

C. Y. Tung (1912–1982)
and the Rise of Modern Chinese Shipping

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Abbreviations and Glossary

ACL	Atlantic Container Line
AEL	American Export Lines
AMCL	Associated Maritime Company (HK) Ltd
APL	American President Lines
BOAC	British Overseas Airways Corporation [later British Airways]
BP	British Petroleum
break-bulk	heterogeneous and uncontainerized general cargo
bulk carrier	ship built without tweendecks to carry single consignments of cargo
BWG	BW Group
C1-M-AV	World War II standard US-built, 6,000-dwt shortsea motor ship
C3	World War II standard US-built 12,500-dwt, 16-knot freighter
Capesize	bulk carriers/tankers too large to transit the Suez or Panama canals, typically 150,000–200,000 dwt without cargo gear
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CEO	chief executive officer
C-FAIT	Canada, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
CFO	chief financial officer
charter	lease of a ship by voyage or period of time
Chipolbrok	Chinese-Polish [Joint-Stock Ship] Broking Company
CHKS	COSCO (Hong Kong) Shipping Co. Ltd
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
Cia	Compañía [Company]
Cie	Compagnie [Company]
CIF	cost, insurance, freight
CMA CGM	Compagnie Maritime d’Affrètement Compagnie Générale Maritime [merged entity, French container line]

CMB	Compagnie Maritime Belge
CMH	Chinese Merchants Holding (Co. Ltd)
CMP	China Merchants Port (Holdings Co. Ltd)
CMSN	China Merchants Steam Navigation (Company)
CMT	Chinese Maritime Trust
CMTL	Chinese Maritime Transport Ltd
CNIM	Constructions Navales et Industrielles de la Méditerranée
CNRRA	Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
conference	liner shipping cartel
COSCO	China Ocean Shipping Company (latterly China COSCO Shipping)
COSCO Holdings	Cosco Shipping Holdings Ltd
CPSNC	China People's Steam Navigation Company
CSBC	China Shipbuilding Corporation (Taiwan)
CSSC	China State Shipbuilding Corporation (PRC)
CUHK	Chinese University of Hong Kong
CUL	China Union Lines
CYKHE	Alliance of Cosco, Yang Ming, 'K' Line, Hanjin, and Evergreen
DCN	<i>Daily Commercial News</i>
DKK	Dairen Kisen [Kabushiki] Kaisha
dwt	deadweight, the measure of carrying capacity by weight tons/tonnes
ENR	<i>Engineering News-Record</i>
Farenco	Far East Enterprising Co.
FEFC	Far Eastern Freight Conference
FOB	free on board
FOC	flag of convenience
G6	Container alliance of OOCL, NYK, Hapag-Lloyd, APL, Mitsui-OSK, and Hyundai Merchant Marine
GE	General Electric [Corporation]
godown	wharf shed for storage of cargo
grt	gross registered tons, the cubic capacity of measured enclosed spaces
<i>guanxi</i>	trust-based networking and relationship-building
handysize	small, geared bulk carriers of 15,000–35,000 dwt range
Hapag	Hamburg-Amerika Paketfahrt A.G.
HKSOA	Hong Kong Shipowners Association

Child of the Revolution, 1912–1928

Tung Chao-Yung (CY) was born in Shanghai on 18 September 1912 at a momentous juncture in modern Chinese history. Following upon the spontaneous Wuchang uprising of 10 October 1911, anti-imperial revolution ignited across the country. On 1 January, a republican government would be declared under Sun Yat-sen, then on 12 February the Emperor Pu Yi abdicated, marking the end of more than 2,000 years of imperial China. If, in Chinese fashion, we count back ten months from the date of his birth, it is evident that CY was in all respects a child of the modern era, having been conceived on the cusp of the transformation. For CY, this conjuncture would matter. Not only did he grow up as a small ‘n’ nationalist and patriot; he also saw himself as having a role to play in the emergence of modern China, a sense of purpose that transcended personal ambition and would be steadfast in the face of adversity.

This opening chapter sets out what little is known of CY’s childhood years in the context of the rapidly changing society in which he grew up. For those unfamiliar with Chinese history, it begins with a brief sketch of the origins and significance of the Chinese Revolution of 1911 and the period of warlordism that ensued as the new Republic quickly fell apart. It then turns to the Tung family, its establishment in the treaty port city of Shanghai, and the young CY’s schooling there. The final part of the chapter reverts to the dramatic political events of the 1920s as the revolutionary parties battled to overthrow the warlords and reunify the country. Although these events occurred before he commenced employment at the end of 1928 (Chapter 3), his subsequent personal journey and eventual business success cannot be understood apart from this context. Even as a young man he felt pain that China was so weak and divided, and he would devote his life to the struggle of overcoming this humiliation, not through politics but through business.

Empire to Republic

Until the 1830s, the Qing empire remained a well-functioning entity that enjoyed moral legitimacy, sustained a modest prosperity for its subjects, and held the respect of neighbouring kingdoms (Elvin 1973). Thereafter it was weakened by a series of shocks and lost the flexibility to adapt to a changing world order. In the words of J. K. Fairbank: ‘no political collapse in history has been more cataclysmic – a decline from an age-old recognized supremacy over the known world to an abject partitioning into spheres of foreign domination, all in the space of one lifetime between 1842 and 1898’ (Fairbank 1969, 4). By the 1900s, it was not a matter of whether the empire would collapse but when, how, and who would benefit.

