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Jonathan Goldstein is professor of East Asian history at the University of West Georgia and research associate of Harvard University’s Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies. His books include Stephen Girard’s Trade with China (2011), Philadelphia and the China Trade (1978), America Views China (1990), The Jews of China (2000), and China and Israel, 1948–98 (1999).

Frederic D. Grant, Jr. is a Boston attorney with a research interest in the business and legal history of early trade between the United
States and China. He continues an international tradition of scholarship by individuals with a family involvement in the trade, such as Liang Jiabin, 1937 and 1960, and H. A. Crosby Forbes, 1975.

Vincent Wai-kit Ho is an assistant professor at the University of Macau. He is the author of *Macau: The Culture beyond a Casino City* (《澳門—賭城以外的文化內涵》2011). He has spent many years researching different aspects of Hong Kong, Macau, and heritage, and has published over 20 articles on those subjects. He is presently writing new histories of the tourism and Hong Kong-Macau relations.

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Susan E. Schopp is an independent historian with a background in art history. In 1997 she identified the wreck of the English East India ship *Earl Temple* in the South China Sea. She is currently a Ph.D. student at the University of Macau, researching French private traders at Canton and their networks. Her research interests include East India ships, chop boats, cross-cultural perceptions, and Armenians in Indian Ocean trade.

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

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

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

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

Macao and its global connections in the early nineteenth century were deeply entangled, as they are today, with the bigger picture of the global connections of the Canton Delta. Four chapters show us how much we still have to learn, from new sources and new questions, about the growing tensions in the old Canton trade and its final disintegration in the Opium War. Jonathan Goldstein opens up for us an episode of crisis though not disintegration around 1820, through the records and experiences of one America-based trading house, namely Stephen Girard of Philadelphia. Recounting the building, outfitting,
and commissioning of a small fleet of vessels in the early nineteenth century, Goldstein outlines Girard’s China trade ventures from beginning to end. By the 1820s, however, many changes were taking place in the trade, including new technologies, increased competition from private traders from India, the “Terranova incident” of 1821, and a great expansion of the contraband trade in the Pearl River Delta, particularly opium. By 1824, Girard had become disillusioned about the trade with China and ceased sending ships there. But the legacy of his exchanges with Macao and China endures to the present-day at Girard College.

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

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

Frederic D. Grant, Jr.’s chapter is one of the most surprising in this collection, combining fresh sources and his own legal expertise to show the great Hong merchants suing their American debtors in U.S. courts, apparently coached in legal procedure by the Britons to whom the Hongs owed huge sums. Grant’s recounting of the legal case
between the Canton merchant Conseequa and the Philadelphian Benjamin Wilcocks provides many fresh insights and brings the entanglements of global trade, including opium, into yet another complicated vortex of interactions. These chapters are what make the archive-grubbing hard work of the historian its own reward.

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

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

The chapters of Isabel Morais and Susan E. Schopp show us how much we can learn from the different angles of vision and leisure to write diaries and long letters of some of these ladies. None of them, to be sure, was free of Euro-American attitudes of superiority. Isabel Morais’s Henrietta Hall Shuck was a pioneer in crusading against the trade on female slaves which had been going on in Macao for a very long time. Protestant influences in Macao, of which not a few Americans were involved, included promoting female education and establishing schools for girls. Although many of these efforts by Shuck and others had no lasting results, they contributed, in their own ways, to the many layers of influences and exchanges that complicated China’s foreign relations.
Schopp reminds us that the ladies in Macao in the early 1800s stand at the beginning of a striking line of acute observers of pre-revolutionary China. Protestant missionaries very frequently had wives and families. The wives had to be dedicated to the enterprise if they were to cope at all with the strangeness of China. Some of them started schools for Chinese girls, and became, despite their own very traditional understandings of gender roles, role models for young Chinese women seeking a place in the public sphere.1 Schopp’s Sarah Pike Conger was unusually well placed and well educated, a college graduate and the wife of the U.S. minister to Beijing, and a remarkably open-minded and perceptive observer. Her published letters were an important piece of a remarkable wave of publishing about China after the Boxer troubles. But Mrs. Conger still was isolated from the Chinese, quite unlike the last two of Schopp’s figures, Pearl Buck, whose first language was Chinese, and Ruth Hemenway, who ran a medical mission station in rural Fujian on her own, 1924–1937. For each of these women, and for such very different contemporaries of theirs as Emily Hahn2 and Agnes Smedley,3 the outsider status of an intelligent woman in a world in which very few women had any real power outside the family, contributed a great deal to their distance from Western prejudices and their sympathies for the struggles of the Chinese people.

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

This collection of chapters on Americans, Macao and China covers a vast array of topics and peoples. But a theme that runs through all of them is the importance of China in the minds of Americans, and the role Macao played in all of these Sino-American exchanges.
Americans influenced the history of China, the Pearl River Delta, and Macao, as much as China influenced and shaped the lives of Girard, Ross, Wilcocks, Shuck, and the many other personages discussed in these chapters. The interweaving of the global, the local, and the personal begun in Wills's opening chapter continues throughout the collection.
Notes

Introduction


2 Ken Cuthbertson, *Nobody Said Not to Go: The Life, Loves, and Adventures of Emily Hahn* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1998). We do not recall much about Macao in Hahn’s stream of vivid books about China, but she was linked to its history by her long marriage to Charles Ralph Boxer, the most important historian of Macao writing in English in the twentieth century.


Chapter 1

1 This chapter was delivered as the keynote lecture for the conference on “Americans, Macao and China 1784–1950: Historical Relations, Interactions, and Connections,” University of Macau, December 7–9, 2008. I thank Dean Hao Yufan and Hao Zhidong and all my colleagues in the Department of History of the University of Macau, including Paul A. Van Dyke, George Chuxiong Wei, and Robert Antony.


3 The name is pronounced to rhyme with “bushing,” not with “crushing”.


8 Swisher, “Treaty of Wangchia,” p. 84.


17 Schrikker, Sri Lanka, pp. 100–102.


Notes to pp. 15–17

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

2 All Girard correspondence cited in this chapter comes from the Girard archive unless otherwise specified. The original Girard papers are housed in Founder’s Hall, Girard College, Philadelphia. Microfilm copies are accessible in the American Philosophical Society Library, also in Philadelphia.
Other early American millionaires were Elias Hasket Derby (1739–1799) and Joseph Peabody (1757–1844) of Salem, Massachusetts, and John Jacob Astor (1763–1848) of New York City. Derby “was probably America’s first millionaire” according to Salem: Maritime Salem in the Age of Sail (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1987), p. 47. That “Girard was one of three or four millionaires in America, all of whom had made their money almost entirely on the China trade,” see Sydney and Marjorie Greenbie, Gold of Ophir or the Lure That Made America (New York: Doubleday, 1925), p. 146. The Greenbie quotation must be treated cautiously. Girard’s wealth came from a variety of sources: the buying and selling of goods, both domestically and internationally; banking; real estate; and farming. According to maritime historian Ralph D. Paine, in 1813 Girard “was believed to be the wealthiest merchant in the United States.” Paine, The Old Merchant Marine: A Chronicle of American Ships and Sailors (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), p. 106. Girard is considered “the most famous among Philadelphia’s China traders” by Ann Bolbach White, “The China Trade from Philadelphia, 1785–1820,” unpublished M.A. research paper, History, University of Pennsylvania, 1962, p. 17. He is considered “the outstanding China trader” by Agnes Hewes, Two Oceans to Canton (New York: Knopf, 1944), pp. 121–129. According to James Fichter East Indian merchants “calculated profit and loss on a venture-by-venture basis; with so many ongoing ventures, the question of who was richer becomes unknowable . . . It is enough to know they were affluent, among the first American millionaires, and part of the first American investing class.” James Fichter, So Great a Profit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed American Capitalism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 331, n. 70.


Notes to pp. 18–19


13 On March 12, 1795 Girard asked John Ferrers in New York to “let me know if you expect shortly . . . some vessels from Chiney [sic] or from any other place in the East Indies with nankeens.” He requested “the wholesale price of that article in your city.” Sometime before April 1795,
Girard had one case of China goods shipped to himself from Canton aboard *Sophia*, Captain Lowther. John Ferrers (New York) to Girard, April 13, 1795; Girard to William Douglas (St. Petersburg), July 6, 1795; Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, p. 163.


16 Girard to Baring Brothers (London), January 18, 1808.

17 Joseph Curwen, Antwerp, to Girard, Philadelphia, May 7, 1802, Curwen Collection, Atheneum of Philadelphia. Eastern ship builders long considered live oak “absolutely necessary, it being preferable to any other


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

24 John R. to Henry Latimer, April 3, 1829, John R. Latimer Papers, University of Delaware Library, Newark; Girard to Arthur Grelaud, March 2, 1816.

25 William A. Jardine to the Select Committee on the Trade with China, 1840, 7 (359), 95, United Kingdom Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, London, U.K.


28 The first U.S. vessel to touch at Manila was Elias Hasket Derby’s Astrea, which stopped there in 1796 for sugar, pepper, and indigo. In 1799 Girard instructed Martin Bickham, supercargo of his Sally, in Mauritius, to head for Manila for sugar and indigo. Girard to Bickham, Mauritius, March 14, 1799; Nathan Bowditch, manuscript journal of the voyage of Astrea, Peabody Essex Museum Library, Salem, Mass.

29 Girard to Mahlon Hutchinson and Myles McLeveen, January 2, 1806; Wildes, Lonely Midas, p. 281.

30 Samuel Wagner (Canton) to Girard, October 28, 1815; Arthur Grelaud (Canton) to Girard, October 29, 1815; Girard to Arthur Grelaud, March 2, 1816; and Wildes, Lonely Midas, pp. 169–170.

