 7
- American Academy of Political
Science 137
- American Baptists 109–10, 120
- American Board of Commissioners
for Foreign Missions 107, 109,
123, 147
- American Civil War 8, 133, 146
- American Colonization Society 109
- American Mission Board (AMB)
107, 117
- American *mission civilatrice* 113
- American Revolutionary War (War
of Independence) 13, 18–9
- American schools 110
- Amherst 45
- Amoy *see* Xiamen
- Amsterdam 22–3, 27, 34, 163–4 n.
31, 165 n. 39
- Anglophobia 8
- Anhui Province 137
- Anson's Bay 174 n. 54
- Antony, Robert 36, 153 n. 1
- Antwerp 20–1, 161 n. 17
- Arabia 170 n. 17
- Archer, Samuel 30
- Armenian 29, 64, 75, 181–2 n. 37,
187 n. 12
- Atlantic 4, 8, 12, 18, 21, 34, 96
- Australia 152
- Azores 8, 212 n. 65
- Baboom, Gregory 64, 75, 183–4 n.
47, 187 n. 12, 190 n. 52
- Baghdad 28–9
- Baltimore 25, 27, 30, 33, 41, 45–6,
167 n. 51
- Baltimore Insurance Company 46
- Banca Straits 176 n. 68
- Bangkok 14
- bankruptcy 19, 21, 30
- banks, banking and bankers 11, 21,
31, 34, 157 n. 3, 167 n. 53,
169 n. 8, 189 n. 46
- Baptists 109–10, 113, 120, 123,
200 n. 25, 201 n. 56
- Barclay, George 21
- Baring, Alexander 21
- Barings of London 34, 161 n. 16,
161–2 n. 17, 162 n. 20
- Barrell, Joseph 44
- Barretto, Luis 64, 183 n. 47
- Barry, John 19, 159 n. 8, 160 n. 11,
175 n. 62

- Batavia (including Jakarta) 13–4, 43, 46–7, 54, 64, 67–8, 155 n. 21, 163 n. 31, 176 n. 68, 178 n. 10
- Bayly, Christopher 12
- Beijing (including Peking) ix, 4, 10, 21, 50, 58–9, 65, 69–70, 85, 113, 125, 134, 192 n. 81
- Bell, Henry H. 150
- Belle Isle 175–6 n. 66
- Bengal 3, 12, 24, 64, 177 n. 74, 179 n. 14, 183 n. 47, 183 n. 47, 204 n. 4
- Bengal Assurance Society 183 n. 47
- Bhagalpur 29
- Bible 107, 129
- Biddle, Clement 160 n. 10, 162 n. 20
- Biddle, George Washington 21, 207 n. 2
- birds 57
- birds' nests 98
- Bocca Tigris (Humen 虎門) *see also* Chuenpi 45–6, 51–2, 56, 60–1, 63, 69, 174 n. 54, 182 n. 39
- Bombay 8, 28–9, 39, 43, 169 n. 13, 171 n. 26, 172 n. 39, 174 n. 56, 181–2 n. 37
- Bombay Marine 2, 34–5, 37–9, 40, 42, 47, 168 n. 7, 170 n. 15 and 17, 172 n. 40, 173 n. 42
- Bordeaux 17, 158 n. 6
- Boston 41, 44, 96, 120, 138, 147, 189 n. 46
- Brazil 133–4
- Brewington, Marion 20, 162 n. 19
- bribes, connivance fees 21, 49–50, 56, 57–61, 63, 68, 71–2, 179 n. 19, 182 n. 37
- Bridgman, D. 132
- Bridgman, Elijah Coleman 107
- Britain, Great Britain (*see also* England) 7, 10, 13, 18, 31, 35–6, 38, 43, 102, 146
- British, Britons and English 2, 7–8, 10–1, 12–4, 18, 20–4, 26–8, 33–43, 45, 47–8, 54, 73, 75, 77, 80–2, 84–5, 89–91, 94, 102, 105–7, 114, 128–9, 131, 143, 146, 149, 164 n. 33, 165–6 n. 41, 168 nn. 4 and 6, 17 n. 15, 171 nn. 21 and 28, 172 n. 38, 175–6 n. 66, 181 nn. 33 and 37, 177–8, n. 4, 178 n. 6, 179 n. 24, 181 n. 37, 187 n. 11, 190–1 n. 57, 193 n. 82, 198 n. 7, 200 n. 22, 202 n. 67, 204 n. 4
- British Columbia 102
- British Royal Navy 35, 37, 42, 170 n. 17, 173 n. 42, 176 n. 67
- British (Honourable English) East India Company and Indiamen (EIC) 20, 26, 35–6, 39–40, 42–3, 45–6, 48, 54, 59–61, 73–5, 77, 80–1, 83–5, 89–91, 106, 129, 150, 157 n. 3, 164 n. 33, 168 n. 7, 170 n. 17, 176 n. 74, 183 n. 47, 187 n. 11, 190–1 n. 57, 193 nn. 89 and 94, 198 n. 7, 202 n. 67
- Buck, Pearl Sydenstricker 4, 126, 135–8, 142
- buffaloes 65
- Burma 170 n. 17
- Butterfield, Agnes M. 45, 47, 170 n. 15, 171 n. 21, 174 n. 56
- Bycullah 176–7 n. 74
- Calcutta 1, 28–9, 42, 176 n. 74, 181–2 n. 37
- California 1, 3, 15, 95–6, 100–3, 136
- Camões, Luis Vaz de 117–20, 203 n. 72
- Camões's Garden, Macao 105, 117–20, 122, 202 n. 66
- Canada 102, 144