The immediate cause of the worsening crisis was external pressure. Until 1840, the Qing empire, with its seat in the distant northern capital of Beijing, had haughtily maintained its self-sufficiency and confined ‘barbarian’ traders to the southern entrepot of Canton (Guangzhou). There, fractious Europeans and Americans conducted a very profitable seasonal trade under the benign regulation of the wealthy hong merchants. The problem for the Western merchants was that the trade was highly unbalanced: the insatiable American and European demand for Chinese manufactures such as silks and ceramics along with tea and other exotic items was not matched by any substantial Chinese demand for imported goods, resulting in a steady drain of silver, a pattern foreshadowing contemporary concern with China’s accumulation of large trade surpluses. In the mid-nineteenth century, Western and especially British ‘country traders’, found a way around their problem by eliciting a Chinese demand for Indian opium. When the Chinese authorities rightly tried to restrict this pernicious trade, the country traders pleaded their case to the British government and secured naval support for what became known as the First Opium War.

The ostensible aim of this Opium War, which began in November 1839, was to open China to foreign trade on favourable terms without the restrictions imposed by the vilified hong merchants. With the assistance of steamships, the British navy enjoyed freedom of movement along the coast and was able to dictate the course of this undignified war. After blockading the Pearl River, it occupied the island of Hong Kong in January 1841, then moved relentlessly northwards to seize Xiamen (Amoy), the Zhoushan (Chusan) Islands, Ningbo (Ningpo), and, by mid-1842, Shanghai and Zhenjiang (Chinkiang) en route to the southern capital of Nanjing (Nanking). At this point the Chinese government sued for peace. Under the Treaty of Nanking (1842), the British government staked claim to the island of Hong Kong as British territory; allowed foreign settlement to extend beyond the foreign enclave of Shameen (Shamian Dao) at Canton to the new ‘treaty ports’ then known as Amoy, Foochow (Fuzhou), Ningpo, and Shanghai; granted extraterritorial rights for foreigners residing there; and accepted a 5 per cent limit on tariffs (Fairbank 1969).

While the concessions were modest enough in terms of what would later be exacted, the war and treaty were portentous. First, they destroyed the empire’s standing as supreme and invincible; second, they revealed the superiority of Western ships and arms, a product of the

Industrial Revolution that was diffusing from Britain to Europe and the United States (US). Although the treaty opened only a few additional ports to foreign trade, it was like the breaking of a dyke. Foreigners and, more importantly, foreign ideas and innovations were no longer confined to the remote southern edge of the empire. While the Chinese government might seek to confine and filter these foreign influences, it could no longer suppress them, especially the insidious spread of the opium habit and its drain upon the monetized economy.

Although for a few years it seemed that things had more or less gone back to normal, the heartland of China was becoming restless. This burst forth in southern China in the early 1850s in what became known as the Taiping Rebellion, whose quasi-Christian, nationalist leader Hong Xiuquan (Hung Hsiu-Chuan, 1814–64) sought to overthrow the perceived illegitimate Qing government, illegitimate in that it was controlled by Manchu rulers who were not Han Chinese, even though they had in most respects adopted Chinese language and customs (Spence 1996). The rebellion spread rapidly into Central China and, in 1853, the rebel government established its capital at Nanjing. Not until the early 1860s did the imperial armies achieve some success, leading to the recapture of Nanjing in 1864. Over the decade and a half of the rebellion, a vast expanse of productive land was laid waste with the loss of tens of millions of lives. The fact that it took so long to defeat the rebellion and with such terrible damage further eroded the legitimacy of the Qing rulers. Taiping scholar Jen Yu-wen argues that the defeat of this modernizing, reformist movement caused a tragic hiatus in Chinese history, even though its ideals inspired Sun Yat-sen and the Revolution of 1911 (Jen 1973).

Amidst the turmoil of the Taiping Rebellion, the Second Opium War broke out in 1858. Now equipped with more powerful steamships and weapons, British forces had even less difficulty in overwhelming China's coastal defences, weakened as they were by the civil war in the interior. Once again, the Chinese government had to sue for peace at the price of further concessions to the foreign powers. In 1860, a second set of treaties, ratified by the Convention of Peking (1862), opened more ports to foreign trade, most significantly those known as Chefoo (Yantai), Tientsin (Tianjin), and Newchwang (Niuzhuang/Yingkou) in North China, and Chinkiang (Zhenjiang), Kiukiang (Jiujiang), and Hankow (Hankou) along the Yangtze, thereby throwing the richest part of China open to direct foreign trade and shipping with all the benefits of modern commercial steamships.

These three disasters of the two Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion forced the Qing government to accept, however reluctantly, that the empire would need to adapt if it was to survive at all. The so-called Tongzhi (Tung Chih) Restoration brought into power a group of enlightened bureaucrats led by Prince Gong (Kung) determined to do just this, harnessing the potential of modern Western technologies and applying them to Chinese ways in what was known as the Self-Strengthening Movement (Wright 1957).

Despite the establishment of new institutions like the Foreign Affairs Office (Zongli/Tsungli Yamen) and the Chinese Maritime Customs, modernization of the army and navy, and pilot projects in transport, manufacturing, and construction, the Self-Strengthening Movement ultimately failed (Wright 1957; Feuerwerker 1970). The reasons why it failed are

best understood by comparison with Japan. After Japanese ports had been forcibly opened up to foreign trade by Admiral Perry and his American warships, the Tokugawa shogunate and various semi-autonomous local lords (*daimyo*) also set up a range of pilot projects to apply Western technologies (Smith 1955). However, just a decade after the formal opening to foreign trade in 1858, an alliance of outer rulers armed with modern weaponry was able within months to overthrow the shogunate in what became known as the Meiji Restoration. By this revolution, the emperor was restored to a position of supreme formal authority, though within a very few years the young men who had seized control of executive government swept away the feudal system in its entirety, stripping *daimyo* and samurai alike of their power and sinecures, and substituting a set of new institutions that borrowed eclectically from Western models.

