



American Steam Navigation in China, 1845-1878¹

PART I

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I. INTRODUCTION. EARLIER DAYS OF STEAM NAVIGATION IN CHINA.

AN important, though now largely forgotten, chapter in the history of American steam navigation is that concerned with the vessels which plied on the rivers and coasts of China, particularly in the third quarter of the last century. The American sound and river types of steamboats were particularly adapted to comparable trades in China and were greatly superior to any of their rivals. American coastal steamers, too, had points of superiority, although these were not as striking, and held their own in the coast trade for many years. A number of authors² have treated the subject, for the most part briefly, during the course of the last seventy-five years, but the purpose of the present paper is to list, as far as

¹ The present papers represent an elaboration of two lectures delivered at the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, in June 1954; one on the 26th before the American Steamship Historical Society and the other on the 28th before the Peabody Museum Marine Associates.

In what follows, it should be noted that dates of ships' movements as given in contemporary newspapers are usually those of arrival and departure, while those given in consular returns and in A. Heard and Co.'s freight books are dates of entrance and clearance. Sometimes the two sets of dates coincide but frequently they do not.

Ownership is usually taken from official documents, but the nominal or registered owners were not always the actual owners. Moreover, official dates of purchase or sale often differ, sometimes by as much as two years, from the effective date of transfer.

Prices may be assumed to be in Mexican dollars, if the transactions were in China or Japan, and in American dollars, if the transactions were in the United States, but in the majority of cases the standard is not stated.

The tonnages given in the text are usually registered tonnages, which are gross in the case of American vessels and net in the case of British vessels, unless the contrary is stated. More precise information can be obtained from Appendix III.

² E.g., Rear Admiral G. H. Preble, *History of Steam Navigation* (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 129-134 and 225-227; J. H. Morrison, *History of American Steam Navigation* (New York, 1903), pp. 508-512; an unnamed author in *Marine Engineering*, IV (1899), 108-110; F. E. Dayton, *Steamboat Days* (New York, 1925), pp. 379-381.

Quite recently, K.-C. Liu has been writing a series of very thorough articles on the history of the Shanghai Steam Navigation Co. as a business enterprise. They will be referred to as: I, 'Financing a Steam Navigation Company in China, 1861-62,' *The Business History Review*, XXVIII (1954), 154-181; II, 'Administering a Steam-Navigation Company in China, 1862-1867,' *The Business History Review*, XXIX (1955), 157-188.

possible, all the American-built merchant steamers and all the steamers owned or regularly operated by American firms or individuals in the Chinese river and coastal services, including the trade between China and Japan and between China, Manila and Singapore, from the arrival of the first American steamer in 1845 until the great days of American steam shipping there came to an end in 1877-1878, together with technical and historical information regarding each ship. For the sake of completeness, the treatment will also include several steamers, mostly with Chinese names, intended for service in China but which never reached there. More than two hundred steam vessels are involved, giving some justification for the remark of George F. Seward, the American consul general at Shanghai that 'The only great success of our countrymen on steam navigation of late years has been made here on the coast of China.'³

There will also be included a short account of the financial affairs of the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company, both because it was the most important of the ownerships we treat and because it was a public company, so that its records are reasonably accessible.

As a background for our study, it may be recalled that economic relations between the West and China developed gradually. The Portuguese secured a foothold at Macao in the sixteenth century. The English settled around Hong Kong and carried on trade with the Chinese through the single port of Canton and by means of the East India Company, whose monopoly was gradually breached and officially abolished in 1834. The attempt of the Chinese government in 1836 to prohibit the importation of opium led to war with Great Britain and, at the conclusion of the Opium War, the Treaty of Nanking in August 1842 threw China open to Western trade. The ports of Shanghai, Amoy, Foochow and Ningpo were opened to foreigners, and Hong Kong became a British colony and proceeded to develop from a desolate island into a great commercial center. Protected by the principle of extraterritoriality, the foreign settlements in the Treaty Ports, particularly Shanghai, likewise became centers of commercial activity. The defeat of China in the second Anglo-Chinese War (1856-1857) was followed in 1858 by the Treaty of Tientsin, which enlarged the privileges of foreigners. This treaty was repudiated by China after the defeat of the British at the Peiho but was reinstated and somewhat extended by the Treaty of Peking in 1860, following the Anglo-French occupation of the latter city. Among the pro-