- canals (Grand, Erie, Delaware, Chesapeake, Panama, etc.) 11–2, 30–1, 95
- Canary Islands 47
- cannibals 100
- Canton Register* 70, 111
- Canton system 74, 85, 107
- Cape Francis 158–9 nn. 6–7
- Cape Horn 1
- Cape of Good Hope 18, 117, 150
- Cape Town 130
- Capsuimoon (Jishuimen 急水門) 51, 64, 70
- Caribbean 33, 35
- Carrington, Mr. 41
- Casa Branca 119
- Cass, Secretary of State 148
- Catholics 47, 106–8, 110, 113, 115–6, 118, 121, 123–4, 128, 198–9 n. 7, 202 n. 67
- Ceylon *see* Sri Lanka
- Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony 陳國棟 87
- Cheong, Weng Eang 74
- Chilianwala 176 n. 74
- Chincheos 14
- Chinese Exclusion Act 111
- Chinese merchants and merchant houses 3, 10, 22–3, 25, 27, 50–2, 58, 63–4, 72–94, 106, 162 n. 21, 163 n. 31, 165–6 n. 41, 167 n. 52, 178 nn. 5–6, 179–80 n. 24, 186 n. 5, 187 nn. 14 and 18–9, 188 n. 20, 189 nn. 37 and 45, 190 nn. 47 and 52, 191 nn. 58 and 62, 193 nn. 84–6, 89, 91 and 94
- Chinnery, George 78, 129
- Chinqua (Chinese porcelain dealer) 178 n. 5
- cholera 108
- Chongqing 139
- chopines 112
- Christian and Christianity (*see also* Catholic or Protestant) 100, 105, 107, 109, 111, 113–6, 119, 121–3, 126, 139, 150–2, 181–2 n. 37, 204 n. 87
- Chuenpi, Chuenpee (entrance to Pearl River at Bocca Tigris) 42–3, 174 n. 54
- Cleland, Robert Glass 95
- Clinton, DeWitt 11
- clocks 57
- cohong* (gong hang 公行) 22, 26
- Cole, J. M. 146–7
- Colledge, Dr. Thomas R. 107, 129–30
- Colorado River 101
- Columbia River 102–3
- Columbia, Pennsylvania 30
- comprador (Maiban 買辦) 49–50, 52, 56–62, 65–6, 71, 177 n. 3, 178 n. 6, 180 n. 30, 205 n. 25
- Conger, Edwin Hurd 133, 136
- Conger, Sarah Pike (also Sarah Jane Pike) 4, 125, 129, 132–6, 141
- Connecticut 147
- connivance fees *see* bribes
- Conseequa *see* Pan Conseequa
- contraband (*see also* smuggling) 2, 24–5, 27, 29, 44, 49–50, 55–8, 62–5, 67–8, 70–2, 163 n. 31, 173 n. 49, 180 n. 30, 181 n. 37
- Cook, Captain 44
- cooks 69
- coolie trade 4, 144, 146–8, 151, 209 n. 34
- Cope, Thomas Pym 30
- coral 57, 172 n. 40
- Cornwallis 48
- corset 112
- cotton 27, 64
- Courteau, Jean Captain 17
- Cowpland, William S. 26
- Cox, James S. 46
- crab boats 64–5, 67, 69
- Cuba 4, 144, 146–7

- Cumsingmoon (Jinxingmen 金星門) 64, 70, 182 n. 40, 185 n. 67
- Curwen, Joseph 20, 161 n. 17
- Cushing, Caleb 1, 7–11, 153 n. 2, 154 n. 4
- Cushing, John P. 29
- customs, customs officers and
customs houses (including
tollhouses and Hoppo) 21, 37,
50, 52–4, 57–8, 65, 70, 192 n.
81, 198 n. 4
- Dacheng Hong 達成行 83
- Daendels, Marshal 13
- Dalrymple, Alexander 45, 175 n. 61
- Danes 177–8 n. 4
- Daoguang Emperor 9, 12, 27
- De Silver, Robert P. 144–5, 208 nn.
6, 9 and 13
- Delano, Amasa 39
- Delaware Insurance Company of
Philadelphia 46
- Delaware River 18, 20–2, 167 n. 51
- Derby, Elias Hasket 157 n. 3, 161 n.
14, 163 n. 28
- deserting and deserters 39, 41, 44
- Dezembargador* 36, 171 n. 20
- diamonds 57
- Dickerson, Mahlon 99, 196 nn.
31–2, 197 n. 33
- Dinapur 29
- disease 108
- Dobell, Peter 191 n. 58, 193 n. 94
- Drinker, Sandwith 146
- Drion Straits 176 n. 68
- Drury, Admiral 38, 170 n. 15
- Dulles, Foster Rhea 95
- Dutch 36, 43, 54, 173 n. 50, 176 n.
69, 177–8 n. 4, 178 nn. 6 and
10, 184–5 n. 58
- Dutch East India Company (VOC)
13–4, 22, 181 n. 33
- Duus, N. 146
- Ebell, W. 150–1, 212 n. 63
- EIC *see* British (Honourable
English) East India Company
- Empress Dowager 135
- England (*see also* Britain) 11, 13, 18,
20, 24, 28, 47, 138, 165–6 n.
41, 169 n. 8, 190 n. 48
- English *see* British
- English East India Company *see*
British East India Company
- English language 81, 87, 90, 94,
107, 115, 117, 126, 132, 140,
153 nn. 2 and 2 (both), 154 n.
4, 164 n. 33, 169 n. 11, 186 n.
1, 191 nn. 58 and 62, 202 n.
62, 210 n. 45, 211 n. 56
- Esching 22
- Europe and European 3, 10–1, 15,
17, 27–9, 34–6, 38, 60, 107–8,
112, 115, 122, 127–8, 144,
152, 155 n. 16, 156 n. 1, 157
n. 4, 170 n. 15, 174–5 n. 60,
180 n. 32, 181 n. 37, 181–2
n. 37, 184–5 n. 58, 202 n. 67,
204 n. 4
- factory, American 78, 126
- factory, Portuguese 52, 177 n. 2
- factory, unspecified 56, 66
- Fairbank, John King 8, 21, 165 n.
37
- Fanning, Edmund 96, 98–100, 103,
173–4 n. 52, 196 n. 32, 197
nn. 33–4
- feather trade 57, 97
- Fiji 4
- First Anglo-Chinese War *see* Opium
War
- Fisher, J.C. 30
- Fisher, Redwood 81, 94
- Fisher, Samuel W. 46
- Fitzsimmons, Congressman 160 n.
12
- Fitzsimons, Thomas 46