The Qing government, by contrast, never accepted that successful modernization would require the transformation of the atrophied Confucian institutions that had sustained the Chinese empire for over 2,000 years. Foreign technologies might be imported when they were clearly superior, but they had to be wedded to Chinese practice. The weakness of this approach was revealed most starkly by China's humiliating defeat by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95. Although the Chinese navy had been equipped with modern British-built steam warships just as good as their Japanese counterparts, the Japanese command structure had adapted to the modern style of naval warfare, which the Chinese had not (Wright 2000). The outcome was a debacle. The small nation of Japan routed the Chinese navy and by the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) compelled the Chinese government to cede the island of Taiwan and pay a massive indemnity of 230 million silver taels that drained the equivalent of 8,600 tons of silver from the already weakened country.

Yet even then the conservatives around the Empress Dowager had not learned the lesson. Instead of making a more determined effort to modernize, they sought to reverse the tide of history by a sudden assault upon the Western presence through the proxy of the clandestine Society of Righteous Harmony (or Righteous Fists) in what became known in the West as the Boxer Uprising. In mid-1900, Westerners in Beijing and Tianjin were caught by surprise, some killed, others besieged. In an early example of international cooperation, Allied forces of eight nations seized the Taku (Dagu) forts in the approaches to Tianjin, marched on Beijing, freed the besieged legations, then looted and pillaged the city. In September, the Chinese government signed a peace agreement that included a massive indemnity to the victorious allies of 450 million silver taels (£67 million), equivalent to one tael for every citizen to be paid by instalments until 1940 (Spence 1990, 230–35).

In the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion, China was in a state of unresolved crisis. Foreign pressure had been instrumental in weakening the Chinese empire over the preceding decades but, when that empire was on the verge of collapse, no foreign power dared trigger the unpredictable consequences of this event. If the failing Ottoman empire was the 'sick man of Europe', China was the 'sick man of Asia'. No country was prepared to seek hegemony and thereby incur the enormous costs of administering such a vast country, nor to provoke jealousy from rival powers, so the American 'open door' policy resulted in a stalemate. This suited the foreign

powers quite well, in that they could each press the Chinese government for concessions for railways, telegraphs, mines, and other such profitable ventures in an undignified scramble that was aptly described as ‘carving up the Chinese melon’ (*guafēn*) (Bergère 1998, 44).

The tacit foreign consensus to preserve the decadent Chinese empire meant that change would have to come from within Chinese society itself. Indeed, China’s all-too-evident humiliation at the hands of the foreign powers and the impossibility of any meaningful reform meant that such change was not only inevitable but would occur by revolution. Across China, from the imperial court through the provincial bureaucracy and down to the local level, enlightened people sought a new way. The challenge was to forge a coalition that could realize the necessary changes within the only system of government that they had ever known. And although the desire for change was strongest in the lower Yangtze and Guangdong (Kwangtung), which through the treaty ports were most exposed to Western ideas, the centre of power was still the imperial court in remote Beijing.

The modernizing impulse came from Chinese living outside the empire and exposed to Western ways, sometimes also to Western education and sometimes Christianity. For many centuries, Chinese had been migrating from Fujian (Fukien) and Guangdong to Southeast Asia. There, the main coastal cities all had substantial Chinese populations, often intermarried with the local royal family and aristocracy. Notwithstanding British rule, Singapore had emerged, like Hong Kong, as a Chinese city in most respects. In the 1850s, Chinese also began to migrate to Australia and California, at first attracted by the lure of gold but later also by more mundane opportunities as market gardeners or laundry-men. These overseas Chinese were not bound by any political loyalty to the Chinese empire and in many cases, through the secret societies, were openly hostile to the ruling Qing dynasty.

Discontent among the overseas Chinese was focused in more modern and political form by groups associated with Dr Sun Yat-sen (Bergère 1998). Exiled in 1895, he travelled widely around Asia-Pacific, from Japan to Singapore, Hawaii, and the US, raising funds from wealthy overseas Chinese merchants who shared his vision of a modern, republican China that would bring an end to decades of humiliation and take its place among the great powers. The progress of Meiji Japan was a powerful example and the debacles of the Sino-Japanese War and Boxer Uprising both painful spurs.

Such ferment within and beyond China led to no sudden revolution but a series of short-lived local revolts, culminating in mid-October 1911 in the uprising at Wuchang, opposite the treaty port of Hankow. This spontaneous and premature event happened without reference to Sun Yat-sen, then on a fund-raising tour of the US: he did not return to Hong Kong until some two and a half months later. In the interim, the uprising had spread rapidly across central and southern China as province after province seceded from the tenuous authority of Beijing. This revolution by default was not coordinated and had no agreed common purpose beyond the overthrow of the despised Qing dynasty and the reform and modernization of the country. There was, however, general agreement that Sun was the legitimate leader of this revolutionary movement and should be installed as President, in which capacity his first act, on 1 January 1912, was to proclaim the new Republic of China (Bergère 1998, 213).