31 Houqua [sic] (Canton) to Girard, April 21, 1820; Richard Parish (Hamburg) to Girard, November 10, 1817; Edward Hayes and LaFontaine to Girard, September 20, 1818; Girard to Daniel Crommelin & Sons (Amsterdam), April 29 and May 18, 1820; Forester & Co. (Batavia) to Girard, November 25, 1822; Downs, “American Merchants,” p. 425; and Wildes, Lonely Midas, p. 171. Girard apparently took an on-again, off-again attitude toward shipping opium. See, for example, his 1816 advice to supercargo Arthur Grelaud: “I recommend you in the most particular manner not to opium or any other contraband . . . either on...
my acct or on acct of others on board the ship Voltaire under any pretext whatsoever. I have done it once in view to collect a part of a bad debt but I shall do it again.” “Shall” seems to be a Freudian slip, indicating his true intention. Girard to Grelaud, Amsterdam en route to Canton, March 2, 1816.


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

34 Wilcocks to Adams, November 1, 1821, United States House of Representatives Executive Documents, no. 71, pp. 10, 14; Edward George to Girard, October 1, 1821; Panther Log and Chinese Repository cited in Downs, “Fateful,” pp. 7, 10; and Pan, The Trade of the United States with China, p. 14.

35 Wilcocks to Adams, November 1, 1821, Canton Consular Letters, document #18 and enclosure #36, “Statement to the Emperor,” in Downs,

36 Reproduced in Niles’ Weekly Register, December 21, 1822.

37 For a few examples of this type of “justice,” and opposition to it from foreigners, see Wilcocks to Adams, September 22, 1817, House Ex. Doc. 71, p. 7. Edward George to Girard, November 16, 1821. Fairbank and Goldman argue that “nineteenth-century Westerners were most concerned over the Chinese [legal—ed.] system’s lack of due process to protect the individual. An accused person might be arrested arbitrarily and detained indefinitely, was presumed guilty, might be forced to incriminate himself through confession, and had no advice of counsel nor much chance to make a defense. The individual was unprotected against the state.” Fairbank and Goldman, China, p. 185.

38 Edward George to Girard, November 16, 1821.

39 Widow Peter van Veen & Sons, Amsterdam, to Girard, December 17, 1822.


41 For an 1829 plan of “the Forbes Steamer in Calcutta” plus a general discussion of the challenge steam posed for the China trade, see G. R. G. Worcester, The Junks and Sampans of the Yangtze (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1971), p. 59; Basil Lubbock, The Opium Clippers (Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1933), pp. 66–69, 78–80; John E. Wills, Jr., “Revolutions and Divergences: The Macau Vortex in a Transforming World,” unpub. version of paper presented at the conference “Americans, Macau and China, 1784–1950: Historical Relations, Interactions, and Connections,” University of Macau, December 8, 2008, p. 4; and Fay, Opium War, pp. 51–61, 81–82. On Red Rover, see Fay, Opium War, pp. 51, 58–60. In 1839 regular steamship service became available from India to Suez and then, after a passage across the relatively short distance between Alexandria and Suez, on to Falmouth,


42 Other Parsees who became active in the shipment of opium to China included Dadabhoy, Heerjeebhoy, and Maneckjee Rustomjee and Benjamin Hossongjee. Fay, *Opium War*, pp. 130, 146, 157, 325.


45 Girard to Edward George, March 2, 1816; Fay, *Opium War*, p. 122.


49 Mathew Carey, “Letter on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal,” in James Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947), p. 91; J. V. Nash, “Stephen Girard, Pioneer Millionaire Philanthropist,” *The Open Court* 42, no. 7 (July 1928), pp. 393–406. Girard’s coal lands ran from Ashland to Girardville to Shenandoah to Mahanoy City, north of the present U.S. Highway 81, with Frackville to the south. After his death these lands were technically part of, and were informally known as, “the Girard Estate.” They were administered by the trustees of his estate.


52 Sunqua, “The ship *Stephen Girard*,” oil on board, ca. 1833–1840, CIGNA Museum and Art Collection, Philadelphia, reproduced in Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade*, p. 27. The ship is sailing by the Bogue forts in Canton’s Pearl River Delta.


Chapter 3


3 “The Naval Officer, whose staff Ross had come to join, was one of the officials responsible for enforcing the Navigation Acts.” Hercules Ross made his money through the loopholes in those very acts. He was a gamekeeper-turned-poacher. Agnes M. Butterfield, *Hercules Ross of Kingston, Jamaica and Rossie, Forfar 1745–1816, with a sketch of the career of Captain Daniel Ross, FRS, Bombay Marine, later Indian Navy 1780–1849*, unpublished typescript, Montrose Public Library (M.A. thesis, University of Manchester, n.d.), pp. 1–2.

4 John Ross, Hercules’ father was, as an excise man in Johnshaven, Kincardineshire, Scotland, not a nobody, more a not conspicuously successful part of a typical, British eighteenth-century circle of aspirant middle-class “interest.” Information on Hercules Ross’s family from Butterfield, *Hercules Ross of Kingston*.


6 He was arrested, when running the British blockade in the West Indies in French ships flagged as American, after getting into a fire fight with a British squadron which included Capt. Horatio Nelson, recently made post. Thanks to some fancy footwork by his brother Hercules, he avoided the noose. See John Sugden, *Nelson, a Dream of Glory* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), pp. 113, 141, 142, 147, fn. 26, p. 808, citing the original Admiralty documents.

7 Daniel Ross was nominated by Hercules Ross’s neighbor, David Scott of Dunninald, member of Parliament (in London) for Forfar Burghs, an EIC director and an extremely powerful London businessman. David Scott had a relation, Lt. Robert Scott, in the Bombay Marine in 1799. British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR) H/730, index to letters of April 1797–November 1799, p. 79.

9 “The American Consulate in Hamburg was established as one of the first U.S. Consulates on June 17, 1790, with the naming of John Parish, a naturalized Hamburg citizen of Scottish birth, as vice consul. In 1793, Parish was promoted to the rank of consul; he is the only non-American to have served in this post.” See http://hamburg.usconsulate.gov/hamburg/history.html.

10 Parish is said to have had a tea service for 101 people (see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Parish_(Kaufmann) citing Richard Ehrenberg, *Das Haus Parish in Hamburg*, 2 (unveränderte Auflage, Jena 1925)); it would be interesting to learn whether this had been made in Canton.


12 For the family data, see Butterfield, *Hercules Ross of Kingston*.


14 Jean Sutton, *Lords of the East, the East India Company and Its Ships 1600–1874* (London: Conway Maritime, 2000), p. 127 says the earliest name was the “grab service.” This referred to the usual vessel employed, the Indian west coast gurab (a Marathi term), anglicized as “grab” and both a corruption of the Arabic ghorab. It was originally a two- or three-masted galley but, by the late eighteenth century, had become a catch-all classifier (see Henry Yule & A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, 2nd ed., ed. William Crooke, 1903, reprint, fwd Anthony Burgess (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), p. 391). Informally in the mid-nineteenth century the “Grab Service” was used by some as a witty *double entendre*, given a rumored propensity of the Marine’s personnel for always being anxious to grab all
they could when they could. See also Lowe, *History of the Indian Navy*, i, Ch. II.

15 Admiral Rainier, commander-in-chief of the Royal Naval East India Station 1794–1805, commented that of the 100 Bombay Marine officers and 1000 seamen, more than half the latter were lascars and of the Europeans less than half were English—though going on the lists still existent in India Office Records (L/MAR series), this was a gross exaggeration. What he really meant is indicated by a later commander-in-chief of the station, Rear Admiral William O’Brien Drury (1804–1811) reportedly saying, “whatever their qualities of seamanship might be, they are mongrels, not gentlemen.” See Agnes Butterfield, *Captain Daniel Ross, FRS of the Bombay Marine, Later Indian Navy, 1780–1849, a Sketch of His Career*, typescript, signed 1982, archives of the Royal Society of London, RACTS X473/19, p. 2—where with respect to the first reference Butterfield is purportedly quoting C. Northcote Parkinson, *Trade in Eastern Seas, 1793–1813* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. 48 attributing both observations to Drury, though in fact only the second is and even that may be more likely to refer to the officers of the Company’s Maritime Service (i.e. the officers of the Indiamen) for which see Parkinson, *Trade in Eastern Seas*, p. 196.

16 The direct route was the long and hazardous overland route from Basra, at the head of the Persian Gulf, via Aleppo to the Gulf of Iskanderun on the Mediterranean, called direct because it was accessible to sailing vessels from India in almost all seasons of the year. The overland route was via the Red Sea to any of Berenice, Quseir, or Suez, whence to the Nile and then downstream to Alexandria, but was impracticable in the winter months because of the strong and almost incessant adverse winds.

17 A look at a summary map in Admiral Sir Archibald Day’s compendious account of the Royal Navy’s Surveying Service in the nineteenth century shows that by the 1830s it was to the EIC—which means almost wholly the work of the Bombay Marine—that Western hydrography owed the vast majority of its detailed knowledge of all of the coasts of the Red Sea, coast of Arabia, Persian Gulf, India, Burma, Southeast Asia and the China Seas as well as much of Papua New Guinea and elsewhere. See Archibald Day, *The Admiralty Hydrographic Service 1795–1919* (London: HMSO, 1967), between pp. 48–49.

18 BL: IOR Canton Consultations, G/12/153, p. 39.

20 The Dezembargador, today an appeal court judge, was Macao’s senior qualified crown magistrate—effectively the senior judicial officer—and the Senate (Leal Senado) the advisory body to the Governor although in Macao its particular importance was that it was with the Senate that the Chinese authorities dealt, not with the governor (see C. R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 288 and Glossary p. 389 for Dezembargador).

21 H. B. Morse, The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926–1929), Vol. 2, p. 33. Butterfield makes a great deal more of this incident, claiming that by entering the Taypa [Taipa anchorage] Ross made the Portuguese “furios,” demanding he leave at once and refusing him permission to return for supplies “for many months.” She describes how the Committee tried to persuade the Portuguese via the value of Ross’s survey work and when that did not work, suggested an embargo on Portuguese ships from British-controlled ports in India until Goa told Macao authorities to behave; see Butterfield, Captain Daniel Ross, pp. 6–7.

