

# The Golden Ghetto

The American Commercial Community at Canton  
and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844

Jacques M. Downs



Hong Kong University Press  
The University of Hong Kong  
Pokfulam Road  
Hong Kong  
www.hkupress.org

© 2014 Andreae Downs, Trustee of the Downs Family Trust

First published in 1997 by Associated University Presses, Inc.  
Hong Kong University Press edition 2014

ISBN 978-988-8139-09-5 (*Hardback*)

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

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed and bound by Liang Yu Printing Factory Ltd. in Hong Kong, China

# Contents

Introduction to the Republication of <i>The Golden Ghetto</i>	1
Foreword	7
Introduction	9
<b>Part One: The Golden Ghetto</b>	
1. Old Canton and Its Trade	19
2. American Business under the Old System	65
3. Opium Transforms the Canton System	105
<b>Part Two: The Residents and Their Firms</b>	
4. The Dominant Firms	143
5. The Other Houses	190
6. The China Trader	222
<b>Part Three: Cushing's Treaty</b>	
7. The Creation of an Official Policy	259
8. The Mission to China	287
9. Retrospection	310
Epilogue: The Legacy of Old Canton	321
List of Abbreviations	342
Appendix 1: Wade-Giles–Pinyin Equivalents	345
Appendix 2: Statistics and the American Trade	348
Appendix 3: A Note on the Silver Trade	358
Appendix 4: Known Partners of American Firms at Canton, 1803–44	364
Appendix 5: Commercial Family Alliances	367
Appendix 6: Robert Bennet Forbes's Correspondence with Warren Delano, 1879	371
Appendix 7: A Note on Sources	374

Notes	383
Bibliography	459
Index	489

*Plates follow page 218.*

## Introduction to the Republication of *The Golden Ghetto*

JACQUES M. DOWNS knew more about the history of early American trade with China than anyone in modern times. The republication of *The Golden Ghetto* celebrates Downs's life and his probing studies. *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844*, published in 1997, represents the first fruits of a lifetime's original research. This valuable book literally opened up the history of American trade in the days of the Canton system, previously too much the domain of romance and nostalgia. Long anticipated, and warmly greeted upon its publication, *The Golden Ghetto* is now recognized as the preeminent work on the history of early American trade with China.

Jacques Downs achieved his mastery of this history through decades of hard work. No archival source significant to the history of the American China trade escaped his notice, his copious note-taking, and his biographical flair. Downs was familiar with the papers of Edward Carrington, Stephen Girard, Augustine Heard, John Richardson Latimer, Samuel Russell, and members of the Forbes, Perkins, Sturgis and Delano families, to name but a few of so many, and of course with the extraordinary trove of records of Augustine Heard & Co. discovered in a godown at East Point in Hong Kong in the early 1930s, now part of the Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.<sup>1</sup> This archival mass can be thought of collectively as a mountain range, imposing and forbidding to all but the most intrepid explorers.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, every one of these peaks was strictly confidential in its own time, with these records closed and off limits to all but the original

---

1. As featured in the exhibition, "A Chronicle of the China Trade: The Records of Augustine Heard & Co., 1840–1877," <http://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/heard/> (accessed March 30, 2014).

2. See L. H. Butterfield, "Bostonians and Their Neighbors as Pack Rats," *The American Archivist*, Vol. 24, no. 2 (April 1961): 141–59.

writers and those immediately concerned. So it was that Edward Delano, a clerk of Russell & Co., warned his brother, in an 1841 letter written not long after his arrival at Canton, that even things he wrote in family letters must not be shared.<sup>3</sup> Downs spent a lifetime exploring this archival mountain range, achieving an unrivaled knowledge of the era. As these business competitors did not share records with each other, it is probable that Downs understood the history of their trade better than all but a few of the best informed early American China traders themselves.

Downs began his studies as a Georgetown University graduate student in the late 1950s. In those Cold War years, a modern China trade boom was inconceivable. The People's Republic of China was then young, ten years under Chinese Communist rule. The United States of America was a capitalist industrial powerhouse, at the peak of its post-World War II strength. Reconstruction of Mainland China proceeded slowly, in part due to policies such as those of the "Great Leap Forward" which lasted through 1961, the year Downs received his doctorate in United States Business History. Diplomatic relations between the United States and Mainland China did not, and would not, exist until January 1, 1979. As Downs states in his Introduction, it was in these difficult years that he became hooked by the actual history of early American trade with China, "falling in love with" it, with this study becoming an "obsession." His extensive fieldwork went on through the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, during which Downs produced articles, lectures, and other scholarly works. All the while, he was a beloved and productive professor at Saint Francis College in Biddeford, Maine, which became the University of New England.

By 1985, when the present work existed in an early form, there was again active trade between the United States of America and China. In that year, the United States imported US\$3,861.7 million from and exported \$3,855.7 million in goods to China. The Chinese economy was growing rapidly, under economic reforms introduced by Deng Xiaoping and his

---

3. Letter from Edward Delano to Franklin Hughes Delano, dated Canton September 24, 1841: "If you think of 'putting into print'—my remarks &c. upon men and things in general and China in particular, I may be under the disagreeable necessity of discontinuing my remarks relative thereto—for be it known unto you that the Americans who write home and have their letters published—are severely—(I mean their letters) criticized—and the small community of true blooded Yankees resident here, enabling them to discern the author without much difficulty." Edward Delano Correspondence, Delano Family Papers, Franklin Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

colleagues. By 1990, when this book was in near final draft, the trade was already imbalanced, with the United States importing US\$15,237.4 million from as against some \$4,806.4 million in goods exported to China. By 1997, when *The Golden Ghetto* was published in its first edition, the US imports of goods from China had soared to US\$62,557.7 million, with exports to China standing at \$12,862.2 million. Downs's monumental study of the business history and diplomacy of the first boom in American trade with China was thus published just as a modern China trade boom was gathering force. As of 2010, the US imports of goods from China had soared to US\$364,952.6 million with some \$91,911.1 million in goods exported to China.<sup>4</sup> The modern trade boom between China and the West remains a powerful force, with no end in sight.

It is impossible to accomplish thirty years of archival studies and writing without close support. From 1961 through the first publication of this book in 1997, Jacques Downs had the constant support of his wife Eva Downs and their children, Alexander, Andreae, and Jonathan. This massive project was a constant presence in their family life. Downs's family believed in him, supported him, and pressed him to continue at difficult moments, all vital support in the production of this important work. Elizabeth W. Downs, his mother, provided many summers of hands-on support typing, proofreading, and offering editorial and content suggestions, completing the family team. *The Golden Ghetto* stands as a tribute to the strong support of Downs's entire family, as well as to his own considerable strengths as an explorer and analyst.

Jacques M. Downs died on September 14, 2006, in the eightieth year of his productive life. *The Golden Ghetto* was then completed and in print, but he left a large body of additional material. In particular, Downs's extraordinary collection of detailed biographies of individuals and accounts of firms involved in the trade survives him, in a close-to-publish condition, as Downs indicates in his Introduction. It is hoped that these and other fruits of Downs's efforts will be made available to the public, at some convenient time and in some proper form.

A prominent feature of Downs's intellectual life was his generosity. He was a teacher to his core—questioning, challenging, and demanding—but always warm and always willing to help other students of the trade.

---

4. Source for all trade statistics: US Census Bureau, Foreign Trade Statistics, <http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5700.html> (accessed March 30, 2014).

Downs was a gentle man, with an impish wit, and a penetrating interest in the subject matter of the early American trade with Canton. He had firm opinions, as Peter Ward Fay correctly states in his Foreword. In particular, Downs was much less tolerant of Western justifications for opium trading than some. The writer first met Downs in 1975, as a nervous student from a college up the road, coming to seek this already renowned scholar's guidance through the Canton maze. On that occasion, and with so many other students on so many other occasions, Downs graciously took time and offered useful ideas and source material. These are marks of a great teacher. In this manner, Downs, like John King Fairbank (1907–91), influenced a generation of scholars (at the very least), as evidenced by frequent citations and acknowledgments. Doubtless the efficient production of his own written works suffered for all the time Downs gave to assist the others.

The term “golden ghetto,” as applied to the traders who lived in the cramped foreign factories along the Canton waterfront, originated with Downs. It was used by John King Fairbank, who described the foreign factories at Canton as “a sort of ghetto, a golden ghetto because the foreign merchants can make a good deal of money there.”<sup>5</sup> Fairbank encouraged and critiqued Downs in his studies. Jacques Downs stands as a prominent member of what might be thought of as the first wave of modern scholars of early American trade with China, encouraged or inspired by Fairbank, such as Wayne Altree, Dilip K. Basu, Peter Ward Fay, Robert Gardella, Jonathan Goldstein, Yen-p'ing Hao, and Kwang-Ching Liu.

*The Golden Ghetto* sold out soon after publication, and not long thereafter it became a rare book. At this writing, only a few copies can be found for sale online, priced at US\$1,758 and up. While this can be read as some measure of praise, rarity is the very last thing Jacques Downs wanted to come of his scholarship. He wanted his book to be read, to be used, and to be improved upon. We stand at a moment in history when *The Golden Ghetto* should be more generally available, read and used. With Downs's skilled analysis of the experiences of the first boom in American trade with China, perhaps the challenges of the present boom in China's international trade may be better understood and addressed.

---

5. John King Fairbank, *Chinese-American Interactions: A Historical Summary* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1975), 14.



The republication of *The Golden Ghetto* in the Echoes series of Hong Kong University Press is thus an occasion for celebration. This Echoes edition is a faithful reproduction of the original book, with this new Introduction, certain revised image captions, and some new citations added to the end of the Bibliography being the only changes that have been made.

Frederic D. Grant, Jr.  
Milton, Massachusetts, USA  
March 30, 2014

# 1

## Old Canton and Its Trade

### Arrival and Departure

APPROACHING Macao from the sea, one is struck first by the town's extraordinary beauty. Built on the end of a peninsula that juts out into the South China Sea, Macao, in the late eighteenth century, was a lovely, orderly contrast to the life that seamen had endured on the long voyage from the Atlantic or the Northwest Coast of America. For well over two centuries, the tiny Portuguese colony had given a Mediterranean, even Moorish, aspect to the maritime gate to China. This remnant of a once-great and still impressive empire remained the only European jurisdiction permitted within the Celestial Empire. To weary sailors the lush green vegetation, the Praya Grande arching eastward toward the bay, and the swarm of small boats racing to be first at shipside must have promised welcome relief from the months of seascape and the drab, daily routine of sailing.

Immediately after dropping anchor in the Roads and arranging for supplies with one of the numerous compradors or Chinese ship-stewards who clamored for the vessel's business, a ship's officers would take a boat to Macao. There they greeted old friends, reported their arrival at the chop-house<sup>1</sup> (customhouse), and obtained a pilot to guide them up the estuary to the Boca Tigris (literally "tiger's mouth") or "Bogue," the entrance to the Pearl River. American opinion on these outside pilots was uniform—they were useless,<sup>2</sup> and during the War of 1812, the Chinese government tacitly recognized the soundness of this judgment when it allowed American vessels to bypass Macao and proceed directly to the protection of the forts at the Boca Tigris.<sup>3</sup>

Upon reaching the Bogue, the captain either took a boat to one of the Chinese forts or hauled down his sails and awaited the visit of the local mandarin and his suite. This second contact with Chinese officialdom was rather a surprise to the earliest Americans in the area as most were not informed enough to know that at the Boca Tigris they entered a separate administrative district and fell under the jurisdiction of another set of mandarins. Following the introduction came the inevitable tea and sweetmeats or liquor, after which the ship proceeded upriver with a river pilot in charge



*View of the Praya Grande, Macao.* Oil by unidentified Chinese artist, M9751.1. Compare with Lamqua's painting of the view from Kinsman's veranda of 1845 facing page 218. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum.

and two revenue officers aboard. The river pilots were a breed apart from the superfluous "outside pilots." Theirs was a skilled and licensed profession, and they took charge of the ship as soon as they stepped aboard.<sup>4</sup>

The trip upriver was undoubtedly the loveliest part of the voyage, and many a calloused captain or canny supercargo was moved to extend the remarks in his log to include something like poetry about the bright green rice paddies, the majestic pagodas, and the distant mountains that loomed out of the blue haze.

I have the last six & thirty hours been passing in view of scenery which in the estimate of the late Lord Napier, "are worth a voyage from England to see." On either bank are extensive paddy fields clothed in richest verdure, with here & there a village with its arbor of bamboos. Numerous forts of granite. Beyond the paddy fields the hills & mountains rise in pleasing variety & upon the plains & loftiest eminences the towering pagoda stands—the monument of the ingenuity & enterprise of generations forgotten.<sup>5</sup>

Once a ship came to rest in Whampoa Reach,<sup>6</sup> the supercargo's job began and the captain's ended. Every ship that came to China had to be secured by a hong merchant,<sup>7</sup> one of a guild of Chinese foreign traders holding an exclusive franchise from the Imperial Government and known collectively



*Boca Tigris, the Mouth of the Pearl River.* Oil by unidentified Chinese artist, M17299. Notice the Chinese forts on either side of the “Bogue.” Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum.

as the Cohong (*kung hong* or *kung hang*—officially authorized merchant guild). In return for certain preferential rights in doing the ship’s business,<sup>8</sup> the hong or security merchant assumed responsibility to the Chinese government for the customs and for the orderly behavior of the entire ship’s company. He paid the port fees, generally bought much of the cargo, and provided many of the goods carried on the return voyage. Moreover the hong merchant was a source of invaluable advice on many matters such as the hiring of a house comprador, the state of the market, and the niceties of Chinese regulations. The hong merchant might also advise the supercargo on engaging a linguist (*t’ung shih* or “lingo” in pidgin, the only “foreign” language spoken by most of them).

Linguists were licensed by the government to serve as go-betweens to transact the foreigner’s business with the customhouse; each one had a sizeable staff of servants to assist him in his many activities.<sup>9</sup> Because linguists performed a number of dubious services for their clients, including lying, keeping commercial secrets, and bribing customs officials, they were not often looked upon as reliable sources of information.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless it



**Seven-story pagoda at Canton, photograph. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum.**



***Whampoa Anchorage in the 1840s. Oil by Youqua, M4478. Note the headstones on the island in the foreground. Youqua must have painted it in the mid- to late 1840s; notice also the sidewheeler in the background. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum.***

was the annual linguists' reports upon which most commercial statistics were based before the Opium War brought professional consular reporting to Canton in the 1840s.<sup>11</sup>

Among the most immediate functions of a newly engaged security merchant was that of notifying the authorities of the ship's arrival, for port charges were levied at an elaborate ritual of reception by the Hoppo or customs commissioner (*Y'üeh-hai-kuan chien-tu*). The Hoppo was an important official. Under the authority of the governor, like other provincial commissioners, the Hoppo was appointed by the emperor himself. The post was created in 1685, and until 1725 the tenure of office had been one year. After that time it was three years, apparently a period just long enough for a powerful but impecunious Manchu to mend a broken fortune. Long before the first Americans arrived, Hoppo were known for their venality. The derivation of the pidgin name, Hoppo, is unknown. It has been suggested that it is a rendering of *Hu-pu*, the Board of Revenue, but the Hoppo was not answerable to this body, so the question remains moot. In any case the Hoppo was responsible both for oversight of the imperial customs and of other officials' control of the foreigners at Canton.

When it suited his pleasure, the Hoppo would pay a formal visit to the ship for "cumsha and measurement."<sup>12</sup> His gorgeously painted craft, flying quantities of silken pennants and surmounted by the great dragon flag, would draw alongside, and the Hoppo and his entourage would come aboard. In preparation for the occasion the decks had been scrubbed, the fittings polished, and the crew members dressed in their best clothes, which had been in the depths of sea chests for months. With a silken ribbon the Hoppo's attendants measured the ship's length and breadth; these two figures multiplied together and divided by ten provided the basis for the assessment. Several other items were then added to this sum to make the final port charge.<sup>13</sup> Of course a ship also had to pay a series of other exactions, such as that for pilotage in and out, the linguist's fee, and innumerable cumshas to various functionaries from the Hoppo himself to the humblest tidewaiter. The total cost of entering and leaving the port of Canton came to something between three to seven thousand dollars per ship—probably the highest port charges in the world at that time.

After weathering the storms of several oceans and the intricacies of Celestial red tape, the ship's businessmen were understandably eager to visit the "provincial city." Therefore, as soon as possible after arriving at Whampoa, the supercargo and/or the captain took a boat to Canton, twelve miles further upriver, leaving the crew to paint, caulk, and mend sails.

Both Chinese regulations and the convenience of the shipowner kept the men out of Canton except for infrequent and sometimes trouble-producing liberties. Gangs of coolies lightened the task of handling the cargo, and virtually every other nonnautical chore was performed by the Whampoa comprador. Other services, along with absolutely any commodity, could be

provided by the river people, whose myriad boats clustered around the shipping, selling everything from food and drink to laundry service and haircuts.

At first the sailors were greatly pleased with their unaccustomed leisure, but they soon discovered something worse than work. Probably their deadliest enemy at Whampoa was boredom, which sometimes led to mutiny. Conditions in the forecabin were never really pleasant, but Whampoa was especially dreary for the average sailor. Moreover the Chinese boat-people peddled a corrosive variety of liquor that caused many disturbances on board, ashore, and internally. The record is full of reports of brawls and even rebellions. Possibly a gauge of the frequency of such disorders is to be found in the fact that Commodore Lawrence Kearny was called upon to put down several mutinies during the USS *Constellation*'s two-month stay at Whampoa in 1843.<sup>14</sup>

In addition, prior to 1830 no regular religious services were provided for the sailors, and only after 1836 were any permanent, continuing medical facilities available unless the ship carried a surgeon. Few ships escaped casualties from dysentery, malaria, and other virulent tropical maladies for which Canton was notorious. Therefore the men probably welcomed the labor of departure as much as they had hailed the idleness of their "lay days" at Whampoa.

The process of clearing port was only slightly less complicated than that of arrival. When the *chow chow chop*, the last boatload of miscellaneous cargo, had left Canton for Whampoa, the captain and the supercargo would pay a farewell visit to their hong merchant. Tea would be served, cumshas exchanged,<sup>15</sup> and the captain would receive the Grand Chop, a permit to clear port. This was a large document printed in two colors, embellished with dragons, and stamped with the chop (seal) of the Hoppo.<sup>16</sup>

As they left the hong merchant's factory, often a very elegant and beautifully furnished establishment,<sup>17</sup> the captain and supercargo could see freshly laundered canvas mailbags being stowed in the boat waiting for them at Jackass Point, where a horde of urchins clamored for a parting cumsha.<sup>18</sup>

The last ceremony before the ship nosed into the stream from Whampoa would be the final visit of the ship's comprador, who left his cumsha aboard with his farewell. As the vessel weighed anchor, the Chinese would set off ropes of firecrackers "to awaken the gods to the ship's departure and give her good wind and good water."<sup>19</sup>

## The Factories

On their way upriver to Canton, the ship's businessmen probably gave little thought to the trials of the crew or to the complications of departure. The attention of all but the most experienced China hands must have been

captured by the strange and colorful scenes about them.<sup>20</sup> As they neared the city,

a low, rumbling sound commenced and soon increased to a loud-heavy, humming noise, which never here ceases, during day and night. This buzzing sort of serenade is caused by the beating of gongs, firecrackers, etc., etc., mostly among the river craft constantly on the move up and down river.<sup>21</sup>

Weaving its way through the numberless Chinese river vessels, the ship's boat approached Jackass Point, the usual place of debarkation at Canton, and the traveler caught his first glimpse of the foreign factories. The word factory was an importation from India, where it meant the residence or office of a factor; the pidgin word hong applied to any place of business, but the two words were generally used interchangeably at Canton.

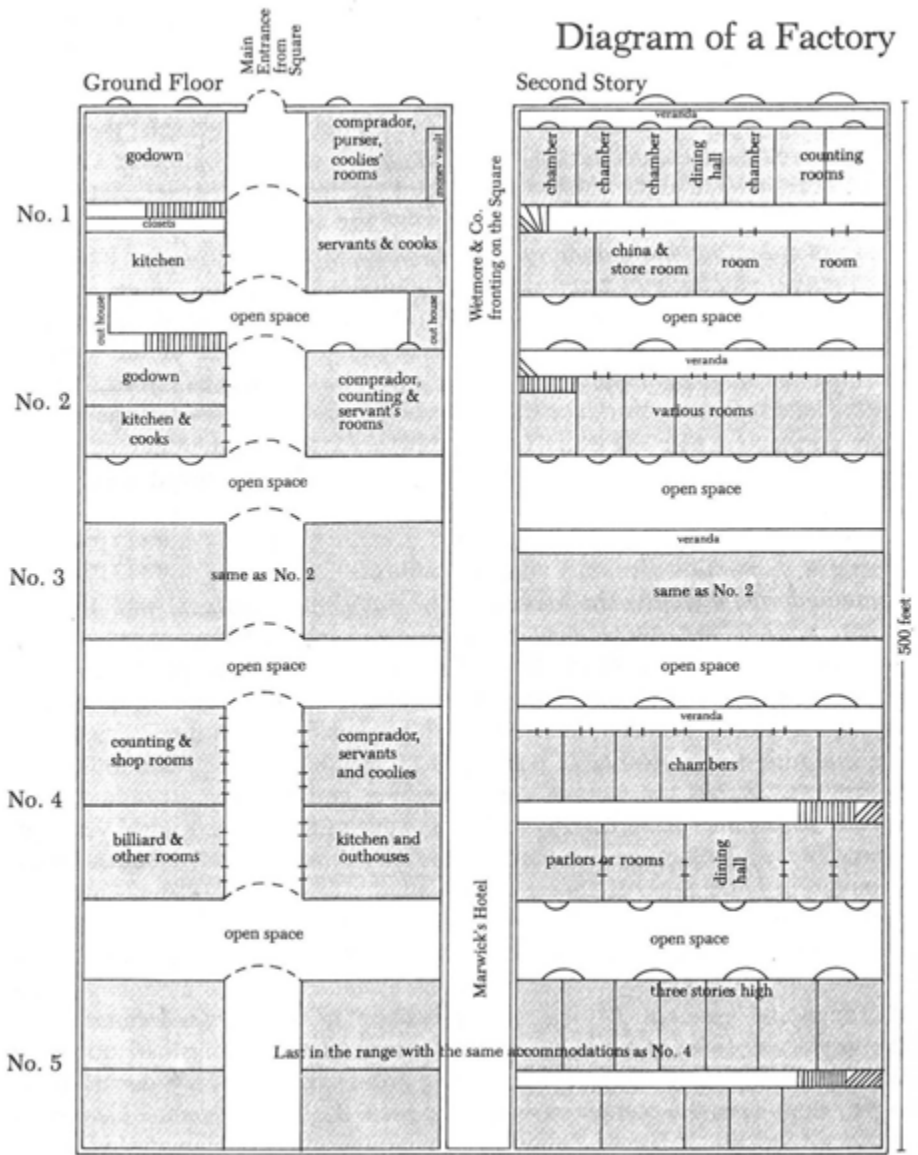
The factories were banks of long, narrow structures located about three hundred feet back from the north bank of the river in one of the western suburbs of Canton, just outside the city wall. The whole area covered about twelve acres. Each factory consisted of several buildings two to three stories high, connected with the other factories by arcades or arched passageways. The front building faced the river across a large, partly paved area called the Square.