2

Steam Shipping in China, 1841–1937

‘History is brutal’, CY once observed, while reflecting on China’s long struggle to establish a modern shipping industry (Tung 1954, 70). A country with a proud maritime tradition was rendered powerless and defenceless by the introduction of steamships. In January 1841 during the First Opium War, the East India Company’s armed paddle steamer *Nemesis* outmanoeuvred and annihilated the opposing Chinese fleets of war junks off the Bocca Tigris forts at the mouth of the Pearl River (Fay 1975, 271–75). The entire length of the Chinese coast thereby became vulnerable to British attack, this being the main reason why the government eventually sued for peace. Nevertheless, steamships had been developed in the West decades earlier for commercial purposes. At first it was their ability to serve as ferries or tugs in sheltered waters that made them so useful but by the 1820s more reliable steamers were carrying mails and passengers over the short distances from Britain across the Irish Sea and over the Channel to France (Robinson 1964). On longer voyages, however, steam power was still uneconomic and merely auxiliary to normal sail power. The first truly ocean-going steamship was Brunel’s 1,350-ton wooden paddle steamer *Great Western* of 1838, which opened the pioneer steamship line across the Atlantic (Gibbs 1963, 38–40).

Notwithstanding the great distances, a few commercial steamships did appear in Asia before 1840, either sailing around the Cape of Good Hope or being built in India and fitted with engines shipped out from Britain. On this basis, in 1829 the East India Company opened an irregular mail line between Suez, Aden, and Bombay, while in 1834 paddle steamers began running to a regular schedule from Calcutta up the Ganges River (Gibbs 1963; Bernstein 1987). British traders at Canton were also tempted to try out the potential of steamships. By way of experiment, in April 1830, James Matheson of Jardine, Matheson & Co. chartered the 161-ton paddle steamer *Forbes* to tow the brig *Jamesina* from Calcutta to Hong Kong but it was not placed in local service (Keswick 1982, 136). Five years later, Jardines sailed the 58-ton schooner *Jardine* out from Scotland with engines and paddle wheels stowed below deck. On arrival it was fitted out and demonstrated to the Chinese authorities with the intention of operating



Figure 2.1. Armed paddle steamer HMS *Nemesis* (far right) destroying the Chinese fleet of war junks off the Bocca Tigris (Humen) forts at the mouth of the Pearl River, 17 January 1841 (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich).

the ‘smokeship’ as a despatch vessel between Macao, Lin Tin anchorage, and Whampoa: when permission was refused, the vessel was sent back to Singapore (Keswick 1982, 137–38; Haviland 1962, 3–5). Otherwise, Chinese merchants and officials had no experience of steamships before the East India Company deployed them to devastating effect in the Pearl River in January 1841, even though by this time steamers had become a familiar sight in India, Singapore, and even Australia.

Early Developments

The ending of the First Opium War by the Treaty of Nanking (1842) opened new opportunities for commercial steam navigation in Chinese waters. British merchants now had a secure base at Hong Kong and treaty rights not only at Canton but also at Amoy, Foochow, Ningbo, and Shanghai (Fairbank 1969). Yet it was a small American steamer, the 148-ton *Midas*, that opened the first commercial service. Arriving in Hong Kong in May 1845 after sailing from New York via the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius, it spent some months under repair before being advertised in September for a twice-weekly service between Hong Kong and Canton. Some months later Jardines placed the 186-ton *Corsair* in a rival service carrying ‘treasure, freight and passengers’; the vessel had been built to run across the Irish Sea but arrived in January 1846 from Sydney (Haviland 1962, 6–8).

Despite these two early local initiatives, the decisive event was the extension of a steam packet service from Suez through to Hong Kong by the Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company (P&O) (Gibbs 1963, Ch. 2). Before telegraphs had encircled the world, steamships had become the fastest way of transmitting information across the oceans, shortening the voyage from many months by sailing ship to a more reliable few weeks by steamer. In 1837, the recently formed P&O had won an Admiralty contract to carry mails from England to Portugal, Spain, and Gibraltar. Three years later, a new contract extended the mails service via Malta through to the Egyptian port of Alexandria. The company's charter of incorporation in December 1840 committed it within two years to carry the mails through to India, for which two new paddle steamers were ordered for a monthly service from Suez via Aden, Ceylon, and Madras to Calcutta. Following upon the Treaty of Nanking, it was logical to extend the service even further east to Hong Kong. In 1844, a supplementary contract for £160,000 provided for a monthly extension from Galle (Ceylon) to Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong. To this end, the 550-ton wooden paddler steamer *Lady Mary Wood* was set out east, arriving at Hong Kong with the first mails in August 1845 (Rabson and O'Donoghue 1988, 17). In 1846, the mail line was extended via the new treaty ports to Shanghai, and soon the frequency was upgraded to fortnightly (Gibbs 1963, 46–50).

The P&O mail set a rhythm for local steamship services and led to a new emphasis on regularity. The immediate consequence was the provision of scheduled steamship services between Hong Kong and Canton. In 1847, P&O ordered its own steamer, the iron paddler *Canton*, which arrived in Hong Kong in February 1849, while a local venture, the Hong Kong & Canton Steam Packet Company, was formed in 1848 to build two wooden paddle steamers in England (Haviland 1962, 10–12). From early 1850, the latter could advertise sailings from Hong Kong and Canton via Macao every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning. Nevertheless, the company did not achieve profitability and suspended operations in December 1854, after which P&O increased its frequency sailings to three times a week each way in competition with a growing number of other operators (Haviland 1962, 18–19). By September 1856, some dozen steamers were recorded as in service around the Pearl River under various agents (Haviland 1962, 31–32). Then in the following month, hostilities commenced in the Second Opium War and this small fleet temporarily dispersed to other employment (Haviland 1962, 30–37).