- flag boats 57
 Foord, Elizabeth 33–4
 foot binding 111–2, 115, 122–3, 204 n. 87
 Fort William 176 n. 74
 Fox, John Lawrence 102–3
 France and French 1, 7, 13, 18–9, 24, 35–6, 38, 41, 46–8, 75, 102, 127, 146, 168 n. 6, 171 n. 28, 173 n. 50, 175–6 n. 66, 176 n. 68, 204 n. 4
 Fremont, John C. 102
 French Revolution 1, 12–4
 fruit 65
 Fryer & Co. 145
 Fujian 4, 14, 139
 Fulong Hong 福隆行 83
 Fulton, Robert 28
 Furber, Holden 17, 31, 157 n. 4
 furs (including pelts and skins) 15, 44, 57, 97–8, 100–1, 156 n. 23, 174 n. 59, 195 n. 20
 Fuzhou 7, 138–9, 144, 151

 Gama, Vasco de 118–9
 Germans and Germany 20, 169 n. 8, 204 n. 4
 Ghazipur 29
 Gilchrist, Captain 41
 Gilpin, Joshua 30, 187 n. 19, 188 n. 20, 189 n. 37, 189 n. 45
 ginseng 18–9, 22, 33
 Girard College 2, 31, 156 n. 1–2
 Girard Trust Company 31
 Girard, Stephen 1–2, 5, 17–25, 27–31, *see also* notes on 156–68, 190 n. 52
 Girardville 30, 167 n. 49
 Gnewqua II (Zheng Chongqian 鄭崇謙) 83
 goats 65
 gold 57, 177 n. 3, 181 n. 37
 Goldman, Merle 21, 162 n. 20, 165 n. 37

 Gonqua (Shi Zhonghe 石中和) 83
 Governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces (Zongdu 總督 also called Viceroy) 50, 52–3, 58, 61, 68–9, 72, 77, 178 n. 5
 Graaff, W.J. van de 14
 Gratz, Simon 30
 Gray, Robert 44
 Great Britain *see* Britain
 Greenbie, Marjorie 95, 157 n. 3
 Greenbie, Sydney 95
 Grice, Joseph 20, 161–2 n. 17
 gristmill 34
 Guan Xiang 關祥 *see* Manhop I
 Gulf of California 101
 Gützlaff, Karl 107, 199 n. 14
 Gützlaff, Mary 107, 110
 Guyana 4

 Hahn, Emily 4
 Hakohen, Shalom Obadaiah 28
 Hamburg 1–2, 23, 33–4, 45, 163 n. 31, 169 nn. 8–9
 Hamilton family 34, 159 n. 7
 Harlow, Neal 96
 Harrison, William Henry 8
 Harvard 8
 Havana 18, 146–7
 Hawaii (*see also* Sandwich Islands) 1, 15, 44, 61, 102, 174 n. 59, 186 n. 70
 Hay Ling Shan 36, 39
 Hecker, Willo 139
 Hemenway, Ruth V. 4, 126, 129, 134–5, 137–40, 142
 Hingham, Massachusetts 18
 Hingtai Hong (Xingtai Hong 興泰行) 83–4
 Hobsbawm, Eric 118
 Holland *see* Netherlands
 Holland, Lady 34
 Holland, Lord 34
 Hollins, John 45

- Hong Kong 7, 9–10, 44, 51, 64, 109, 120, 122–3, 143–8, 151, 156 n. 1, 165–6 n. 41, 172 n. 39, 174–5 n. 60, 185 n. 67, 198 n. 1, 200 n. 22, 210 n. 46
- Hong Kong Museum of Art 10, 165–6 n. 41
- Hong* merchants (Hang Shangren 行商人)
- Hopes of Amsterdam 34
- Hoppo (Customs Superintendent, Jiandu 監督, *see also* Customs) 40, 50, 52–4, 56–9, 61, 68–9, 72, 77
- Hoppo men *see* tidewaiters
- House of Commons 47
- House of Representatives 96–7
- Howqua (II), Houqua (Wu Bingjian 伍秉鑑) 22–3, 25, 27, 74, 78–80, 82, 85–8, 91, 93, 162 n. 21, 163 n. 31, 190 n. 47, 193 n. 89
- Huangpu 黃埔 *see* Whampoa
- Huilong Hong 會隆行 93
- Humen 虎門 *see* Bocca Tigris
- Hunter, William C. 69, 78–9, 177 n. 3
- Hutchinson, Mahlon 17, 23, 163 nn. 23, 27 and 29
- Ilha Verde, Macao 119
- Illinois 106, 133, 149
- Imperial Clan Court or Imperial Household Agency (Neiwufu 內務府) 9, 85, 135, 192 n. 81
- India 2, 4, 8, 12–3, 19, 22–3, 28, 30, 35–7, 46–7, 67–8, 74, 78, 80, 99, 101, 108–9, 119, 152, 165 n. 41, 169 n. 14, 170 nn. 16–7, 171 n. 21, 174 n. 59, 181–2 n. 37, 202 n. 67
- Indian Ocean (Seas) 12–4, 19, 35, 39
- indigo 163 n. 28
- Indonesia 3, 14
- Industrial Revolution and growth 1, 11
- Ingersoll, Charles Jared 78, 86–8, 93
- Inner Harbour, Macao 119
- Inskeep, John 46
- Insurance Company of North America 46
- Insurance Company of the State of Pennsylvania 46
- Ireland 13
- Isle de Rhe 176 n. 67
- Jacksonville, Illinois 106
- Jakarta *see* Batavia
- Jamaica 1–2, 33–4
- Japan and Japanese 15, 43, 56, 108, 139, 149
- Jardine Matheson and Company 28, 190 n. 48
- Jardine, William A. 23, 28, 163 n. 25
- Java 13, 173 n. 50
- Jeejeeboy, Jamssetjee 28
- Jefferson County 34
- Jefferson, Thomas 76
- Jesuits 110–1, 198 nn. 3 and 5, 200 n. 32, 202 n. 66
- Jeter, J. B. 120
- jewels 57
- Jews and Jewish 28–9, 106, 204 n. 4
- Jiaqiang Emperor (also spelled Keaking) 81, 83, 86–7, 92, 94
- Jones, John Wesley
- Jones, Thomas Ap Catesby 3, 96, 99–103, 196 n. 31, 197 n. 39
- Jones, William Patterson, Jr. 149–52, 211 nn. 51, 57 and 60
- junks (Asian vessels) 37, 54–5, 63, 68, 172 n. 40, 175 n. 63, 180