While he was in Canton, a foreigner's factory was his home, place of business, recreation, storage, and even church. The lower floor of a factory contained the kitchen, the treasury, the servants' quarters, and the godowns, which were large, airy warehouses in which goods stood on low platforms a foot or so off the floor. The supports for these platforms were often made of camphor wood and surrounded by tar, rice chaff, or quicklime to ward off the universally destructive white ants.<sup>22</sup> In the upper stories were the counting-rooms (offices), parlors, a large dining room, and individual bedrooms. Across the face of a hong's upper stories often stretched a veranda, sometimes paved with marble and usually enclosed with Venetian blinds, a very effective sunshade in the blistering heat of a South China summer. By the time of the Opium War, the first hong in the American factory sported a blue nankeen awning over its veranda. The roof frequently contained a terrace, a comfortable addition in sticky evenings early in the tea season.<sup>23</sup> All rooms were spacious, airy, and immaculate; cleaning was thorough and frequent. During the confinement of the foreign community in the spring of 1839, one foreigner complained that his hong had not been washed for ten days!<sup>24</sup> In sum, judging from contemporary descriptions rather than from the complaints of young men, the factories must have been very comfortable.<sup>25</sup> Hosea Ballou Morse, pioneering historian of old Canton and a man rarely given to exaggeration, called the factories "palatial."<sup>26</sup>

The buildings were well constructed of granite or bricks that varied in color from lead-blue to red, depending on the length of time they had been in the kiln. The structures probably deserved a better location. Each was



# Diagram of a Factory



Adapted from a sketch by Bryant F. Tilden

constructed on piles. The land they occupied had been reclaimed from the river, and the tide flowed into the sewers, which ran the length of each factory. The exterior walls were sometimes plastered, and the unterraced part of the roofs was of red tile. As a group the foreign hong presented a very neat and attractive picture, which has often been painted. Samuel Shaw, the first American trader at Canton, described the appearance of the factories as "elegant," a term of high praise in the eighteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

From tall poles in front of several of the factories floated flags denoting which nation was represented there by a consul. In 1784 Shaw found Denmark, Austria (the Holy Roman Empire), Sweden, Britain, and Holland had "regular establishments" there, but by the time of the Opium War, there were seldom more than four flags flying, that is, the American, British, Dutch, and French, and only the first two nations were substantially represented in the community. At various times the English and the American hong fronted on private gardens, and potted trees and flowers stood before many of the others.

Until the great fire that destroyed the factories in 1822,<sup>28</sup> the Square was enclosed by walls which led to the water from the hong at either end. Thereafter, no barrier kept out peddlers, beggars, fortune-tellers, and curious sightseers who came to catch a glimpse of the foreign devils. Intruders appeared in the Square as early as 1800. Sullivan Dorr, an early American resident, describes sword-swallowers, human pincushions, tumblers, bird trainers, and a remarkable act in which the performer allowed an adder to bite his tongue. He immediately went into alarming convulsions, which were relieved only when he "applied a composition to his tongue," a substance that he apparently was selling.<sup>29</sup> Now and then, when the press of undesirables became unendurable, the exasperated foreigners would complain to the Cohong and whip-wielding police would quickly clear the area, leaving behind bits of broken china, articles of clothing, and whatever else the retreating crowd had been unlucky enough to drop during the scramble.

The solid front presented by the factories was pierced by two streets and an alley, each lined with Chinese shops. The foreign residents called these thoroughfares Old China Street, New China Street, and Hog Lane. They ran from the Square to Thirteen Factories Street into which the back doors of the rear hong opened. Like other streets in the area, all were heavily traveled and extremely narrow. One of the first American missionaries, David Abeel, states, "The width of the street varies from about fifteen to three feet, measuring from house to house; and the medium proportion of the city would probably not exceed eight feet. In passing through even the business districts, I have frequently extended my arms and reached the opposite houses." He also notes the existence of wickets at all street corners to prevent the escape of thieves or the collection of a mob. These wickets were closed and guarded at night.<sup>30</sup> The streets were paved with granite slabs, cut with a rough surface to prevent slipping in wet weather, although



Canton street in the 1860s, photograph. Notice the stone paving and the many advertising placards. This is an old glass plate time transfer. What appears to be fog is traces of the traffic. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum.

they wore smooth with time. During the daytime the streets were thronged with people—from dawn to dark the disorder was enormous. Cantonese police never thought of directing traffic because there were no wheeled vehicles and rarely any horses in the area. The congestion (and the filth) was entirely human.

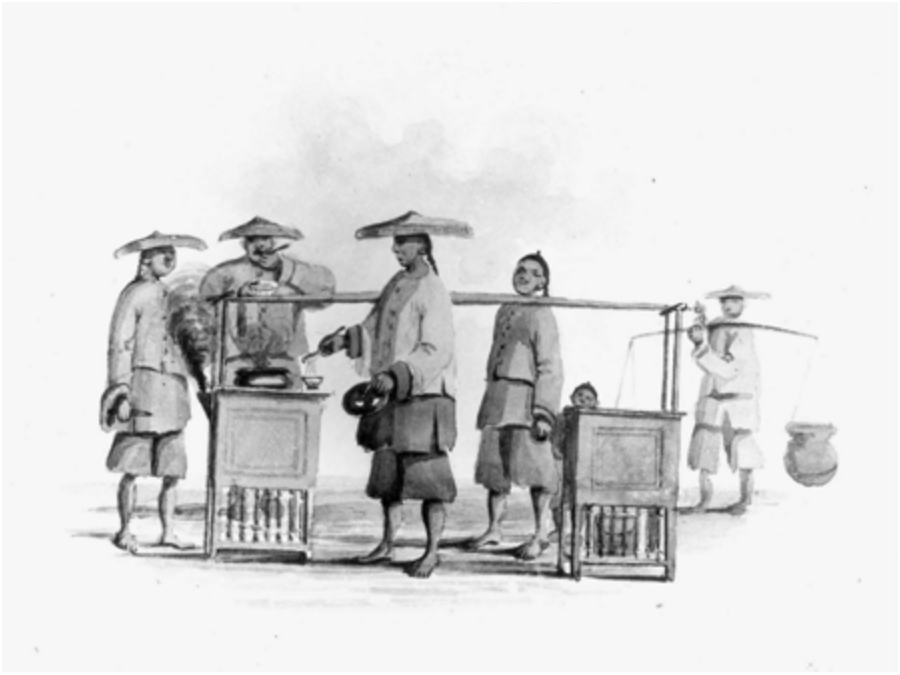
Scavengers are constantly employed in removing the dirt, which collects in great quantities, but in spite of their labours, the streets are frequently disgustingly filthy, and abound in the most abominable smells imaginable, especially in the rear of the factories, and near the Butchers', and the poulterers' shops.<sup>31</sup>

The tone of repugnance in this account is especially interesting because later observers, with far more experience, declared that Canton was the "wealthiest, best built, and cleanest of all the cities of China" and noted that anyone who had seen Amoy, Shanghai, and other cities first would be struck by the "comparative cleanliness," "the substantial nature of the buildings, and the absence of overpoweringly disgusting sights and smells" in Canton.<sup>32</sup>

On either side of every street in the neighborhood was a multitude of small shops, crowded one against another, offering every variety of merchandise: silks, jades, porcelains, lacquered ware, edibles of all kinds, and many more dubious articles. Americans often commented in their letters about the exotic groceries in the Chinese markets, especially the kittens, puppies, skinned rats, and the vast numbers of fruits and vegetables to which they were unaccustomed. From the balcony of the American hong, Edmund Roberts reported watching the bargaining at a cat-and-dog butcher's, one of the many shops on Old China Street that ran along the south side of the factory.<sup>33</sup> These businesses were mostly small, and they were a shopper's delight. Fletcher Webster, son of the "immortal Daniel" and secretary of the first American mission to China, wrote in 1844, "Canton is certainly a study. [T]he *shops* [*sic*] are almost irresistible."<sup>34</sup>

Besides the stationary vendors, a host of itinerant peddlers crammed every byway—umbrella menders, barbers, quack doctors, soothsayers—and the noisiest and most loathsome beggars were everywhere, crying, beating gongs, and otherwise contributing to the din.

With all of this foreign variety an American sailor on liberty did not want for bizarre ways of spending his money. True to type, however, ordinary seamen on their infrequent visits to Canton usually were to be found in one of the infamous establishments on Hog Lane. Here they were sold questionable beverages bearing names like "Mandarin gin," "samshu," and what was (probably falsely) advertised as "first chop rum." The lane is said to have received its name from a natural and descriptive corruption of its original name, *viz.*, Hong Lane. It was barely wide enough for two men to walk abreast. On one side of the lane was the British East India Company's factory and on the other, Fungtai Hong, also known as the Chow Chow (miscellaneous



*Mobile Street Restaurant.* Pen and ink by George West (Cushing Mission, 1844). The boxes are charcoal stoves; water carrier is in the background. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

or mixed) Hong, indicating that it was generally occupied by Parsees, Armenians, Arabs, Jews, etc.<sup>35</sup>

The small operators had a very bad name among the Americans. It was said of them that, “the petty dealers are not to be believed for an instant, or credited a shilling, as they are devoid of honourable principle in money matters,”<sup>36</sup> and “the small dealers almost universally are rogues, and require to be narrowly watched.”<sup>37</sup> William C. Hunter, one of the more literary of the Canton residents, called them “the greatest ruffians that can be imagined.”<sup>38</sup>

By these judgments the firm names of the shops were often most unsuitable. Among the titles exhibited before the stores near the foreign hongs, Hunter lists “Peace and Quiet,” “Collective Justice,” “Perfect Concord,” and more mysteriously, “The Three Unities.” He also mentions some really splendid advertisements: “You read on each of a pile of water tubs, ‘the bucket of superlative peace,’ on chests ‘the box of great tranquility.’”<sup>39</sup> Outdoor advertising seems to have been as common then as now:

Oblong signs painted of a gay colour generally vermilion with gold characters line both sides of the street so that the walls of the houses cannot be seen, every house being a shop—& fitted with all sorts of merchandize.<sup>40</sup>



*Shop Selling Small European Articles.* Watercolor by unidentified Chinese artist, E80607.10. The shelves contain watches, yarn, knives, scissors, bottles, buttons, cloth, and a brace of pistols. The broom peddler appears to be blind. Notice also the wall placards. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum.



*Shop in China Street.* Watercolor by unidentified Chinese artist, E80607.23. Notice the Near Eastern customer, the feather-duster peddler, and the unusual glimpse of the shop's back room. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum.

Every blank wall and boarding is covered with advertising placards. . . . More shameless advertisements than any to be seen on a European wall abound . . . at Canton, although prohibited from time to time by the Government.<sup>41</sup>

If the smaller shopkeepers and peddlers were distrusted by the Americans, the generality of Chinese usually were accounted as knaves: “Haughty, insolent, fraudulent, and inhospitable,”<sup>42</sup> “the greatest villains in the universe,”<sup>43</sup> and “vindictive, lascivious, and roguish”<sup>44</sup> were common American characterizations of the sons of Han.

### Life at the Factories

For the resident merchant, life at Canton was most comfortable. He probably enjoyed more luxuries here than he had encountered anywhere else in his travels. Each factory was abundantly staffed with servants of every description. Besides the cooks, watchman, livestock-tenders, and ordinary coolies, each foreigner had a personal orderly who woke him in the morning, drew his bath, laid out his linen, served only him at the table, and followed him everywhere, attending to his master’s slightest whim.

Each house employed a comprador, a major-domo who managed all but the personal servants, saw to the supplying and upkeep of the factory, and took a cut of every sum that changed hands. The comprador’s honesty was generally unquestioned; he kept a set of keys to every lock in the hong, including the treasury. Purchases of all kinds were handled through the medium of chits, which were redeemed either by the comprador or by the personal servants. Foreigners rarely handled money themselves. Understandably this practice led to a very un-Yankeelike extravagance.<sup>45</sup>

Probably the high standard of living was first set by the various national East India companies—fat old monopolies to whom the factory’s operating cost was a minor consideration. “John Company,” the British East India Company, was certainly the most lavish in China. In 1830 a parliamentary investigating committee found that the Company’s factory expenses were about £90,000 a year (ca. \$450,000)!<sup>46</sup> Bryant P. Tilden, a highly intelligent Salem supercargo who made seven voyages to Canton between 1815 and 1837, was particularly impressed with the magnificence of the Dutch factory at Macao. He mentions seeing paintings by Dutch and Flemish “masters,” costly Chinese porcelains, considerable statuary, cages of monkeys and birds from many lands east of the Cape, a number of musical instruments (including a self-playing piano), and a beautifully tended garden whose walks were paved with Dutch tile.<sup>47</sup> Even making allowances for his youthful exaggeration, it is clear that the Dutch agents at Macao lived grandly. Although private American merchants could hardly expect to keep up with such sybaritic Joneses, their hong did not lack creature comforts. The diet was little

short of sumptuous, and the quantities of beer, wine, and liquor consumed were always a source of complaint to a firm's more frugal partners. Young John Heard, writing to his envious younger brother "Gus" (Augustine) in 1844, noted, "Wine is always on our table, of several different kinds—and one is constantly challenged" to drink.<sup>48</sup> Even the most parsimonious Yankee soon became accustomed to luxury, so much so that they demanded it after their return to America. The conservative John Latimer blamed the free-spending habits of China nabobs on "the management of large funds belonging to others [which circumstance] has the effect to destroy our proper ideas of the value of money."<sup>49</sup> All food, drink, furnishings, and other consumer goods had to be purchased either from the house comprador, who exacted his fee, or from the ships at Whampoa, which meant paying transportation costs from Manila, Bombay, or even more distant ports. A comprador's job was a most desirable one. John Heard cites the example of Augustine Heard & Company's comprador who

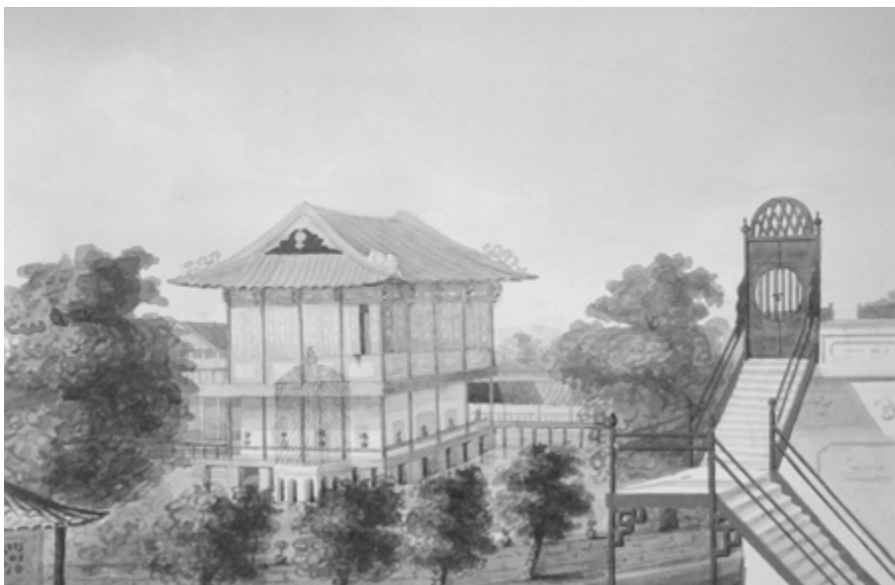
came to us without a cent in 1840. He died in 1846 leaving \$70,000! And yet it was all done so delicately that I do not think anyone in the house was conscious of losing a cent. I very much doubt whether we did lose anything. The payments all came from the Chinese, except for our food, and the percentage was so small that it would have been hard to spread it over our business.<sup>50</sup>

So useful were the compradors and so profitable was their business that recently they have had a very bad name among patriotic Chinese, particularly the communists, who regard the comprador as a mere lackey of imperialism.

Another source of influence in the lifestyle of the foreign merchants at Canton was the standard of living of the Chinese merchants with whom they dealt. Although the hong merchants were sometimes very rich, traders occupied a relatively low position in Confucian society. Some were *arrivistes*, and, like the new rich in Western culture, they tended to spend money lavishly and conspicuously, but even those who were degree-holding members of the gentry lived well. Their villas, libraries, gardens, aviaries, menageries, and other extravagances were exuberantly described by many Americans. Puankhequa's<sup>51</sup> garden, with its aviary, dwarf trees, artificial streams, grottoes, waterfalls, and fountains, was particularly impressive.<sup>52</sup> Foreign friends brought Puankhequa seeds, birds, and animals from all over the world for his country seat. Tilden gave him a dozen speckled turtles, which were apparently an oddity in Canton.<sup>53</sup>

Despite the luxury of his life, a Canton resident was no indolent voluptuary. He worked long and continuously—twelve to fifteen hours a day was usual during busy periods. Most of this time was spent in the counting-house, and travelers often remarked on the pallor common to all residents. But at least one young man was delighted, on his arrival, to discover





***Puntinqua's (Puankhequa family) Country Villa.*** Watercolor by George West (Cushing Mission, 1844). Rich hong merchants typically had lavish country estates to which foreign merchants were occasionally invited. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

1st [*sic*] the systematic manner in which business is carried on, the gentlemanly manner in which Clerks are treated, the fine style in which they live in the eating way—and another grand recommendation which applies very well to a chap like myself—*viz.*—there being no occasion of spending money—in the small way.<sup>54</sup>

Residents rose early in the morning during tea season; they got up later only in the spring and summer months when business was slack. The hot, moist climate made for sticky mornings, a discomfort that was particularly hard on Yankees, accustomed to sub-Arctic New England. They soon got into the habit of demanding that their boys prepare a bath for them at least once and often two or three times a day. This luxury required filling a large earthenware tub, encrusted with dragons, fu-dogs, or other fanciful decorations, with fresh water that had to be carried some distance. The dampness of the area also made for clouds of mosquitoes in the summer. Of necessity the beds were canopied and hung with netting. Like the tubs and the other furniture of the hong, these beds were often heavily carved, highly polished, and sometimes inlaid in their symbolic elegance of the high living to which young American merchants at Canton quickly became accustomed. Such amenities brought more than a degree of comfort into the life of even the most ascetically inclined missionary. For all his dedication and willingness to endure hardship, there was no way for him to live in China except as other Westerners lived, and that meant very well indeed.

After the morning bath and perhaps a stroll, a merchant had breakfast—generally a simple meal consisting of rice, tea, rice cakes, toast and curry, eggs or fish.<sup>55</sup> Thereafter the first real break in office routine came at noon, when a light lunch was served in the dining room. The great social occasion of the day was dinner, served either in midafternoon or about 6:30. At this time the whole complement of the factory dined together with various guests, boarders, and captains who were staying at the factory. Generally the meal was a long, leisurely affair, with many courses, including several kinds of wine, beer, and India ale, and concluded with brandy and long, black Manila cheroots. However, during the busiest part of the year, dinner could be hurried and even gloomy.

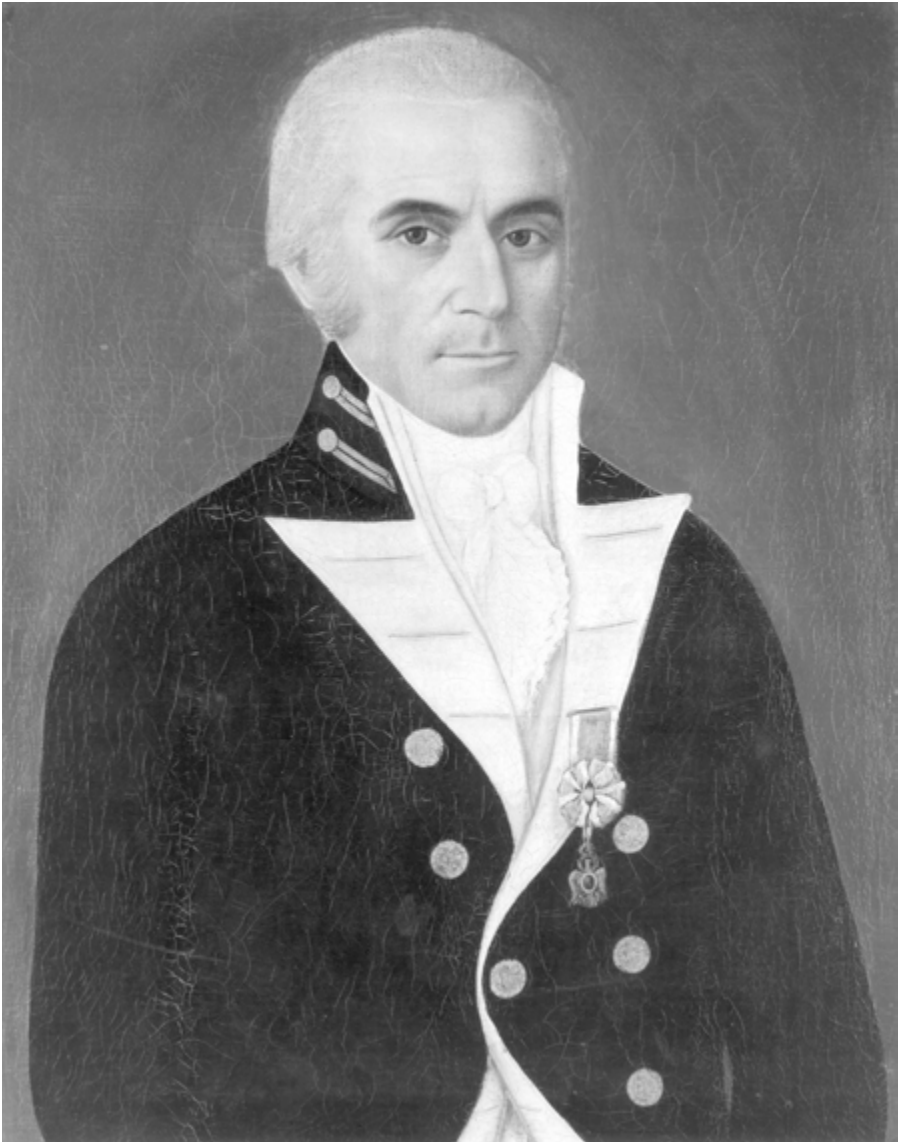
In the late afternoon or early evening, when business permitted, the younger members of the community would race rowboats on the river, play leapfrog or hopscotch, pitch quoits, or march vigorously about the Square. Less energetic traders would take naps, go for short strolls<sup>56</sup> or joke with the boat-girls at Jackass Point. In the early 1840s, Augustine Heard reportedly kept a small pony at the factory, and his daily rides around the Square greatly amused Chinese spectators.<sup>57</sup>

After dark, when work was comparatively slow, the traders would visit back and forth among the various hong's where groups would gather to drink, sing, or talk of business, pleasure, or home. Especially in the early part of the tea season, however, residents were frequently kept in the countinghouse until far into the night. On a hot summer night in 1833, William Henry Low wrote his senior partner in America: "Have you forgotten the pleasure there is in writing letters at night by a large Lamp in the month of July with soft pens and spongy paper? I am now in the full enjoyment of that pleasure, with my clothing well saturated with perspiration, wishing for a letter of the pure air of Middletown."<sup>58</sup>

## Personalities

During the busiest periods, transients greatly outnumbered the residents. Before about 1820 the imbalance must have been especially marked, because the number of American residents rarely exceeded a dozen. Thereafter, however, the community grew with the trade, and like other communities, it developed its own odd and colorful characters. Very early there was the stately Revolutionary War hero, Major Samuel Shaw, first American supercargo and first consul, whose eighteenth-century sense of personal and national honor make him seem rather stiff to a modern reader of his journal and letters.<sup>59</sup>

Samuel Snow, another Revolutionary officer, second consul, and builder of the American factory, was evidently a warmer personality, but his luck deserted him early in the new century, and he went bankrupt, never to



**Samuel Snow, 1795. Oil, unidentified Chinese artist. Snow was the American consul and built the first American factory in China. Private collection.**

recoup his formerly sizeable fortune.<sup>60</sup> His son, Peter Wanton Snow, was also plagued with ill fortune. He wandered in and out of Canton all his life, never quite making enough money to avoid the pity of other merchants. He became consul in 1835, and, though he was in China during a time when many became rich very quickly, he was ailing, prematurely old, and seems only to have lost money. He died a pauper in 1843.<sup>61</sup> Shrewd, tightfisted Edward Carrington was notorious for sharp dealing. He charged Peter W. Snow, briefly his own partner and the son of his benefactor, Samuel Snow, 18 percent interest, a very high rate at that time. He ultimately turned his eight years in Canton into a fortune apparently by watching his chances until he cornered the market in sealskins. He then returned home to become one of America's leading China merchants and to develop an agonizing stomach ulcer.<sup>62</sup>

Occasionally a naturalized American appeared in Canton. Andreas Everardus van Braam-Houckgeest accumulated two fortunes at Canton in the eighteenth century—both times with the Dutch East India Company. Following his return home after his first tour in Canton, Van Braam moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where he became a most unsuccessful rice planter and lost both his fortune and his family. He then reappeared in Canton as resident director of the Dutch company, evidently having renewed his Dutch citizenship. In 1794 and 1795 he accompanied the famous Titsing (also known as Titzing) embassy to Peking. In the latter year he retired once more, this time to Philadelphia, where he lived in magnificent style for about three years before returning to Europe.<sup>63</sup>

Another American citizen by adoption was "Colonel" Peter Dobell, who was born in County Cork but raised in Philadelphia. Dobell was another Revolutionary War veteran. After several years at Canton, during which time he narrowly missed being arrested for smuggling ginseng, he graduated to opium. Just before the War of 1812, he purchased a ship and sailed for the Northwest Coast of America hoping to reap a fortune in furs. Within a year or so he had opened a shop in Petropavlovsk, Kamchatka, presumably to sell his cargo. Thereafter, Dobell journeyed across the length of Siberia to St. Petersburg, only to reappear, at the beginning of 1819, with a wife and daughter, as Russian consul at Manila. During his absence at Canton the following year, the Spanish authorities permitted a wholesale massacre of foreigners, a disaster in which Dobell lost heavily.<sup>64</sup>

Benjamin Chew Wilcocks, pioneer in the opium trade, came from a very distinguished Philadelphia family and looked the part. Because he was very tall, the Chinese nicknamed him "the high devil." In his high, tight coat collar and white cravat in the heat of a Canton summer, he must have been an impressive sight during his decade as US consul. A gourmet, a connoisseur of the arts (and also apparently of women), a raconteur, and dinner-table wit, Wilcocks befriended the well-known artist, George Chinnery, whose tastes were similar.<sup>65</sup> The two men became fast friends soon after



**Benjamin Chew Wilcocks. Wilcocks was a pioneer in both the Turkish and Indian opium trades. He was a long-time resident of Canton, a bon vivant, and good friend of George Chinnery, who painted this sometime in the 1820s. © Copyright The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Limited (HSBC Asia Pacific Archives) 2010. All Rights Reserved.**

Chinnery arrived at Macao, having fled from India, or so he said, to avoid his wife (although avoiding his debts seems at least as important a motive).