A severe limitation upon the working of these early steamers was the availability of local expertise in the new marine engines and boilers. The first steamers were therefore completely reliant upon the expertise of their own engineers. When this failed for want of replacement parts or facilities for repair, the vessel either had to be laid up or revert to a sailing craft, as happened not infrequently. Needing support facilities at the Hong Kong terminus, in 1845, P&O sent out Scots shipwright John Couper to supervise and upgrade its Chinese 'mud dock' at Whampoa (Coates 1980, 13). He was soon followed by his son, John Cardew. In 1855, on leased land, the father opened a deep, 300-foot granite-lined drydock; alongside he built a slipway on which he began to build small steamers to be fitted out with imported machinery (Coates 1980, 20–21).

This was the Whampoa origin of what would in 1863 become the Hongkong & Whampoa Dock Company. However, in December 1856, a few weeks after the outbreak of the Second Opium War, John Couper Snr was abducted and the dock complex was smashed up (Coates 1980, 26–27). At the end of hostilities, John Cardew and his American partner Thomas Hunt built a new dock at Whampoa, but it would soon become apparent that the centre of docking, repair, and shipbuilding was moving to Hong Kong.

The end of the Second Opium War by the Convention of Peking (1860) transformed the situation in both Hong Kong and Shanghai. Whereas hitherto shipping and trade had been, apart from P&O, very much a matter of individual enterprise and loose partnerships, now private capital began to consolidate and combine. The driving force was Thomas Sutherland, local manager of P&O, whose contractual obligations to the Admiralty dictated sound organization. In 1863, he was instrumental in the formation of the Hongkong & Whampoa Dock Company, combining with the interests of Jardine, Matheson & Co. (Jardines) and Douglas Lapraik (Coates 1980). Jardines was one of the leading British trading houses in China and had a large interest in the opium trade: in 1855, they had introduced the fast steamers *Lancefield* and *Fierly Cross* to the opium trade between Calcutta and China. Douglas Lapraik, a Scot, had settled in Hong Kong as a watchmaker and accumulated some capital that he invested in small steamships to run from Hong Kong to the treaty ports of Swatow, Amoy, and Foochow, a venture that in 1883 would be incorporated as the Douglas Steamship Co. Ltd (Dick and Kentwell 2023a). In 1865, these various interests along with other British and American houses combined to form the Hongkong, Canton & Macao Steamboat Company, which thereby became the dominant party in the shipping of the Pearl River (Haviland 1974; Dick and Kentwell 2023b). In the same year, Sutherland along also took the initiative to establish The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC), now domiciled in the United Kingdom but still a strong presence in Asian banking (King 1987).

Shanghai had been a prosperous trading centre before establishment of the foreign concessions. During the 1850s the port's foreign trade grew steadily, though only after the opening of the Yangtze to foreign trade and shipping in early 1861 did Shanghai begin to outpace Hong Kong and Canton as the leading commercial centre. On the river, the great advantage of steamships was that they could sail against the current as far upstream to Hankow, travelling in a matter of days what hitherto had taken junks many strenuous weeks or months. The whole tempo of trade thereby quickened and would have done so a great deal more had not Central China been convulsed and impoverished by the long years of the Taiping Rebellion (Chapter 1).

Opening of the river brought many operators onto the scene, most of them transient, at least insofar as their shipping interests were concerned. The two leading British firms were Jardine, Matheson & Co. and Dent & Co., while Augustine Heard & Co. and Russell & Co. stood out among the American ones. It was the last of these that was to prevail. Founded in 1824, Russell & Co. was described by Haviland (1983, 114) as 'the greatest of the American [trading] houses in China'. In 1862, the firm promoted and became managers of the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company which, having the advantage of the largest amount of capital, one by one absorbed most of the minor interests on the river (Haviland 1962).

The inevitable consequence of having so many hopeful entrants in a new trade was that freight rates and passenger fares were soon driven well below capital and operating costs. This was the main reason for the early withdrawal of the lesser firms, but also a strong motive for the surviving parties to reach some understanding. Tentative efforts foundered upon mutual suspicion. In 1866, however, a crisis in the China trade obliged Dent & Co. to mortgage two of its steamers to Jardines, whose local partner then entered into negotiations with Russells (Liu 1962). Thus in mid-1866, the leading principals on the Yangtze, the coast, and the Pearl River finally agreed upon a rationalization and division of spheres. Russells, through the Shanghai S. N. Co., thereby gained a virtual monopoly of the Yangtze, in return for which they agreed not to operate steamers south of Ningbo and to withdraw from the Pearl River, which became a near monopoly of the Steamboat Company under the management of Augustine Heard & Company. The China coast below Ningbo was left to Jardines, Dents (soon to become bankrupt), and Lapraik (Dick and Kentwell 2023a). This agreement was ratified in January 1867 for a period of ten years (Liu 1962, 183–84).

The agreement left open the status of the northern line from Shanghai to the treaty ports of Chefoo and Tianjin, the gateway to Beijing. This trade had become the niche of the small firm of Trautmann & Co., founded in 1855 as Harkort & Co. with German merchant connections, and acquiring its first steamer the following year (Haviland 1983, 191–94). In the second half of 1862, the firm took delivery in Shanghai of two fine Glasgow-built vessels, the 463-ton screw steamer *Shunlee* and the 621-ton paddle steamer *Nanzing* which, after being tried for a few months on the Yangtze, settled into the Northern line. In 1863, J. F. H. Trautmann took control of the company in his own name. To raise funds for a fast new paddle steamer, in 1868 he floated the North China Steamer Co., for which Trautmann & Co. acted as managers (Dick and Kentwell 2022). Russell & Co. broke into the trade but were amenable to sharing it with Trautmann.