- n. 32, 182 n. 41, 183 nn. 42
and 45
Jurchen 9
- Kempthorne, Lieutenant 41–2, 173
n. 50
- Kendrick, John 44, 174 n. 59, 175
n. 61
- Kensington 20
- King Luís I 149
- King, Mrs. 116
- Kingston 33
- Kinqua II (Liang Chengxi 梁承禧)
84
- Kinsman family 130–3
- Kinsman, Abbott 130
- Kinsman, Ecce 130, 133
- Kinsman, Nathaniel 132
- Kinsman, Natty 130, 133
- Kinsman, Rebecca Chase 125, 127,
129–32, 134, 139, 141, 204 n.
4, 205 nn. 15 and 25
- Kinsman, Willie 130
- Know-Nothing Party 106
- Kunming Fu (Junmin Fu 軍民付) 40
- lacquer ware 27
- Ladrones *see* pirates
- Lark's Bay 51, 55, 58–9, 68, 179 n.
14, 181 n. 37
- Lascar *see* Muslims
- Latimer, George 46
- Latimer, Henry 163 n. 24
- Latimer, John Richardson 22, 30
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott 37–8, 41,
173 n. 52
- Leal Senado *see* Macao Senate
- Leamy, John 46
- Leonard, Jane Kate 12
- Le-Trinh 14
- Letters of Marque 37–8, 171 n. 28
- Lewis and Clark Expedition 101
- Lewis, David 46
- Lewis, T. C. 146
- Liang Chengxi 梁承禧 *see* Kinqua II
- Lima 1
- Lin Yutang 139
- Lin Zexu 林則徐 29, 84
- Lincoln, Abraham 149–50
- linguist 52, 56, 65–6, 83, 107
- Lintin Island 2, 30, 49–51, 60–5,
67–72, 179–80 n. 24, 180 n.
29, 181 nn. 33 and 37, 182 n.
40, 183 nn. 42–3 and 45, 184
nn. 48 and 58, 185 n. 67, 190
n. 50
- Liquan Hong 麗泉行 74–7, 80–1,
83–5, 89–92, 191 n. 58
- Lisjoncon (Chinese porcelain
dealer) 178 n. 5
- Ljungsted, Anders 110
- Lloyd, Richard Mercer 176 n. 74
- Lombard College 133
- London 11, 13, 21, 34, 36, 107,
149, 168 n. 7, 189 n. 46
- London Missionary Society 107
- Low, Abigail Knapp 126
- Low, Charles Rathbone 35
- Low, Harriett 115, 117, 125–32,
134, 138–42, 204 nn. 1 and 3
- Low, William 130
- Lowry, Mr. 132
- Lu Jiguang 盧繼光 *see* Mowqua
- Macanese 82, 108, 110, 115, 117–8
- Macao governor 36, 43, 62, 105–6,
144, 171 n. 20, 198 n. 4, 208
n. 7
- Macao Senate (Leal Senado) 36, 39,
144, 171 n. 20, 198 n. 4, 202
n. 66
- Macy, William A. 147, 151
- Madeira 106
- Madison, James 82–3, 191 n. 62
- Magniac, Hollingsworth 77
- Mahan, A. T. 42
- Malay 24, 109, 130, 176 n. 74, 204
n. 4