Wilcocks appears to have become rather irresponsible toward the end of his stay in China, when the great hong merchant, Howqua, in an act of astonishing generosity, released him from an enormous debt.<sup>66</sup> His unsteady behavior thereafter lends considerable weight to the charges of John R. Latimer that, at least temporarily, Wilcocks went insane. Latimer should have known, but he was in an awkward position to make such accusations, because Wilcocks had left him all his business and now was charging him with malfeasance. An additional factor in Wilcocks's irritation may well have been Latimer's righteous action in sending Fanny Henry, Wilcocks's bastard daughter by a Macao woman, to Philadelphia to see her loving father. Her arrival must have been something of an embarrassment, because the aging Wilcocks was, at that very time, on the marriage market in his native city.<sup>67</sup>

Finally there was in Canton a small band of intense, dedicated missionaries who began arriving in 1830 to convert China—a monumentally misconceived enterprise. Well-meaning, generally intelligent, and rather Calvinist in theology, these pioneer apostles were neither black-suited pessimists nor saints. Practical, hard-working, and determined evangelists, the missionaries were by no means all of the same character. One writer notes,

[David] Abeel was a mystic,<sup>68</sup> [Issachar] Roberts evidently something of a dreamer,<sup>69</sup> but [S. Wells] Williams, a man of scientific training, [Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute] had learned practical printing while [William] Dean seems to have had a good deal of common sense. [Elijah C.] Bridgman was a real personage, one who would have been an outstanding member of any group.<sup>70</sup>

Peter Parker, a sober, deeply pious man, was nevertheless a shrewd and capable administrator. Before embarking for China, he prepared himself by reading, by visiting and interviewing people who could inform him of what to expect, and by training both for the ministry and for the practice of medicine. He ran his Canton hospital efficiently,<sup>71</sup> even introducing a system of bamboo slips to keep order and to prevent people from missing their turns. He recorded the names of all patients, ailments, and treatment. Later he represented the United States in China in several capacities. He was very conscious of the value of publicity, was probably the China Mission's best fund-raiser, and certainly was its most effective lobbyist.<sup>72</sup>

William Pohlman, a minister of the Reformed Church, was noted for his perseverance.<sup>73</sup> Elihu Doty, Pohlman's fellow sectarian, was, on the other hand, characterized by such phrases as "massive solidity of character," "earnest and decided piety," and "a laborious man." He was not "brilliant or profound," but his "accuracy, candor, judgment and freedom from prejudice" fitted him well for "literary work."<sup>74</sup>

Samuel Robbins Brown [a teacher] . . . showed evidences of [being] a self-made man. He was cool in temperament, versatile in the adaption of means to ends,

gentlemanly and agreeable, and somewhat optimistic. He found no difficulty in endearing himself to his pupils. . . . He had an innate faculty of making things clear to the pupils . . . with great directness and facility.<sup>75</sup>

Brown was also no mean musician and could play the piano, organ, and violin. He sang well and “composed not a little.” “Genial and warm-hearted,” he “had a genius for friendship” and was “always fond of fun and jokes. From childhood to old age, mirth lightened much toil.”<sup>76</sup>

Dean describes Edwin Stevens as of “grave countenance” and an “austere and unsocial” appearance to strangers, though he denies that this was his true character, which he says was “ever kind and courteous.”<sup>77</sup> Similarly the reserved S. Wells Williams suffered from “an unfortunate shyness” that gave him a certain “stiffness of manner,”<sup>78</sup> if we can believe his son and his biographer. On the other hand, his friend Rev. Henry Blodget said in his eulogy that Williams was “full of good cheer and kindness, quick-witted . . . eminently social in feeling and habits.”<sup>79</sup> Noah Porter went still further and praised his “buoyant temper which made sunlight for others whenever he was present.” Obviously it is often very difficult to judge a man’s character from a fragmentary record at a distance of one hundred fifty years. Different witnesses give different appraisals. We can be reasonably sure, however, that the missionaries, like the merchants, were people of rather different personal characteristics.

## Other Foreigners at Canton

When the first Americans arrived in Canton, they found a very cosmopolitan community dominated by the British East India Company. At various times in the early years, there were Swedes, Danes, Austrians, Prussians, Spaniards, Portuguese, French, and various kinds of Italians doing business in China. Some were represented by consuls.<sup>80</sup> With the beginning of the Wars of the French Revolution, most of these Europeans disappeared from Canton, and the neutral Americans gradually took over the carrying trade to the Continent.

Numbers of non-European foreigners also flocked to Canton. Arabs, Indians, Armenians, and Near-Eastern Jews traded and lent color to the kaleidoscopic scene at the Oriental metropolis. Their costumes were often striking. The Moormen (Arabs) were

clad in silk and cotton fabrics of red, white and blue colors, with large white muslin turbans festooned with red silk, and gold and silver cord. They are close shaven, all but their bushy, grizzly, and black beards, and wear loose trousers, tied below the knee and secured at the waist with strings and sashes. Their legs below the knees are bare, all wearing morocco slippers usually embroidered with gold thread.<sup>81</sup>

Lascars (Indian sailors) dressed still differently:

Most of them wind a dirty cotton scarf round their heads and shoulders, and with bowl shaped fancy skull caps, thin banyans, or muslin shirts, short cotton drawers—and a cotton sash.<sup>82</sup>

A Bombay Muslim is described glowingly:

His limbs unfettered by his robes, gave full play to his majestic stature, and his costume of spotless white was relieved by a cashmere shawl wound and worn around his waist. Another of smaller size was wreathed into his turban . . . [he had an] immense snowy beard, that had grown . . . almost to his cummer band. [*sic*]<sup>83</sup>

And of the Parsees, the same source notes:

Their dress is peculiar, in summer a white robe fitting closely to the back and arms, with wide pantaloons of the same, or of red or blue. In the cold season they have dark colored coats cut in the same fashion, and edged with red cord. Their hair is shaved in part, leaving it growing at the temples, and all wear the most enormous moustaches, which may often be seen as one walks behind them.<sup>84</sup>

And:

Chinese, of course, in great numbers, tilted upon high cork-soled shoes, with wide pantaloons very full above the knees but tied close below, and a large blue nankeen frock, very short, and the hair on the back of the head so long as to reach nearly to the ground, whilst the forepart is shaved as smooth as the face. Most of them have no cap on, the place of one being supplied by a small fan.<sup>85</sup>

The British and Americans, almost uniformly, dressed in white especially during the hot seasons. Featherweight linen suits were common and some dandies of clerks even wore silk pajamas.<sup>86</sup> White canvas shoes, very light cork hats covered with white cotton, and perhaps a tie completed the costume. Dress tended to be rather informal at Canton and quite correct at Macao, probably “on account of the presence of ladies.”<sup>87</sup>

By far the largest group of foreigners at Canton was the British. In the early years of the trade the Hon. Company’s Select Committee of supercargoes (resident at Canton) was almost alone in representing that nation in China, but, increasingly English, and more importantly Scottish, private merchants came to reside there. On the whole the Select Committee was able to exercise a respectable amount of control over this group through the licensing system it operated under its charter, a system that was the more necessary because of the lack of any legal sanctions. The two monopolies—the British East India Company and the Cohong—together managed the innumerable problems that arose in the course of China’s foreign trade. However, in the late 1820s and early 1830s, when the Hon. Company’s franchise came under strong attack in Parliament from these private traders



in alliance with the new Midlands industrial interests, the Select Committee was less and less able to control the more restive British private merchants.

The Company was scandalized by a dramatic demonstration of its loss of power during its last year. James Innes, a particularly irascible Scot who had been frustrated in his attempt to obtain justice either through the Select Committee or directly from the Cohong, set fire to the Customs House in the Square. This measure, incidentally, brought prompt redress from Howqua, the senior hong merchant, who was always terrified by violence.<sup>88</sup>

Whether under the rule of the Company or under the largely nominal control of the chief superintendent, who succeeded the Select Committee, the British always represented the most formidable group of foreigners with whom the Americans had to deal. Having similar cultural backgrounds and sharing the same tongue, religion, and common law, the English and Americans had little difficulty finding grounds on which to agree or to fight. Whenever there was a difference of opinion, as there often was prior to 1815 and during the Opium War, it was never a misunderstanding chargeable to the shadowy nuances of a half-comprehended foreign language. Each side knew precisely where the other stood; they simply disagreed.<sup>89</sup>

On the other hand the camaraderie of the factories and the ease of communication with the British made for a number of international friendships. Shaw was probably friendliest with the French at Canton, and other merchants were closely attached to the Dutch or Macao Portuguese, but most American traders, and later the missionaries, knew the British best.

The foreign community that developed such a highly individual character after the War of 1812 was, for the most part, an English-speaking community composed largely of Britons and Americans. Members of other nationalities participated in the rich social life of Canton and Macao, but it was the British and Americans who dominated because they predominated.

As time went on the Americans drew still closer to the British. There were a number of intermarriages, and, even when interests differed, it was easy for Americans to make excuses for their British friends. Charles King, partner in Olyphant & Co., regretted that British creditors had pressed their claims against Hingtai (also known as Hengtai, Hingtae, etc.—Yen Ch'i-ch'ang), a hong merchant, who went bankrupt in 1836.

Some of the Hongs are determined not to pay. But Cap. Elliott says, that tho' the British have borne insult, they will not submit to have the pocket touched. So the Hongs must tax us all, or the Admiral will come. It seems hard that Am[erica]n merchants and tea drinkers should pay B[ritish] claims—But we are all in the same boat, and must, I suppose, not complain.<sup>90</sup>

Thus, although Americans often argued with British policy, they swallowed their differences in contests with the Chinese.

## Recreation and Social Life

Off-duty activity became more varied as the community developed. Traders complained of boredom but the complaint probably reveals more about the complainer than about the opportunities for diversion in this corner of the Celestial Empire. There were raffles, dinner parties, and band and chamber concerts.<sup>91</sup> Shaw mentions the concerts very early: "At the English factory, there is, every Sunday evening a concert of instrumental music, by gentlemen of the several nations, which every body who pleases may attend." By 1816 the Hon. Company's band was giving concerts on Thursday evenings on the veranda of the Company's hong. Tilden, who played the clarinet, was asked to join.

Reading was probably the most important single recreational activity. The community had at least two "public" libraries. The largest and best known was the British East India Company's library, formed in 1806. By 1832, when its catalog was published, this collection contained about sixteen hundred titles. With the loss of the Company's charter, the library was dispersed,<sup>92</sup> but the Morrison Educational Society, a missionary group, set up a public library soon after with some of the books that had formerly belonged to the Hon. Company.

Canton merchants were remarkably bookish in comparison with their late nineteenth-century counterparts, and there were a number of sizeable private libraries at the factories and Macao. The missionaries always brought a number of books with them. As early as 1830, Rev. Bridgman reported having 201 books, 30 to 40 of which had been given to him by Dr. Morrison, who had a respectable collection himself.<sup>93</sup>

Besides the libraries there were book and reading societies. The Latimer Collection at the Library of Congress contains a number of receipts from the "Canton Reading and Billiard Association." Young John Forbes was also a member of this group, though, perhaps significantly, his letters speak mostly of the billiards and card games played there.<sup>94</sup> Books, newspapers, magazines, and even letters from home were passed from hand to hand, and there were at least two organized societies that auctioned their books after the members had finished reading them. Thus the subscribers built up libraries and perhaps did more reading than they otherwise might have done.<sup>95</sup>

Fondness for competitive games of all kinds was a marked characteristic of the community. As early as the War of 1812, Major Megee's inn was as renowned for its whist games as for its cook. Backgammon and checkers (draughts) were other parlor games commonly played. By 1841 Russell & Co. had built a bowling alley in its hong at Canton. There were even some team sports. Sometimes the British persuaded the Americans to play cricket but only rarely. Americans always preferred something they referred to as "ball" which, from the description, bears a very strong resemblance to baseball though this was a generation before Abner Doubleday.<sup>96</sup>

The most popular, elaborate, and expensive of the competitive activities was boat racing. Apparently beginning among the idle sailors at Whampoa and sponsored at first by the East India Company,<sup>97</sup> the sport spread to the residents at Canton sometime after the War of 1812. Its popularity increased during the 1820s, and in 1831 Tilden remarked on the growing interest in the sport, describing the excitement generated among Chinese and foreigners alike by the rowing contests. He also commented smugly that these races were generally won by Yankee whaleboats.<sup>98</sup> In 1834 the Union Club, a boat-racing organization, was established, complete with officers, rules, penalties for violations, weekly dinner meetings, prizes, and uniformed teams.<sup>99</sup>

It is not clear when sailboat races began, but they had been popular for years before the Canton Regatta Club was organized in 1837.<sup>100</sup> Indeed foreign sailboat traffic had become so heavy by 1825 that the governor general issued one of his more ineffectual edicts against it.<sup>101</sup> A ship carpenter, who had established himself at Macao by 1831, was building "Baltimore modeled" schooners for use in the river,<sup>102</sup> and the merchants, always speed-oriented but increasingly so as the opium trade developed, showed a growing interest in boat design. The foreign community's addiction to yachting developed and increased as time went on. It stopped abruptly with the opium crisis in the spring of 1839, but the Regatta Club was reborn in December 1844. Although the fee was \$5 a head, nearly every resident subscribed. A meeting was held, officers were elected, and rules were adopted.<sup>103</sup> The custom spread to Hong Kong soon after the British acquired the island. The Hong Kong Yacht Club, whose members made up the bulk of the foreign community, seems to have been the old Canton Regatta Club in a new location. Yacht races at Hong Kong became major social occasions and were soon imitated at the newer treaty ports.

A few forms of recreation carried the approval of the Chinese government. On certain days of the month, foreigners were allowed to visit the flower gardens at Fa Ti, about two miles upriver from the factories.

Delightful picnic parties are occasionally got up by the residents, who, leaving Canton in large boats with every convenience for a party, find the summer houses at Fa-Tee admirably calculated for a rural fete.<sup>104</sup>

At other times, the "barbarians from afar" were permitted to cross the river to Honam Island to visit the Joss House (Buddhist temple), which is described in a number of letters, diaries, and publications.<sup>105</sup>

A paradoxical formality pervaded the foreign community despite the good fellowship and physical contact resulting from various forms of recreation. Tilden believed that the absence of women made for the stiff manners that he rather deplored:

We are such a mixture of gentlemen, sailors, and all of us necessarily bachelors, while at Canton, certain etiquette [*sic*] is quite necessary to keep us from becoming as the Chinese say many of us are—"half wild mans."<sup>106</sup>

John Latimer noted that it was customary for merchants and clerks to address each other as "Mister" or by their last names alone. He also remarked with considerable satisfaction,

We have civilized many cubs of supercargoes—in two months—and taught them more manners, than they had learned all their lives at home. [T]he reason is obvious, the old fashioned manners have been preserved in Canton, & on arrival here, most men are admitted to better society than they have been accustomed to at home.

And perhaps more importantly, "the extreme forms of politeness among the Chinese keeps our own alive."<sup>107</sup> Thirteen years later the social rigidity noted by earlier reporters apparently had increased, and in Wetmore & Co., for example, it was customary to dress for dinner,<sup>108</sup> a practice that had certainly not been common among Americans as late as the early 1830s.

This strange ceremoniousness alternated with a playfulness that was anything but formal. At a dinner given for William Jardine, senior partner of the largest firm in Canton, the estimable Dr. Jardine was reliably reported to have attempted a waltz with William S. Wetmore to the tune of a Negro folk melody.<sup>109</sup> Another British doctor had the nasty habit of punching his acquaintances below the ribs "to see if our liver was sound." And it surely must have been difficult to maintain one's reserve while vaulting over another's back during a game of leapfrog.<sup>110</sup>

In the years before the treaties, Anglo-American social life in China attained its fullest development at Macao, where traders of both nationalities periodically retired. The genteel, decaying Portuguese colony became the Ascot, the Monte Carlo, the Riviera, and even the home of tired traders after a busy tea season at the factories. At Macao dwelt the wives and families, as did the mistresses and the occasional ladies who brightened the hours of relaxation between strenuous sessions at Canton.

Despite the unanimous protestations of virtue on the part of American traders, celibacy was by no means universal. A few personal letters, particularly by young bloods at Macao, show how varied were the opportunities for violating the seventh commandment. The number of illegitimate children was, in itself, proof of the weakness of mercantile flesh.<sup>111</sup> At Macao, of course, the ban on women did not apply, and many traders kept mistresses. Wilcocks's mistress has already been mentioned, and William C. Hunter kept a Tanka girl with whom he apparently maintained a very long and responsible relationship. John Heard wrote his confidant "Charley" Brown in 1844, a time when Heard was having a difficult time preserving his own virtue:

The likeness of the Macao girl I sent you is a veritable portrait of one who is kept by an English gentleman there. She has a sister, also kept, who is nearly as good looking. And there is a little girl named "ayow" now about 15 years old who lives in a boat near our house, who is prettier than either of them. She is still virtuous & has refused an offer of \$500, but I suspect will relent before long. These things are only looked upon here as *amiable* weaknesses, and there are a lot of bastard children kicking about Macao.<sup>112</sup>

Besides the eternal billiards, cards, social tiffins, and dinners, Macao offered a variety of virile recreations that were unavailable at Canton, such as swimming, horseback riding, and bird shooting. During the life of the Hon. Company, its elegant Macao hong, which was fully occupied for nearly half the year, was the center of British activity. Amateur plays,<sup>113</sup> formal dinners, and balls were not infrequently held at its commodious Macao factory. There later appears to have been a more professional Macao theater; which boasted subscribers, a managing committee, and enough properties to make disposal of them a problem after the landlord announced that he intended to build on the ground the theater occupied.<sup>114</sup> A Portuguese amateur opera company, the "Philharmonic Society," was in existence in 1841, and occasionally traveling professional groups or individual performers would visit Macao.<sup>115</sup> On one memorable occasion an Italian opera company gave a series of performances which greatly excited the foreign community.<sup>116</sup>

Players and musicians were always welcomed, but the community was really more interested in horse racing. An open area near the barrier, which marked the far end of the colony, was used for the purpose. To the scandal of the more proper American ladies, some of the English clergy, and even some wives of East India Company servants, appeared and placed bets on their favorites.<sup>117</sup> As the community developed traders began to import blooded animals as racing became more serious.<sup>118</sup>

In November 1830 William H. Low, a new partner in Russell & Co., arrived at Macao with his wife and twenty-two-year-old niece, Harriet. For the next three years Harriet, an attractive, high-spirited Salem girl, kept a diary for the edification of her sister in America. This labor of love and exuberance survives as one of the choicest sources of the social history of the place and period.<sup>119</sup> As each of the small volumes of the diary was completed, it was mailed home; thus the work has the quality of an intermittent letter. It is gossipy, chatty, and girlish, as one would expect in letters between two sisters close to the same age. Because Harriet Low was attractive, single, and American, she was in great demand with lonely Canton traders, many of whom she describes in frank and delightful detail. With equal gusto she tells of social events—balls, plays, the opera, a museum, picnics, sermons, the sinful horse races, and her endless, innocent flirtations. Later other American women, wives and daughters of traders and captains, made temporary homes at Macao. The Opium War brought still

more and even further enriched the settlement with numbers of missionary wives and female volunteers. The social life of the community grew accordingly.

Foreigners at Macao lived in even grander style than at Canton. Their houses were large, with spacious walled gardens and often a section of beach if they were near the Praya Grande. Some of these homes became rather celebrated. The home of the Englishman, Thomas Beale, was particularly noted for its garden and aviary,<sup>120</sup> which rivaled Camoen's cave<sup>121</sup> as Macao's principal tourist attraction. Rebecca Kinsman, wife of Captain Nathaniel Kinsman, wrote of her house:

It is situated on the "Praya Grande," with a pretty garden in front, a yard at the sides and in the rear, with fine trees, and the whole surrounded by a high wall—over which creep in many places luxuriant vines. To give you some idea of its size, the house is 120 feet front, with a veranda 18 feet wide, supported by massive columns, running the whole length—it extends back 70 feet, exclusive of the veranda. The parlour is 36 feet wide and high.<sup>122</sup>

A little over a year later, Mrs. Kinsman commented on the still grander villa of a Russell & Co. partner:

Yesterday, Ecce passed the day at Mrs. [Warren] Delano's. I went with her in the [sedan] chair, and made a pleasant call, walked around the grounds, which are very extensive, saw the geese (noble creatures as to size from the North), turkeys, pheasants, calves & a beautiful spotted deer, which with several horses and a fine god, completes their domestic establishment. I had forgotten a monkey in addition, with which Ecce was very pleased.<sup>123</sup>

The lifestyle, the excellent service, and mild climate kept some Americans at Macao long after they had planned to return home. William Hunter, who had said his goodbyes and set sail for America in early 1843, returned a few months later with some fine Arabian horses purchased at Aden. He remained another year before finally leaving China.<sup>124</sup> James P. Sturgis, who arrived in 1809, retired to Macao after about a quarter of a century in Canton. Sturgis continued to live at his Penha Hill bungalow (a very humble pidgin name for a large and charming dwelling) until shortly before his death in 1851.

## **Feasts, Holidays, and General Indulgence**

These amenities were available only at Macao; Canton residents enjoyed the simpler joys of eating, drinking, and singing. In the early days especially, the customary way of celebrating anything in the all-male community at Canton was to hold an elaborate dinner party. The great profusion and variety of food and drink and the lack of any imperial prohibition against it

made this kind of entertainment very common. A good cook was highly prized. Hotelkeeper Megee's chef was renowned and, when Megee died in 1820, Benjamin Wilcocks hired him immediately. Upon Wilcocks's departure in 1827, Russell & Co. engaged the famous cook.<sup>125</sup>

There were several competing sets of national traditions, and the community was, of necessity, selective in its observations of holidays. Unfortunately for American customs, the tea season made business very busy at Thanksgiving time, and in July much of the population moved to Macao to avoid the heat.<sup>126</sup> Also the British probably did not greatly appreciate the opportunity to celebrate the Glorious Fourth. Thus the most typically American holidays were slighted.

Some rituals were international. On Christmas Day and New Year's Eve, the British East India Company would generally put on a lavish banquet. American merchants held their share of such affairs, but their treasuries were not ample enough to stand as considerable an expense as the Hon. Company's parties. These dinners, like most such events, lasted interminably with toast following toast—to the king, the prosperity of the United States, the ladies, etc. Each toast was answered by an acknowledgment and each acknowledgment by another toast until the small hours of the morning.

Frequently members of the community would entertain with whatever amateur talents they possessed:

We have been celebrating Christmas lately with a large dinner at 7 & kept up the delusion of enjoyment until 2 A.M.—a German played beautifully on a French horn. A Mr. Green of Boston, Cpts. Waterman and Benjamin sang some good songs, and one Captain got regularly Drunk on punch at 1 and as it only [made] him more good natured, and very silly we had an hour's good sport out of him.<sup>127</sup>

Chinese New Year was a considerably more interesting holiday. It lasted for several days, during which time all trade ceased, gifts and visits were exchanged, and all forms of noisemaking and revelry took place. Travelers frequently recorded the festivities with gusto:

Tables are set in the streets, covered with all sorts of knick-knacks, and the goods in the shops are carried near to the doors, and displayed in tempting splendor. Long rolls of silk that, like dreamers, have been wrapt up in themselves for months, suddenly unroll, and dazzle beholders with their richness. Costume shops bring forth all their finest dresses, glittering with shining embroidery as if there were no poor people in the world, and all were mandarins.