22 Hailingshan Dao near Yangjiang, Guangdong Province at 21°38’N, 111°54’E.

23 A similar situation holds today off Somalia. There too, inadequate local coastal law enforcement, coastal poverty, commercial willingness to pay ransoms, and hesitant foreign interventions led piracy to balloon. The victims are slow, low freeboard ships, not today’s Indiamen, the large, fast, high freeboard container liners.

24 “The ships were small, few being of five hundred tons burden. The ‘Eliza,’ in which Sturgis first went to the Northwest Coast, was one hundred thirty-six tons, and some of Cleveland’s voyages were made in vessels of less than fifty tons.” Kenneth Scott Latourette, “The History of Early Relations between the United States and China 1784–1844,” in Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences (New Haven: Yale University Press, August 1917), Vol. 22, p. 46.


26 This problem was one the Select Committee specifically singled out in a letter to the governor in council in Bombay dated June 17, 1807 pointing out the difficulty for survey work of Antelope not having a home base and asking for pressure to be brought to bear on the Portuguese authorities in Goa to enable Ross’s ship to have the “indispensable convenience of occasionally frequenting the harbour of the Taypa.” BL: IOR Canton Consultations, G/12/153, p. 70, para. 3, for year 1806.

27 Morse, The Chronicles of the East India Company, p. 33.

28 During the Napoleonic Wars, for example, we know that British whalers were issued with Letters of Marque in order to legitimate any prize taking or other belligerent action against the vessels of the French and their allies.
29 I am indebted to a private communication from Paul A. Van Dyke for this perspective.


31 Amasa Delano, A Narrative of Voyages and Travels, in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres comprising three voyages round the world; together with a voyage of survey and discovery, in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental Islands (Boston: E. G. House, 1817), pp. 43–197.

32 BL: IOR Canton Consultations, G/12/153, dispatch of July 22, p. 94.


34 The consultation of September 13, 1806 noted that an intended survey of the Paracels would require more than just one ship. BL: IOR Canton Consultations, G/12/153, p. 112. In a later entry concerning the eventual purchase of a second ship an entry reads “. . . the Antelope (whose build prevents her stowing sufficient (stores) for more than 3 or 3 ½ months)” (p. 211) and later pronouncing that the Antelope was “singly incompetent for the purposes of the survey, would remain in their hands a heavy, and in great measure, useless charge . . .” (p. 225).


37 BL: IOR Canton Consultations, G/12/153, pp. 112–113.

38 Morse, The Chronicles of the East India Company, Vol. 2 p. 33, where he notes, erroneously, that “. . . in November the Committee bought for 24,000 dollars a small English country ship at Whampoa to serve as tender.” The Canton Consultations, G/12/153, p. 225 makes it clear the initial asking price was paid.

39 Discovery (ex-Prime), cruiser/survey brig, 268 tons, 6 guns, Bombay-built 1801–1802, in Hong Kong waters 1807–1809. The Canton Consultations IOR G/12/154, pp. 69–70, entry for December 10, 1806, in the Select Committee’s letter of instruction to Daniel Ross notes the ship was “. . . now named by us, and henceforward to be called the Discovery.” Crewing his new ship was not an easy matter, see Butterfield, Captain Daniel Ross, p. 8.

40 This proved an over-optimistic assessment. A year later, when Ross and Maughan were engaged in their brilliant survey of the Paracels, Ross noted, in respect to a rescue of some survivors of a wrecked seagoing junk from Guangzhou, “Owing to our bad sailing and a current against us we could make no way to wind and at 5h finding we were losing, came to in 29 fms fine coral (about 5 or 6 miles from Woody Island)” and goes on to make it clear by inference that the Antelope was the more weatherly vessel! “Memoir prepared by Lieut Ross of the Bombay Marine, on the subject of his Survey of the China Seas,” United Kingdom Hydrographic Office Archives, OD150, entry for March 19/20, 1808.

41 BL: IOR, G/12/154, p. 70.
There is no record of a ship of this name either in the Bombay Marine or the Royal Navy. It is in any event a somewhat odd name for a warship and is probably a miscalculation. I have not been able to identify the ship in question, there being no near name for which “Retreat” would be a miscalculation.

Morse, The Chronicles of the East India Company, ii, p. 85. Paul Van Dyke has pointed out that a signal reason for this rejection was that the Chinese had already contracted Portuguese help to this end, see Paul A. Van Dyke, The Canton Trade, Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), p. 131.

Survey of Part of the South Coast of China, in two sheets, Thien Sien (Tihen Pien or Tien Pack) Harbour, Hin Ling Shan (Hui Ling Shan) Harbour, Namo Harbour, and Plan of the Broadway to the Westward of Macao.


Following standard naval history conventions, where a number appears after a ship’s name, it refers to the number of guns carried.

“On the third (of August), the American schooner . . . anchored in Macao Roads after a voyage of contraband trade along the western coast of South America”. Latourette, “The History of Early Relations,” p. 51.

In August 1808, Kempthorne had captured the Dutch Vlieg off Java, and in September 1809 Kempthorne was to lead Diana in a memorable action off Menado in Sulawesi against the Dutch brig Zephyr following his escape in January in the same chase which had seen Ross and the Discovery taken by the French. William James, The Naval History of Great Britain, from the declaration of war by France in 1793, to the accession of George IV, a new edition, with additions and notes, and an account of the Burmese War and the Battle of Navarino, by Captain Chamier, R.N., Vol. 5 (London: Richard Bentley, 1837), pp. 183–184.


Latourette here ascribes to Edmund Fanning’s Voyages a description of the incident. He does not cite the edition he is referring to, but in the first edition of 1834 the only detail on China dates to 1798, see Edmund Fanning, Voyages Round the World; with selected sketches of voyages to the South Seas, North and South Pacific Oceans, China, etc., performed
under the command and agency of the author (London: O. Rich, 1834). Fanning never appears to have visited China in 1807.


54 BL: IOR Canton Consultations G/12/160, pp. 57–63. Chuenpi was also known as “Anson’s Bay,” located in the entrance of the Pearl River at Bocca Tigris (Humen 虎門). Fuller details of this trade can be found in Leonard Blussé and Cynthia Viallé, *The Deshima Dagregisters*, Vol. 11, Intercontinenta Series XXIII (Leiden, 2005).


56 Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, i. p. 66. The record and Butterfield (p. 7) show that Ross got into a lot hotter water than Morse’s account argues. The Committee’s instructions had been unambiguous, so “his attempt to detain a vessel under Neutral Colours and within the limits likewise asserted to be neutral was a breach of Instructions which the grossest misapprehension cannot excuse . . .”, though evidently Ross’s other qualities spoke for him because the Committee noted that they were happy to rely “that the expression of our decided disapprobation of Lieutenant Ross’s conduct on the occasion will prevent any repetition.” But that did not matter because Bombay took a dim view anyway expressing “high displeasure” and giving the Committee carte blanche to dismiss Ross if, in the light of continued Portuguese displeasure, it so chose. Luckily for Daniel Ross the Select Committee let things rest. See also BL: IOR F/4/251/5614 and IOR F/4/295/6802 for relevant papers. BL: IOR Canton Consultations G/12/160, pp. 52–63, 97–100 have a clear exposition of the affair and of Daniel Ross’s fairly reasonable defense.

57 John Scofield, *Hail, Columbia, Robert Gray, John Kendrick & the Pacific Fur Trade* (Oregon Historical Society Press, 1993), Ch. 4. Both were small ships, the *Columbia* 83’ on deck and the *Lady Washington* 60’.


59 John Kendrick is credited with having discovered Hawai’i’s sandalwood (*santalum album*) on his first visit in 1791. At the time the main export source for the wood was India, where the wood was highly valued. The wood was also much sought after in China and was a high value import. With sea otter pelts and sandalwood aboard, Kendrick thought he had a cargo with a sure market. As things turned out, life was more difficult, see Scofield, *Hail, Columbia, Robert Gray*, Ch. 12.

60 Latourette, “The History of Early Relations,” p. 48, refers to this danger specifically with respect to American vessels: “The China seas were very stormy, and although no cases of actual shipwreck are on record, occasional typhoons wrought havoc, especially as the Americans, unlike
the earlier Europeans, persisted in coming at all seasons of the year.” Scofield explicitly claims typhoon damage but then fails to note the repairs in Hong Kong, placing them instead in Macao (Hail, Columbia, Robert Gray, p. 297).

Dalrymple was made hydrographer in 1779, a post he held until his death in 1808, having concurrently been the first holder of the newly created post of hydrographer on the Navy from 1795, see G. S. Ritchie, The Admiralty Chart, British Naval Hydrography in the Nineteenth Century (London: Hollis & Carter, 1967), pp. 18–19, 97. An early version of the directions appeared in Alexander Dalrymple’s A Collection of Charts and Memoirs, Memoirs of the Chart of Part of the Coast of China (London, 1771), which reproduced Kendrick’s original instructions for finding Aberdeen.

This is possibly the same Asia, 292 tons, that was sent to China in 1787 by a consortium of seventeen Philadelphia investors under Capt. John Barry, which was the first Philadelphia built ship to make the voyage, see Goldstein, Philadelphia and the China Trade, p. 35. Far from merely being worthy of a passing mention as a ship’s captain who was engaged in the China trade, John Barry is one of America’s most famous seamen and thought to be the father of the U.S. Navy, not least since he held Commission Number One, dated June 4, 1794. He died in 1803, see http://www.ushistory.org/people/commodorebarry.htm.

For Philip Maughan’s award see his letter to the secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, July 3, 1840, where he describes the incident as one of the two outstanding events of his years of service with Ross in the China Seas—the other was the rescue of 400 wrecked Chinese passengers of a junk wrecked on the Paracels quoted in Butterfield, Hercules Ross of Kingston, p. 85 and Butterfield, Captain Daniel Ross, pp. 10–11. I owe my knowledge of the cup and its fate to Mrs. Elizabeth Glentworth, one of Ross’s descendants through one of his daughters.