³ George F. Seward to Mr. Cadwalader, Shanghai, 13 December 1875. *Forty-fifth Congress, 2nd Session, House Miscellaneous Document No. 31*, 'Testimony taken before the Committee on Expenditures in the State Department.' (Washington, 1878), II, 47. This document will be referred to in what follows as *HMD 31*.

visions of these treaties was the ceding to Great Britain of three square miles of the Kowloon Peninsula, on the mainland opposite Hong Kong. Eleven additional ports, including Newchwang, Tientsin, Chefoo, Hankow, Nanking, Chinkiang and Swatow were opened and foreigners were allowed to travel and trade in the interior. At the same time the navigation of the Yangtze was opened to foreign merchant ships.⁴ Shortly afterward, largely by the efforts of the Ever-Victorious Army under General F. T. Ward, the Taiping rebels were driven back from the Yangtze sufficiently to permit the resumption of commerce on the river and the release of immense quantities of goods that had been accumulating inland, awaiting shipment to the coast. In the steam navigation that developed around Hong Kong, on the Yangtze and on the coast, American houses such as Russell and Co., Augustine Heard and Co., and Olyphant and Co., together with a number of other firms and of individuals, played a large part.

Steam navigation in China had its beginning in the neighborhood of Hong Kong. In a certain sense the first steamer there seems to have been *Diana*, a paddle vessel of 80 tons for which the materials and machinery were sent out in 1821 by Maudslay for a Mr. Robarts, with the view to employment on the Canton River. Apparently the owner changed his mind and it appears doubtful that the steamer was erected in China. In any case, the parts were sent back to Calcutta, where *Diana* was reconstructed by Kyd and Co. at Kidderpore and launched on 12 July 1823.⁵ She was later purchased by the Hon. East India Co.

The first steamer to operate in Chinese waters is generally thought to have been *Forbes*, a small paddle steamer of 161 tons, constructed in 1829 by the Howrah Dock Co. of Calcutta.⁶ The same year, she was chartered by James Matheson, of the well-known British house of Jardine, Matheson and Co. to tow the sailing vessel *Jamesina* to China.⁷ According to the

⁴ See, e.g., G. C. Allen and A. G. Donnithorne, *Western Enterprise in Far Eastern Economic Development—China and Japan* (London, 1954), pp. 15-24. For a more detailed treatment of the period 1842-1854, see John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

⁵ See W. S. Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce* (London, 1876), IV, 447, especially footnote 1, where he quotes from G. A. Prinsep, *Early Steam Navigation in India* (Calcutta, 1830). See also *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, XVII (1824), 195, which quotes the Calcutta *John Bull* for 14 July 1823, where *Diana* is described as the first steam vessel which ever floated on the waters of the East. Also H. L. Hoskins, *British Routes to India* (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 108, footnote 18, and H. Parker and F. C. Bowen, *Mail and Passenger Steamships of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, n.d. [circa 1929]), p. 92. The date 1833 there given is evidently a misprint.

⁶ H. Parker and F. C. Bowen, op. cit., p. 113. For further history of *Forbes*, see H. L. Hoskins, op. cit., pp. 122-124.