The porcelain stores are crammed with brittle magnificence, the largest vases are polished with silk handkerchiefs, and the painting on them seems to be newly varnished.

The beggars leave off banging their gongs, for they get plenty of money without the nuisance. . . .

All the houses, streets, public places, and boats are thoroughly cleaned, even the people are scrubbed beyond the extent of the twelve months preceding in honor of the first day in the year. Up to the last hour of the last day of the old

year, persons are seen hurrying to and fro, making purchases, and buying long scrolls of scarlet paper covered with sentences in honor of the season. These they paste upon their doors, or hang up in their houses, and this duty being accomplished give themselves up to feasting, bang[ing] the poor gongs unmercifully and firing of firecrackers.

The festivities of New Year last three days<sup>128</sup>—with deafening hubbub, and the world in China then sinks quietly down to its old way of doing things, and business is resumed for another twelvemonth.<sup>129</sup>

Americans enjoyed Chinese New Year's for a number of reasons: the different ages, conditions, and interests of various traders led them to appreciate different aspects of the festivals. Nathaniel Kinsman, of Wetmore & Co., was particularly impressed with the handsome gifts of choice teas he received from rich Chinese merchants.<sup>130</sup> Paul S. Forbes's journal discusses his trip from hong to hong, through huge crowds, visiting friends.<sup>131</sup> John Heard III found and embellished some remarkable customs with which to regale a confidant at home:

On the seventh day after their New Year, all China has a hankering after forbidden fruit, and one universal Copulation goes on through the Celestial Empire. A Chinese who has not indulged himself in carnal Connection on the day in question, which appears sacred to the worship of Venus, would consider his time misspent, and his energies unprofitably wasted.<sup>132</sup>

More often American merchants were interested in the happy Chinese custom of paying all debts before the festivities began. As a result of this practice, prices fell and specie rose steeply just before the holidays, and for years silver was the staple of the American import trade. It was a wise and lucky merchant whose business permitted him to hold off purchasing until this season.

The other Chinese festivals were at least as colorful as New Year's, but they affected Americans considerably less, probably because they did not halt business. A number of letters and diaries describe the Dragon Boat Festival which was celebrated largely on the water, but no foreigners took part.<sup>133</sup> The Festival of Lanterns was neither understood nor honored by the foreign devils; Americans merely noticed lanterns of every color and shape going up all over the city and remarked about the gala atmosphere. They also wrote about the newly constructed bamboo playhouses on the street, but the festival did not touch their trade, and the amusements were too alien for their tastes and education, so it received comparatively scant attention.<sup>134</sup>

### **Lack of Harmony within the Community**

Although it was small, tightly knit, and strengthened by the golden thread of commerce, the social fabric of the Canton community was anything but



seamless. Numbers of disputes, some lasting for years, disturbed the calm prosperity of the foreign colony. Living at such close quarters, men became intensely aware not only of each other's talents but also of their shortcomings and disagreeable personal habits. The tensions generated by such contact were relieved somewhat by diversions, vacations, and the custom of various companies to spell both partners and apprentices at Canton. Members of a firm took turns sojourning at Macao and in America. When the business of the firm or the unavailability of transportation placed more than one partner in a hong for an extended period, personal relations were often strained. The best-run companies adopted very clear lines of subordination and division of labor, but, despite all these devices for avoiding conflict, nerves frequently were filed raw. Between firms, moreover, there were very few methods for avoiding bad relations, and even missionaries sometimes developed an uncharacteristic irritability.

The presence of women may have helped make Macao the active rumor market that it was, but gossip was at least equally relished in the purely male atmosphere of Canton. Commercial rivalries, private animosities, and the lack of other topics of conversation led to a brisk traffic in juicy morsels of personal scandal. Nathaniel Kinsman, John Murray Forbes, John Heard III, Joseph Coolidge, William H. Low, and both Warren and Edward Delano wrote gossipy, very readable letters. The businesslike John C. Green, on the other hand, chastely avoided all personal remarks and occasionally even took others to task for their lack of the same restraint. Green's own correspondence is invariably short, to the point, and suffocatingly dull.

Competing merchants told stories about one another, and their correspondence is full of references to the underhanded dealings, sexual adventures, and generally depraved nature of their competitors. Remarks were especially corrosive about former partners or business associates who had broken off their earlier connections.

Russell & Co. twice expelled members of the concern whom the other principals felt to be undesirable. In 1831 Philip Ammidon and in 1839 Joseph Coolidge were forced out of the house by the other partners. In neither case were the erstwhile partners reticent about passing on every item of information unfavorable to each other.<sup>135</sup> Almost as painful was Benjamin Wilcocks's rupture with John Latimer. Wilcocks had left his China business to Latimer but gave him few instructions. He was particularly annoyed with Latimer's failure to turn over a large part of the profits from the new business Latimer developed after Wilcocks had left China. At this historical distance it is not clear why Latimer should have granted Wilcocks an interest in what appears to have been his private business, but most of the evidence comes through Latimer.

Certain persons were notably querulous. John C. Green, Joseph Coolidge, and William H. Low, all sometime partners of Russell & Co., seemed to attract the enmity of a number of their colleagues. Low's correspondence

with Samuel Russell is a mine of information, precisely because he has so many personal remarks to offer about other merchants. Although apparently a good businessman, he was nervous, touchy, and bearish. He held grudges, saw subversion of the concern's interests (with some justification, it must be admitted) in every negative comment made by tired fellow merchants, and he sent Russell reams of worried letters after the latter's departure in 1831. He frequently refers with evident envy to Russell's placid temperament.

Feelings between the Low family and James P. Sturgis became so heated that Sturgis did not deny authorship of a scurrilous song referring to Mrs. Low's family.<sup>136</sup> The anonymous verse was found pasted to the door of the East India Company's factory at Macao, and a quantity of printed copies subsequently was left on the veranda of the same building.<sup>137</sup>

John Green was as abrasive a man as ever headed a major house at Canton. Even his partners admitted that Green was "obstinate and ill tempered," but no one questioned his mercantile ability. By the end of his first year with the firm, Green had begun a quarrel with Augustine Heard which continued for years and eventually led to the formation of a rival company.

Joseph Coolidge was an even more controversial figure. Virtually all of his associates testified to his conversational brilliance, his urbanity, and his "unsteadiness."<sup>138</sup> Ousted by his partners from Russell & Co., Coolidge used Heard's name to form the new concern of Augustine Heard & Co. Within a few years, however, the partners of the new house had arrived at the same judgment of Coolidge as had the Russell & Co. principals.

Acrid as they were, none of the enmities among the Americans quite reached the bitterness of those which divided the British community at Canton. The prolonged feud between the two largest British companies, Jardine, Matheson & Co. and Dent & Co., was so venomous and all-pervading that the other firms—British, Parsee, and American—were often forced to choose sides.

What apparently had begun as a personal or commercial rivalry gradually developed political ramifications. The majority of the British private merchants sided with William Jardine, who favored a "forward policy" toward China. Some authors maintain that Jardine was the *eminence grise* behind Lord Napier, the first chief superintendent, whose blundering policy miscarried and proved fatal to Napier himself. The same writers also believe Jardine was the moving force in the final decision of the British government to send a military expedition to China after the opium crisis of 1839.<sup>139</sup>

On rare occasions a dispute even led to violence or the Code of Honor. One of the more spectacular disagreements was a personal dispute between William Wood of Philadelphia, editor of the short-lived *Chinese Courier*, and a hot-tempered Irishman named Arthur Saunders Keating,<sup>140</sup> who edited the *Canton Register* for several years. These two young men were on the point

of fighting a duel when the good sense of Wood's second, Augustine Heard, the legendary Ipswich merchant-mariner, averted a tragedy.

Keating named as his second the only man at Canton with a worse reputation for mayhem than himself—James Innes,<sup>141</sup> the Scot, whom the community had more or less respectfully dubbed “the Laird.” Innes tactlessly demanded a complete apology, through Heard, whom Wood had wisely selected as his representative.

Mr. Heard, in his quiet way, avoiding all discussion, simply said, “W is the challenged party and I have come to arrange a meeting with pistols tomorrow morning at five, at a convenient place on the bank of the Macao passage” [within rowing distance of the factories].

Heard was an old China hand and knew very well that homicide on Chinese territory was the one crime for which the Imperial Government set aside its prophylactic policy toward foreigners. It would be sure to intervene, find the accused guilty, and administer capital punishment.

“But my dear sir,” said the stately Laird, “how can you and I answer to our God for risking the lives of these young men and breaking the Chinese laws against homicide?” “Oh,” said Mr. Heard, “that is your affair in demanding such an apology; life is not a very important matter, and my friend is quite ready to run his risk if you insist upon it, and as for the Chinese laws, you and I are breaking them every day. [Both were opium traders.] We have no other answer to make, but shall expect you at five A.M.”<sup>142</sup>

Several hours of tense waiting crept by while Innes and Keating thought over the implications of their actions. Then came

a highfalutin letter from the Laird [that] announced that he could not risk breaking the Chinese laws, and that he and his friend should embark in a sailboat . . . and await their opponents at Lintin Island, some sixty miles distant. . . .

Mr. Heard replied that they might go to Manila . . . if they chose, but that he could not leave his business to follow them, and there the matter ended.<sup>143</sup>

To be considered more at length in a later chapter is one of the most interesting and significant animosities that developed in old Canton—that between Olyphant & Co. and the other commercial houses, particularly Russell & Co. Both their well-known piety and their very vocal opposition to the opium traffic made the members of Olyphant's firm prime targets for their competition. Their slightest peccadillo was seized upon by the drug traders and retailed with undisguised glee.

## Faith and Charity

Despite the understandable dissonance between opium merchants and those who denounced the commerce as immoral, a working community existed

in old Canton. Under most circumstances the foreigners, and even more especially the Americans, regarded themselves as a unit. The most obvious line of division—that between merchant and missionary—was almost as much a source of unity as of discord. All American merchants, except for four or five Jews and a handful of Roman Catholics, regarded themselves as Protestant Christians, and they supported the China Mission handsomely.

Business always came first with the traders. The missionaries universally complained about the common violation of the Sabbath. Whenever the demands of business conflicted with those of religion, the men of the cloth found their suspicions confirmed.<sup>144</sup> As early as 1820 Robert Bennet Forbes lamented that he had to work on Christmas Day, although his objection seems to have been not so much on religious as on less elevated ground.<sup>145</sup> In 1837 the fact that one of the companies at Canton had relieved its clerks from work on Sunday was so remarkable as to prompt Peter Parker to write home in triumph.<sup>146</sup> John Murray Forbes's attitude was more typical. In a letter to Samuel Russell dated 16 November 1834, he commented sarcastically:

We have given up that profane practice of working on Sundays (except where there is Something urgent) and instead thereof Green goes to church & I have established a Billiard Club from which I anticipate much amusement and profit to my health—I always thought that a *pious* partner was very necessary here—and *did* intend to have taken that department myself—but G. has it so I don't like to interfere.<sup>147</sup>

Prior to 1830 when the first American missionaries arrived, the British East India Company provided the only regular Protestant religious services. The chaplain preached in the Company's chapel every Sunday while the staff was in Canton, and Dr. Morrison gave two services, one in the American factory for foreigners and another (in Chinese) at home.<sup>148</sup>

With the advent of the American missionaries, religious activity quickened perceptibly. Indeed Americans soon dominated the field. They gave weekly services at the American factory (Olyphant's hong) and preached to the sailors at Whampoa aboard ship. By 1837 Peter Parker could boast that there were now "about 80 people in the congregation" and that the missionaries held religious meetings every Friday evening, two weekly prayer meetings, a "monthly concert," and a Bible study group at Macao.<sup>149</sup> This was great progress. Only four years earlier, S. Wells Williams had complained,

The congregations on the Sabbath are small indeed. One or two weeks ago when Gutzlaff<sup>150</sup> preached, we had forty-three, the largest number since I have been here. The service is held in the same room that we eat in every day; we rearrange some chairs and put a desk on the table—that is all. Would you not say that it is a day of small things?<sup>151</sup>

But it was not primarily to save souls in the nominally Christian Canton trading community that the missionaries had come to China. Although they labored long with their countrymen, their apostolate was to the heathen. In this task the role of the commercial colony was critical. The principals of Olyphant & Co. financed virtually the entire mission during the difficult early years. Missionaries traveled free in Olyphant's vessels, their living costs in Canton were covered by the firm, and their housing consisted of hong No. 2 in Olyphant's factory. In addition, Olyphant underwrote the cost of their journal, *The Chinese Repository*, obtained and transported its press, and lent his ships for missionary voyages along the northern coast of China to Japan and to the East Indies. Olyphant & Co. performed these and any number of other services to the missionaries completely free of charge.

The partners of Olyphant & Co. were the most regularly generous of the merchants, but other traders also gave liberally of time and money for the foundation and upkeep of hospitals, schools, and other charitable and religious institutions organized by the Mission. The most famous Canton missionary organization was Peter Parker's Ophthalmic Hospital, which opened its doors early in November 1835. This institution was the most effective device employed by these early apostles for reaching the Chinese populace. The hospital was soon crowded with patients and Parker began to call for help. The community loyally supported him, providing administrative, financial, and even medical support, and, by the end of the period, both money and new doctors were coming from America and England in substantially increased quantity.

In fact whatever the missionaries undertook, the resident merchants supported generously. Even opium traders, whose commerce the missionaries always deplored, attended religious services, took seats on the boards of missionary bodies, gave money and materials, and otherwise helped the tiny band of religious pioneers. William Jardine, the leading drug merchant in Canton and a physician by training, regularly worked in Parker's hospital, while John C. Green, the head of Russell & Co., foremost American dealer in the narcotic, rarely missed a service, was a rigid sabbatarian, and served the Mission in several administrative capacities. Although their purposes differed from those of their mercantile associates, the missionaries had become an integral part of the Canton community in the decade before the coming of the war, and the merchants regularly supported their endeavors.

Nor did all charitable activities originate among the missionaries. Bankrupt hong merchants, linguists afoul of the law, and widows and orphans of their less fortunate fellows also became objects for subscriptions among the traders at Canton.<sup>152</sup> Frequently after some natural catastrophe such as a drought, a fire, or a flood, the Canton newspapers would carry editorials and letters calling on the foreign community for funds to relieve the afflicted.<sup>153</sup> The princely philanthropy of a number of hong merchants is legendary, and the wealthier Parsees were also inclined toward expensive

generosity. Jeejeebhoy (Heerjeebhoy?) Rustomjee, an important Parsee opium merchant, gave twelve thousand dollars in 1841 for the establishment of a hospital for seamen in the Canton area.<sup>154</sup> After the destruction of nearly half of the hong's in 1842 and 1843, funds collected from the foreigners, particularly the Americans, financed the rebuilding of the Square and the construction of walls at either end to prevent the collection of rabble. Nathaniel Kinsman was quite clear about the predominant American role in this enterprise:

The [newly relandscaped] square or park—is a great improvement, and great credit is due to those who designed the place and to Mr. [Isaac M.] Bull [of Providence, nephew of Edward Carrington] who devoted his time to oversee and complete the work of laying out the ground, ornamenting, &c. It is literally Yankee Square, for I believe the English who did very little towards it, seldom avail of the place to promenade.<sup>155</sup>

Finally there were several Chinese charities that the merchants could not avoid. *The Chinese Repository* states that at least three official institutions were supported by a tax on the trade levied by the local government. Every foreign ship paid about nine hundred dollars for the maintenance of homes for the aged, the “friendless poor,” and orphans.<sup>156</sup> Under the Ch'ing dynasty, district capitals like Canton maintained both poorhouses and foundling homes. The financial burden of these charities fell on the gentry and the district magistrate. Thus there was considerable local support for these imposts.<sup>157</sup>

## The Dark Side

One would like to know more about these benevolent institutions, for certainly the lives of the Chinese poor could not have been much affected by them. Insulated as they were from Chinese society, foreigners generally were able to ignore the desperate conditions under which many of the lowest class lived. But occasionally weather, or the proximity of some of the city's most miserable slums, forced the residents to confront uglier sights than they had ever encountered before.

Intermittently the residents were threatened by natural disaster. Floods were frequent during the rainy months. As the factory area was almost at sea level, the Square sometimes lay under several feet of water. At such times cobras from the hinterland occasionally were washed up at the entrances to the hong's.<sup>158</sup> Droughts, sometimes appearing in the same year as a flood, now and then drove thousands of starving peasants into the city, and several hundred might enter the Square or even penetrate the factories themselves until they were driven off by the police.

Fire was the most dreaded peril. The bamboo-and-matting houses of the

neighborhood poor were constantly catching fire, and the blaze would spread to the more substantial dwellings. Cantonese fire-fighting methods were sometimes rather primitive. Sullivan Dorr describes a fire in 1800 in the extinguishing of which the Chinese spent considerable energy transporting a heavy idol to the scene.<sup>159</sup> The worst accidental fire on record occurred on 1 November 1822. Late in the evening a fire broke out about a mile and a half north of the factories. Twenty-four hours later all of the foreign honghs had been destroyed.<sup>160</sup> Periodically thereafter fire threatened the factories and Canton periodicals began to agitate for fire insurance.<sup>161</sup> By the spring of 1835, coolies using imported equipment had been trained in Western methods of fire-fighting, and the hazard was therefore greatly reduced. But, despite everything, fire was more of a danger at the end of the sixty-year period than it had been at the beginning. After the Opium War had embittered relations with the Cantonese and weakened Manchu authority, instances of arson were not uncommon. In December 1844 Nathaniel Kinsman of Wetmore & Co. warned his wife to remain at Macao because “we have an alarm of fire almost every night.”<sup>162</sup>

The deadliest threat to life at Canton was disease. Illness was so prevalent that the state of a writer’s health was considerably more important a topic in commercial letters than it is today—even in personal communications. On the other hand some sickness was simply expected as a man’s customary lot in Canton, and a new man’s indispositions were viewed as burdens to be borne until he became “seasoned.” The frequency of stomach disorders, liver ailments, dysentery, and similar maladies suggests that standards of cleanliness in the factory kitchens and the water supply were less than adequate.<sup>163</sup> Warren Delano of Russell & Co., for example, had recurrent bouts with hepatitis (“jaundice”), dysentery, cramps, and various other abdominal complaints that point in this direction. Yet his firm had one of the more celebrated tables in Canton. Other diseases, notably cholera, tuberculosis, and smallpox,<sup>164</sup> accounted for numbers of deaths, thereby helping to populate the various foreign cemeteries. There were at least four of these cemeteries: two on islands in the river near Whampoa (French and Danes Islands) and two at Macao, one Catholic and one Protestant.

Certainly the most depressing phenomenon met by Americans in China was poverty. When his ship first entered the river, the traveler was greeted by a host of beggar boats whose occupants cried for “lice.”<sup>165</sup> From that time until he left China, distributing his last string of *cash* to the half-naked children demanding *cumsha* at Jackass Point, a foreigner was never far from scenes of appalling deprivation.<sup>166</sup> In the neighborhood of the factories was a square in which beggars were allowed to sleep at night; each morning the police came to gather up the dead. The observant chaplain of Commodore Read’s squadron, which arrived in April 1839, painted the dreariest picture of this horrid place:

Never before have I witnessed such a scene as here was presented to my view. I do not wish to see another like it. . . . [I]n different parts of this small area of some two hundred feet square, were prostrated different objects of commiseration, lank, lean, haggard . . . [one] was stretched on the hard stone, with his head pressing on his emaciated hand. *He could not speak*; but at our approach, as if by instinct, he seized on his basket and extended it with his skeleton arm for *cash*. We passed another. He was *dying*, as he lay with his head against the sidewall, down which was led a gutter as if in his last extremity he had rolled his head there, to catch it might be, a drop of water, which none gave him. . . . There was a collection of putrid water here, in which his head had partly fallen. A ragged mat concealed his face, and before the night-watch was over, he would be a corpse, with no one to catch his last word. . . . We passed on to another, whose face was uncovered. His eye was turned upon us, but his articulation was gone,—his cheek fallen—his mouth partially opened,—his body naked,—beside him lay his empty basin, and no one was near him. Good God! I thought, can man be brought to this,—houseless, penniless, *naked*, breadless, dying, with hundreds of the populace, well clad and smiling, passing him, and abundance filling the neighboring streets, and no eye of pity or hand of charity be found to alleviate such distress, and pity such wretchedness! I could not sleep that night.<sup>167</sup>

Americans were still more alarmed by their experience with what they regarded as official brutality. Whether or not Wellington Koo is correct in his assertion that there was little justification for the imposition of extraterritoriality by the Western powers,<sup>168</sup> it is undeniable that Americans in China thought Chinese justice was barbaric. The public exhibition of the heads of decapitated criminals “in various stages of decay”<sup>169</sup> and the common sight of prisoners wearing the *cangue*<sup>170</sup> were unlikely to inspire confidence in Chinese jurisprudence. The *cangue* was a broad wooden collar that locked around the neck, preventing the hands from reaching any part of the head. The prisoner was guarded during the time of his sentence, which was sometimes for a period of several days, and this could mean death by starvation or thirst. Because the execution ground was less than a mile from the factories, all foreigners were exposed to the ugliest aspects of official Chinese retribution. Of course its closeness made it an attraction to visiting Americans, and travelers frequently described the more grisly methods of despatching criminals, such as decapitation, cutting into pieces, and strangulation.<sup>171</sup>

Severe as it seemed, imperial punishment for crimes was not always as certain as that to which most Westerners were accustomed. For example, a vessel in Chinese waters was rarely safe until she dropped anchor at Whampoa. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, pirates in the Canton estuary numbered an estimated seventy thousand men and commanded somewhere between six hundred and eight hundred vessels.<sup>172</sup> Indeed, once the pirates had organized themselves into fleets, they proved so strong that they were able to defeat the Imperial Navy. The Chinese government eventually solved the problem by rewarding one of the most powerful buccaneers with a pardon, a naval commission, and a salary of 18,000 *taels* a year. This



chieftain, after the fashion of Henry Morgan, turned against his kind and temporarily pacified the area,<sup>173</sup> but piracy remained a problem to the end of the pretreaty period. Afterward, as the weakness of the Imperial Government became more obvious, the problem became much worse.

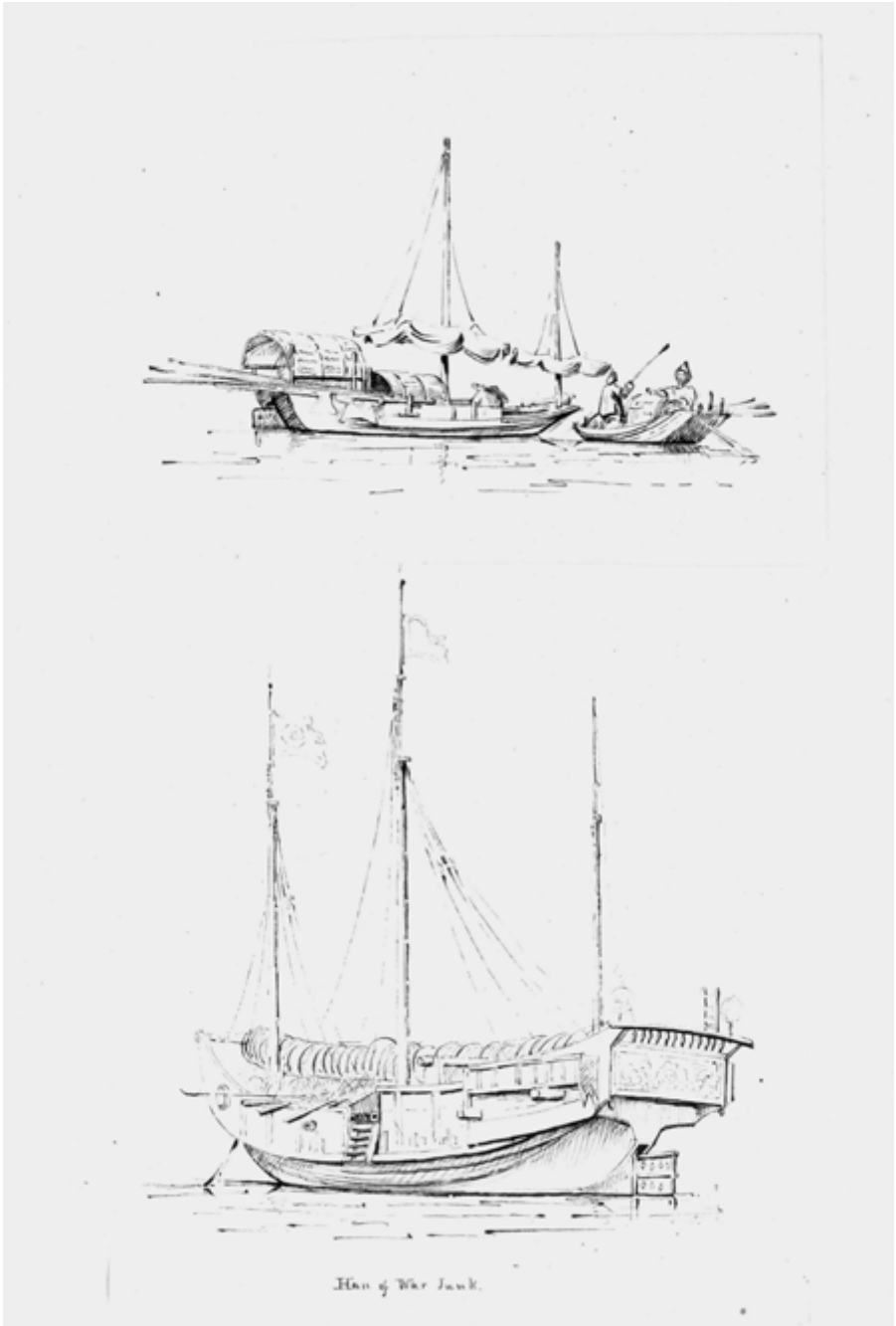
## River Life

China dazzled the American traders. The same Yankees who often despised the natives, at least those of the lower classes, were fascinated by the richness and the incredible, alien diversity that China showed them both in the one small suburb to which they were confined and on the waters of the Pearl River.