Greyhound (32) built 1783 at Mistlythorn, wrecked 1808. Capt. Pakenham perished in the Saldanha frigate at the entrance to Loughswilly on December 4, 1811.

Details of the action given in report at IOR/F/4/366/9146. Summary also gives the date of the action as January 17, 1809.

Originally a French frigate, the Minerve (40), captured off Toulon in a sharp four frigate action on June 24, 1795 (French Minerve (40) and Artemise (36); British Lowestoffe (32) and Dido (28)). Became British Minerve (38) and served brilliantly until, under Capt. Jahleel Brenton, under a pilot, she ran aground off Pte. de Corries near Cherbourg on July 2, 1803 and was captured. Renamed Cannonière and armed en flûte (i.e. primarily as a transport) with fourteen guns she was lent to the merchants of Mauritius to transport a valuable cargo to France. Once in Mauritius she was rearmed with forty-four guns, captured the Laurel and
then went on various privateering missions (including a bullion run to Acapulco from Manila!) before the action with the *Diana* and *Discovery*. Largely disarmed and renamed the *Confiance*, she was running a valuable cargo back to France in 1810 when she was recaptured by the British on February 3 off Belle Isle and sold as prize.

67 *Laurel* (22) (built 1806 Bridport. Wrecked 1813) 1807 Captured September 1808 off Port Louis, Mauritius recaptured April 12, 1810 off Ile de R Rhe as the *Espérance* and taken back into the Royal Navy as *Laurestinus*.

68 See *Bombay Courier Extraordinary*, Tuesday, February 21, 1809, which notes that Admiral Sir Edward Pellew sent the *Russell* () to the Straits of Drion and Banca and then to Batavia, while the main force of the *Culloden* (), *Phaeton* (), and *Procris* () went to the mouth of the Straits of Singapore in a failed attempt to intercept the French warships. The entry continues: “We are sorry to add, that the *Discovery*, Capt. Ross, which had been sent with the *Diana* under a flag of truce to Manilla for the purpose of bringing away Capt. Pakenham and the *Greyhound’s* men, had been captured by the French frigates above mentioned,—unfortunately Capt. Pakenham and 150 men were on board the *Discovery*.”

69 The Dutch-fortified camp, Meester Cornelius, was five miles in circumference with 280 pieces of cannon.


74 There may have been nine or even ten children. Various records account for: 1. Wm. Hercules Ross (1811–1849), Capt., 30th Regt., Bengal Inf. killed at Chilianwala January 13, 1849; 2. (Daniel) who, if he existed, evidently died when a baby; 3. Robert Scott Ross, served in Indian Navy, said in Butterfield (*Hercules Ross of Kingston*, p. 128) to have distinguished himself in a campaign against the Malay pirates “while in command of a government steamer and was mentioned in Sir Thomas Cochrane’s despatches” and was said at the time of his death to be “a marine storekeeper in Calcutta.” It is not clear whether he married; 4. Maria (b. 1812) married Richard Mercer Lloyd (who succeeded Ross as marine surveyor general to the EIC in 1833), m. October 3, 1831 when under age in the Cathedral at Fort William. She died after giving birth to a still-born child on March 1, 1841 when 29; 5. Jane (date of birth unknown but c. 1815) married John Lloyd of the Royal Artillery; 6. Eliza (b. c. 1818–1820) m. Calcutta, July 15, 1833 Francis Seaton

75 Butterfield, Hercules Ross, p. 128.

Chapter 4


2 During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Portuguese traders usually did not have their own building (factory) in Canton, but there were exceptions. In 1748, for example, a Swedish map shows a “Portuigischist Factorie” next to the building the Swedes rented on the riverfront. Stockholm: Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences (KVB, Kungliga Vetenskaps-akademiens Bibliotek), J. F. Dalman, “Dagbok under resan från Göteborg til Canton 1748–1749,” map entitled “Cantons Förstad.”


4 Portuguese records from Macao provide very little information about Portuguese activities at Canton, and almost nothing about the Chinese
merchants with whom they traded. But other foreigners, such as the English, Dutch, Swedes, and Danes regularly recorded Portuguese comings and goings at Canton and Macao.

5 In September and October 1764, for example, the Canton porcelain dealers, Suchin, Chinqua, Lisjoncon, and Piqua had their cargo boats conscripted to transport the new governor-general’s luggage to Canton. The porcelain the boats were carrying had to be unloaded on the spot to make room for the luggage, which resulted in a long delay in those products arriving at Canton. Cynthia Viallé and Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters, 1764* (Macao: Macau Cultural Institute, 2009), p. 215.

6 Compradors and other servants, for example, regularly carried private merchandise aboard these passage boats, and they went back and forth between the two cities whenever their foreign employers, Chinese merchants or government officials summoned them. They needed to obtain a permit for the boat to pass the tollhouses, which would require sponsorship from one of those persons, but the Chinese servants could then traverse the river without their employers being aboard. For one example of the Dutch supercargoes in Canton receiving letters from their comprador, who had arrived from Macao, see NAH: Canton 86, August 3, 1777. There are many other examples of these servants, and Portuguese and Chinese merchants, travelling back and forth between the two cities in the English, Dutch, and Swedish East India companies’ records. See also Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), p. 187 n. 40.


8 For a summary of the issues presented in these paragraphs, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*.

9 British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR), L/MAR/B/642D Haeslingfield 1742–4, October 30-1 and November 1–2, 1743.

10 For a couple examples of the Dutch exporting goods to Batavia on Portuguese ships, see NAH: VOC 4386, January 1, 1761, p. 152 and Canton 86, January 10 and 12, 1778.


12 Morse, *Chronicles*, 2, pp. 85–86.

13 Morse, *Chronicles*, 2, pp. 85–86; and Samuel Wells Williams, *A Chinese Commercial Guide, Containing Treaties, Tariffs, Regulations, Tables, etc., Useful in the Trade to China & Eastern Asia; with an Appendix of Sailing Directions for Those Seas and Coasts* (Canton: Chinese Repository,

14 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, p. 221 n. 80. Several maps from the period show clearly the location of Lark’s Bay on the southwest side of Hengqin Island. The name “Lark’s Bay” may have come from a ship by that name which anchored there in 1786: “The Lark Snow Capt. Wm. Peters from Bengal anchored in a Bay near the Typa”; BL: IOR, G/12/82, June 11, 1786, p. 21.


16 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, see introduction and conclusion.

17 For a more detailed explanation of the procedures of trading at Whampoa, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*.

18 Smuggling was common among even the most wealthy and reputed merchants in Canton down to the smallest operators. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 118–128.


21 Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen (RAC): Ask 956, see entries in 1784 dated October 17, November 14, 16, 21, 23, 30, and December 3, 12, 18, 29.


24 One of these warehouse vessels was the small Danish ship *Fredriks Nagor* and another was the private English ship *Nancy*. NAH: Canton


BL: IOR, G/12/216, July 21, 1819, p. 72; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 3, p. 355.

BL: IOR, G/12/216, July 26, 1819, p. 74.

BL: IOR, G/12/216, August 25, 1819, p. 93.

David Abeel, *Journal of a Residence in China, and the Neighboring Countries from 1829 to 1833* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1834), p. 47. Coconut trees and other plants were introduced to Lintin in the 1820s to help supply the fleet at anchor with the provisions they needed. W. W. Wood, *Sketches of China: with Illustrations from Original Drawings* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830), p. 38. Wood also mentioned there were several springs on the island for fresh water.

In 1799, an official investigation of the contraband trade found that pilots were smuggling opium in their boats; see Morse, *Chronicles*, 2, pp. 344–346. Rather than stopping this trade, the knowledge resulted in pilots being continual targets of officials anxious to benefit from the contraband; see *Canton Register*, August 23, 1828, pp. 132–133, article entitled “Pilots and Compradors.” Despite (or perhaps because of) the impositions, pilots continued to be a channel through which opium and contraband entered China; see *Canton Register*, March 24, 1835, pp. 47–48, article entitled “Edict Issued from the Hoppo’s Office.”


Foreigners tried to hire Chinese seamen throughout the eighteenth century, to replace European sailors who had died but Chinese were unwilling to go. It was not until the 1780s that captains were successful at attracting Chinese sailors to serve aboard foreign ships, which coincides with advances in foreign shipping in Asia and a corresponding decline in the competitiveness of Chinese junks in Southeast Asian trade. As the junk trade began to decline, Chinese seamen were displaced and began seeking employment aboard foreign ships. Paul A. Van Dyke, “Operational Efficiencies and the Decline of the Chinese Junk

33 From the 1780s onward, references appear in the foreign archives to ships picking up Chinese sailors at Lintin and other places in the delta, and dropping them off at various locations when they returned to the lower delta and before proceeding upriver to Whampoa. For a few examples of Danish, British, and Dutch ships employing Chinese sailors, see RAC: Ask 948; John Meares, Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America (London: Logographic Press, 1790; reprint, Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1967), p. 10; NAH: Canton 54, Resolution no. 6, dated September 13, 1792 and Canton 96, January 19 and 29, 1795.