⁷ *A Century of Service, The Early History of Jardine, Matheson and Co., Ltd., and the Indo China S. N. Co., Ltd.* (16 pp. n.p., n.d.), pp. 6-8.

account of Captain Henderson, commander of *Forbes*,⁸ the two ships left Sandheads, below Calcutta, on 14 March 1830. On 13 April, fourteen days after leaving Singapore, the weather turned bad and as *Forbes* was beginning to run short of coal, she dropped her tow and the two ships proceeded separately. *Forbes* arrived off Macao on 18 April, and E. C. Bridgeman, the pioneer of American missions in China, is quoted as describing his arrival at Macao on 19 April in 'the steamer *Forbes*, the first ship of the kind to have visited these shores,'⁹ a characterization confirmed in the account of her arrival in the Canton Register of 1 May 1830.⁸ When the Chinese pilot came aboard the steamer off Macao, so the story goes, he showed no surprise at what he saw. The captain, annoyed at this indifference, asked the Chinaman if he did not think the fire-eating iron boat remarkable, to which the pilot replied, 'Before time have got plenty ship inside walkee fire boat. Just now velly expense — no can do.' Evidently *Forbes* returned for *Jamesina*, as the records of the East India Company show that the latter vessel, in tow of the former, arrived at Lintin on 26 April 1830.¹⁰ The experiment was not repeated, as it was found impossible to procure coal in Canton of a quality good enough to raise steam, and *Forbes*, burning wood instead of coal, returned to Calcutta.

There was a steamer *King-fa* advertised in Canton newspapers in 1832.⁹ In 1835 Jardine, Matheson and Co. brought out the small steamer *Jardine*, intending to run her between Lintin, Hong Kong and Whampoa, but she was withdrawn because of the opposition of the Chinese authorities and converted to sail. In 1844, however, the firm, with the assistance of the British consul in Canton, broke through the ban and inaugurated the first steamship passenger service between Canton and Hong Kong with *Corsair*, and this may be said to mark the beginning of regular steam navigation in China.⁷

The earliest American steamers in China were associated with Robert Bennet Forbes, a partner in Russell and Co. in the years 1839-1844 and again in 1849-1854 and long connected with this firm. Of these steamers, the first was *Midas*,¹¹ a wooden, twin-screw, auxiliary schooner of 148 tons built by Samuel Hall, East Boston, for J. M. Forbes, also a partner in Russell and Co., R. B. Forbes and W. C. Hunter, with engines de-

⁸ *Asiatic Journal*, New Ser., III (1830), Pt. 2, 146.

⁹ G. H. Preble, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

¹⁰ H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834* (Oxford, 1926), IV, 223.

¹¹ See C. Ridgely-Nevitt, 'Auxiliary Steamships and R. B. Forbes,' *AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, I (1941), 51.

signed by John Ericsson. Under Captain William Poor, she left New York for China, 4 November 1844,¹² and was the first American steam vessel that passed beyond the Cape of Good Hope and also the first to ply in the waters of China.

Midas arrived at Hong Kong from New York on 21 May 1845,¹³ and was placed in regular service between Hong Kong and Canton, making two round trips per week,¹⁴ and so continued into the spring of 1846. In addition, she engaged in towing and salvage, and on 6 April 1846 left Hong Kong for Macao and Manila. Apparently, she was on a salvage venture, in the course of which she is said to have been sunk, but, if so, she was raised easily, as on 21 May 1846 she arrived back at Macao from Ylocos.¹⁵ *Midas* was around Hong Kong for the rest of 1846, but by then was disabled by neglect of her boilers and returned to the United States under sail, evidently early in 1847,¹⁶ after which she was converted to a sailing vessel and sold to Padelford and Fay. Subsequently, she ran for a long time between Savannah and Rio de Janeiro.