Among the strangest, most outlandish sights that greeted Americans at Canton was the activity on the water. The port swarmed with people and craft of every description. From the great, awkward salt junks that docked on Honam Island (a distance downstream from the factories) to the tiny sampans of the barbers, fruit peddlers, fortune-tellers, and corn-removers,<sup>174</sup> the river shipping presented as unusual a picture as had confronted American eyes anywhere in the world. Junks from Amoy with emerald-green bows (the bows of Canton craft were always red); barges from the interior bearing wood, bamboo, tea, and rice; brightly painted revenue cruisers flying triangular white flags splashed with vermilion characters and carrying cannon tied around the muzzle with a crimson sash; innumerable small ferries; large, gorgeously embellished seagoing junks painted with dragons, a huge eye on either side of the bow—all contributed to the vast drama of Canton harbor life. Thousands of small craft, upon which a large part of the population made its home, were moored in rows by the shore, forming liquid streets and floating suburbs.<sup>175</sup>

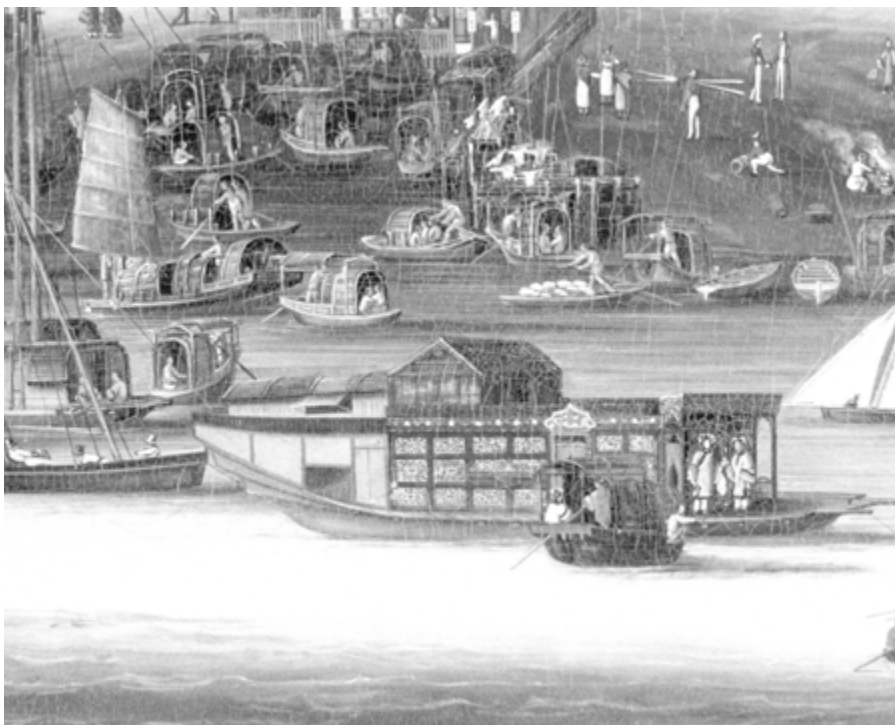
The most exciting of the river vessels were the flower boats—large houseboats, highly ornamented, their upper sections often entirely of carved openwork, sometimes gilded or brightly painted. They flew silken streamers and sported other very showy decorations. These craft were designed for pleasure and had excellent kitchens, a staff of musicians, and facilities for gambling. Yet they particularly catered to the less sophisticated vices—they were the places of business of thousands of women of the town, painted ladies with fingernails six inches long, who readily returned the foreigners' greetings. Alas such amiable diversions were prohibited to all aliens by Chinese regulation.<sup>176</sup>

Throughout the day Canton was possibly the busiest place the American trader had seen in all his travels. Toward evening, as the signs of the day's business began to disappear, they were replaced by a new set of sights, sounds, and smells as the end-of-the-day *chin chin* (devotions) began. Twilight was a crashing of a thousand gongs, innumerable spurts of flame from



Man of War Junk.

*Sampan and Man-of-War Junk.* Pen and ink by George West (Cushing Mission, 1844). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



*Flower Boat* (detail). Oil by unidentified Chinese painter. The women on the flower boat seem to be welcoming or bidding goodbye to one of their number. The bustling activity in the background is perhaps even more interesting. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum. Photo by Mark Sexton.

paper burned ritually and cast into the water, and the sweet smell of incense. Lanterns were then hung out and supper began.

Vestigial day-noises, the cries of the boatmen, barking dogs, atonal music from the flower boats, and the usual river sounds continued far into the night. “It is a long time after arriving in China that a foreign eye learns to observe uninterested the gay and active scene perpetually passing on the river,” wrote a nostalgic merchant in 1830.<sup>177</sup>

## Notes

### Chapter 1. Old Canton and Its Trade

1. See, for example, Amasa Delano, *Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres* (Boston, 1817), 408. For an example of how a merchant behaved upon his arrival in Canton, see the experience of the Salem ship *Minerva*, Thomas W. Ward, master, which visited Canton in the fall of 1809: "Remarks on the Canton Trade and the Manner of Transacting Business," *EIHC* 73, no. 4 (October 1937): 303–10.

2. *Ibid.*, 408–9 and BCW to James Monroe, 25 June 1814; CCL-I.

3. Hosea B. Morse, *The Guilds of China* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1909), 72.

4. "Imm[ediately] on their coming on board they assume charge of the ship, give orders, &c, &c,—consequently our officers always keep near to explain the meaning of their orders, particularly to 'new Cantons' [i.e., sailors at Canton for the first time], to whom such language is at first quite unintelligible . . . [e.g.] Ready About!—Make leddy for bout ship. Ship the helm!—Ship lubber." Bryan Parrott Tilden, "Father's Journals," I: 200 (Second Voyage, 22 September 1816). This is a bound manuscript at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts.

5. Peter Parker's journal, 6 September 1835, ABCFM, I: 187, 16–17.

6. At least by the 1840s it had become customary for American ships to drop anchor in the upper part of the Reach, while the English remained together in the lower end. See JH, "Diary, 1891," 28; HP.

7. For information on the hong merchants, see Ch'en Kuo-tung (also known as Anthony Ch'en), *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760–1843*, Institute of Economics Monograph Series No. 45 (Nankang, Taipei: Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, June 1990). Earlier works are Sung An-yung (or An-yung Sung), "A Translation of Parts of the *Kuangtung shih-san-hang k'ao* of Liang Chia-pin" (Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1958); and Ann B. White, "The Hong Merchants of Canton" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1967). Older but still useful works are Morse's *Guilds of China* and Henri Cordier's "Les marchands hanistes de Canton," *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902): 282–315.

8. As James Matheson put it in his instructions to James Ryan, who represented Matheson's firm, Jardine Matheson & Co. in 1839, "it is a point of etiquette, that the Hong Merchant who secures the ship shall be allowed the opportunity of purchasing at least a portion of the Cargo. It need not be very considerable, but the larger it is the better pleased he will be" (30 June 1839; JM Private LB, JMA).

9. At last report, J. L. Cranmer-Byng was working on a study of the linguists. See also WCH, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton* (London, 1882), 50–53; and John K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast, 1842–1854* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 353–54.

10. Robert Bennet Forbes said that "one would as soon quote the opinion of the

Father of Lies as that of a ‘lingo.’” Although Forbes exaggerated, his view was not unusual. RBF, *Remarks on China and the China Trade* (Boston, 1844), 17. See also JRL to J. J. Borie & Son, 15 March 1833, LLB.

11. The British East India Company used linguists as the source for its annual reports on the trade as did its successor in this function, the Canton General Chamber of Commerce and the American consul. See *Anglo-Chinese Kalendar for . . . 1838* (Canton, 1838), xi–xix, and Consul John H. Grosvenor, New York, to Henry Clay, 5 May 1828; CCL-I.

12. Particularly during the early part of the season, he would wait until several ships could be visited at once before making his appearance at Whampoa. Although most American vessels were far smaller than the towering indiamen, they paid really extraordinary sums. The Hoppo’s cumsha rarely varied from Tls 1950, but the measurement charges fluctuated considerably. A series of ships on which William Bell was supercargo paid the following fees in the period before the War of 1812:

<i>America</i> , Capt. Sorby, 1788–89	Tls 1431
<i>Washington</i> , Capt. Hodgkinson, 1790–91	1259
<i>Eliza</i> , Capt. Cowman, 1805–6	869
<i>Eliza</i> , Capt. Murphy, 1806–7	881
<i>Canton</i> , Capt. Murphy, 1809–10	1950

William Bell Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, NYPL, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations. For another sampling, see John Boit, “Remarks on the Ship *Columbia*’s Voyage from Canton” (ms at the MHS). Also in the MHS *Historical Collections* 79 (1941) and now reprinted in book form in Frederic W. Howay, ed., *Voyages of the “Columbia”* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), 421. The *Columbia*’s expenses were \$7,000. Although they dropped somewhat later, the costs of taking a ship upriver remained substantial throughout the pretreaty years. The Lewis family of Philadelphia sent out a number of ships in the 1830s and 1840s. Edwin M. Lewis stated in a letter to Daniel Webster dated 20 April 1843 that his family’s ships had paid cumshas varying from \$1,600 to \$2,223 per vessel, while measurement had fluctuated from \$1,500 to \$2,000. See Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, 1789–1906, RG-59, Microcopy #179, Roll #101, NA.

13. Chang Chung-li (or Chung-li Chang), *The Income of the Chinese Gentry* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), 164 and 190 (quoting Hsia Hsieh, *Chung-hsi chi-shih* [1881], ch’uan 3). Apparently the procedure had not changed greatly since the mid-eighteenth century. See F. Hirth, “The Hoppo-Book of 1753,” *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (new series) 17 (1882): 228–29.

14. CR 11 (June 1842): 331. See also RBF, *PRs* (Boston, 1882), 42–43 and several affidavits taken by Consul Wilcocks located in the William Law Collection, NYPL.

15. Some of these gifts were truly magnificent. See, for example, the *Grand Turk* bowl at the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. As a parting cumsha in 1819, the hong merchant Puankehequa paid B. P. Tilden’s export duties, which amounted to something like five hundred dollars; Tilden, I: 363 (Second Voyage, 10 September 1818).

16. The Grand Chop of the ship *Astreae* (1789) measures 21½ inches by 29 inches, PP.

17. See WCH, *Bits of Old China* (London, 1885), 217–18 and ED to brothers, 17 December 1840, DP.

18. Tilden gives an amusing description of the ubiquitous crowds of insistent gamins (“Father’s Journals,” II: 182 [Fourth Voyage, 12 January 1832] and II: 33 [Fifth Voyage, 1 August 1833]).

19. Robert Peabody, *The Log of the Grand Turks* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926), 94. This work contains an excellent description of the measurement ceremony, and because the relevant documents in the Derby Collection at the Peabody Essex Museum have disappeared, this book remains one of the few sources of information on Derby's early voyages.

20. Even today, under far different circumstances, the perceptive Alberto Moravia has caught Canton's distinctive *Ortsgeist*: "Canton is a city of arcades, a kind of Chinese Bologna drowned in the humidity, the sultriness and delirious promiscuity of the tropics." See Ronald Strom, trans., *The Red Book and the Great Wall* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1968), 30.

21. Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 32 (Fifth Voyage, 1 August 1833).

22. These insects, incidentally, ruined an undetermined quantity of US consular records at Canton. See Enclosure 3 to State Despatch 51, American Consul General, Canton, subject "Shipment of Canton's Archives and Records to Washington," 3.

23. These terraces were removed by order of Commissioner Lin in 1839; RBF to wife, 7 July 1839, RBFP.

24. WCH, "Journal of Occurrences at Canton during the Cessation of Trade at Canton, 1839," at the Boston Athenaeum. For another resident's griping at the inconvenience occasioned by coolies' washing windows, see JRL to Mary R. Latimer, 30 March 1830, LP.

25. "Canton is a much larger place than I expected to find. [T]he factory's [*sic*] are very large and commodious buildings, the dining room and the parlours are on the 2d floor, and very large, and nicely furnished and filled with handsome pictures." WHL II to Josiah O. Low, 5 October 1839, LMFP.

26. Hosea Ballou Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. I, *The Period of Conflict, 1834–1860* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1910), 71–72.

27. Josiah Quincy, ed., *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw* (Boston, 1847), 72. There are numbers of paintings of the factories on canvas, paper, wood, and even porcelain. Probably the best collection of such paintings in the United States is to be found at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, but many libraries, historical societies, and private persons own originals that are not catalogued.

28. A number of fine paintings of this disaster are in existence. See especially those at the Peabody Essex Museum.

29. Dorr to John and James Dorr, 15 February 1800, Dorr Letterbook I. In 1831 Tilden comments on many of the same sights. See Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 162–63 (Fourth Voyage, 25 November 1831).

30. David Abeel, *Journal of a Residence in China* (London, 1836), 76–77. John D. Sword, a Philadelphia merchant, stated that the streets were five to eight feet wide. J. D. Sword to Mary Parry, 17 January 1836, Sword Papers, HSP. Cf. WHL to Seth Low, 26 October 1839, LMFP.

31. W[illiam] W. Wood, *Sketches of China* (Philadelphia, 1830), 95.

32. William F. Mayers, N. B. Dennys, and Charles King, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan* (London, 1867), 144 and 151.

33. Edmund Roberts, *Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam and Muscat* (New York, 1837), 156–57.

34. Webster, Canton, to Caleb Cushing, Macao, 30 March 1844, Cushing Papers, L/C.

35. Wood, *Sketches of China*, 94 and WHL II to Seth Low, 26 October 1839, LMFP.

36. Wood, *Sketches of China*, 215.

37. Shaw, *Journals*, 183.

38. WCH, *Bits of Old China*, 4.

39. WCH, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton* (London, 1882), 108–9.
40. Edmund Roberts's Journal, Roberts Collection, L/C.
41. Mayers, Dennys, and King, *Treaty Ports*, 158.
42. Wood, *Sketches of China*, 141.
43. Howay, *Voyages of the Columbia*, 423.
44. Sullivan Dorr to Joseph and John Dorr, 21 January 1800, Dorr LB I.
45. JRL to Mary Latimer, 30 March 1830, LP; and NK to wife, 15 December 1844, KP.
46. £91,343, to be exact. Parliamentary Papers, H/C, 1830, Report on the East India Company's Affairs, V: Appendix IV, 590–91.
47. Tilden, "Father's Journals," I: 279–81 (Third Voyage, 24 September 1818).
48. 30 July 1844, HP.
49. JRL to Henry Latimer, 26 January 1831, LLB. See also NK to wife, 15 December 1844, KP.
50. John Heard III, "Diary, 1891," 33–34. See also Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy*, 466; and WCH, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton*, 53–54. For the best study of the comprador, see Hao Yen-p'ing (also known as Yen-p'ing Hao), *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).
51. See WCH, *Bits of Old China* (1855; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1976), 217–18; ED's diary, 2 April 1842; and Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 329–31 (Third Voyage, 1 December 1818). Puankhequa, like Howqua, came from a mercantile family and was no nouveau riche, though the family fortunes waxed and waned. Hunter once reported that his wealth was \$20 million. Tilden said his estate was \$10 million (Fourth Voyage, 28 October 1831). See also White, "Hong Merchants," 47–79, *passim* and Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1943; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1972), 505–606.
52. Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 199–207 (Third Voyage, 1 December 1818).
53. For further information on the expensive lifestyle of the Chinese gentry, see Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 154–61.
54. WHL II to Josiah O. Low, 5 October 1839, LMFP.
55. S. Wells Williams to his father, 21 January 1838, quoted in Frederick W. Williams, *Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams* (New York, 1889), 107–8. This, it might be noted, was a missionary's breakfast. Cf. Rebecca Kinsman Monroe, "Life in Macao in the 1840's," *EIHC* 86, no. 1 (January 1950): 17.
56. Osmond Tiffany, *The Canton Chinese* (Boston, 1849), 229–30. See also JH to parents, 5 March 1844, HP.
57. Gideon Nye, *The Morning of My Life in China* (Canton, 1873), 33.
58. WHL to SR, 11 July 1833, RP.
59. A sizeable collection of his letters is to be found in the Knox Papers, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.
60. See my article "A Study in Failure: Hon. Samuel Snow," *Rhode Island History* 25, no. 1 (January 1966): 1–8.
61. See my article "Bad Luck in the China Trade," *Rhode Island History* 25, no. 3 (July 1966): 73–80.
62. See my article "The Edward Carrington Collection," *Rhode Island History* 21, no. 3 (January 1963): 16–21 and my reports in the *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society*, 1961, 359–60 and for 1963, 390–91, 298–300.
63. Van Braam, *An Authentic Account of the Embassy of the Dutch East India Company* (2 vols., London, 1798), see introduction.
64. Peter Dobell, *Travels in Kamchatka and Siberia with a Narrative of a*

*Residence in China* (2 vols., London, 1830), *passim* and “Peter Dobell on the Massacre of Foreigners in Manila, 1820,” *NYPL Bulletin* 7 (June 1903): 198–200.

65. George Chinnery is a fascinating figure, and, until recently, he has been much underappreciated as an artist. He was prolific, and his paintings are to be found in museums and private collections in America, Britain, India, and China.

66. JRL to James Latimer, 30 September 1832, LLB; and BCW to JRL, 8 May 1828, LP.

67. JRL to James Latimer, 30 November 1833; and JRL to Mrs. Warnack, same date, LP.

68. Abeel inspired many other missionaries. See Williams, *Life of Williams*, 61 n, and Edward T. Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1879), 161–63.

69. Roberts was a most peculiar man. Latourette describes him as “strikingly uncouth” and possessed of “marked eccentricities”; *DAB* VIII, Part 2, 8.

70. George H. Danton, *The Culture-Contacts of the United States and China: The Earliest Sino-American Culture Contacts 1784–1844* (1931; reprint, New York: Octagon Press, 1974), 83.

71. His efficiency was evident everywhere. In the Wetmore Papers is an invitation to W. S. Wetmore dated 12 July 1841. Wetmore was visiting London at the time, and Parker seized the opportunity to invite him to a meeting of friends of the Medical Missionary Society. To the invitation he added a personal note urging Wetmore to attend. Parker was in the midst of a very successful campaign to organize a regular system of financing medical missions in China. Such personal touches were second nature to Parker, who rarely overlooked an opportunity to promote the institutions to which he had dedicated his life.

72. Corwin, *Reformed Church*, 403–4. Cf. William Dean, *The China Mission* (New York, 1859), 357.

73. Corwin, *Reformed Church*, 245. Cf. Frederick T. Persons’s article in the *DAB* III: 389–90.

74. Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909), 16–17.

75. William Elliot Griffis, *A Maker of the New Orient* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902), 16–17.

76. William Dean, *China Mission* (New York, 1859), 375. Harriet Low called him “something of a Goth.” See Elma Loines, ed., *The China Trade Post-Bag of the Seth Low Family* (Manchester, Me.: Falmouth Publishing House, 1953), 190; and Williams, *Life of Williams*, 92.

77. Williams, *Life of Williams*, 19–20, and K. S. Latourette in the *DAB* X (Part 2): 290.

78. Quoted in Williams, *Life of Williams*, 474–75.

79. Quote in *ibid.*, 475.

80. Some of these consuls were really British subjects who held their commissions in order to avoid the Hon. Company’s restrictions. See Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 25–28. For an account of the British achievement of domination over the other European nations in the China trade, see Earl H. Pritchard, “The Struggle for the Control of the China Trade in the Eighteenth Century,” *PHR* III (September 1934): 280–85.

81. Tilden, “Father’s Journals,” II: 56–57 (Fifth Voyage, 28 August 1833).

82. *Ibid.*, 58.

83. Tiffany, *Canton Chinese*, 244.

84. *Ibid.*, 246.



85. Quoted from Peter Parker's journal in George B. Stevens and W. Fisher Markwick, *The Life, Letters and Journals of the Rev. and Hon. Peter Parker, M.D.* (Boston, 1896), 107.

86. Tiffany, *Canton Chinese*, 20–22; and JH, "Diary, 1891," 28. Of the many expenses to which Americans were subjected at Canton, clothes were certainly the most negligible. Tiffany says that the trousers and jackets cost only "a little more than a dollar each."

87. JH to parents, 7 August 1841, HP.

88. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926–29), V: 352–53.

89. See, for example, Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), I: 140–41.

90. CWK to CNT, 24 April 1837, TP.

91. Shaw, *Journals*, 179–80 and Tilden, "Father's Journals," I: 244–45 (Second Voyage, 12 November 1816).

92. "Literary Notices," *CR* IV (June 1835): 96–97. See also *CReg*, 26 May 1835.

93. E. C. Bridgman to J. Evarts, 16 April 1830; ABCFM, SCM I. See also the catalog in Amoy Mission, ABCFM, and [A.] Raymond Irwin and Ronald Staveley, *The Libraries of London*, 2d rev. ed. (London: Library Association, 1961), 174.

94. JMF to SR, 16 November 1834; and RP and JMF to Mrs. Forbes, 30 April 1836; FP.

95. Rebecca Chase Kinsman, 3 December 1843, quoted in "Life in Macao in the 1840's," *EIHC* 86, no. 1 (January 1950): 34.

96. See JMF to Mrs. Forbes, 25 March 1836 and 30 April 1836, FP. Also JMF, *Letters and Recollections*, vol. 1, ed. Sarah H. Forbes (Boston, 1889), 86.

97. The Hon. Company's vessels had conducted boat races at Whampoa long before the Americans took them up. From its inception the *Canton Register* always reported faithfully on the contests.

98. Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 147–48 (Fourth Voyage, 15 November 1831).

99. *Ibid.*, 86–87 (Sixth Voyage, 3 September 1835).

100. WCH, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton*, 47. See also Basil Lubbock, *The Opium Clippers* (Boston: Charles E. Lauriat, 1933), 147–48.

101. Morse, *Chronicles*, IV: 174.

102. Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 128–29 (Fourth Voyage, 11 September 1831).

103. JH to parents, 18 December 1844 and to AH, same date, HP.

104. Wood, *Sketches of China*, 80.

105. See WCH, *Bits of Old China*, 176–77 and Wood, *Sketches of China*, 85–92.

106. Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 47 (Fifth Voyage, 1 August 1833).

107. JRL to Mary Latimer, 31 March 1831, LP. In this letter Latimer mentions an incident that demonstrates graphically how this was done, though it must have been humiliating to the callow young Philadelphia supercargo involved.

108. Nathaniel Kinsman notes this practice in his letters to his wife. W. S. Wetmore (not the founder of the firm) reported that this custom was still followed in the 1860s. Seating at meals was very traditional with the head of the house at the head of the table. See JC to AH, 5 January 1840, HP.