35 Morse, Chronicles, 3, p. 359.


37 Morse, Chronicles, 3, p. 359. Smuggling at Whampoa was already common by the time Europeans arrived there in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. In 1704, for example, Lockyer recommended smuggling silver into Canton so gold could be smuggled out. Charles Lockyer, An Account of the Trade in India (London: S. Crouch, 1711), p. 138. The historical literature, however, contains much contradictory and confusing information on the contraband trade at Canton, primarily because there is so little information available in the documents. The following reference claims that the Portuguese dominated the opium trade before 1780 and that 1794 saw the beginning of opium ships at Whampoa: “The Portuguese at Macau engrossed the opium trade till 1780, when some English merchants disposed of a small quantity, and established a depot to the southward of Macau [Lark’s Bay]. They were subjected to much annoyance, but in 1794, they sent a vessel, laden with about two hundred chests, to Whampoa, from which period the trade continued there, in the very port of Canton, till 1820, when an imperial edict drove the opium vessels from Whampoa; since which time they have remained outside the port, at Lintin, and amongst the islands in the mouth of the Canton river, where the contraband trade took by degrees, in conjunction with the Chinese smugglers, an organized form, which enabled the parties to set the local authorities (many of whom
were also bribed) at defiance. The parties who engaged in this traffic were British and Indian merchants of Calcutta and Bombay, who had agents at Canton, and Americans who dealt chiefly in Turkey opium.” Article entitled “Opium Trade” originally published in the *Asiatic Journal* and republished in *The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art*, New Series, vol. 9, September to December 1839 and vol. 37 (Philadelphia: E. Little & Co., 1839), pp. 525–534. This quotation is on page 529. We know now there were many other persons involved in the opium trade in the early years besides Portuguese including private Europeans, Chinese Christians and Armenians in Macao, and others. Opium was already being openly traded at Whampoa by the 1760s, which had nothing to do with Portuguese in Macao. Opium showed up in Canton in the 1730s, 1740s, and 1750s, so 1794 was clearly not the start of that trade upriver. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 120–124; Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke, “Armenian Footprints in Macau,” *Review of Culture*, International Edition, no. 8 (October 2003), pp. 20–39; Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke, “Four Armenian Families,” *Review of Culture*, International Edition, no. 8 (October 2003), pp. 40–50.

38 “Memorials addressed to Her Majesty’s Government” (1840), pp. 18–20.


40 In an earlier publication, I had incorrectly stated that the eastern part of Lintin Island was under the control of Xinhui County 新會縣. Paul A. Van Dyke, “Smuggling Networks of the Pearl River Delta before 1842: Implications for Macau and the American China Trade,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, Vol. 50 (2010), pp. 67–97, see p. 81. The Xiangshan Xian Zhi, however, clearly shows that the eastern part of Lintin Island was under the control of Xin’an County and not Xinhui County. Tian Mingyao 田明耀, *Chong xiu Xiangshan xian zhi* 重修香山縣志. 五冊, 5 vols. (同治十二年 1874; reprint, 台北: 台灣學生書局, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 30–31 and vol. 5, pp. 1990–1991; and *Xiangshan xian zhi* (xin xiu) 香山縣志 （新修）(Xiangshan County Gazetteer), 2 vols. (光緒七年 1882; reprint, 台北: 台灣學生書局, 1985), vol. 1, p. 650. The Guangdong Tong Zhi also shows the area east of Cumsingmoon and the Nine Islands to be under control of Xin’an County. Chen Changzhai 陳昌齋 et al., *Guangdong Tong Zhi* 廣東通志 (Annals of Guangdong) (同治三年 1865; reprint, 華文書局股份有限公司印行), vol. 3, p. 1443, map entitled “香山縣圖.”

41 In 1828, Boelen mentioned war junks anchoring in a harbor on the northwest side of the island, while other sources reported them to be in a harbor on the northeast side. They perhaps used both anchorages. J. Boelen, *Reize naar de Oost-en Westkust van Ziud-Amerika, en, van daar,


42 War junks were also sent down from Canton, on occasion, to rid the delta of smugglers, but often just chased them away or ambushed them for a fee and let them go. For one eyewitness’s account of a war junk arriving at Lintin, see article entitled “Sketches of China—English Trade,” on pp. 230–231 in *The Dublin Penny Journal* (1833–34). There are many other such accounts.

43 *Canton Register*, August 23, 1828, p. 132. “The west side of the Offing at Lintin is under the Heongshan District, and the East side under Sunoan District. The aggrieved parties have applied to the local Officers on both sides in vain. Because the case would require the apprehension of the Pirates within two months on pain of dismissal from the service, therefore the Officers on neither side of the water wish to take up the subject.”


45 The *Canton Register* has numerous references to junks picking up opium at Lintin Island. For opium being brought to other ports in China aboard Chinese junks and other vessels, see Ei Murakami, “The Collapse of the Trade Control System of the Qing Government: The Opium Trade before the Opium War,” paper presented at a workshop entitled “Chinese Economic History in 18th–20th Century” (May 2009), London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), available online at the LSE website.

46 BL: IOR, G/12/76, pp. 203–205, and G/12/77, p. 59.

47 In 1786, for example, Pan Qiguan agreed with the EIC to accept bills on Bengal goods as payment for teas in Canton; see BL: IOR, G/12/82, p. 116. For Baboom’s connection to Pan Changyao, see Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP): Willings and Francis Papers, “Sales of Opium received per the Ship Bingham” and declaration dated December 28, 1805 and signed by Gregory M. Baboom. For an example of Barretto’s link to the Pans, see National Archives, The Hague (NAH): Canton 101, April 26, 1815. For Barretto and Baboom’s partnership and their link to the Bengal Assurance Society, see NAH: Canton 99, September 14, 1807, Canton 270, doc. no. 10, Canton 271, doc. no. 9, and Canton 272, doc. no. 9. For Barretto’s connections to Manila, see MHS: John and Thomas Perkins Papers “Invoice of Opium shipped by Perkins &
Comp. on board the American Brig Nile . . . bound for Manila" dated April 9, 1825, and for a member of the Baboom family operating in Manila, see Canton Register, October 17, 1832 and Chinese Courier, October 20, 1832.


49 James Holman, Travels in China, New Zealand, New South Wales, Van Diemen’s Land, Cape Horn, etc. etc. (London: George Routledge, 1840), pp. 162–163, 257. The depth of water in these harbors is mentioned (in fathoms or feet) on numerous maps of the nineteenth century. There are other references to the depths of each harbor and how to enter them safely. For one commonly used reference, see John W. King, The China Pilot (London: Hydrographic Office, 1861), chapter 2 entitled “Approaches to Canton River, including Hong Kong–Chu Kiang or Canton River, and Si Kiang or West River.”

50 Van Dyke, The Canton Trade, pp. 120–137 and Plate 37.

51 Reynolds, Voyage of the United States Frigate Potomac, p. 342.


53 Van Dyke, “Port Canton”, Appendixes L and AF. Conversion from taels to Spanish dollars was at the rate of 1 Spanish dollar equal to 0.72 taels, which was the exchange rate Americans used.

54 The Penny Cyclopædia (1836), pp. 251–252; and John Francis Davis, The Chinese (London: Charles Knight, 1840), pp. 367–368. Some of the figures in Table 4.2 were modified based on information in Van Dyke, The Canton Trade, pp. 66–69.

55 Van Dyke, “Port Canton,” Appendix AG.

56 HSP: Sword Family Papers, box 1, letter to Ms. Mary Parry, dated February 19, 1836; The Quarterly Review (January to March 1830), pp. 156–157; Holman, Travels in China, pp. 143, 271; and Van Dyke, The Canton Trade, pp. 135–137.

57 For a few examples of Hong merchants being requested by officials to ship rice to China, and to encourage foreigners to do the same, see BL: IOR G/12/82, September 30, 1786, p. 66 and November 14, 1786, p. 136; and NAH: Canton 93, April 26, 1787, p. 5, Canton 100, April 1, 1809 and Canton 271, General Report 1806, paragraph 10, pp. 1–3.

58 Van Dyke, The Canton Trade, pp. 135–137. Holman claimed that the port fees charged to rice ships went towards supporting the asylum for the blind in Canton; see Holman, Travels in China, p. 271. One captain bought a small quantity of rice at Lintin then went upriver with several
hundred chests of opium to Whampoa, where he sold it. Siwel, “Some notices relative to the present position of the Opium Trade in China” (article dated “China, June, 1838”), in The Calcutta Christian Observer, vol. 7 (1838), p. 519. The private Dutch merchant J. Boelen in the Ship Wilhelmina and Maria sailed from Macao to Manila in 1828 with the specific reason of getting a load of rice so he could take the ship upriver to Whampoa without paying the high fees. The ship could then sail back to Europe with a full cargo of Chinese products. Boelen, Reize, p. 293.

59 HSP: Sword Family Papers, Box 1, letter to Ms. Mary Parry, dated February 19, 1836; The Quarterly Review (January to March 1830), pp. 156–157; and Holman, Travels in China, p. 143.

60 The Penny Cyclopædia (1836), pp. 251–252.

61 Lau and Zhang, Qingdai Aomen, 1, no. 382; and Chinese Repository (January 1842), 11, pp. 17–20.

62 BL: IOR G/12/86, October 19, 1787, p. 166.

63 For a list of thirty-two Spanish ships that arrived in China from Manila in the late eighteenth century, many of which were carrying rice, see Paul A. Van Dyke, “New Sea Routes to Canton in the 18th Century and the Decline of China’s Control over Trade,” in Studies of Maritime History, ed. by Li Qingxin. Vol. 1 (Beijing: Shehui kexue chuban she, 2010), pp. 57–108. For examples of American ships carrying rice to China, see Van Dyke, The Canton Trade, pp. 135–138.


65 For a more thorough discussion of the omissions in the Mandarins’ reports downriver, see Van Dyke, The Canton Trade, pp. 170–181.


67 For examples of Portuguese ships trading at Cumsingmoon, Lintin, and Hong Kong, see the many lists of vessels in the Canton Press, from the September 10, 1836 issue and after.

68 Van Dyke, The Canton Trade, pp. 138–139.

69 A form was published in a supplement to the Canton Register explaining all of the new stipulations at Macao, many of which were directly aimed at the opium smugglers. Canton Register, March 15, 1836; Supplement to the Canton Register, “The Administration of the National Revenue of the City [Macao], wishing to promote her Commerce and to remove

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

**Chapter 5**


4 Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, p. 119.

5 Conseequa was a nephew of Puankhequa I (Pan Wenyen), a cousin of Puankhequa II (Pan Zhixiang), and an uncle of Puankhequa III (Pan Zhengwei). Ch’en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, p. 330; Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, p. 91.


7 Grant, “Hong Merchant Litigation,” p. 48 n. 18.
Larry and Sandi Faria of Monett, Missouri located and recognized the importance of this document, which is now in author's collection. It has been restored through the courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society, under the care of Oona E. Beauchard, and it is the author's intention to deposit the document with that institution.


Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” p. 244.

During the period covered by this article, the Spanish dollar (which traded as the silver equivalent of a U.S. dollar) was treated in the accounts of the British EIC as equivalent to taels 0.72. A tael therefore traded for 1.388 dollars. Hosea B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1844* (table of “Conventional Equivalents” at the front of each volume); Frank H. H. King, *Money and Monetary Policy in China 1845–1895* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 82. For a discussion of the complex and evolving relationship between the tael and the Spanish dollar, see King, pp. 69–90.


Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” p. 249.

Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 259–260. The large dollar amount of promissory notes payable to Conseequa, attached by the Sheriff in Philadelphia on April 2 and 4, 1808 ($500,000), shows that Conseequa's outstanding loans were far greater in amount than can be reconstructed from surviving litigation and archival records. Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” p. 249.


Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” p. 248; Letter from William Read (Canton) to Willings & Francis, dated November 27, 1805; Willings & Francis papers, 1805 folder, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 259–260.


Declarations (complaints) in Conseequa v. Joshua and Thomas Gilpin (filed March 3, 1810), October term 1809, No. 9, and in Conseequa v.


22 Morse, Chronicles, Vol. 3, pp. 233–234; Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, pp. 335 and 355.


24 Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, p. 336.

25 Morse, Chronicles, Vol. 4, pp. 1 and 8.

26 Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, pp. 337–338.

27 Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, pp. 338–339.

28 Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, p. 96 (Table 2.7).

29 Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, pp. 338–339.

30 Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, p. 96 (Table 2.7).


38 The release states (in part): “[W]hereas the said Benjamin Chew Wilcocks under my authority acted as Agent in America for the recovery of certain specific monies due me on notes of hand by Citizens of the United States and caused them to be paid to me from time to time as the same were by him received I hereby expressly declare that this release is intended to be a complete discharge to him in Law and in Equity for or on account of all and every the said concerns so transacted by him as agent.” See Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” p. 247.

39 Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” p. 249.

40 Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade*, p. 45.

41 Hunter, *The “Fan Kwae” at Canton*, pp. 43–44. The story of cancellation of Wilcocks’s debt, doubted in some sources, is true. Philip de Vargas, “William C. Hunter’s Books on the Old Canton Factories,” *Yenching Journal of Social Studies*, Vol. 2 (July 1939), pp. 91–117, 104 (“The story may or may not be apocryphal, but it has long been taken as symbolic . . .”).


46 *Lanfear v. Sumner*, 17 Mass. 110 (1819) (priority dispute among creditors asserting rights in teas shipped from Canton by Benjamin C. Wilcocks to William Waln as consignee and owner, one creditor under a written assignment by Waln at Philadelphia on July 2, 1819 and the other by physical attachment of the teas by the Sheriff in Boston on the same day, July 2, 1819); *Bainbridge v. Wilcocks*, 2 F. Cas. 407, 408 (C.C.E.D. Pa. 1832) (No. 755) (suit by London bankers against Benjamin C. Wilcocks to recover debts for which William Waln had acted as Wilcocks’s agent through 1819; among other things, Wilcocks asserted that he had paid Waln the amounts which were due to the plaintiff bankers).
Each dollar collected by Wilcocks for another Hong merchant from that merchant’s U.S. debtor, lessened the potential pro rata collective guaranty repayment burden that would be placed on Howqua, if that Hong merchant were to fail.

Fu, Documentary Chronicle, p. 610 n. 166. “According to a letter dated CC 18:11:4 (November 26, 1813) he lost his fortune because he had lent 300,000 liang of silver to the Wilcocks brothers (this letter is in the Archive of Jardine, Matheson and Company, located in the Anderson Room of the University Library, Cambridge, England.)”


Wilcocks remained involved in the opium business after his return to the United States. Wilcocks v. Phillips, 29 F. Cas. 1198 (C.C.E.D. Pa. 1843) (No. 17, 639) (action brought to recover “kumshaws” paid by opium purchasers for deliveries of opium off the ship Thomas Scattergood in 1829; includes detailed description of sales practices on the Lintin Island opium storeships); Downs, The Golden Ghetto, p. 126.

Debt collection and credit conditions in the United States, while outside of the scope of this chapter, have also been illuminated by recent scholarship. Bruce Mann, Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Edward J. Balleisen, Navigating Failure: Bankruptcy and Commercial Society in Antebellum America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).


Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” p. 252 (litigation arising from credit purchases of tea by the supercargo of the Bingham); Grant, “Hong Merchant Litigation,” p. 56 (same); Downs, The Golden Ghetto, p. 115.

Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 255, 257, and 260.

The text of the release is reproduced with this article.


One other example of the use of identically watermarked paper has been found. Laid paper with this watermark was used by Thomas Love Peacock for a September 24, 1820 letter to English, English & Becks. Donald H. Reiman and Doucet Devin Fischer, eds., Shelley and His Circle, 1773–1822, Vol. 10, p. 854 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002) (“Watermark: [East India Company cipher] S & C WISE|
1818|”). In 1820, Mr. T. L. Peacock was an employee of the British EIC, assistant to the examiner at India House. http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi/peacock.htm


64 Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 259–260.

65 Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, pp. 297–298 and 302.

66 Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, pp. 229, 239 and 96 (Table 2.7).

67 Morse, Chronicles, Vol. 4, p. 173; Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, pp. 348 and 351; Robert Bennet Forbes, Remarks on China and the China Trade (Boston: Samuel M. Dickinson, 1844), p. 38 (Manhop I owed $1,125,538 on his failure).

69 Morse, Chronicles, Vol. 5, pp. 95 and 96; British Library, India Office Records, R/10/4, 1760/04/12, pp. 12–14.


73 Hunter, The “Fan Kwae” at Canton, p. 28.

74 Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, p. 96 (Table 2.7).


76 Kuo, Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War, p. 168 (Treaty of Nanking).

77 Kuo, Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War, p. 188 (Treaty of Wangxia).

78 内务．

79 The author is grateful to David Faure, John Wong, Paul Van Dyke, and others for thoughts on the meaning of this term. The conclusions drawn here—and any errors—are those of the author alone.

80 See Ch’en, Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, pp. 123, 126, 329, and 349.

81 By 1796, quota revenue generated by the Canton customs exceeded 1,000,000 taels annually. Preston M. Torbert, The Ch’ing Imperial Household Department: A Study of Its Organization and Principal Functions, 1662–1796 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 98–99. The “surplus” part of this revenue stream, sent directly to the Imperial Household Agency (nei wu fu) in Beijing, averaged 855,500 taels annually during the next twenty years (1796–1821). Proceeds from the Canton customs which were earmarked for the emperor’s privy purse exceeded one third of the average national annual surplus quota collection during this period (38% of the 2,261,301 tael annual average). Chang Te-ch’ang, “The Economic Role of the Imperial Household in the Ch’ing Dynasty,” Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 31, No. 2 (February 1972), pp. 243–274, 258.
Forbes, *Remarks on China and the China Trade*, p. 39 (“This debt arose out of obligations, or ‘chops,’ which originated before 1824, and bearing interest at ten to fifteen percent . . .”); E. W. A. Tuson, *The British Consul’s Manual* (London: Longman & Co., 1856), p. 250 (“British subjects are strongly recommended to exact a sale or purchase note (vulgarily called a Hong-chop), without which document in the event of fraud or failure, the sufferer would find great difficulty to establish his claim in a Chinese Court of Law.”). The term “hong chop” is independently used in the 1820 release to describe the seal used by a Hong merchant in the transaction of business.

Ch’en, *Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants*, pp. 169 and 170.

Consequa v. Fanning, 3 Johns. Ch. 587, 600 (N.Y. Chancery 1818).

Consequa v. Fanning, 3 Johns. Ch. 587, 607 (N.Y. Chancery 1818).

“The rate of interest in China, for instance, is so well established to be twelve per centum per annum, that the court would not require it to be proved.” *Consequa v. Willings*, 6 F. Cas. 336, 338 (C.C.E.D. Pa. 1816) (No. 3, 128) (Washington, C.J.).

$28,886 in interest+ $20,060 in principal = $48,946.

Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 256–257.

In making the sale, Howqua II presumably sought to realize a better return on the 1808 note than his debtor Consequa was then able to pay. Did Howqua know of the intended export and use of this note? Was this transaction part of his “support” for Wilcocks? Did he see the sale as having any real effect on Consequa, or did he see the EIC as the real party in interest, and loser? Did Howqua consider the potential impact on him, as one of the collective guarantors of Consequa’s debts, of a loss in value to Consequa resulting from its collection at Philadelphia?

Release: “Benjamin Chew Wilcocks (hereby declaring that he neither had, nor has, any participation in the emolument arising from said transaction but that of a mere Agent).”

According to the release, the note was “purchased here [at Canton] by the said Benjamin Chew Wilcocks as the agent of William Waln of Philadelphia and sent to the United States of America without my [i.e. Consequa’s] knowledge or concurrence.”

Release (“no demand having been made on me by the said Benjamin Chew Wilcocks for payment of the said claim or Chop previous to his sending the same to America”).

Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 259–260.

Alexander Pearson, EIC employee and one of Consequa’s trustees, says he acted as “amanuensis to your friend Consequa” in drafting his April 1813 letter to Peter Dobell in Philadelphia, complaining about the Hong merchant’s financial and legal problems. Grant, “Failure of the Li-ch’uan Hong,” pp. 253–254; Letter from Consequa to Peter Dobell, dated Canton April 3, 1813, Breck Family Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia, on deposit with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
Chapter 6


8 Now sometimes known as trepang, but usually called “beche de mer” or “beach la mar” by Americans in the nineteenth century.


13 Survey of Northwest Coast, p. 4.

14 20th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Doc. No. 201: Massachusetts: Petition of Citizens of New Bedford, Praying that a Naval Expedition May Be Undertaken, for the Exploration of the North and South Pacific Ocean, and Other Seas, Visited by Whale Ships and Others, March 17, 1828, Referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs (Washington: Printed by Gales & Seaton, 1828).