- Malaysia 14, 109
 Manchu 9
 Mandarins 23, 49–50, 59–62, 71, 111, 185 n. 65
 Manguin, Pierre-Yves 14
 Manhop I (Guan Xiang 關祥) 83, 191 n. 67
 Manila 22, 24–5, 29, 46, 62, 64, 67–9, 145, 163 n. 28, 175–6 n. 66, 176 n. 68, 183–4 n. 47, 184–5 n. 58, 185 n. 63
 Marine Insurance Company of Philadelphia 46
 Maryland Insurance Company of Baltimore 45
 Massachusetts 8, 18, 125–6, 138, 140, 157 n. 3
 Massafuero Island 98
 Maughan, Philip 40, 45, 172 n. 40, 175 n. 63, 176 n. 72
 Mauritius 4, 46, 163 n. 28, 175 n. 66, 176 n. 67
 Mazatlan 102
 McKim, Alexander 46
 McLeveen, Myles 17, 24, 163 nn. 23, 27 and 29
 mechanical gadgets 57
 Mediterranean 8, 23–4, 170 n. 16
 Meester Cornelius Fort 47, 176 n. 69
 Meicheng 138
 Melville, Herman 117
 Mesopotamia 29
 metalwork 27
 Mexican and Mexico 96, 100–2, 136
 Mickle, William Julius 117, 202 n. 62
 Middle East 113
 Min River 138
 Ming Dynasty 7, 52
 missionaries 4, 105–14, 116–23, 126, 129, 132, 134, 136, 138–40, 142–3, 147–8, 151–2, 154 n. 4, 161 n. 15, 198 n. 7, 199 nn. 12 and 14, 200 n. 24, 201 n. 58
 Mississippi 18
 Molony, James 77
 Mongol 9
 Monterey 3, 96, 100
 Moral, Nicasio Cariente y 147
 Morrell, Benjamin 100–1
 Morris, Robert 18–20, 107
 Morrison Education Society 108
 Morrison School 147
 Morrison, Robert 129, 202 n. 67
 mother of pearl 98
 Mowqua (Lu jiguang 盧繼光) 84
 Mt. Morris 149
 Mughal 12
mui tsai system 105, 108, 111
 Mundy, Peter 108, 199 n. 19
 Munroe, Mary Kinsman 131, 137
 Murray, Diane 36
 Muslims (including references to Lascars) 12, 29, 40, 48, 69, 170 n. 15, 204 n. 4
 Nanchang 139
 Nanjing, Nanking 137
 Nantucket 97
 Napoleon 13, 43
 Napoleonic Wars 171 n. 28
 natural disasters (fire, typhoon, flood, earthquake, drought, epidemic, famine) 64, 108, 174–5 n. 60
 Navigation Acts 35, 38, 42, 46, 168 n. 3
 Nelson, Horatio 168 n. 6
 Nelson, Lord 34
 Netherlands (including Holland) 11, 43
 Netherlands Missionary Society 199 n. 14
 New Bedford 97, 210 n. 46
 New England 61, 95, 101, 151

- New Mexico 101
 New York (state and city) 2, 11, 18,
 31, 34, 130, 147, 149, 158–9
 n. 6, 160–1 n. 13
 Nguyen Dynasty 14
 Ni Bingfa 倪秉發 *see* Ponqua
 Nicol, William 41–2
 Nile 170 n. 16
 Nile, Battle of the 34
Niles' Weekly Register 27
 Ningbo 7, 56, 144, 151
 North America 13, 46, 95, 101–3,
 107, 110, 161–2 n. 17
 Northwest Coast 44, 61, 96, 102,
 171 n. 24
 Northwest Passage 101
 Northwestern Female College 149,
 211 n. 51
 Northwestern University 149, 211
 n. 50
 Nye, Gideon, Jr. 148–9, 210 nn. 46
 and 47, 211 n. 57
 oak (wood) 20, 161–2 n. 17
 Ogdensburg 34–5
 Ohio 133
 opium 2–3, 13–4, 17, 22–5, 27–31,
 49–50, 55, 57–64, 67–72, 74,
 78, 80, 84, 114–5, 144, 148,
 151–2, 158 n. 5, 163 nn. 26
 and 31, 166 nn. 42 and 48, 180
 n. 30, 181–2 n. 37, 183 nn. 45
 and 47, 184–5 n. 58, 185 n. 69,
 190 nn. 50 and 52
 Opium Wars 1, 4, 7, 9, 12, 27, 29,
 31, 84, 106, 122–3, 141, 145,
 153 n. 2, 165–6 n. 41
 Oregon 95, 102
 Oregon Treaty 102
 Ottoman 12, 23, 35
 oysters 50
 Pacific Coast, Ocean and Islands 1,
 3, 15, 28, 95–8, 100–3, 156 n.
 23, 159 n. 8, 195 n. 12
 Packenham, Captain 46
Padroado 106
 Page Law 113
 Paine, Ralph 31, 157 n. 3
 Pan Changyao *see* Pan Conseequa
 Pan Conseequa (Pan Changyao 潘
 長耀) 3, 22, 64, 67, 73–92, 94,
 183 n. 47, 186 n. 5, 187 nn.
 14 and 18–9, 188 n. 20, 189
 nn. 37 and 45, 190 n. 52, 191
 nn. 58 and 62, 193 nn. 89, 91
 and 94
 Pan Qiguan 潘啟官 183 n. 47
 Pan Ruiqing 潘瑞慶 75
 Panama 95, 102
 Parish family 33–4
 Parish, David 34–5, 45
 Parish, George 34
 Parish, Henrietta 34
 Parish, John 34, 169 nn. 8–10
 Parish, Richard 163 n. 31
 Parker, Peter 107, 154 n. 4
 Parrott, John 102
 Parsee 28, 166 n. 42, 204 n. 4
 Peabody sisters 130
 Peabody, Elizabeth 250 n. 14
 Peabody, Joseph 127, 157 n. 3
 Peacock, Thomas Love 190–1 n. 57
 Pearl River 1–3, 5, 10, 17, 21, 25,
 28–31, 49, 51–2, 105, 167 n.
 52, 174 n. 54, 179 n. 22
 pearls 57, 98, 100
 Pearson, Alexander 77, 193 n. 94
 Pearson, M. N. 157 n. 4
 pelts *see* furs
 Pennsylvania 19, 30–1, 46, 160 n.
 12, 187–8 nn. 18–20, 189 nn.
 37 and 45
 People's Republic of China 11
 Pepin, Maria Rosa Theresa 47
 pepper 13–4, 19, 54, 163 n. 28