Notwithstanding that Jardines had brokered the Yangtze agreement, as a result of the indecisiveness of its senior partners, they soon found themselves marginalized in shipping along the China Coast. Their frustrated senior managing partner in Shanghai, F. B. Johnson, turned to his wealthy Chinese business manager (comprador) Tong King-sing (Tang Jingxing, also Tang Tingshu).¹ During the 1840s, Guangdong-born Tong had received a good Anglo-Chinese education in Macao and Hong Kong, then worked in Hong Kong as a court interpreter before moving to Shanghai in 1856 as interpreter for the Chinese Maritime Customs; he joined Jardines in 1861 and within two years was promoted to Shanghai comprador, the top Chinese position in the firm, at only thirty-one years of age. Liu (1982, 104) describes him as China's 'first modern entrepreneur'. Besides representing Jardines, he also had his own personal investments, initially in the conventional forms of pawnshops and the salt trade, then in modern steamships: in 1867, he became a director of the local Union Steam Navigation Co. and then, in 1868, of the newly floated North China Steamer Co. (Liu 1982, 108). Tong helped Johnson to

1. For background on the role of the Chinese comprador, see Hao (1970 and 1986).



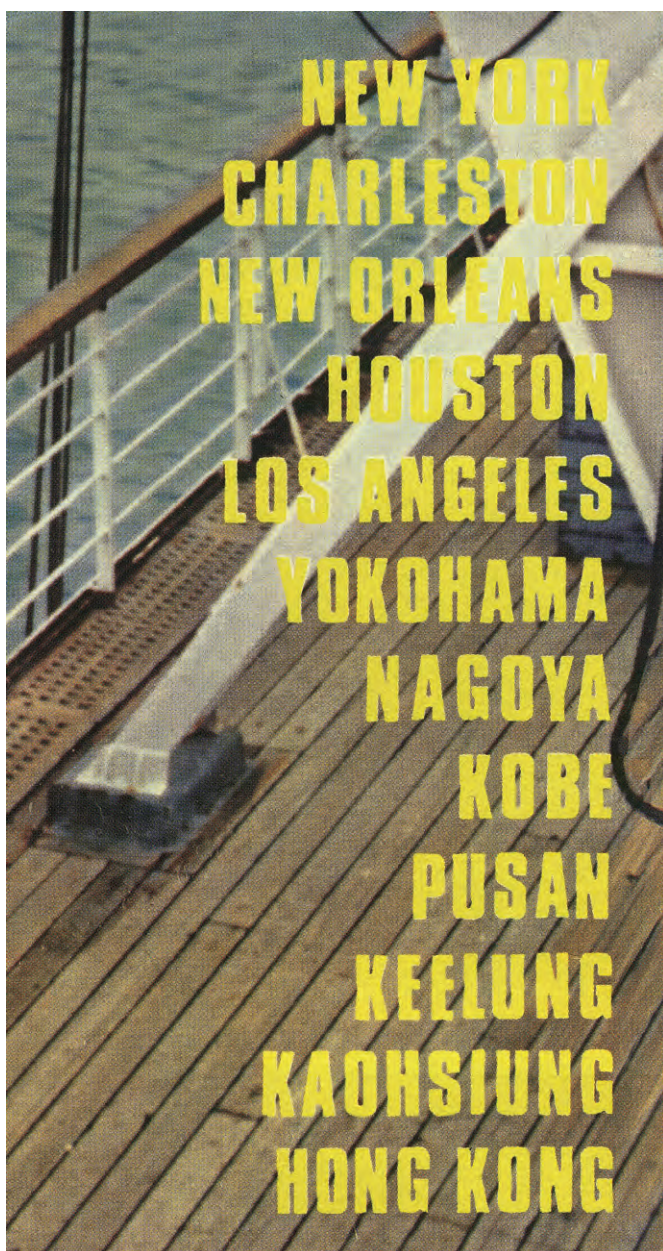
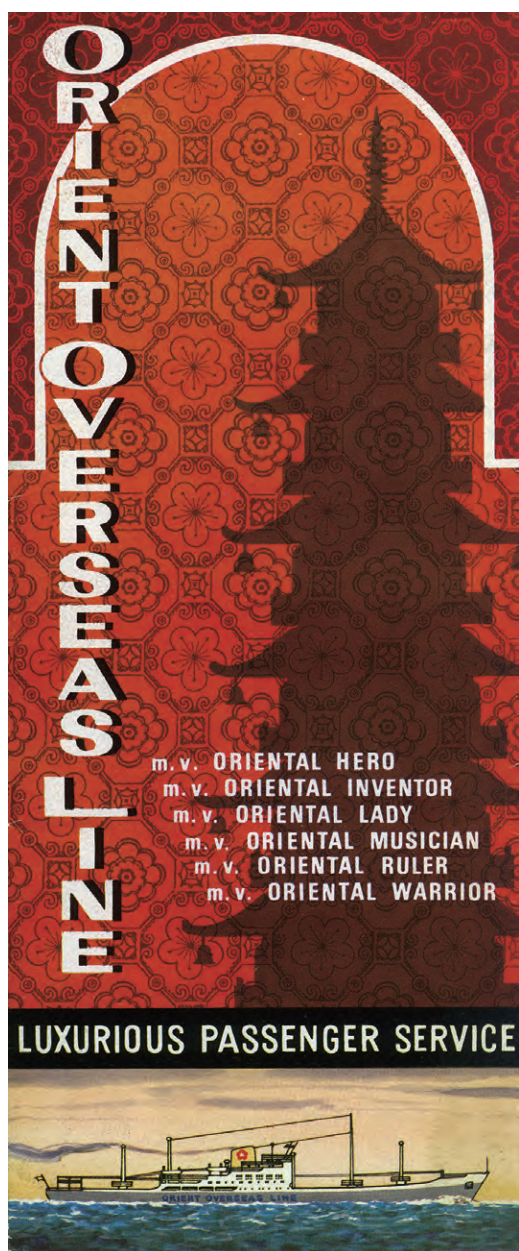
Figure 8.25. *Seawise University* as the fire spreads throughout the ship, firefloats proving ineffective.