109. Nye, *Morning of My Life in China*, 57–58.

110. *Ibid.*, 33.

111. JH to "Charley" [Brown], 4 April 1845, HP. Harriet Low states that Charles ("Chay," also known as "Cha") Beale was illegitimate; *Diary*, IV: 9 (27 March 1832). John Hart (or Hartt) of Perkins & Co., William C. Hunter and Benjamin Wilcocks

fathered children by Macaoese or Chinese women; Hart's will, dated 1828, RP; ED's diary, 4 and 29 May 1843 and JRL to James Latimer, 30 November 1833, LLB.

112. 26 September 1844; HP. Also ED's diary, 4 and 29 May 1843; Wood, *Sketches of China*, 80; and *CReg*, 3 February 1830. Finally see William Hickey, *Memoirs of William Hickey*, vol. 1, ed. Alfred Spencer (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923), 198. Hickey, the scapegrace son of a prominent British lawyer, was in Canton in 1769. At that time he reported that operating out of Lob-Lob Creek, near Whampoa, was a whole class of water-borne prostitutes, whose services presumably helped to calm restless sailors during their "lay-days" at the anchorage; little other information exists on this enterprise. The only substantial reference to Chinese prostitution by an American that I have yet located is in Dobell's *Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia*, vol. 2, 140–41. See also Peter Parker's journal for 7 September 1835; ABCFM, SCM: 187, 17 (2). There are good reasons for doubting Parker's authority, but Dobell is another matter. To my knowledge sexual relations between Chinese and Americans were very rare until the Opium War. For the growth of prostitution thereafter, see Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War, 1840–1842* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 265 and 322.

113. These were announced in the newspapers. Harriet Low rarely missed a performance, and she reported on everything.

114. *CPress*, 5 June 1841. This was the so-called Luso Brittanic Theatre. The Portuguese also had amateur theatricals. See *CReg*, 1 March 1836 and *CPress*, 29 May 1841.

115. *CPress*, 29 May 1841 and 22 October 1842.

116. WHL to SR, 29 April and 27 May 1833, RP.

117. *CPress*, 18 May 1829 and 15 May 1830; and PSF, "Journal," 26 July 1843, FP. Harriet Low also mentions many horse races.

118. "There are a good many horses from Arabia here & every afternoon you may see a dozen Englishmen mounted on their thoroughbreds—costing from 500 to \$1000 each.—"; PSF, "Journal," 26 July 1843.

119. LMFP, in the Manuscript Division, L/C.

120. Beale's aviary is mentioned by numbers of writers. See HL's diary, I: 72–73 (25 October 1829) and II: 20 (19 March 1830). Beale's aviary, garden, and fish ponds are described by J. Stanley Henshaw in *Around the World*, vol. 2 (New York, 1840), 198–99. S. Wells Williams gives another sketch in *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. 1 (New York, 1883), 264–65. Williams states that the birds all died or were dispersed after Beale's death. Elsewhere he reports that "the birds were attacked by a kind of murrain . . . and most of them died." See "Recollections of China Prior to 1840," *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (new series) 8 (1874): 8.

121. On the grounds of the *Casa de Horta*.

122. "Journal of Rebecca Chase Kinsman on Her Voyage to China in 1843" (typed copy in BL), 38–39. Also *EIHC* 90, no. 3 (July 1954): 289–308.

123. This was the sumptuous "Arrowdale" to which Edward Delano refers in his diary. The quotation comes from "The Daily Life of Mrs. Nathaniel Kinsman at Macao, China," *EIHC* 86, no. 4 (October 1950): 328. For other examples of the kind of dwelling in which Americans lived at Macao, see Williams, *Life of Williams*, 83. Harriet Low describes many Macao houses including the *Casa da Horta* where Camoens is supposed to have lived while writing the *Lusiads*.

124. PSF, "Journal," 26 July 1843, FP; AH to SR, 12 July 1843; RP and ED's diary, 4 May and 24 and 25 July 1843, DP.

125. WCH, *Bits of Old China*, 267–68.

126. The only mention I have found of the Fourth of July other than Harriet Low's remark on 4 July 1831 (III: 40) that "most of the Americans dine with the

Consul today” is the comment of P. S. Forbes that the holiday was never celebrated at Canton. PSF, “Journal,” 4 July 1843, FP. It may be significant that there was only an acting consul at Canton in 1831 when Harriet Low mentioned the matter.

127. PSF to wife, 27 December 1843, FP. Cf. *CReg*, 3 January 1841.

128. John Heard stated that the celebration continued for ten days. JH to “Fred,” 25 February 1845, HP.

129. Tiffany, *Canton Chinese*, 203–6. For a more extended and accurate account of the festival, see Wolfram Eberhard, *Chinese Festivals* (Taipei: Orient Cultural Service, 1972), 1–59.

130. NK to Mrs. Kinsman, 12 February 1844, KP.

131. PSF to Mrs. Forbes, 18 February 1844, FP.

132. JH to “Fred,” 26 February 1845, HP. Cf. the anonymous account in *The Englishman in China* (London, 1860), 102.

133. PSF, “Journal,” 2 June 1843, FP. See Eberhard, *Chinese Festivals*, 77–104.

134. PSF, “Journal,” 28 July 1843, FP; *CR* 12 (December 1841): 662–63 and 13 (March 1844): 140. Properly this celebration was part of the New Year’s festivities. See Eberhard, *Chinese Festivals*, 54–59. Other festivals also appear in the records from time to time, e.g., *CR* 14 (September 1845): 448 and Abeel, *Journal of a Residence in China*, 103–7.

135. See below, 162–3, 190–1, and 191–94.

136. Heard and Latimer both seem to have been convinced that Sturgis was the author. See Heard’s diary, 1 October 1833, HP; AH to SR, 28 February 1834, RP; and Latimer’s letter to Sturgis, 18 October 1833, LP. Sturgis’s answer is also very informative: 27 October 1833, LP.

137. The ditty was a work of real malice. It alluded to the fact that two of Mrs. Low’s brothers had been implicated in a particularly grisly Salem murder. A copy of the lyrics together with illuminating comment can be found in the Latimer Papers. It is partially quoted in Heard’s diary, 1 October 1833, HP.

138. WHL to SR, 5 April 1833, RP; JMF to AH, 26 December 1834, AH to John J. Dixwell, 4 February 1843, and George B. Dixwell to AH, 3 September 1844, HP.

139. Maurice Collis, *Foreign Mud* (London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1946; reprint, New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), 250–74. See also Chang Hsin-pao (or Hsin-pao Chang), *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), 57 and 193–94; Edward V. Gulick, *Peter Parker and the Opening of China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 110; and Brian Inglis, *The Opium War* (London: Hodder & Staughton, 1976), 124–26.

140. There were many complaints about Keating’s explosive disposition. His servants seem to have suffered especially. He reportedly beat them and on one occasion refused to pay them. Frank H. H. King and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822–1911* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 131 and 160.

141. *CReg*, 26 February and 8 September 1843, contains a series of letters between Innes and James N. Daniels, a former member of the East India Company’s Canton factory.

142. RBF, *PRs*, 387. See also WCH, *The “Fan Kwae” at Canton*, 112. Harriet Low also delivered a very strong opinion (she seems to have been in love with Wood). See *Diary*, vol. 4, 20–21 (30 April 1832), LMFP.

143. RBF, *PRs*, 387.

144. To a man the missionaries lamented the neglect of religion among the merchants at Canton. See Abeel, *Journal of a Residence in China*, 116–17 or E. C. Bridgman to R. Anderson, 26 March 1835, ABCFM, vol. 1, 112. Rev. W. M. Lowrie compiled a long list of instances of Sabbath-breaking among the merchants and by

the British authorities. See Walter Lowrie, *Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Missionary to China* (New York, 1849), 268. A number of traders frankly admitted their lack of interest. See JMF to Mrs. Forbes, 30 April 1846, FP; and JH to parents, 10 March 1843, HP. Cf. E. C. Bridgman, *Journal*, 1 March 1830, ABCFM, vol. 1, 26.

145. RBF to James G. Forbes, 25 December 1820, FP.

146. Parker to R. Anderson, 7 March 1837 (semiannual report); ABCFM, vol. 12, 6.

147. JMF to SR, 16 November 1834, RP. The very modern, secular tone of this letter is especially notable.

148. E. C. Bridgman, *Journal*, 1 March 1830; ABCFM, vol. 1, 26.

149. Peter Parker to R. Anderson, 7 March 1837, ABCFM, vol. 12, 6.

150. Rev. Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff was a colorful Prussian missionary with an extraordinary facility for languages. Often at odds with the other members of the mission over methods, he penetrated the Chinese mainland on his own, years before other missionaries. The latter were prone to regard him as something of a charlatan, with some justification.

151. From a letter dated in December 1834, quoted in Williams, *Life of Williams*, 66.

152. *CReg*, 15 July 1841, and *CPress*, 17 July 1841.

153. Acting as agent for the American community, Latimer forwarded \$900 to the widow and orphans of Francis Terranova, the American seaman executed by the Chinese in 1821. The sum was the result of a subscription taken up among American merchants in Canton. See below, 120–1. JRL to John Broadbent (US consul), Messina, Italy, 26 September 1823, LP.

154. See, for example, the *CReg* for the summer of 1829. This sort of charity seems to have been discouraged by Chinese officialdom as a general rule.

155. The factories had been looted after the evacuation and prior to the British attack. They were later destroyed by a succession of fires and attacks during and after the war. For the new construction in the Square, see NK to Mrs. Kinsman, 28 November 1843, KP. For further information on Bull, see “Necrology,” in *Proceedings of the Rhode Island Historical Society* for 1885–86, 75–80.

156. *CR* 2 (August 1833): 165. Mayers, Dennys, and King report the existence in 1867 of publicly supported homes for the blind, the aged, and orphans (*Treaty Ports*, 180–81). Cf. Hirth (*Hoppo Book*, 233), who reports that each ship paid Tls 132 for the poor. Wakeman states that the tax was 3%; *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing*, Part I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 164–66. Cf. the discussion of the customs administration after the Treaty of Nanking in Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy*, Appendix B, 58. This document mentions in passing the “Tls 40,000–50,000 a year paid by the Cohong from levies on the trade for the support of various charities.”

157. See Ch'u T'ung-tsu (or T'ung-tsu Ch'u), *Local Government*, 161.

158. WCH, *Bits of Old China*, 17. This happened in 1833. At the end of the summer in the same year, there was a record rainfall followed by the worst flood in memory. The following June an even more destructive flood struck Canton. See *CR* 2 (September 1833): 238–39 and *CReg*, 24 June 1834.

159. Dorr to J. and J. Dorr, 15 February 1800, Dorr LB I.

160. *Chronicles*, IV: 64–66. See also *CR* 4 (May 1835): 34–37; and Samuel Russell & Co. to Daniel Crommelin & Co., 23 November 1822, Samuel Russell & Co. LB, RP.

161. *CR* 4 (May 1835): 30–37; and *CReg*, 9 June 1835.

162. NK to Mrs. Kinsman, 1 December 1844, KP.

163. See, for example Anon., *The Englishman in China*, 32–34.

164. The first US consul at Hong Kong, Thomas W. Waldron, died of cholera less than twelve months after his arrival. "The Daily Life of Mrs. N. Kinsman at Macao, China," *EIHC* 86, no. 3 (July 1950): 280.

165. Tilden, "Father's Journals," I: 48 (First Voyage, 1 September 1815).

166. In an admirable article Rhoads Murphey has argued persuasively that China at this period was prosperous, productive, and well managed. However foreigners' exposure to abject poverty would appear to clash with Murphey's interpretation, at least by American standards, for the Canton area. See "The Treaty-Ports and China's Modernization," in Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner, eds., *The Chinese City Between Two Worlds* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974), 17–71. Indeed such a view flies in the face of massive evidence to the contrary. Cf. Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China*, 220–21; and Wolfram Eberhard, *Social Mobility in Traditional China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), 228 and 276. See also Howay, *Voyages of the Columbia*, 422; WCH, *Bits of Old China*, 15; *CR* 2 (September 1833): 238–39; and *CReg*, 24 June 1834.

167. Fitch W. Taylor, *The Flag Ship*, vol. 2 (New York, 1840), 175–76. See also E. Townsend to "Brother," 8 January 1799, quoted in "The Diary of Mr. Ebenezer Townsend, Jr.," *New Haven Colony Society Papers* 4 (1888): 97.

168. V. K. Wellington Koo, *The Status of Aliens in China, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912), vol. 50, no. 2.

169. Fletcher Webster to Caleb Cushing, 7 April 1844, Cushing Papers.

170. See PSF to Mrs. Forbes, 24 November 1843, FP; NK to Mrs. Kinsman, 24 and 27 November 1843, KP; E. C. Bridgman et al. to Rufus Anderson, January 1844 (semiannual report), ABCFM, vol. 1a, and many other accounts.

171. Eliza G. Bridgman, *Life and Labors of Elijah C. Bridgman* (New York, 1864), 48–49.

172. *CR* 3 (June 1834): 68–83; and Morse, *Chronicles*, III: 7–8.

173. *Chronicles*, III: 116–23, and 144–46.

174. WCH, *Bits of Old China*, 17–18.

175. "We rowed through streets at least 1–1½ miles—on each side was the boat population of Canton and through the centre were passing to & fro Boats 20 times more numerous & with less confusion than the omnibuses & carriages in Broadway opposite the Astor House"; PSF, "Journal," 15 May 1843, FP.

176. See the lush descriptions of flower boats given in J. Stanley Henshaw, *Around the World*, vol. 2 (New York, 1840), 250.

177. Wood, *Sketches of China*, 56.

## Chapter 2. American Business under the Old System

1. Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'occident: le commerce a Canton au XVIIIe siècle, 1719–1833*, vol. 3 (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N.), 1161.

2. See Appendix 2 for statistics and their sources. For an updated view of the trade as a whole see Robert Gardella, "The Antebellum Canton Tea Trade: Recent Perspectives," *The American Neptune* 48, no. 4 (Fall 1988): 261–70. See also Ch'en Kuo-tung (Anthony Ch'en), "Transaction Practices in China's Export Tea Trade, 1760–1833" (paper presented at the Second Conference on Modern Chinese Economic History, Taipei, Academia Sinica, 5–7 January 1989). Undoubtedly Professor Gardella's book on the history of the tea trade, *Harvesting Mountains: Fujian and the China Tea Trade, 1757–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) will be the standard work on the subject for some time to come.

3. SW to WSW, 20 August 1837, WP. See also the testimony of Captain Abel

Coffin, 2 March 1830, Parliamentary Papers, First Report on the East India Company's Affairs, V: 127, questions 1827 and 1828.

4. Listed in descending order of quality.

5. *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 11 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 123.

6. Much of this information is contained in a contemporary account, "Description of the Tea Plant," *CR* 8 (July 1839): 132–64. For a recent description of the Canton tea trade, see Robert Gardella, "The Antbellum Canton Tea Trade: Recent Perspectives," *The American Neptune* 48, no. 4 (Fall 1988): 261–70. See also Professor Gardella's work mentioned in note 2 above.

7. Bryan P. Tilden, "Father's Journals," I: 337–38 (Second Voyage, 1 December 1818) and II: 37–38 (Fifth Voyage, 1 August 1833). Also Benjamin Shreve to J. Peabody and G. Tucker, 20 November 1817, Shreve Papers, Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. See also Sullivan Dorr to John and Joseph Dorr, 20 December 1801, Dorr LB II; and JRL to Smith and Nicoll, 18 April 1826 and to Edward H. Nicoll, 10 December 1833, JRL to JL, 24 March 1832, LLB. Finally see Edward Carrington & Co. to Ephraim Talbot, 26 April 1819, CP.

8. Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 189–90 and *CR* 4, no. 288 (September 1836) contain accounts of two of these "conspiracies" by the "black tea men." See also Samuel Russell & Co. to A. L. Forestier & Co., 27 November 1821; Samuel Russell & Co. LB, RP.

9. Another firm with a good reputation for buying silks was Olyphant & Co., but little information on that concern's trade has survived.

10. JRL to James Latimer, 17 April 1832, LLB.

11. See below, 106–8.

12. R&Co to JMF, 17 December and 17 April 1832, FP; Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 146–47 (Fourth Voyage, 15 November 1831) and JRL to JPC, 21 November 1831, LLB.

13. *Hunt's*, XIII (September 1843): 298; and Hosea B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926–29), III: 329 and IV: 385.

14. *Ibid.*, III: 367 and IV: 385.

15. Although some china reached America during the colonial period, most of the ware with which Americans became familiar arrived after the beginning of the old China Trade (i.e., after 1793). Most export china was mass-produced in recognizable blue-and-white patterns, but Canton merchants were able to order finer porcelain in bespoke patterns, colors, with monograms, ships, scenes or portraits on their china, which was then painted and glazed locally.

16. Randle Edwards, "Ch'ing Legal Jurisdiction over Foreigners," in *Essays on China's Legal Tradition*, ed. Jerome Cohen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 222–23. Edwards has noted elsewhere that the manner in which the People's Republic carries on foreign trade bears a striking resemblance to the "principles and practices of the old China trade." See "The Old Canton System of Foreign Trade," in *Law and Politics in China's Foreign Trade*, ed. Victor H. Li (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), 362 and 377.

17. For example, RBF to THP, 12 December 1831, RBF's LB, RBFP.

18. Morse, *Chronicles*, IV: 300. Edward Farmer traces the origins of the "Eight Regulations" back to the visit of the presumptuous English merchant, James Flint. See Farmer's "James Flint versus the Canton Interest," *Papers on China* (East Asian Research Center, Harvard University) 17 (1963).

19. *CR* 3: 580–84 (April 1835); WCH, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton* (1882; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1970), 28–30, and Hosea B. Morse, *International*

*Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. 1, *The Period of Conflict, 1834–1860* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1910), 69–71.

20. S. Wells Williams, "Recollections of China Prior to 1840," *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (new series) 8 (1874): 1–21.

21. William Hickey, *Memoirs of William Hickey*, vol. 1, ed. Alfred Spencer (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923), 218.

22. See the letter from the Select Committee to the Court dated 2 March 1830; Parliamentary Papers, Report on the East India Company's Affairs, H/C, 1830, V: 657 and 658; and Morse, *Chronicles*, IV: 234–41.

23. Gideon Nye, *The Morning of My Life in China* (Canton, 1873), 28.

24. A useful guide to provincial administration is Ch'u T'ung-tsu, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962).

25. See above, esp. note 7. The standard Chinese source is Liang Chia-pin, *Kwangtung shi-san-hang k'ao* [A study of the thirteen hongts of Kuangtung] (Taipei, 1960). In English see Ann B. White, "The Hong Merchants of Canton" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1967). The most recent work is Ch'en Kuo-tung (also known as Anthony Ch'en), *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760–1843*, Institute of Economics Monograph Series No. 45 (Nankang, Taipei: Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, June 1990).

26. Trade was apparently viewed with such distaste in the Confucian order that gentry members were barred from becoming brokers. Yet at least some members of the Cohong were of gentle origin. They seem to have avoided the consequences of their actions by the custom of employing different names as gentry and as hong merchants. The famous Howqua, for instance, was Wu Ping-chien, and the two Puankehuas known to Americans after 1796 were P'an Yu-tu and P'an Cheng-wei. Some scholars have questioned the view that the Ch'ing bureaucracy was unsympathetic to commerce. See, for example, Thomas Metzger, "Ch'ing Commercial Policy," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 1, no. 3 (February 1966): 4–10; and White, "Hong Merchants," *passim*. For succinct accounts of Chinese ambivalence on the subject, see Wellington K. K. Chan, *Merchants, Mandarins and Modern Enterprise in Late Ch'ing China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), 15–27; and Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *The Fall of Imperial China* (New York: Free Press, 1975), 39–40.

27. "Only when wealth was combined with political power could . . . people secure protection for themselves and their families." Ch'u, *Local Government*, 185. See also Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839–1861* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 45. Yet some scholars believe that there was much crossing of the line between the gentry and the merchants—so much so that a class of "gentlemen-merchants" had emerged, at least some of whom were developing an urban, bourgeois culture. See Wolfram Eberhard, *Social Mobility in Traditional China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), 216–17, 245–47, 263, and 265.

28. Hunter describes it in some detail and calls it "one of the 'sights' of the suburbs." *Bits of Old China* (1885; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1976), 172–73. "The building's grandeur is the more notable since other public structures could be severely functional." Cf. J. G. Keer, "Description of the Great Examination Hall at Canton," *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (new series) 3 (December 1886): 63–71.

29. See Frederic Wakeman, Jr., in *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing*, Part I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 164–66. Wakeman says that a 3 percent tariff on all imported articles (called the *hang-yung*) supported the Consoo Fund. Certainly there were duties on many kinds of goods. Charles

Marjoribanks of the British East India Company's factory once compiled a list of forty-six different dutiable articles. See his testimony, 23 February 1830, Parliamentary Papers, H/C, 1830, V: question 655. See also Greenberg, *British Trade*, 52 n. 3.

30. Edwards, "Old Canton System," 375.

31. See White, "Hong Merchants," 161–68 and Greenberg, *British Trade*, 67–69.

32. Greenberg, *British Trade*, 52–58, and the testimony of Charles Marjoribanks, *op. cit.*, especially questions 681–85.

33. Hao Yen-ping, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).

34. See above, 22–23.

35. See Derk Bodde, "Basic Concepts of Chinese Law: The Genesis and Evolution of Legal Thought in Traditional China," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107, no. 5 (October 1963), 375–98, *passim*.

36. Ch'u, *Local Government*, 26.

37. CR VII (July 1838): 57.

38. Greenberg, *British Trade* (quoting W. S. Davison before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1830), 71.

39. JRL to Smith and Nicoll, 27 September 1825, LLB.

40. WCH, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton* (1882; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1970), 48. This has been estimated to worth \$52 million. See Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Strangers at the Gate* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), 44.

41. See Account Book of the Ship Eliza, New York to Canton, 1805, William Bell Papers, Constable/Pierrepont Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, NYPL, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

42. Samuel Shaw, *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw*, ed. Josiah Quincy (1847; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1968), 183.

43. RBF, *Remarks on China and the China Trade* (Boston, 1844), 19. See also JH to parents, 18 December 1844, HP.

44. WCH, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton*, 40.

45. The richest hong merchants lived very well indeed. See White, "Hong Merchants," 157–58. Some of the best accounts are to be found in Tilden, "Father's Journals," especially I: 61–63 (First Voyage, 1 October 1815), which describes a party at Conseequa's house and 193–207 (Third Voyage, 1 December 1818), which tells of an evening at Howqua's. A very full narrative of Tilden's entertainment by Puankhequa is reprinted under the title "An Old Mandarin Home," ed. Laurence Waters Jenkins, *EIHC* 71, no. 2 (April 1935): 102–19.

46. Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 212–13 (Second Voyage, 1 December 1818).

47. BCW to JRL, 18 March 1829, LP; and Nye, *Morning of My Life*, 32. Best known of the Chinese artists was probably Lamqua, who is said to have modeled a figure of Commissioner Lin for Madame Tussaud. See Arthur Waley, *The Opium War through Chinese Eyes* (New York, 1958; pb ed. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1968), 11. The most recent study of Chinnery is Robin Hutcheon, *Chinnery: The Man and the Legend* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post Ltd., 1975), and most beautifully and completely, Carl L. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991), Chapter 3, "Lam Qua—'Handsome Face Painter,'" 72–105.

48. Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 880 (Fifth Voyage, 8 December 1833).

49. ED's diary, 20 January 1842. See also PSF, "Diary," 14 May 1843, FP. Mrs. Kinsman reported to her sister that Howqua's son had given an elaborate dinner of thirty courses for his foreign friends in "The Daily Life of Mrs. Nathaniel Kinsman in China, 1846." *EIHC* 88, no. 1 (January 1952): 73–74.



50. This same closeness also appeared between Americans and some “outside merchants.” The exchange of commercial information, aid in collecting debts from delinquents of one’s own nationality, and other manifestations of friendship were common, as were gifts. William R. Talbot wrote his brother in New York in 1836 asking him to purchase a pair of hanging lamps for three hundred fifty dollars to five hundred dollars. He specified that they be “showy as possible and plenty of chased gilt work about them, with long, glass drops triangular shape, etc. etc.—as [a] present for Moushing [*sic*].” WRT to CNT, 16 March 1836, TP.

51. RBF, *Personal Reminiscences* (Boston, 1882), 370.

52. See Tilden’s amusing account of a hong merchant’s use of one foreigner to write his letters and another to read them in “Father’s Journals,” I: 374–75 (following Third Voyage, “Boston, 1820”). Carrington enjoyed a close relationship with Conseequa at least until 1811.