- Persian 35, 204 n. 4
 Persian Gulf 35, 170 nn. 16–7
 Petiteau, Jean 18
 Philadelphia 1–3, 17–23, 30–1, 34, 43, 45–6, 74–6, 78–81, 85–9, 91–3, 137, 144–5, 149, 156 n. 2, 157 n. 3, 158 n. 6, 159 n. 8, 160 n. 10, 161 n. 17, 162 n. 20, 163 n. 26, 167 nn. 51–2, 175 n. 62, 187 nn. 14 and 18, 188 n. 32, 189 nn. 37 and 46, 190 n. 52, 191 n. 58, 193 nn. 89, 91 and 94, 207 n. 5
 Philadelphia Insurance Company 46
 Philbrick, Nathaniel 95–6
 Philippines 22, 46, 64, 67
 Phoenix Insurance Company of Philadelphia 46
 pilots and pilotage (pilot fees) 17, 37, 40, 45–6, 48, 56, 60–2, 65–6, 175 n. 66, 180 n. 30
 Pinqua (Chinese porcelain dealer) 178 n. 5
 pirates and piracy 35–42, 44–5, 58, 63, 171 n. 23, 176 n. 74, 179 n. 22, 183 n. 43
 plague 108
 Pleasants, Israel 46
 Poe, Edgar Allan 117, 201 n. 61
 poets, poetry and poems 117–9, 202 nn. 62–3
 Pollok, Robert 117, 202 n. 63
 Pomeranz, Kenneth 10–1
 Pondicherry 47
 Ponqua (Ni Bingfa 倪秉發) 83
 porcelain 27, 52, 178 n. 5
 Port Independence 44
 Port Luis 176 n. 67
 Portugal 105–6, 118, 144, 147, 149, 198 nn. 5 and 7, 200 n. 26, 208 n. 7
 Portuguese 7, 13–5, 22, 29, 35–7, 39–41, 43–4, 47–8, 50–2, 54–5, 62, 70–1, 105–6, 108–11, 116–9, 122–3, 143–5, 148, 151–2, 171 nn. 21 and 26, 173 n. 43, 174 n. 56, 177 nn. 2–4, 178 nn. 6 and 10, 181–2 n. 37, 185 n. 67, 198 n. 3, 198–9 n. 7, 200 n. 26, 202 nn. 66–7, 204 n. 4
 Pottinger, Sir Henry 9–10
 Pottsville 30, 167 n. 51
 Presbyterians 136–7
 Protestant Cemetery, Macao 118, 120, 133, 202 n. 67, 207 n. 2
 Protestants 3–4, 47, 106–8, 110, 113–4, 116–8, 120–1, 123–4, 133, 198–9 n. 7, 202 n. 67
 Qianlong Emperor 13, 68
 Qing Dynasty 7, 9–10, 12–3, 21, 38, 52–3, 55–6, 73, 153–4 n. 2, 158 n. 5, 183 n. 45
 Qiyong, Commissioner 9–12
 Quaker 130–1, 141
 Quanzhou 14, 56
 Queen Maria II 144
 Queen's Road Baptist Church 120
 Raffles, Sir Stamford 13
 Randall, Robert 31
 Randall, Thomas 18, 20, 31, 159 n. 7
 Rawle, Samuel Burge 145–9, 208 n. 17, 209 n. 30, 210 n. 42
 Read, William 76, 80, 187 n. 16
 Reading Railroad 30
 Red Sea 170 nn. 16–7
 Redwood, William, Jr. 22, 163 n. 23
 Reed, Rebecca 130
 Reed, William B. 146–9, 163 n. 26, 209 n. 30
 Reynolds, Jeremiah N. 97–100
 rice 2, 50, 64, 67–70, 72, 184 nn. 48 and 57–8, 185 n. 63
 Richmond 33
 Ride, Lindsay 148

- Robertson, William 147
 Rock River Seminary 149
 Rocky Mountains 101–2, 197 n. 42
 Ross, Colin 34, 45
 Ross, Daniel 2, 5, 33–40, 42–8, 168 nn. 3 and 7, 171 nn. 21 and 26, 172 nn. 39–40, 173 n. 50, 174 n. 56, 175 n. 63, 176 nn. 68 and 72
 Ross, David 33
 Ross, Edward 45
 Ross, Hercules 33–4, 168 nn. 3–4 and 7, 176 n. 74
 Ross, John 168 n. 4
 Ross, Maria 47
 Ross, Robert Scott 176 n. 74
 Ross-Seaton, Francis Daniel 176–7 n. 74
 Royal Society 45, 47–8, 170 n. 15, 176–7 n. 74
 Ruan Yuan 77
 rubies 57
 Russell and Company 29, 126
 Russia and Russians 15, 56
- S & C Wise 81
 Sa, Agostinho de 39
 Safavid 12
 Sailor's Snug Harbor 31
 Salem 20, 125–7, 129–30, 133, 157 n. 3, 205 nn. 14–5 and 25
 sandalwood 44, 97–8, 99–100, 156 n. 23, 174 n. 59
 Sandwich Islands (*see also* Hawaii) 102–3
 Sassoon, David 29
 sawmill 34
 Schuykill County 30
 Scotland 13, 33–4, 168 n. 4, 169 n. 8
 Scots 13, 33, 168 n. 5
 sea cucumber 96, 98, 100
 sea otters 15, 44, 97–8, 174 n. 59, 195 n. 20
- seals 96–8, 193 n. 82, 195 n. 20
 Seaton, Ethel 45, 176–7 n. 74
 Seaton, Francis Lambert 176–7 n. 74
 Seaton, W. A. 45, 176–7 n. 74
 Selat Lima 46
 Select Committee (of the British East India Company) 35–6, 38, 42–3, 47, 59, 61, 81, 158 n. 5, 163 n. 25, 171 nn. 21 and 26, 172 nn. 38–9, 174 n. 56
 Seven Years War 34
 Seward, William H. 150
 Seymour, Michael 146
 Shanghai 7, 144, 147, 151, 204 n. 87
 Shaw, Samuel 20
 Shengjing 9
 Shenyang 9
 Shi Zhonghe 石中和 *see* Gonqua
 Shillaber, Caroline 129
 Ship *Alliance* 18–20, 159 n. 8
 Ship *Antelope* 35–41, 45, 171 n. 26, 172 nn. 34 and 40
 Ship *Ariadne* 165–6 n. 41
 Ship *Ariel* 28
 Ship *Artemise* 175 n. 66
 Ship *Asia* 2, 19, 35, 45–6, 160 n. 11, 175 n. 62
 Ship *Astrea* 163 n. 28
 Ship *Atalanta* 165–6 n. 41
 Ship *Bingham* 64, 80, 163 n. 26, 183 n. 47, 190 nn. 52–3
 Ship *Boston* (war sloop) 96
 Ship *Bridgewater* 60
 Ship *Cannonière* 175 n. 66
 Ship *Canton* 18–9, 160 n. 10
 Ship *Caravan* 41
 Ship *Caroline* 39
 Ship *Clermont* (steamboat) 28
 Ship *Columbia* 44, 174 n. 57, 181 n. 36
 Ship *Confiance* 175–6 n. 66
 Ship *Congress* (frigate) 61–2, 71