17 Explore South Seas, p. 4.

18 Explore South Seas, pp. 6–7.

19 Explore South Seas, p. 7.

20 Explore South Seas, p. 7. Like sea otters, seals had become rare in the wild as American merchants shipped tens of thousands of their skins to China.

21 Timothy Pitkin, A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America: Including Also an Account of Banks, Manufactures and

22 Explore South Seas, p. 9.
23 Explore South Seas, p. 12.
24 20th Congress, 2d Session, 77, Senate: Message from the President of the United States, with a Report from the Secretary of the Navy, Relative to the Exploring Expedition, &c., Made in Compliance to a Resolution of the Senate ([Washington]: 1829).
25 23d Congress, 1st Session, 10: Memorial of Edmund Fanning, To Illustrate the Views in a Petition Presented to Congress, Praying that a National Discovery and Exploring Expedition Be Sent Out to South Seas, &c. ([Washington]: 1833), p. 2.
26 Edmund Fanning, Voyages Round the World; with Selected Sketches of Voyages to the South Seas, North and South Pacific Oceans, China, etc., Performed under the Command and Agency of the Author, also, Information Relating to Important Late Discoveries; between the Years 1792 and 1832, together with the Report of the Commander of the First American Exploring Expedition, Patronised by the United States Government, in the Brigs Seraph and Annawan, to the Southern Hemisphere (New York: Collins & Hannay, 1833), p. 118.
27 Memorial of Edmund Fanning, p. 4.
28 Memorial of Edmund Fanning, pp. 4–5.
31 Jones proved unsuited for the job, and after public feuds with Secretary of the Navy Mahlon Dickerson, Charles Wilkes took his place.
32 Mahlon Dickerson to Edmund Fanning, June 15, 1836, Box 1, Watson (John Fanning) Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California (hereafter, John Fanning Watson papers).
33 Dickerson to Fanning, June 15, 1836, Box 1, John Fanning Watson papers.
34 Edmund Fanning to John Fanning Watson, June 25, 1838, Box 1, John Fanning Watson papers.
35 Benjamin Morrell, Jr., A Narrative of Four Voyages, to the South Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, Chinese Sea, Ethiopic and Southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Antarctic Ocean, from the Years 1822 to 1831. Comprising Critical Surveys of Coasts and Islands, with Sailing Directions, and an Account of some New and Valuable Discoveries, Including the Massacre Islands, where Thirteen of the Author’s Crew were Massacred and Eaten by Cannibals, to which is Prefixed a Brief Sketch of the Author’s Early Life (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832).
36 Morell, Narrative of Four Voyages, p. 466.
37 Benjamin Morrell, To Commercial Men!! An Important Enterprise; Capt. Benjamin Morrell, Jr. Late of the Schooner Antarctic from a Voyage to the South Pacific Ocean, Takes the Liberty of Laying His Views before the Commercial and Other Citizens of this City (Baltimore, 1832), p. 1.
38 Morell, To Commercial Men, pp. 1–2.
40 See James O. Pattie, Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, of Kentucky, During an Expedition from St. Louis, through the Regions between that Place and the Pacific Ocean, and thence Back through the City of Mexico to Vera Cruz, During Journeyings of Six Years; in which He and His Father, Who Accompanied Him, Suffered Unheard of Hardships and Dangers, Had Various Conflicts with the Indians and were Made Captives, in which Captivity His Father Died: Together with a Description of the Country, and the Various Nations through which They Passed, ed. Timothy Flint (Cincinnati: John H. Wood, 1831).
41 Morrell, Four Voyages, 197.
42 Such thinking was common during the early nineteenth century, when cartographers often embellished unexplored portions of their maps with fantastic geographical features, such as the Rio Buenaventura, a river supposedly flowing from the Rocky Mountains into San Francisco Bay. See, for instance, C. Gregory Crampton and Gloria G. Griffen, “The San Buenaventura, Mythical River of the West,” The Pacific Historical Review 25, no. 2 (May 1956), pp. 163–171.


Jones to Armstrong, Stribling, and Dornin, September 8, 1842, in *Taking Possession of Monterey*, p. 85.

Jones to Armstrong, Stribling, and Dornin, September 8, 1842, in *Taking Possession of Monterey*, p. 85.

Jones to Armstrong, Stribling, and Dornin, September 8, 1842, in *Taking Possession of Monterey*, p. 70.


Chapter 7


2 For some of the more recent discussions on this period, see Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade, Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), pp. 102–103.

3 By the 1759 decree from the Minister of the Kingdom Marques de Pombal, the Jesuits were expelled from all the Portuguese territories (but only became effective in 1762 in Macao), *Infopedia. Expulsão dos Jesuítas*, http://www.infopedia.pt/expulsao-dos-jesuitas, accessed August 26, 2009.


5 The Jesuits established a School for Reading and Writing in 1572 which became a University College in 1594. The 1759 decree expelling the Jesuits led to the closing of the St. Paul’s College and the St. Joseph Seminary. Portugal cut diplomatic relations with the Holy See in Rome, and secularized education. Another decree of May 28, 1834 extinguished the Jesuit congregation. *Infopédia*.


7 For general information on the opposition of the British East India Company to the Protestant missionaries in Macao, see Elizabeth L.

8 J. B. Jeter, Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, The First American Female Missionary to China (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1846), p. 221.


10 Darcy G. Richardson, Others: Third-Party Politics from the Nation’s Founding to the Rise and Fall of the Greenback-Labor Party, p. 269.


14 Her husband, Karl Gutzlaff, worked for the Netherlands Missionary Society.

15 Beatriz Bastos da Silva, Cronologia, p. 37.

16 Beatriz Bastos da Silva, Cronologia, p. 189.

17 Jeter, Memoir, p. 199.

18 Jeter, Memoir, p. 89.

19 Peter Mundy is quoted from Charles Boxer, Estudos para a História de Macau, séculos XVI a XVIII, 1º tomo (Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 1991), p. 176.

20 The population census conducted in the years 1839–1842 and available at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Overseas Historical Archives), for example, indicates a total of 5,612 persons (2,164 men, 2,350 women, 471 male slaves, 627 female slaves). Beatriz Bastos da Silva, Cronologia, p. 93. Slaves make up 24 percent of the population, and that high percentage was maintained for much of Macao’s history.


24 These ideals are exemplified in a letter Henrietta’s father gave to her when she left for China advising her to always be an obedient, dutiful wife and sexually submissive. Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 383.

25 The couple was commissioned for missionary service by the board of the “Baptist Triennial Convention,” later renamed the Baptist Fellowship in 1845. Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 105.

26 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 93. Portuguese sources indicate more precise figures regarding the number of residents. For instance, Monsignor Teixeira indicates that in 1830 the Macau’s population was around 4,628 (1,202 white men, 2,149 white women, 350 male slaves, 779 female slaves and more than 38 men and 110 women of different castes). The Portuguese born in Portugal were no more than 90 individuals. Manuel Teixeira, “Macau Através dos Séculos,” Separata dos nos. 2 e 3, vol. XI, *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional), p. 66.

27 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 94.


32 The Decree of 28 May of 1834 extinguished the Congregation of the Jesuits in 1836.


35 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 95.


37 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 179.


41 Quoted by Beatriz Bastos da Silva, Cronologia, p. 79.


44 Henrietta H. Schuck’s portrait is available at: The Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.


46 Jeter, Memoir, p. 91.

47 Shuck, Scenes in China, p. 109.

48 Shuck, Scenes, pp. 90–91.

49 Shuck, Scenes, p. 135.


52 Goldstein, Israel, and Conroy, America views, p. 68.

53 Jeter, Memoir, pp. 145–146.

54 Jeter, Memoir, pp. 145–146.

55 Jeter, Memoir, p. 168.


57 Jeter, Memoir, p. 138.


59 Jeter, Memoir, p. 94.


61 In 1835 Edgar Alan Poe became editor, staff writer, and critic of The Southern Literary Messenger where he published many first printings of his famous works. He left the journal in 1837 but he continued his

62 William Julius Mickle (1735–1788) was a Scottish poet and translator of the *Lusiad* into English which brought him fame.

63 Robert Pollok (c. 1798–1827) was a Scottish poet best known for his poem *The Course of Time*, published the year of his death, a form of didactic verse aimed to instruct as well as enhance morals, describes the mortal and immortal destiny of man, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Didactic_poetry, accessed April 20, 2009.


66 The property where the grotto is located belonged to a wealthy Portuguese trader Manuel Pereira (1757–1826). The grotto and the farmland were sold by Lourenço Marques (1811–1902), the former proprietor's son-in-law to the *Leal Senado* in 1885. Francisco Pereira Marques, one of Lourenço Marques' sons, in a letter dated March 26, 1903 mentioned that there were no documents that could prove the identity of the original owner of the garden. *Fundos Documentais*, “Fundo Marques Pereira,” *Sociedade de Geografi a de Lisboa*, Doc 8 (9). Yet, a Jesuit inventory of the St. Paul’s College of Macao dated 1632 states that the area of the grotto or cave of Camões once belonged to the Jesuits who sold it. Manuel Teixeira, *Camões esteve em Macau* (Macau: Fundação Macau and Instituto Internacional de Macau, 1999), p. 31. In 2005, the building adjacent to the garden (Casa Garden) was officially enlisted as part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site.