Figure 8.26. Burning *Seawise University* heeling over from the weight of water pumped on board (Ian Shiffman).



Figure 8.27. Capsized wreck of *Seawise University* (Stephen Berry).



Plates 5A-B. Brochure advertising 100-day passenger cruises by OOL's ex-German sextet (coll. H. Dick).

Announcing the Maiden Voyage of **SEAWISE** (formerly the R.M.S. Queen Elizabeth) 75-day Circle Pacific Cruise.



**Sailing from Los Angeles
on April 24, 1972. Rates
from \$30 a day first class.**

Sailing from Vancouver, B.C. on April 18, 1972

	ARRIVAL DATE	DEPARTURE DATE
Los Angeles		April 24 PM
Honolulu	April 29 AM	May 3 AM
Suva	May 10 AM	May 12 PM
Sydney	May 16 AM	May 18 PM
Fremantle	May 23 AM	May 25 AM
Bali	May 28 noon	May 31 AM
Singapore	June 2 AM	June 5 AM
Hong Kong	June 8 AM	June 11 AM
Kobe	June 14 noon	June 16 PM
Yokohama	June 17 AM	June 20 AM
Honolulu	June 26 noon	June 29 AM
Vancouver	July 4 noon	July 6 PM
Los Angeles	July 9 AM	

Ports of call and dates subject to change without notice.

Plate 8. *Seawise University* as advertised for inaugural cruises (advertising brochure).

Appendix: Fleet List

Name of Ship	In Fleet	grt	Built	Builder and Location	Type	Tung Group Renaming or Fate
Tientsin Navigation Co. Ltd (estab. 1929 with lighters and tugs)						
Tung Cheng	1932–37	1,863	1902	Craig Taylor, Stockton	general cargo	sold
Tung Lee	1934–37	1,919	1901	Campbeltown S.B., Campbeltown	general cargo	sold
Tien Hsing	1935–47	268	1935	Ta Chung Hua, Shanghai	icebreaker-tug	sold
Wallem & Co. Ltd as beneficial owners (1940–1941)						
Capella	1940–41	2,398	1910	Burmeister & Wain, Copenhagen	gen. cargo/pass	war loss
Ramona	1940–41	3,513	1920	Submarine Boat, Newark	general cargo	war loss
Essi	1940–41	1,192	1899	Duncan, Port Glasgow	general cargo	war loss
CY Tung family-owned and controlled ships						
Chong Lee	1946–54	4,683	1906	Swan Hunter, Newcastle	general cargo	scrapped
Kong So	1946–49	789	1915	Kwong Fook Cheong, Hong Kong	river steamer	scrapped
Tien Loong	1946–50	6,632	1922	Harland & Wolff, Belfast	general cargo	<i>Atlantic Dragon</i>
Tsze Hong	1946–50	468	1918	Harland & Wolff, Glasgow	salvage tug	foundered
Lan Chow	1947–54	5,341	1912	Rickmers, Bremerhaven	general cargo	scrapped
Ling Yung	1947–48	4,895	1914	Irvine's, West Hartlepool	general cargo	wrecked
Pei Ching	1947–51	1,129	1901	Trondheims M.V., Trondheim	general cargo	<i>Northern Phoenix</i>
Pei Ming	1947–52	667	1922	Huh Hsing, Shanghai	pass/gen. cargo	scrapped
Pei Ta	1947–??	1,030	1895	Howaldtswerke, Kiel	general cargo	unknown
Tang Shan	1947–58	4,622	1912	Russell, Port Glasgow	general cargo	scrapped
Tien Hsiang	1947–50	2,256	1922	Dunlop Bremner, Port Glasgow	gen. cargo/pass	sold
Tien Hsing	1947–53	5,221	1918	Richardson Duck, Stockton	general cargo	<i>Hsiang Yung</i>