- Ship *Culloden* 176 n. 68
 Ship *Diana* 41–2, 46, 173 n. 50,
 175–6 n. 66, 176 n. 68
 Ship *Dido* 175–6 n. 66
 Ship *Disco* 58
 Ship *Discovery* 39–43, 45–6, 172
 n. 39, 173 n. 50, 175–6 n. 66,
 176 n. 68
 Ship *Earl Temple* viii
 Ship *Emily* 25–7, 164–5 n. 35
 Ship *Empress of China* 18, 33, 159
 n. 7
 Ship *Enterprize* 28, 165–6 n. 41
 Ship *Espérance* 176 n. 67
 Ship *Flora Temple* 146–7
 Ship *Forbes* (steamship) 28, 165–6
 n. 41
 Ship *Fredriks Nagor* 179 n. 24
 Ship *Ganges* 76
 Ship *Good Friends* 21, 161 n. 15
 Ship *Grand Turk II* 20, 161 n. 14
 Ship *Greyhound* (frigate) 46, 175 n.
 64, 176 n. 68
 Ship *Haeslingfield* 54
 Ship *Harriet* (sloop) 18
 Ship *Hartford* 150
 Ship *Helvetius* 19, 161–2 n. 17
 Ship *Hugh Lindsay* 28
 Ship *Jeune Bébé* 18
 Ship *Lady Washington* 44, 174 n. 57
 Ship *Laurel* 46, 175–6 n. 66, 176
 n. 67
 Ship *Laurestinus* 176 n. 67
 Ship *Lowestoffe* 175–6 n. 66
 Ship *Madagascar* 165–6 n. 41
 Ship *Massachusetts* 20
 Ship *Mentor* 60
 Ship *Minerve* (frigate) 175–6 n. 66
 Ship *Modeste* 43
 Ship *Montesquie* 19–21, 161–2 n. 17
 Ship *Mor* 28
 Ship *Mount Vernon* 43, 45
 Ship *Nancy* 179 n. 24
 Ship *Nemesis* 165–6 n. 41
 Ship *Nile* (brig) 183–4 n. 47
 Ship *North America* 19–20, 29
 Ship *Ouvidor Teresa* 39
 Ship *Panther* 39, 164 nn. 33–4
 Ship *Peacock* (clipper) 28
 Ship *Pennsylvania* (brig) 163 n. 26,
 188 n. 32
 Ship *Phaeton* 39, 176 n. 68
 Ship *Phlegethon* 165–6 n. 41
 Ship *Prime* 39, 172 n. 39
 Ship *Procris* 176 n. 68
 Ship *Protector* 47
 Ship *Queen* 165–6 n. 41
 Ship *Red Rover* 28, 165 n. 41
 Ship *Retreat* 40, 173 n. 42
 Ship *Rousseau* 17, 19–21, 23–4
 Ship *Russell* 176 n. 68
 Ship *Sally II* 19, 21, 163 n. 28
 Ship *Sumatra* 127
 Ship *Superb* 18–9
 Ship *Talbot* 145
 Ship *Tay* 40
 Ship *Thomas Scattergood* 30, 190 n.
 50
 Ship *Topaz* 41–2
 Ship *United States* 18–9
 Ship *Voltaire* 19–20, 24, 163–4 n.
 31
 Ship *Zephyr* 28, 173 n. 50
 Shizimen 十字門 14
 Shuck, Henrietta Hall 3, 5, 105–24,
 198 n. 1
 Shuck, John Lewis 106, 109, 120
 Siam 14, 68
 Siberia 15
 Sichuan Province 139
 silk 21, 27, 52, 57, 161 n. 14
 Singapore 11, 29, 46, 64, 67–8,
 109, 176 n. 68
 Sinqua 63
 slaves and slavery 3–4, 8, 28, 33,
 105–6, 108, 111, 115, 122–4,
 130, 146, 199 n. 20, 200 n. 26,
 204 n. 4