67 Protestants were not allowed to bury their dead inside Macao’s city walls because it was sacred Roman Catholic ground. The Protestant community of British, American and other European traders as well as non-Catholic Indian traders and seamen buried their dead in several different locations outside the city walls. There are several versions to when the cemetery was opened. According to Portuguese sources, although the year of 1814 is shown at the top of the entrance of the cemetery, is was not until 1821 that the first burial took place when Robert Morrison’s wife died. It was then that the EIC opened the “Protestant Cemetery” after Francisco Pereira Marques had obtained the Portuguese government’s approval. Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia*, p. 34. In 2005, it was also officially enlisted as part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site. Apparently, such position did not exist at that time in Macao. See also José Augusto Seabra, “Macau, O Oriente e a Poesia Portuguesa: De Camões a Camilo Pessanha,” *Revista da Cultura*, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 37 (1992), pp. 114–115.
71 Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*.
72 The first bust dedicated to Camões already existed at the date of the Embassy of Lord Macartney to China (1792–1794) as stated by George Staunton in his *Journal of an Embassy to China* but it was vandalized between 1837 and 1840. Manuel Teixeira, *Camões esteve em Macau* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Cultura, 1981), p. 44. In 1840, the damaged bust was replaced by Lourenço Marques’ initiative who also ordered the current bronze statue in 1866. Beatriz Bastos da Silva, *Cronologia*, pp. 100 and 212.
73 Shuck, “Cave of Camoens,” p. 822.
74 Shuck, “Cave,” p. 823.
75 Shuck, “Cave,” p. 824.
76 The *Friends of China* started its publication on March 17, 1842 but its second issue was incorporated with the *Hong Kong Gazette*. Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong, Pre-1841 to 1941* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1990), p. 23.
82 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 141.
84 Jeter, *Memoir*, p. 201.
87 Student enrollment increased in all of the Christian girls' schools. From 1860 onwards, the enrollment was as follows: 1860: 196 Chinese girls; 1869: 556; 1877: 1,307; 1896: 6,798; 1907: 9,929; 1910: 16,190; 1915: 45,168; and 1916: 50,173. The first anti-foot binding society was created in Shanghai in 1894. L. Ethel Wallace, *Hwa nan College: The Women’s College of South China* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in China, 1956), pp. 7 and 10.

Chapter 8


2 In her diaries and correspondence, Harriett Low spelled her name with two t’s, which we have also adopted.


4 Kinsman, Rebecca Chase, “Life in Macao in the 1840’s, Letters of Rebecca Chase Kinsman to Her Family in Salem,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 86 (1950). In 1843, Rebecca Chase Kinsman noted the following nationalities in Macao: “In walking out we meet almost every variety of people, the representatives, as it would seem, of almost every nation on earth. Jews, Parsees (who are descendants of the ancient Persians and are fire worshippers) Malays, Bengalees [sic], Lascars (these are all dressed in their several native costumes) then there are Coffers, slaves to the Portuguese, to say nothing of Europeans, English, Scotch, French, Germans, Swedes, etc.


14 Elizabeth Peabody founded the kindergarten movement in the United States; Mary often assisted her and married educational reformer Horace Mann; and Sophia married American author and one-time Salem resident Nathaniel Hawthorne.

15 Kinsman, Rebecca Chase, in Peabody Family Papers, Series II: Rebecca Chase Kinsman, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. “The cow and calf are a source of much amusement to all on board, and are petted and visited by all—Captain, mates, passengers and crew,” Mrs. Kinsman wrote from the ship, not quite a week out of Salem. “We have found among the sailors a young man, brought up on a farm, who milks and feeds the cow, and I love to see the man caress and feed her.”


17 Kinsman, Rebecca Chase, in Peabody Family Papers, Series II: Rebecca Chase Kinsman, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Mass.


25 Mary Kinsman Munroe, “Nathaniel Kinsman, Merchant of Salem, in the China Trade,” EIHC 85 (1949), pp. 132–133. Example of Rebecca Chase Kinsman’s duties as the de facto agent for Wetmore & Co. in Macao, outlined in a letter to her from her husband, Nathaniel Kinsman: “We have just passed a draft on you; as Wetmore & Co., for $3,000, which you will please pay on presentation of the draft and send us the draft receipted by the Chinese who receive the money. I have ordered the Comprador to send down money boxes this evening, and if they come, want you to send for Mr. S. and have the money paced and got ready to send up. There will be about twenty thousand dollars to be put into boxes, which will require 7 boxes—6 of $3,000 each and 1 of $2000. You must keep $500 or $1000 for current expenses.”


28 Rebecca Chase Kinsman, “Daily Life of Mrs. Nathaniel Kinsman, 1846,” *EIHC* 88 (1952), pp. 95–97. She describes her husband’s grave site as follows: “The precious remains repose in a quiet corner, shaded by some lovely trees from which I have taken leaves to preserve. There may they rest in peace. A plain granite monument is being prepared.”


39 Conger, *Letters*, p. 188.


44 Buck, *China As I See It*, p. 18.


50 Hemenway and Drake, *Hemenway*, p. 129.
Chapter 9

1 The author is grateful to Paul Van Dyke, Leonard Blussé, and Cullen Jay Wilder for their comments.

2 Macao played a role in the trade with China as is witnessed by the Americans who are now buried in the Old Protestant Cemetery. They include William Lejee and George Washington Biddle. Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery*, pp. 54 and 140.


7 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated August 21, 1849. In the meantime, the infamous Governor Amaral was assassinated, but not before the request was forwarded to Portugal.

8 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated May 20, 1850.

9 The Despatches consisted of many examples of such kind of reports, such as the one prepared by Consul De Silver. See DUSCM, “Consular Return,” dated July 1, 1850; DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated June 5, 1852; DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated January 1, 1853 and DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated July 20, 1853.

10 DUSCM “Declaration,” dated May 20, 1851.

11 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated January 1, 1852.

12 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated January 30, 1854.

13 George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, pp. 71, 258, and 310. In the eyes of George Henry Preble, De Silver was considered “a very amiable man,” but his wife was described as “a more masculine woman and has the misfortune of being unpopular with her own sex.” But they were welcomed as “an attached couple.” Ibid., pp. 71 and 312.

14 George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, 70.

15 DUSCM Document beginning with “Having every confidence in . . .”, dated January 2, 1854.


17 Eldon Griffin, *Clippers and Consuls*, pp. 278–279 and 362; George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, p. 54; the inscription of his gravestone indicated his name as “S. Burge Rawle” who was the “Late American Consul at Macao.” See Lindsay Ride and May Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996), p. 217.


19 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated July 1, 1856.
20 George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan*, p. 57 n. 118.
23 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated January 1, 1856 and DUSCM “Consular Return,” dated April 1, 1857.
24 DUSCM “Consular Return,” dated April 1 to June 30, 1857.
25 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated January 13, 1858.
26 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated January 13, 1858.
29 John Stevens Cabot Abbott, *South and North; or, Impressions Received during a Trip to Cuba and the South* (New York, Abbey & Abbot, 1860), p. 50.
30 Mr. Reed to Consul Rawle, “Coolie Trade,” “Legation of the United States,” Macao, January 5, 1858. This document is reprinted as an “Appendix” in William Beach Lawrence, *Visitation and Search, or, An Historical Sketch of the British Claim to Exercise a Maritime Police over the Vessels of All Nations: in Peace as Well as in War: with an Inquiry into the Expediency of Terminating the Eighth Article of the Ashburton Treaty* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1858), pp. 210–213.
33 DUSCM Document beginning with “I have the honor to . . .”, dated September 22, 1857.
34 For the detail of such kind of coolie trade, please refer to Robert J. Plowman, “The Voyage of the ‘Coolie’ Ship Kate Hooper October 3, 1857–March 26, 1858,” *Prologue, Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration*, vol. 33, No. 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 87–95.

Cohen, Chinese in the Post-Civil War South, p. 37.


Ride, An East India Company Cemetery, p. 217.


Ride, An East India Company Cemetery, p. 217.

Ride, An East India Company Cemetery, p. 217.

DUSCM “A Chinese Proclamation,” dated July 1, 1858. The English translation of the Chinese text was done by the author.


Langley, “Gideon Nye, Jr.,” p. 399. In an attempt to recover some of his losses, Nye resorted to being a commission merchant arranging trade for others for a fee (such as possibly Purdon and Company).


56 This letter had typed English translation later. Ibid., p. 3.

57 DUSCM Document beginning with “I beg to call your . . . ,” dated March 27, 1863. He claimed that his present salary was just “Fifteen Hundred Dollars” which was “inadequacy of salary at Macao” and a proper “style of living” to support his family. Jones asked his friend Gideon Nye, Jr. and other merchants in Canton to support him by sending letters to the secretary of state, stating the same.

58 DUSCM Document beginning with “We, the undersigned Citizens of . . . ,” dated November 12, 1863.

59 DUSCM Document beginning with “I beg to call your . . . ,” dated March 27, 1863.

60 “Appointment as Vice-Consul at Amoy 1866,” 1865–1866, Box Folder 1.7, “Container List,” “William Jones (1831–1886) Paper, 1857–1932” (an Online Article), 5. In 1868, Jones returned to the United States where he conducted lectures throughout the country about the situation


62 DUSCM Document beginning with “The purpose of the . . . ,” dated February 27, 1867.

63 DUSCM Document beginning with “The call of others duties . . . ,” dated Ebell October 9, 1869.

64 DUSCM “Report,” dated December 6, 1869. Refer to the statement before the introduction of DUSCM, p. ii.

65 There were some American-Macao interactions in the mid-1940s, but of a very different nature. Owing to misinformation the American Navy bombed Macao during World War II on January 16, February 25, and June 11, 1945. Richard J. Garrett, _The Defences of Macau: Forts, Ships and Weapons over 450 Years_ (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), p. 116. There was some speculation at the end of World War II that the Americans would try to establish military bases in Macao, and the Azores. Simón Duke, _United States Military Forces and Installations in Europe_ (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 237. Other scholars have pointed to pressure from the U.S. government on Chiang Kai-Shek not to meddle in Macau. Hsin-hai Chang, _Chiang Kai Shek-Asia’s Man of Destiny_ (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran And Company, Inc., 1944), p. 323. Macao continued to be monitored by the U.S. government, but it was not until the twenty-first century that serious talks emerged again of establishing a consul there.

66 The U.S. consuls in Macao suffered from the “lowest salary of any other U.S. Consul in China,” see DUSCM Document beginning with “We, the undersigned Citizens of . . . ,” dated November 12, 1863.
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