53. PSF, “Diary,” 9 September 1843, FP.

54. RBF to JMF, 13 March 1850, RB Forbes Microfilms, Reel 14, Frame 393, quoted in Duncan Yaggy, “John Forbes, Entrepreneur” (PhD diss., Brandeis, June 1974), 188 n. 84.

55. JMF to Howqua, 5 August 1843, FP.

56. James and Thomas H. Perkins Accounts Current and other record books, PP; JMF to Mrs. Forbes, 11 July 1835, FP; AH to B&S, 25 February 1835, AH’s LB, 5 February–3 August 1835; HP and JMF, *Letters and Recollections*, vol. 1, ed. Sarah Forbes Hughes (Boston, 1889), 101. During the Opium War, Howqua left very sizeable funds with his American friends until “after this English business is settled”; Howqua to JMF, 28 June 1840 and Howqua’s LB, 1840–43 (typescript), BL.

57. Notes on Russell & Co. by Carl Crow in FP index, BL.

58. JRL to James Latimer, Jr., 30 September 1832, LLB. See also Hunter, *The “Fan Kwae” at Canton*, 42–50; and Howqua to JPC, 1 June 1840, Howqua’s LB, 1840–43.

59. For example, JH to “Mr. Thayer,” 2 December 1844, HP.

60. See Karl Polanyi, “The Economy as Instituted Process,” in Karl Polanyi, Conrad Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson, *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), 255.

61. Edward Carrington & Co. and Cyrus Butler to SR, 7 June 1819, RP.

62. Testimony of Charles Marjoribanks, see note 29 above. Of course the poverty of many hong merchants reduced their ability to hold out.

63. Letter to Ebenezer Dorr, 21 November 1799, Dorr LB.

64. H. B. Morse, *International Relations*, vol. 1 (London and New York: Longmans Green & Co., 1910), 85. Here Morse’s enthusiasm got the better of his accuracy. The commercial record belies his comment on written contracts. He may have meant that larger firms often did not bother with contracts. For further information, see below 400 esp. note 132. Cf. Robert Gardella, *Harvesting Mountains: Fujian and the China Tea Trade, 1757–1937* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1994), 36–37.

65. William B. Weedon, *Early Oriental Commerce in Providence* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1908), 20. This is reprinted from MHS, *Proceedings*, 3d series, 1 (December 1907): 235–87.

66. “Stephen Girard,” *Hunt’s* 4, no. 4 (April 1841): 364–65. Tilden confirms this story in an unusual manner. On his first voyage to Canton (1816), his ship was stopped by the British admiral from whom the *Montesquieu* had been ransomed. The latter’s complacent reminiscing about the incident checks pretty closely with the account in *Hunt’s*. See also Henry Arey, “Girard College and Its Founder,” *North American Review* 100, no. 85 (January 1865): 70–101. The letters of Girard and others to the State Department requesting permission to ransom the vessel mention the figure of

\$180,000. See Girard to James Monroe, 1 April 1813; C. J. Ingersoll to Monroe, 1 April 1813; and General Joseph Bloomfield to Monroe, 14 April 1813, Miscellaneous Letters to the Department of State, RG-59, M-179, NA.

67. Tilden, "Father's Journals," I: 174 (First Voyage, 14 April 1816).

68. 25 February 1830, First Report on the East India Company's Affairs, Parliamentary Papers, H/C, 1830, V: 84, question 1046.

69. At least two men, Rodney Fisher (with Macvicker & Co.) and Charles Blight (with Dent & Co.), both Philadelphians, made their fortunes as members of British firms at Canton.

70. See Part II, Chapter 6, 236ff titled "The Uses of a 'Competency': The Later Lives of Canton Residents."

71. R. B. Forbes had three tours in Canton. These second and third trippers are counted only for their first fortune.

72. Quoted from the subtitle of Anon., *Our First Men* (Boston, 1846), which contains facts, gossip, and some downright untruths about Boston's elite. Unfortunately it was not glaringly different from other such compendia in this regard.

73. Wealth was the sole criterion. According to the anonymous author of *Our First Men*, the only qualification was the reputation of having at least one hundred thousand dollars. In some other compilations the minimum went as low as fifty thousand dollars.

74. JMF to AH, 22 August 1836, HP. The word *lac* was pidgin, derived, apparently, from *lakh* (British India).

75. WHL to SR, 8 January 1832, RP. After his second sojourn in China, Forbes admitted to having one hundred ten thousand dollars or one hundred fifteen thousand dollars. See RBF to PSF, 10 November 1843, FP.

76. JH to parents, 14 May 1844, HP.

77. JRL to James Latimer, 2 August 1831, LLB.

78. JH to parents, 23 December 1842, HP.

79. W. A. Smith to JRL, 28 November 1828, LP.

80. "Journal," 26 July 1843, FP; and ED's diary, 4 May 1843.

81. Dixwell to Baring Brothers, 15 July 1844, HP. It is indicative but perhaps not surprising that Dixwell had been in China only three years at this time.

82. The Canton residents were hardly unique. Norman S. B. Gras, in describing several functions of the merchant in this period, unwittingly lists a number of sideline businesses developed at Canton. He specifies nine such functions, *viz.*, importing-exporting, wholesaling, retailing, transportation, storage and warehousing, communications, banking, pawn-brokering, and insurance. *Business and Capitalism* (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1939), 75–80.

83. Susan Mann Jones, "Finance in Ningpo: The 'Ch'ien Chuang,' 1750–1880," in *Economic Organization in Chinese Society*, ed. W. E. Wilmott (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972), 47–77.

84. John Francis Davis, *The Chinese*, vol. 2 (London, 1836), 396. Gras says that the European rate at this time varied between 6 and 8 percent a year (Gras, *Business and Capitalism*, 148).

85. "This was not exorbitant, under the circumstances in which it was given. The current rate of interest, with the best security, was 1 per cent. per month on running accounts, while 2 to 3 per cent. on temporary loans per month was common" (*The "Fan Kwae" at Canton*, 39–40).

86. Greenberg, *British Trade*, 153. Greenberg gives a creditable account of the fluctuations in the interest rate and banking operations generally. See *ibid.*, 152–70.

87. J. & T. H. Perkins to P&Co, 13 May 1807; J[ames] E[liot] C[abot], "Extracts from the Notebooks of J. & T. H. Perkins . . .," 164–65. Clearly in this kind of

business, supercargoes could not compete effectively because of the transient nature of their business and their limited funds.

88. This was a common form of mercantile credit, especially in the early period. In respondentia the creditor advanced the loan on the security of the cargo. When the goods reached market, the principal and interest came due, but if the ship was lost, the loan was canceled. This kind of credit was understandably attractive mainly to merchants who lacked capital, for the interest was high. Its early popularity may be judged from the fact that an early name for a section of the Square was "Respondentia Walk." See Greenberg, *British Trade*, 158. Advances to correspondents were a form of respondentia, because they were made with the cargo as collateral, although repayment was expected regardless of the fate of the cargo.

89. Difficulties did arise, of course. Cheong discusses this and several other forms of credit at Canton in the 1820s, see his "China Houses," especially 71–72. Also see his "Beginnings of Credit Finance on the China Coast . . .," *Business History* 12, no. 2 (July 1971): 87–103.

90. BCW to "Holly" (Hollingsworth Magniac), 12 June 1828 or BCW to JRL, 29 June 1828, LP.

91. That is, the Canton Insurance Co., a British-owned concern. By 1844, there were twenty-five marine insurance agencies at Canton. Of these Jardine's and Dent's (Dent & Co., another large British opium-trading firm) represented eleven. John K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast, 1842–1854* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), 238, n.d.

92. See P&Co to B&S, 9 January 1817, Hooper-Sturgis Collection, MHS.

93. Ludlow and Goold, New York, to Elias Hasket Derby, Salem, Mass., 28 May 1787, Derby Papers, P&E.

94. Ludlow and Goold to Derby, 21 May 1787, Derby Papers, P&E.

95. WHL to SR, 23 December 1831, RP.

96. There is an insurance rate sheet in the Latimer Papers.

97. *Hunt's* 3, no. 166 (August 1840). These rates compared very favorably with those charged on voyages to England and Europe. Two pages later, the same source lists the rates from US Atlantic ports to one port in Britain, France, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and the Mediterranean west of Sicily as 1–1/4 to 2 percent.

98. See also Sullivan Dorr to his brothers, 1 August 1801, Dorr LB.

99. Sullivan Dorr to Samuel Snow, 28 February, 18 October, and 30 November 1801, Dorr LB I.

100. Sullivan Dorr to Joseph & John Dorr, 28 July 1802; *ibid.*

101. China Account Sales Book, CP.

102. WHL to SR, letter beginning 13 August 1831, RP.

103. BCW to JRL, letter beginning 20 April 1829, LP.

104. The officers of the *General Washington* (Captain Jonathan Donnison, Providence), which arrived at Whampoa in 1788, shared Major Samuel Shaw's factory from October until January 1789, for which privilege they paid him \$944.55; Account Book of the General Washington, 29, RIHS. Ebenezer Townsend noted that it cost him \$800 to rent a factory for only 28 days a decade later. Hence, "we took possession of our factory in company with Capt. Swift, which lessens the expense"; Townsend to "Brother," 26 December 1798, quoted in "The Voyage of the Neptune," *Papers of the New Haven Historical Society* 4, no. 85 (1888).

105. For more information on Megee, see my article, "The Merchant as Gambler: Major William Fairchild Megee," *Rhode Island History* 28, no. 4 (Fall 1969): 99–110.

106. Tilden, "Father's Journals," I: 201–2 (Second Voyage, 26 September 1816). See also J. H. Rabinel to EC, 31 October 1815, CP. "Country" referred to India.

Thus, the country trade was the trade to China from India, and country captains commanded vessels coming from India.

107. SR to Edward Carrington & Co. and Cyrus Butler, 1 January 1823, Russell LB II, RP.

108. Morse, *Chronicles*, III: 236.

109. Like Captain Megee, Pitman & French also served as auctioneers. The firm had extensive ambitions in the 1820s, but with the death of Pitman in 1832, the company ran into difficulties that ended in a Hawaiian court a decade later. French seems to have had particularly bad luck with partners. His next one went insane. See below 157.

110. John Phillips to JRL, 16 April and 24 May 1832 and "Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Late George Dowdall," LP. See also Samuel Russell & Company's "Account Book, 1819," *passim*, RP; and Morse, *Chronicles*, IV: 129.

111. These later English companies were most enterprising. They ventured into the hotel business at Macao, auctioneering, scheduling a packet boat between Canton and Macao, storekeeping, and even running an abortive postal service.

112. Amasa Delano, *Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres* (Boston, 1817), 41–42.

113. Tilden, "Father's Journals," II: 128–29 (Fourth Voyage, 11 September 1831).

114. CR V: 427 and 430. Hunter mentions this man as the builder of Jardine's *Harriet*, a one hundred-ton opium clipper of considerable notoriety. See WCH, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton*, 71.

115. CR II (May 1833): 6–7 ; and Morse, *Chronicles*, III: 209.

116. The standard work on journals published by foreigners in China is Frank H. H. King and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965). The earliest dated item printed at Canton is a price current of 12 March 1822, RP.

117. CR II (May 1833): 7 ; WCH, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton*, 109; and Samuel Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1917), 459. Robert Morrison noted, upon the appearance of this paper, that the proportion of space devoted to the price current was extraordinary. "There is so much 'price current' that the paper will not be very *current* any where [*sic*] but with the trade," he complained. At least the main purpose of the sheet was clear. Eliza Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.*, vol. 2 (London, 1839), 393–84; and King and Clarke, *Research Guide*, 42–43.

118. Despite the claim of James Matheson, who soon took control, to objectivity (King and Clarke, *Research Guide*, 16), it remained "an organ of Jardine, Matheson" throughout the pretreaty period; Chang Hsin-pao (also known as Hsin-pao Chang), *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), 245, n. 110. For one American's disgust with the *Register*, see JCG to SR, 13 June 1835, RP. See also King and Clarke, *Research Guide*, 17–19.

119. It was edited first by W. H. Franklyn, but he was soon replaced by Edward Moller, a Prussian merchant residing in Canton. The first issue appeared 12 November 1835, and it continued there until it was transferred to Macao in 1839; it expired in 1844. See Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 459; and King and Clarke, *Research Guide*, 48. Like the *Register* the *Press* was edited by former servants of the East India Company and for some time supported the policies that the old Select Committee had pursued prior to 1834, even to the condemnation of the opium trade. Ultimately the Dent faction came to support the *Press* along with most Americans. See King and Clarke, *Research Guide*, 19 and 46–48.

120. HL's diary, III: 51 (15 August 1831), LMFP; Morse, *Chronicles*, IV: 356; and Williams, "Recollections of China Prior to 1840," 17. See also King and Clarke,

*Research Guide*, 17–18 and 45. The paper was published from 1831 to 1834 and certainly is more appealing to a modern reader than either of the hardier journals. Another ephemeral publication was the *Canton Miscellany*, whose title aptly describes the contents.

121. The missionary-linguists obtained much information from the so-called *Court Circular* or *Canton Gazette* (*Yuen-Ming-Pao*), which was printed from wooden blocks and sold in Canton for two cash. It appears to have been the only regular Chinese publication in Canton prior to the introduction of the missionary presses.

122. Letter of instruction to Bridgman from the Prudential Committee of the American Board, 9 October 1829, quoted in Eliza J. G. Bridgman, *Life and Labours of Elijah Coleman Bridgman* (New York, 1864), 20.

123. Suzanne Wilson Barnett, "Protestant Expansion and Chinese Views of the West," *Modern Asian Studies* 6, no. 2 (1972): 149. Cf. Ellsworth C. Carlson, *The Foochow Missionaries, 1847–1880* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 165–69.

124. George H. Danton, *The Culture Contacts of the United States and China: The Earliest Sino-American Culture Contacts, 1784–1844* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 53. Because Parker's hospital was so effective as a missionary vehicle, it is remarkable that it was not even more widely imitated. See Carlson's analysis of the Foochow mission in this respect (*Foochow Missionaries*, 168).

125. It became evident very early to both Christians and non-Christians that the splintered nature of Protestantism was crippling missionary activity. American denominations, for the time being, dropped their quarrels in order to cooperate overseas. Some have even suggested that here was the origin of the ecumenical movement.

126. The earlier custom was still common at the turn of the century. Our second consul, Samuel Snow, felt himself under considerable pressure to leave, but the governor of Macao refused to permit him to remain in the Portuguese colony. See Snow's letters requesting the State Department to intervene with Lisbon (CCL-I).

127. Osmond Tiffany, Jr., *The Canton Chinese* (Boston, 1849), 223.

128. Tiffany, *Canton Chinese*. See also WHL to SR, 11 July 1833; RP and JH to "Charley" [Brown], 2 December 1844, HP.

129. For a good recent description of "outside work" in America, see Carl Seaburg and Stanley Paterson, *Merchant Prince of Boston: Colonel T. H. Perkins, 1764–1854* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 146–48.

130. On 5 October 1839 William H. Low II wrote to Josiah Low about the Russell & Co.'s arrangements: "The counting rooms are arranged in fine style, the front one being for the partners and the back ones for the clerks, each one has a desk for himself, and if you want anything you have only to ring your bell, and your boy is at your side," LMFP. See also ED's diary, *passim*, DP.

131. Young John Heard, who had been aboard ship several years, began as the firm's outside man. In his diary he makes a startling confession: "I knew my work thoroughly, all except buying teas. These I tried hard to learn but I never succeeded worth a cent, indeed, I think there is a good deal of humbug about it. I never let on that I did not know them, and this answered about as well"; "Diary, 1891," 54, HP. His admission says volumes for the discrimination of the American market.

132. See the articles by Frederic D. Grant, Jr., "Failure of the Li-chu'an Hong: Litigation as a Hazard of Nineteenth Century Foreign Trade," *The American Neptune* 48, no. 4 (Fall 1988): 243–60; "Hong Merchant Litigation in the American Courts," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 99 (1987): 44–62; and "Merchants, Lawyers and the China Trade of Boston," *Boston Bar Journal* 23, no. 8 (September 1979): 5–16.

133. WHL II to Josiah O. Low, 5 October 1839, LMFP.
134. RBF to THP, 21 July 1831, RBF Papers.
135. RP.
136. Clerks' salaries varied from about five to fifteen hundred dollars in Russell & Co. More experienced help received up to five thousand dollars a year. See Samuel Monson's contract, RP. Cf. JH to parents, 14 May 1844, HP; the account current of Edward A. Low, LMFP; and ED's diary, *passim*; DP.
137. Heard reports that William H. Low II went home with fifteen thousand dollars after only two years as a clerk with Russell & Co., a job that paid five hundred dollars a year. See JH to parents, 14 May 1844, HP. One way he made money was to ship goods abroad using money loaned to him by his brother, Abbott. See WHL II to Mrs. Harriet Hilliard, 14 February 1840, quoted in Elma Loines, *The China Trade Post-Bag of the Seth Low Family* (Manchester, Me.: Falmouth Publishing Co., 1953), 79–80. Possibly a more dramatic example is that of Asa Whitney, bookkeeper for Wetmore & Co. Although he had been established in New York earlier, he seems never to have been admitted to partnership in China. Nevertheless he left Canton after only two years "with a substantial fortune which gave him a comfortable income for the rest of his life." Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land* (1950; reprint, New York: Vintage, 1957 and 1971), 12.
138. That is, Lintin Island and other spots occupied by station ships that supplied the illegal trade.
139. Rebecca C. Kinsman to parents, 15 December 1843, quoted in "Life in Macao in the 1840's," *EIHC* 86, no. 1 (January 1950): 36–37.
140. William H. Mason, "Log of the Ship Hope," 22 October 1802, RIHS.
141. The instructions were dated 23 August 1816, CP.
142. Edward Carrington & Co. to Isaac M. Bull, 28 December 1833, CP.
143. T. P. Bucklin to SW, 26 August 1834, CP. See also Richardson & Whitney to JRL, 18 May 1832, LP.
144. 5 February 1834, RP.
145. JCG to SR, 11 February 1837, RP.
146. Isaac Heylin to JRL, 12 April 1830, LP.
147. James Latimer to JRL, 17 September 1830, LP.
148. WHL to SR, 23 June 1832, RP.
149. Edward Carrington & Co. and Cyrus Butler's instructions to SR, 26 December 1818, RP.
150. JRL to Henry Toland, 15 March 1831, LLB.
151. JRL to JPC, 22 November 1831, LLB.
152. Girard Papers.
153. JRL to Smith and Nicoll and Smith and Bailey, 9 October 1822, LLB.
154. *CReg*, 15 November 1836.
155. The first elections put three Americans into office: William S. Wetmore, head of Wetmore & Co.; John C. Green, chief of Russell's; and Charles W. King, resident partner of Olyphant & Co. Two years later Green was chairman and Warren Delano, then of Russell, Sturgis & Co, and William R. Talbot, of Gordon & Talbot, were members of the Committee. See *Anglo-Chinese Kalendar . . . for 1838*, xi–xiv. During the opium crisis of 1839, William Wetmore was chairman.
156. *CReg*, 29 November 1836.
157. *CR VI* (May 1837): 44.
158. The annual reports of the Chamber are printed in *Chinese Repository* and *Anglo-Chinese Kalendar*.
159. The Latimer Papers contain various documents pertaining to referrals of disputes. One labeled "Decision on Reference, Russell & Olyphant" was signed by

Latimer and Nathan Dunn, 27 October 1826. There had been a bad debt problem for years by this time. Carrington's friend Conseequa seems to have owed his misfortunes to American merchants who failed to meet their obligations to him. In 1814 he petitioned President Madison to aid him in the collection of debts owed to him by Americans. See Fu Lo-shu (Lo-shu Fu), *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), vol. I: 391–93. For an account of his litigation in the United States, see Frederic D. Grant, Jr., "The Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong: Litigation as a Hazard of Nineteenth Century Foreign Trade," *The American Neptune* 48, no. 4 (Fall 1988): 243–60.

160. *CR VI* (November 1837): 332–33.

161. Joseph Archer suspected Jardine of attempting to use the Chamber to destroy competition. See Archer to WSW, 3 February 1838, WP.

162. *CR VI* (November 1837): 330. The Chamber's policy statements bear a striking resemblance to the policy of the American community and to the views of Dent's and the Parsees. Upon reflection the probable reason is obvious—this was evidently the lowest common denominator. Had the Chamber passed anything stronger, the Jardine faction would have found itself alone in the organization.

163. *CPress*, 20 April 1839 (supplement). The British organized their own chamber of commerce the following August. *CR VIII* (August 1839): 221.

### Chapter 3. Opium Transforms the Canton System

1. Most of these items are identified in James Snyder, "Spices, Silks and Teas—Cargoes of the Old China Trade," *Americana* 36 (1942): 7–26.

2. Kenneth Scott Latourette, "The History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784–1844," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 12 (August 1917); Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930); Sydney and Marjorie Greenbie, *The Gold of Ophir* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1925); Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783–1860* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921); and other well-known works have covered the field generally. Most of these authors have been charmed by the color and exotic appeal of the trade. While I have no wish to derogate this attraction, there is always a danger that historical accuracy may compete with literary effusion.

3. Decidedly the best thing in the field is Timothy Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America* (Hartford, Conn., 1816), especially the more inclusive edition of 1835. See Appendix 2 "Statistics and the American Trade."

4. Pitkin, *Statistical View*, 251. Pitkin got his information for the period from June 1800 to January 1803 from Sullivan Dorr, who was acting American consul at the time and must have known, especially because he was probably the leading American fur dealer in Canton. From 1803 to 1818, however, Pitkin has no data. Robert Bennet Forbes gives figures for 1804 to 1813, and because his uncles (his employers), James and Thomas H. Perkins, were among the foremost merchants in the Northwest Coast trade, he was in a position to know more than almost anyone except his own relatives. See his *Remarks on China and the China Trade* (Boston, 1844), 28.

5. For more information on the commerce, see Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941); James Kirker, *Adventures to China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), 2 vols.; and the works of Judge Frederic W. Howay.