- smallpox 108
 Smedley, Agnes 4
 Smith, Adam 12
 Smith, Jasbee 151
 Smith, John 145
 Smith, Murphey 156 n. 1
 Smith, Robert 162 n. 20
 smuggling and smugglers (*see also*
 contraband) 2, 22–4, 37–8,
 49–65, 67–72, 75, 177 n. 3,
 179 nn. 18–9 and 24, 180
 n. 30, 181 n. 37, 183 n. 42,
 185–6 n. 69
 Smyrna 23, 30, 163 n. 26, 188 n.
 32
 Society for Promoting Female
 Education 108
 South Asia 1
 South China 40, 108
 South China coast 28, 35
 South China Mission 107, 109
 South China Sea 12–4, 60
 South Korea 11
 Southeast Asia 1, 13, 24, 35, 68,
 109–10, 170 n. 17, 180 n. 32
 Southwick, Mary Anne 130, 133
 Spain 3, 147
 Spanish and Spaniards 3–4, 18, 22,
 36, 42, 54, 64, 68, 147, 185
 n. 63
 Spanish consul in Macao 147
 Spanish language 127
 Sparks, Captain 39
 Springfield, Illinois 106
 Sri Lanka (also called Ceylon) 8,
 13–4
 St. John's Island 36
 St. Lawrence County 34
 St. Lawrence River 34
 steam, steamers, steamboats, steam-
 ships and steam navigation
 10–1, 28, 30, 133, 165–6 n.
 41, 176 n. 74
 Sterrett, Samuel 45
 Stevens, John 30, 146
 Stone, Mary 138
 Suchin (Chinese porcelain dealer)
 178 n. 5
 Suez 8, 165–6 n. 41, 170 n. 16
 Sumatra 19
 Sunbury 30
 Sunda Straits 13
 Sunqua 10, 165–6 n. 41, 167 n. 52
 Supplementary Treaty 7, 9
 Susquehanna River and region 30,
 167 n. 51
 Swatow 150
 Swedes, Swedish and Swedish East
 India Company 177 nn. 2 and
 4, 178 n. 6, 204 n. 4
 Syracuse-in-China Hospital 139
 Taipa, Typa 40, 43, 119, 171 n. 21
 Taiwan 11
 Tay Son 14
 tea 19–22, 27–8, 44, 50, 52–3, 57,
 64, 69, 72, 80, 130, 149, 161
 n. 14, 165 n. 40, 169 n. 10,
 183 n. 47, 189 n. 46, 190 n.
 53, 210 n. 46
 Terranova, Francis (and incident) 2,
 25–7, 29–31, 164 n. 33, 164–5
 n. 35
 Thatcher, Charles 176–7 n. 74
The Chinese Repository 51, 107, 111,
 117, 164 nn. 33–4, 178 n. 13
The Lusiad 105, 116–9, 202 n. 62
 Thomson, Richard R. 81, 94, 191
 n. 60
 Tianjin 9
 tidewaiters (including Hoppo men)
 56–8, 62, 179 n. 19
 Tinquá 22
 Titu (Tidu 提督, Provincial Military
 Commander) 40
 Toby, Ronald 15
 tolls and tollhouses *see* Customs
 Tongwen Hong 同文行 74–5

- Toulon 175 n. 66
 toys 27
 Treaty (Peace) of Amiens 36, 38
 Treaty of Nanjing/Nanking 9, 50, 84, 151–2
 Treaty of Paris 13, 18, 38
 Trinidad 106
 Trocki, Carl 63
 Tufts Medical school 138
 Turkestan 21
 Turkey 74, 78, 181–2 n. 37
 Turner, F. 40
 Turtle shell 98, 100
 Tyler, John 8
 Typa *see* Taipa
 typhoid 108
- Union Insurance Company 45–6, 188 n. 32
 Unitarian 126, 128
 United States Board of Navy Commissioners 99
 United States Congress 19, 96–100, 145, 195 nn. 12 and 14–6, 196 nn. 24–5 and 30, 197 n. 39
 United States Constitution 19
 United States Insurance Company 46
 United States Navy 96, 98–100, 175 n. 62, 195 n. 12, 196 nn. 30–1, 212 n. 65
 Urmston, James Brabazon 81, 90, 94, 191 n. 61
- Veen, Willem Pieter van 27, 165 n. 39
 Viceroy *see* Governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces
 Vietnam 14
 Virginia 33, 109, 117
 Voltaire 119
- Waln, Sarah 189 n. 44
 Waln, William 23, 74, 77–9, 84, 86–9, 91, 93, 163 n. 26, 189 n. 46, 193 n. 91
 Wangxia Temple 7, 10
 Wangxia Treaty 7–9, 143, 192 n. 77
 War of 1812 38, 42, 99
 Washington (State and D.C.) 95, 99, 102, 145
 Webster, Daniel 8
 West Indies 18, 102, 106, 168 n. 6
 West River 西江 52, 65, 119, 184 n. 49
 West Virginia 136
 Wetmore & Company 30, 130, 132–3, 141, 146, 205 n. 25
 Whaling 15, 96–8, 101, 171 n. 28
 Whampoa (Huangpu 黄埔) 2, 26, 33, 39, 42, 49–51, 54–71, 147, 172 n. 38, 179 nn. 17 and 24, 181 nn. 33 and 37, 184 n. 48, 184–5 n. 58
 Whigs 8
 White, Isaac 20, 161 n. 15, 161–2 n. 17
 Wilcocks, Benjamin Chew 3, 5, 23, 25–7, 30, 73–5, 77–82, 84–93, 164 nn. 33–5, 165 n. 37, 187 n. 18, 188 nn. 20 and 31–2, 189 nn. 37–8, 41, 44 and 46, 190 nn. 47–8 and 50, 191 n. 60, 193 nn. 89–92
 Wilcocks, James 163 n. 26
 Wildes, Harry 25
 Wilkes, Charles 95–6, 99, 194 n. 6, 196 n. 31
 Willings & Francis 80, 163 n. 26, 193 n. 86
 Wilmington, Delaware 21–2
 Wu Bingjian *see* Wu Howqua
 Wu Dunyuan *see* Wu Howqua

- Xiamen (also called Amoy) 7, 56,
144, 150–1
- Xiangshan 香山 (present-day
Zhongshan 中山) 52, 63, 182
n. 40
- Xin'an County 新安縣 63, 182 n. 40
- Xingtai Hong 興泰行 *see* Hingtae
Hong
- Yale University 147
- Yan Qichang 嚴啟昌 83
- Yan Qixiang 嚴啟祥 83
- Yankees 18, 26, 30, 159 n. 7
- Yisheng 益騏 *see* Esching
- Yung Wing 容闳 147
- Zhang family (pirates) 36
- Zhangzhou 14
- Zheng Chongqian 鄭崇謙 *see*
Gnewqua II
- Zhenjiang 136
- Zongdu 總督 *see* Governor-general
of Guangdong and Guangxi
Provinces
- Zoroastrian 28