Name of Ship	In Fleet	grt	Built	Builder and Location	Type	Tung Group Renaming or Fate
Tzse Yung	1947–58	2,484	1912	Osbourne Graham, Sunderland	general cargo	scrapped
Tung Ping	1947–50	7,676	1918	Sun S.B., Chester	general cargo	<i>Pacific Dragon</i>
Jui Hsin	1948–50	6,318	1919	Federal S.B., Kearney	general cargo	<i>Oriental Dragon</i>
Tien Ping	1948–54	3,930	1905	J. Priestman, Sunderland	general cargo	scrapped
Atlantic Dragon	1950–59	6,632	1922	Harland & Wolff, Belfast	general cargo	scrapped
Audax	1950–51	5,983	1930	Cammell Laird, Birkenhead	general cargo	<i>Ocean Star</i>
Oriental Dragon	1950–55	6,318	1919	Federal S.B., Kearney	general cargo	<i>Atlantic Unity</i>
Oriental Phoenix	1950–54	5,221	1918	Dunlop Bremner, Port Glasgow	gen. cargo/pass	sold
Pacific Dragon	1950–55	7,676	1918	Sun S.B., Chester	general cargo	<i>Oceanic Justice</i>
Northern Phoenix	1951–56	1,129	1901	Trondheims M.V., Trondheim	general cargo	scrapped
Ocean Star	1951–52	5,982	1930	Cammell Laird, Birkenhead	general cargo	sold
Ocean Venus	1951–53	6,665	1919	Harland & Wolff, Glasgow	general cargo	scrapped
Yangtse Phoenix	1951–51	2,777	1911	Fairfield, Glasgow	river steamer	scrapped
Ocean Neptune	1952–54	10,928	1924	Commonwealth Dockyard, Sydney	general cargo	<i>Pacific Trader</i>
Hsiang Yung	1953–59	5,221	1918	Richardson Duck, Stockton	general cargo	scrapped
Pacific Glory	1954–56	8,254	1929	Bremer Vulkan, Vegesack	gen. cargo/pass	<i>Oceanic Reliance</i>
Pacific Pride	1954–55	9,774	1937	Burmeister & Wain, Copenhagen	tanker	<i>Atlantic Pride</i>
Pacific Trader	1954–56	10,928	1924	Commonwealth Dockyard, Sydney	general cargo	<i>Atlantic Concord</i>
Atlantic Pride	1955–63	9,442	1937	Burmeister & Wain, Copenhagen	ore-oil carrier	<i>Oceanic Pride</i>
Atlantic Triumph	1955–63	9,864	1938	Blohm & Voss, Hamburg	ore-oil carrier	<i>Oceanic Triumph</i>
Atlantic Unity	1955–59	6,318	1919	Federal S.B., Kearney	general cargo	scrapped
Oceanic Justice	1955–57	7,676	1918	Sun S.B., Chester	general cargo	scrapped
Pacific Concord	1955–56	7,346	1923	John Brown, Clydebank	general cargo	<i>Oceanic Enterprise</i>
Pacific Harmony	1955–55	7,706	1929	Bremer Vulkan, Vegesack	gen. cargo/pass	wrecked
Pacific Triumph	1955–55	10,516	1938	Blohm & Voss, Hamburg	tanker	<i>Atlantic Triumph</i>
Atlantic Carrier	1956–59	6,495	1919	Harland & Wolff, Belfast	general cargo	scrapped
Atlantic Concord	1956–58	10,928	1924	Commonwealth Dockyard, Sydney	general cargo	<i>Jui Yung</i>
Oceanic Enterprise	1956–60	7,346	1923	John Brown, Clydebank	general cargo	scrapped

Name of Ship	In Fleet	grt	Built	Builder and Location	Type	Tung Group Renaming or Fate
Oceanic Reliance	1956–59	8,254	1929	Bremer Vulkan, Vegesack	gen. cargo/pass	scrapped
Pacific Carrier	1956–56	6,495	1919	Harland & Wolff, Belfast	general cargo	<i>Atlantic Carrier</i>
Pacific Mariner	1956–59	7,521	1917	Russell, Port Glasgow	general cargo	scrapped
Oriental Star	1957–80	9,160	1957	Loire-Normandie, Quevilly	bulk carrier	war loss
Pacific Endurance	1957–59	9,933	1937	Sun S.B. & D.D., Chester	tanker	<i>Han Yung</i>
Pacific Skipper	1957–63	6,605	1925	Lithgows, Port Glasgow	general cargo	scrapped
Atlantic Faith	1958–79	15,564	1958	Sasebo Sempaku, Sasebo	ore-bulk-oil carrier	scrapped
Jui Yung	1958–59	10,928	1924	Commonwealth Dockyard, Sydney	general cargo	scrapped
Pacific Wave	1958–60	7,206	1945	Todd-Houston S.B., Houston	Liberty	<i>Ching Yung</i>
Han Yung	1959–59	9,933	1937	Sun S.B. & D.D., Chester	tanker	scrapped
Lee Yung	1959–76	13,291	1941	At. & Ch. de France, Dunkirk	tanker	scrapped
Oceanic Confidence	1959–59	13,291	1941	At. & Ch. de France, Dunkirk	tanker	<i>Lee Yung</i>
Oriental Argosy	1959–75	9,939	1957	Uraga Dock, Yokosuka	bulk carrier	wrecked
Oriental Giant	1959–79	43,394	1959	Sasebo Sempaku, Sasebo	tanker	scrapped
Pacific Builder	1959–62	12,334	1933	Adriatico, Monfalcone	tanker	<i>Pacific Navigator</i>
Pacific Leader	1959–68	10,297	1944	Sun S.B. & D.D., Chester	T2 tanker	<i>Oceanic Amity</i>
Ching Yung	1960–66	7,206	1945	Todd-Houston S.B., Houston	Liberty	scrapped
Hongkong Manufacturer	1960–61	7,607	1944	Permanente (No.1), Richmond	Victory	<i>Hongkong Clipper</i>
Oriental Trader	1960–83	10,060	1956	Uraga Dock, Yokosuka	bulk carrier	scrapped
Pacific Traveller	1960–61	7,041	1943	Prince Rupert D.D. & S., Prince Rupert	North Sands	<i>Oceanic Express</i>
Atlantic Splendour	1961–77	12,721	1956	Sir J. Laing & Sons, Sunderland	bulk carrier	scrapped
Hongkong Clipper	1961–74	7,607	1944	Permanente (No.1), Richmond	Victory	scrapped
Hongkong Exporter	1961–72	7,705	1945	Bethlehem-Fairfield, Baltimore	Victory	scrapped
Kin Yung	1961–68	7,241	1943	Bethlehem-Fairfield, Baltimore	Liberty	scrapped
Oceanic Express	1961–66	7,041	1943	Prince Rupert D.D. & S., Prince Rupert	North Sands	scrapped

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