## Index

- Abeel, David, 29, 43  
Aborn, Daniel T., 157, 364  
Adams, John Quincy, 268, 270–71, 279, 280; portrait, 269  
advertising, 33–36  
Alcock, Rutherford, 335  
Alsop, Joseph, 370  
Alsop, Luch (née Whittlesey), 370  
American (Protestant) China Mission, 43, 57, 58, 93, 198, 206, 207, 230  
American factory, 39, 76, 148  
Ammidon, Philip, 54, 118, 124, 125, 126, 127, 150, 162, 190, 227, 364; portrait, 164  
*Antelope*, brig., opium clipper, 286  
Archer, Joseph, 170, 209, 210, 213, 214, 365  
Archer, Samuel, 157–58, 209, 210  
*Ariel*, opium clipper, 264, 330, 334  
arrival: cost of, 24; process of, 19–25  
Asiatic Squadron, US Navy (a.k.a. East India Squadron), 263, 283, 285  
Astor, John Jacob, 106, 123  
attitudes towards Chinese, 36, 327.  
*See also* ghetto attitudes  
Augustine Heard & Co., 179, 191–98, 266, 310, 325, 330–31, 333, 366, 368
- B. & T. C. Hoppin, 370  
Bancker, James, 369  
banking: Chinese, 86  
bankruptcy, 103  
Baring Brothers & Co., 111, 154, 155, 170, 176, 177, 367, 368  
Baring, John, 155  
bartering, 107  
Bates, Joshua, 155, 368  
Battle of Chuenpi, 138  
Beale, Thomas, 51  
Benton, Thomas Hart, 273  
Big Four, 196, 198  
bill trade, 109, 112, 325  
blackmail, 83  
Blight family, 366  
Blight, Charles, 85, 124, 130, 147, 150, 366  
Blight, George, 115, 147, 366  
Blight, James H., 147, 366  
Blight, William P., 366  
Boca Tigns (or Bogue), 19; picture, 22  
Boston China Traders' banquet for Cushing, 253  
“Boston Concern,” 155, 160, 165, 167, 168, 190, 280, 367  
Boston & Salem Merchants' memorial to Congress, 9 April 1840, 262–63  
*Brandywine*, USS, frigate, 287, 288, 290, 294  
bribes, 125  
Bridgman, Elijah Coleman, 92, 93, 230, 264, 277, 281, 300, 305, 313  
British Chamber of Commerce.  
*See* Canton General Chamber of Commerce  
British East India Company, 45, 47, 98, 106, 109, 116, 117, 118, 127, 129, 133, 137, 157, 159, 212, 222  
Brown & Ives, 162  
Brown, William & Joseph, 209  
brutality: of Chinese legal system, 61  
Bryant & Sturgis, 155, 190, 367  
Bryant, John, 155  
Bull, Betsy (née Carrington), 370  
Bull, Isaac M., 59, 140, 219, 224, 370  
Bull, Nye & Co., 326  
Bumstead, Ephraim, 151, 364  
Burlingame, Anson, 307  
business: customers, 97, 100; ethics, 239, 240; family obligations in, 227, 229; primacy of, 222–23, 240; style, 217–21; transferability, 237–41  
Butler, Cyrus, 162, 370
- Cabot, Samuel, 151, 154, 160, 224, 369  
Calhoun, John C., 268



- Canton General Chamber of Commerce, 101–4
- Canton Merchants' Memorial to Congress, 25 May 1839, 261–62
- Canton Press*, 92
- Canton Regatta Club, 48
- Canton Register*, 92, 173, 333
- Carrington, Betsy. *See* Bull
- Carrington, Edward, 41, 89, 90, 100, 148–50, 162, 224, 236, 237, 250, 252, 360; portrait, 149
- Cary, Thomas C., 224
- cemeteries, 60
- Ch'ao Ch'ang-ling, 300, 305
- charities, 60
- Ch'eng, Yü-ts'ai, 292–95, 303, 310
- Ch'i Kung, 264, 265, 293
- Ch'i-ying, 266, 267, 278, 285, 292–95, 296–310; influences on, 304; portrait, 298
- China policy: development of, 279; origins of, 259–60
- Chinese Courier*, 55, 92, 173
- Chinese negotiating techniques, 294, 297–99, 301, 303
- Chinese New Year, 52–53
- Chinese Repository*, 58, 91–92, 205, 326
- Ch'ing bureaucracy, 75
- Chinnery, George, 41–43, 81
- chits, 95–96
- clerks, 96–97, 173, 227, 232–33
- climate, 38
- clippers. *See* opium clippers
- Cohong: conflict of interest among, 79–80; duties of, 78; end of, 82; history of, 77; vitality of, 80; vulnerability of, 119, 323. *See also* hong merchants
- communication between governments, 306–8
- comprador: duties of, 24, 25, 36, 37, 78
- conflict of interest, 79
- Confucian value system, 76, 79
- Conseequa, 148
- Consoo Fund, 76, 77, 79–80, 323
- Consoo House, 76
- Constellation*, USS, 263, 265, 286
- conviction of Chuenpi, 138, 140
- Coolidge, Joseph, 54, 55, 67, 140, 179, 192–96, 198, 330; portrait, 193
- coolie trade, 340, 364, 366, 368
- cotton trade, 72, 129
- Couper, William, 212, 365
- Couvert, Jacob, 199, 365
- Cowsajee family, 127
- credit, 86–89, 95
- Cryder, John, 213, 370. *See also* Morrison & Cryder, Wetmore & Cryder
- Cryder, Mary Wright, 370. *See also* Wetmore
- Cushing, Ann. *See* Higginson
- Cushing, Caleb, 140, 261, 268, 273, 275–77, 279, 280; advises Chinese, 291, 307; consults Canton merchants, 290; develops policy, 288–89, 292–95; instructions, 283–85, 302; leaves China, 319; picture, 276; preparation for embassy, 287
- Cushing, John P., 75, 85, 119, 120, 122, 125, 148, 151, 152–53, 156, 157, 159, 163, 210, 224, 241–42, 244, 245, 246, 364, 367; country seat "Bellmont," 246
- Cushing mission, 11
- Cushing Treaty, 9–10, 11, 189, 196, 278, 279; evaluation of, 317–20; flaws in, 316; Grand Council determined to subvert, 315; reaction to, 312–16; testing, 310. *See also* Treaty of Wanghia
- customs, 24
- customs commissioner. *See* Hoppo
- Davidson, G. F., 186
- Delano, Amasa, 91, 146–47, 191
- Delano, Edward, 54, 140, 182, 189, 331, 336, 365; picture, 187
- Delano, Warren, 54, 60, 104, 179–80, 183, 189, 191, 219, 264, 365, 371–73; Algonac, 247; portrait, 180
- departure: cost of, 24; process of, 25
- Derby, Elias Hasket, 143, 200
- Dermigny, Louis, 147
- dining, 51–52, 98, 218
- disease, 25, 60
- diversification, 220
- division of labor in firms, 93–96, 326
- Dixwell, George Basil, 195, 196, 198, 330–31, 336
- Dobell, Peter, 41
- Don Juan*, 331
- Donnell, John, 120, 123

- Dorr, Sullivan, 90, 147–48, 236, 243–44
- Dunn, Nathan, 75, 85, 158, 210, 217, 365
- East India Squadron, US Navy. *See* Asiatic Squadron
- Edward Carrington & Co., 370
- Eight Regulations, 73–74, 75, 94, 104, 260, 327. *See also* restrictions on trade
- Elliot, Captain, 86, 103, 133
- Elliot, Sir Charles, 137, 138, 179–80, 181, 222–23, 324–25
- Emily* incident, 120–21
- Emory (a.k.a. Emery), Charles, 311
- Empress of China*, 73, 112
- Endicott, James B., 186
- etiquette, 49
- Everett, Charles, 158
- Everett, Edward, 273
- exotic imports, 105
- exports: American from Canton, 356–57; Chinese, 109
- extraterritoriality, 283, 288, 289, 305, 310, 315, 317, 319, 320, 321, 325, 327
- factories: furnishings, 25, 38; layout and construction of, 25–31; living conditions in, 36–39; shops and peddlers nearby, 31–37
- fees: customary, 78–79
- fire of 1822, 29, 59–66, 199
- flood, 59
- flower boats, 62; picture, 64
- Forbes, James Grant, 367
- Forbes, James Murray, 368
- Forbes, John Murray, 54, 57, 82, 154, 164, 165, 170–71, 176, 177–79, 192, 206–7, 213, 219, 224, 228, 237, 240, 250, 262, 280, 364, 365, 367; portrait, 238
- Forbes, Paul Sieman, 53, 82, 186, 189, 219, 227, 271, 285, 289, 290, 291, 296, 332, 365, 367; picture, 188
- Forbes, Robert Bennet, 57, 80, 81, 85, 128, 136, 155, 156, 158, 160, 161, 164, 165, 172, 182, 183, 190, 192, 194, 195, 215, 219, 223, 234, 240, 254, 330, 332, 365, 367, 371–73; mansion, 251; portrait, 178
- Forbes, Thomas Tunno, 159–60, 365, 367
- foreign traders: apprenticeship system, 232–34; captains among, 234–35; disputes among, 53–56; education and experience, 231–34; geographical origins, 234–35; later lives, 236–41, 245–55; lifestyle, 36–39; nepotism among, 227–29; religious affiliations, 235–36; retirement, 241–45; social origins, 222–31
- Framjee family, 127
- Fraser, George W., 330
- fraud, 99–101
- Frazer. *See* Fraser
- French, William, 91, 156–57, 364
- fringe benefits, 97–98
- fur trade, 89–90, 105–6, 150
- Gantt, Christopher, 115, 119
- George W. Talbot & Co., 199
- Ghetto attitudes, 328–30, 333; “Shanghai Mind,” 337–40. *See also* attitudes toward Chinese
- Gilman, Joseph T., 183, 331, 365
- Girard, Stephen, 84, 115, 123
- Goodhue & Co., 191
- Gordon, Oliver H., 202, 208, 209, 366, 369
- Gordon & Talbot, 203, 208, 366, 369
- Gott, Benjamin, 158
- Gough, General Hugh, 139, 195
- Gray, Robert, 150
- Green, John C., 54, 55, 58, 168, 173, 191, 194, 220, 224, 245, 281–82, 364; portrait, 169
- Grelaud, Arthur, 101
- Grew, Henry Sturgis, 368
- Griswold, Nathaniel and George, 176, 281
- Hallam, John, 183
- Haven, John P., 191
- Heard, Albert Farley, 366
- Heard, Augustine, 39, 55, 56, 100, 140, 162, 164, 166, 167, 190, 191, 194, 195–98, 251, 271, 286, 364, 366; portrait, 197
- Heard, Augustine, II, 366
- Heard, John, III, 37, 53, 54, 196, 198, 263, 268, 366
- Higginson, Ann (née Cushing), 368

- Higginson, Henry, Sr., 368  
 Higginson, J. Babcock, 127, 368  
 Higginson, Stephen, 368  
 Higginson, Stephen Perkins, 368  
 holidays, 51–53  
 hong merchants: attempts to extort money from, 119; duties, 21–22, 76, 78; exploitation of, 79, 83; friendship with Americans, 81–93; reliability of, 80, 104; responsibilities of, 102–3; status of, 37, 76. *See also* Cohong  
 Hong Kong, 129, 138, 267; sketch of, 314, 324–25  
 Hong Kong Yacht Club, 48  
 Hoppin, Benjamin, 370  
 Hoppin, Benjamin, Jr., 370  
 Hoppin, Thomas H., 162  
 Hoppo, 24, 75–76, 77  
 Hormajee family, 127  
 hospital, 52. *See also* Parker, Peter  
 hotels, 81, 90, 91  
 Howell, John, 147  
 Howland and Aspinwall, 282  
 Howqua, 43, 46, 77, 176, 316, 331, 369; building up of fortune, 151; friendship with Americans, 81–82, 151–54, 156, 159, 172, 177, 179, 181–82, 192; influence of, 219; intervention by, 194; portrait, 153; profits, 101; wealth, 80  
 Hsü A-man incident, 296, 310  
 Hsü, Nai-chi, 131–32  
 Huang En-tung, 292, 302, 305, 311  
 Hunter, William C., 33, 51, 80–81, 167, 183, 220, 242, 365, 366; portrait, 174  
*Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, 260–61  
 illegitimate children, 49–50  
 imports: Chinese, 105, 108, 128–30  
 information gathering, 78  
 Ingraham, Joseph, 150  
 Innes, James, 46, 56, 138  
 insurance, 89  
 Irving, Mortimer, 173  
 Issaverdes, George, 115  
 Issaverdes, John B., 115  
 Issaverdes, Stith & Co., 114–15  
 J. D. Sword & Co. *See* Sword, John Dorsey  
 J. & T. H. Perkins, 150–51, 155, 367  
 James P. Sturgis & Co., 119, 156, 161, 364, 367  
 Jardine, Andrew, 330  
 Jardine, Matheson & Co., 179, 196, 198, 205, 222  
 Jardine, William, 58, 98, 212, 332  
 Jenkins, Jabez, 209, 218, 365  
 jobs, 94–95  
 Joss House, 48  
 Kane, Dr. Elisha Kent, 277  
 Kearny, Commodore Lawrence, 26; policy of, 263–66, 272, 279, 318, 330  
 Keating, Arthur Saunders, 55–56  
 Kendrick, John, 146  
 King, Charles W., 202, 203, 204–5, 206, 207, 208, 244, 272  
 King, Edward, 173, 331, 365  
 King, Samuel, Jr., 199, 369  
 King & Talbot, 199, 369  
 King, William Henry, 365, 366; “Kingscote,” 249  
 Kinsman, Captain Nathaniel, 51, 53, 54, 59, 60, 194, 216, 218, 219, 365  
 Kinsman, Rebecca (Mrs. Nathaniel), 51, 216, 217–18, 289  
 laborers: types of, 24–25  
 Langdon, John M., 114  
 Langdon, Joseph, 253  
 Latimer, John R., 37, 43, 49, 54, 89, 101, 120, 126, 151, 165, 166, 167, 210, 244, 248, 366  
 Latourette, Kenneth Scott, 293  
 Lawrence, William A., 216–17, 219, 365  
 lawsuits, 102  
 Lejee, William Real, 212, 213, 216, 365  
 Lewis, Edwin M. & Co., 282–83  
 Lin, Tse-hsü, 131–36; portrait, 134  
 linguists: duties of, 22–24  
 Lintin: picture, 121; system of marketing, 122, 129  
 liquor: consumption of, 25, 37, 39  
 Low, Abiel Abbott, 85, 171–73, 364; picture, 172  
 Low, Edward A., 183  
 Low, Harriet, 50, 75, 209  
 Low, Mrs. William Henry, 75  
 Low, William Henry, 39, 50, 54–55, 89, 162, 167, 182, 190, 364; portrait, 166

- Macartney, Ld.: mission, 295  
 Macondray, Frederic W., 166, 254  
 Maritime Customs Service, 323  
 Matheson, James, 107, 130, 138, 139, 159, 330  
 Matheson, Jardine, 89  
 McGillivray, William, 106  
 meals, 39  
 medical care, 25, 98  
 Megee, Captain William F., 81, 90, 91, 109, 148, 150, 236  
 metals, 129  
 Milne, Richard, 84  
 missionaries, 43–44, 57, 58, 92, 229–31, 240–41, 360; attitudes, 336–37, 338; reaction to Cushing Treaty, 312–17, 322, 323, 326  
*Missionary Herald*, 313  
*Missouri*, USS, steam frigate, 287  
 mistresses, 49  
 monetary system, 86–88  
 Moore, William, 216, 365  
 Morris, Robert, 65, 146  
 Morrison & Cryder, 213, 370  
 Morse, Hosea Ballou, 27, 122, 150  
 Morss, William Howard, 205, 366, 369  
 Moses, Joseph, 311  
 most-favored-nation privileges, 266, 285, 316, 320, 325  
 Mu-chang-a, 314–15  
  
 N. L. & G. Griswold, 168, 171, 236  
 nankeens, 72  
 Napier, Lord, 55, 102, 137, 212  
 Nathan Dunn, 217, 218, 242, 246  
 Nathan Dunn & Co., 165, 209, 365  
 nationalities: dress of, 44–45; relations among, 46, 80–83  
 “New Regulations” for foreigners at Canton, 311  
 newspapers, 92  
*Niles Register*, 319  
 Nye, Clement Drew, 366  
 Nye, Gideon, 242, 366  
 Nye, Parkin & Co., 366  
 Nye, Thomas S. H., 366  
  
 Offley, David, 114  
 Oliver, James, 147  
 Olyphant & Co., 56, 165, 198–209, 220; opposition to opium trade, 207, 310, 366, 369  
 Olyphant, David, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 218, 325, 365, 366  
 Olyphant & Talbot, 366  
 opium, 118; attempts to legalize, 118, 131–32; demand for, 117–18; effect of use, 131; opium crisis of 1839–40, 84, 179, 215, 260; poppy picture, 113; price of, 117, 130; production in Turkey, 123–24, 325  
 opium clippers, 175, 196, 334  
 opium trade: American and British dependence upon, 205, 278–79, 338; American opposition to, 206, 207, 218; Chinese attempt to end, 131–36; differing views of traders and missionaries, 260; *Emily* incident, 120–21; growth of, 112–40, 204; hong merchant in, 120; implications, 279, 334–35, 338; Indian, 124, 125, 165, 167; opium traders’ reaction to Cushing Treaty, 312–13, 318, 321, 329, 330–34; profits from, 213, 332–33; risks of, 156; Russell & Co.’s abstention from, 173, 179; statistics, 351, 355–57; suggested policy, 282; Turkish, 114, 116, 118, 123, 126, 128, 151, 154–55, 161, 175  
 Opium War, 182, 193; American response, 260–63, 270–71, 336  
 Otadui & Co., 330  
 “outside man,” 94  
  
 Page, Benjamin, 147  
 Paine, Ann (née Perkins), 368  
 Paine, Frederick W., 158, 368  
 Paine, Sarah, 368  
 Paine, William Fitz, 368  
 P’an Shih-ch’eng, 294, 300, 305  
 Panic of 1819, 200  
 Panic of 1837, 176–77, 208, 213, 369  
 Parker, Commo. Foxhall A., 285, 294, 318  
 Parker, Peter, 43, 57, 231, 270–71, 277, 279, 280, 281; association with Cushing, 291, 294, 300, 305, 311, 313  
 Parkin, William W., 366  
 Parkman, Susan, 368  
 Parsees, 45, 58–59  
 pastimes, 25, 39, 47–51, 80–81, 97, 326–28  
 Paulding, James Kirk, 263  
 Peabody, Joseph, 123

- Peking: Cushing's proposed visit to, 302–3, 306
- Perit & Cabot, 190
- Perit, John W., 191, 365
- Perkins, Ann. *See* Paine
- Perkins Brothers (Smyrna), 114
- Perkins & Co., 150–62, 164;  
domination of Turkey trade, 123, 190, 364, 367
- Perkins, Colonel Thomas Handasyd, 123, 150, 151, 183, 224, 245, 252, 253, 262, 282, 364, 367, 368
- Perkins, Elizabeth. *See* Sturgis
- Perkins, George, 183, 365
- Perkins, James, 151, 224, 245, 364, 367
- Perkins, Samuel G., 245, 368
- Perkins-Sturgis-Cushing alliance, 158.  
*See also* Boston Concern
- Perry, USS, brig., 277, 296–97
- Peter Parker's Ophthalmic Hospital, 58, 93
- Phillips, John, 126
- pidgin, 22, 74
- Pierce, William (vice consul), 289
- pirates, 61, 107
- Pitman & French, 157, 364
- Pitman, Timothy G., 91, 156, 364
- Pottinger, Sir Henry, 139, 267, 285, 292, 297, 319
- poverty: among Chinese, 60–61
- Praya Grande, 19, 51, 290, picture, 21
- price currents, 91–92, 100
- price cutting, 100
- Prince, Captain Job, 146
- printing, 91–93
- profits, 83–86, 101, 128
- projèt*, 295–96, 300
- Puankequa, 37, 77, 81, 152, 294
- Randall, Thomas, 146
- Rawle, Duns & Co., 326
- Rawle, Samuel, 217, 365
- Read, William, 115
- real estate, 90
- religious services, 25
- remittance crisis, 110
- reputations: commercial, 97
- restrictions on trade, 72–75. *See also* Eight Regulations
- Reynolds, J. N., 122
- rice, 128
- river life, 62–64
- river pilots, 21
- Roberts, Edmund, 31
- Roberts, Joseph, 196, 198, 366
- Russell, Angustus, 228, 370
- Russell & Co., 56, 136, 156, 160, 161–69, 176, 177, 179, 184, 190–91, 195, 204, 210, 218, 219, 220, 223, 310, 325, 331–32, 333, 364, 367;  
picture of Russell & Co., Shanghai, 327
- Russell, George Robert, 120, 151, 190, 191, 365
- Russell, Jonathan, 162
- Russell, Samuel, 90, 127, 151, 160–61, 162, 224, 228, 248, 249, 364, 369, 370; home, 249; portrait, 163
- Russell & Sturgis, 190, 367
- Russell, Sturgis & Co., 175, 177, 179, 190–91, 365, 367
- Rustomjee, D. & M., 213
- Rustomjee, Jeejeebhoy, 59
- salaries, 96
- Sampson, George R., 206
- Samuel Russell & Co., 162, 364
- Scott, 199
- secrecy, 100–101
- servants, 36, 96
- “Shanghai Mind,” 335, 340
- Shaw, Major Samuel, 39, 80, 143, 230, 368
- Shaw, Robert Gould, 195, 368
- Sherry, 301–2
- Shillaber, John, 330
- shipbuilding, 91
- shipping regulations, 24
- Shroff, 107
- silk trade, 71–72
- silver trade. *See* specie trade
- Sino-Portuguese Treaty, 2 November 1749, 292
- Slade, John, 92
- slavery, 288
- Smith, Adam, 335
- Smith, Thomas H., 146, 165, 199, 200, 201
- smuggling, 41, 112, 118, 119, 122–23, 125, 128, 129–31, 132, 133, 157, 170, 204; Chinese government attempts to eliminate, 120–21, 131–36. *See also* opium trade, Chinese attempt to end
- Smyrna, picture, 114
- Snow, Peter Wanton, 41, 150, 280

- Snow, Samuel, 39–41, 90, 147, 148, 236; country seat, 248; portrait, 40  
social hierarchy: Chinese, 78  
specie trade, 106–8, 109, 110, 111; “chopped” dollars, 87; statistics, 358–63  
speculation, 89–90  
Spooners, Daniel N., 183, 365  
*St. Louis*, USS, frigate, 288, 296–97  
Stansbury, Daniel, 150  
Stith, Griffin, 120  
Sturgis, Ann Cushing, 157  
Sturgis, Elizabeth (née Perkins), 368  
Sturgis, George W., 156, 364, 367  
Sturgis, Henry, 364, 367  
Sturgis, Henry Parkman, 120, 151, 156, 190, 191, 365  
Sturgis, James P., 51, 55, 90, 119, 156, 157, 165, 166, 242, 264, 364, 367  
Sturgis, Josiah, 130, 367  
Sturgis, Lucretia, 155  
Sturgis, Nathaniel Russell, 367, 368  
Sturgis, Robert Shaw, 367  
Sturgis, Russell, Jr., 150, 155, 183–84, 185, 191, 219, 240, 365, 369; picture, 185  
Sturgis, Russell, Sr., 367, 368  
Sturgis, William, 128, 151, 156, 160, 234, 236, 237, 240, 367, 378  
subsidiary business, 86–93, 326  
supercargo, 143  
Supplementary Treaty of Bogue, 267, 285, 292, 317  
Sword, John Dorsey, 146, 326
- Talbot, Charles Nicoll, 199, 201–2, 206, 207, 237, 240, 365, 366, 369  
Talbot, George W., 369  
Talbot, Olyphant & Co., 202, 205  
Talbot, William R., 208, 366  
tea: chests, 42; damage to, 98–99; picture of packing, 99; processing of, 68–70; season, 93–94; types of, 67  
tea tasters, 65, 326, 327  
tea trade, 65–71; fraud, 70; picture, 69; statistics, 353–54; tariff racket, 200–1, 212  
Teng, T’ing-chen, 132, 204  
Terranova affair. *See Emily incident*  
textiles, 129  
Thomas H. Smith & Sons, 365  
Thomson, Edward, 146, 157, 158, 165, 200
- Tilden, Bryant P., 36, 81, 146  
Tilton, E. G., 297  
Treaty of Nanking, 73, 129, 140, 260, 265, 266, 267, 288, 289; general regulations, 272, 323, 333  
Treaty of Wanghia, 11. *See also* Cushing Treaty  
treaty port culture, 322, 326–28, 334  
treaty ports, 266, 324–25  
treaty tariff, 289, 320  
trucking, 107  
T’ung-lin, 301, 305  
Tyler, John, 267, 272, 273
- “unequal treaties,” 305, 318, 319, 322  
Union Club, 48
- van Braam-Houckgeest, Andreas Everardus, 41, 147, 248  
verbal contracts, 95
- Wang, Ch’ing-lien, 132  
Wang-hsia: temple at, 300  
Ward, Thomas Wren, 111, 170  
Webster, Daniel, 263, 270, 271, 272, 273, 279–80; adopts merchants’ view of opium policy, 284, 302; instructs Cushing, 283–85; policy, 284, 302; portrait, 274  
Webster, Fletcher, 31, 277, 285, 286, 290, 292, 300, 305  
Wen-feng, 293  
Wetmore & Co., 171, 204, 209–17, 218, 219, 220, 310, 365  
Wetmore & Cryder, 217, 370  
Wetmore, Esther, 370  
Wetmore & Hoppin, 370  
Wetmore, Josiah F., 370  
Wetmore, Mary Wright. *See* Cryder, John  
Wetmore, Samuel, 85, 210, 369, 370  
Wetmore, Samuel, Jr., 212, 215, 216, 217, 225, 365, 370  
Wetmore, William Shepherd, 209, 210, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 219, 224–25, 283, 325, 365, 370; Château-sur-Mer, 250; picture, 211  
Wetmore, Willard, 370  
Whampoa, 21, 23; picture, 25  
Whitall, Joseph, 170  
Whittlesey family, 369  
Whittlesey, Luch. *See* Alsop, Joseph

- Wilcocks, Benjamin Chew, 41–43, 52, 54, 82, 89, 90, 115, 119, 120, 124, 125, 126, 144, 150, 151, 157, 207, 241, 242–43, 366; portrait, 42
- Wilcocks, James, 115, 150
- Williams, Samuel Wells, 44, 57, 74, 92, 158–59, 241
- Williamson, James I., 115
- women at the factories, 49–50, 75, 311
- Wood, William W., 55–56, 92, 173
- Woodmas & Offley, Smyrna, 114
- woolens, 129
- work hours, 94