Midas was followed by the wooden propeller bark *Edith* of 407 tons, built in 1844 by Samuel Hall, East Boston, for R. B. Forbes and Thomas H. Perkins, Jr.¹⁷ Under Captain George W. Lewis, she left New York for Bombay and China on 18 January 1845 with John T. Whipple as engineer. She used steam infrequently, which is understandable in view of the fact that in the tropics the temperature was 146° F. in the engine room at the starting valve and 94° in front of the boiler. *Edith* arrived at Macao from Bombay on 2 September 1845 and at Hong Kong on 11 September.¹⁸ It was intended to run her in the opium trade between India and China, but upon her arrival at Hong Kong the agents transferred the command to a Captain Johnson, of Salem, who had had no experience in steam, and dispatched her on 8 October with a cargo of domestic goods for Shanghai. Bad weather arising, she returned to Hong Kong to repair damages and made another start on the nineteenth. Apparently, this attempt also was unsuccessful, so her cargo was transferred

¹² Robert B. Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1882), pp. 208-209. Preble gives the date of departure as 18 November.

¹³ *Hong Kong Register* (later denoted by *HKR*), 27 May 1845.

¹⁴ Advertisement, dated 20 September 1845, in *HKR*, 7 October 1845.

¹⁵ *HKR*, 7 April 1846 and 9 June 1846.

¹⁶ A *Midas*, probably this ship, was reported as arriving at Canton from Hong Kong on 1 November bound for Rio de Janeiro. Cf. Eldon Griffin, *Clippers and Consuls* (Ann Arbor, 1938), p. 390. But she seems not to have left China until later.

¹⁷ R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, pp. 209-213, and *Notes on Ships of the Past* (Boston, 1885), p. 63. See also C. Ridgely-Nevitt, loc. cit.

¹⁸ *HKR*, 9 September 1845 and 16 September 1845.

to a sailing vessel and on 8 December 1845 *Edith* herself, under Captain Johnson, left Whampoa for Boston via Rio de Janeiro.¹⁹ Upon her return, she was reconditioned and chartered by the day to the United States War Department. In 1846, she was purchased by the War Department and transferred to the Navy Department and, after a period of service in the Gulf of Mexico, she was taken around Cape Horn and subsequently lost in a fog off Santa Barbara, about August 1849.²⁰

In 1846, R. B. Forbes sent the little iron screw steamer *Firefly* of 20 tons, built in New York that year, to China in a ship for service between Canton and Whampoa. Later, he says, she was sent on another ship to San Francisco. This may be the small screw tug *Firefly* brought to Astoria from San Francisco in 1853 and lost by capsizing off Tanzy Point, Columbia River, 24 February 1854.²¹

In 1849, R. B. Forbes had *Spark*, a wooden paddle steamer, built at New York and sent out in frame to China,²² chiefly for the account of James B. Endicott.²³ Erected at Whampoa in 1850, she had a long career on the coast, being owned for many years by Captain Endicott, a former shipmaster who was later engaged in the ownership of steamers. During his ownership of *Spark*, Thomas Hunt and Co. regularly appear as her agents. Captain Endicott was interested in the Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Co., established in 1865 with British and American capital, being, e.g., chairman of their board of directors in 1869,²⁴ but at the same time he appears to have continued operating steamers on his own account. These included *Spark* and *Spec*, which, together with the good will of the line between Macao and Canton, were sold by his heirs to the H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co. in 1871.²⁵ *Spark* continued in their name through the 1883 issue of the *Mercantile Navy List*,²⁶ being finally lost on 21 July 1883 at Cape Cami. In August 1874, pirates seized the ship between Canton and Macao, murdered Captain Brady, the mate, the pur-

¹⁹ *HKR*, 20 January 1846. R. B. Forbes (*Reminiscences*, pp. 212-213) says she returned to New York.

²⁰ See C. Ridgely-Nevitt, loc. cit., p. 54, footnote 4.

²¹ *Lewis and Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, E. W. Wright, editor (Portland, Oregon, 1895), p. 44.

²² R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, Appendix.

²³ G. H. Preble, op. cit., p. 133.

²⁴ Report of Directors of H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co., Ltd., to the shareholders, 12 July 1869. *Heard Collection* (hereafter referred to as *HC*) at Baker Library, Harvard University, Vol. EA-1.

²⁵ Circular to the shareholders of the H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co., Ltd., 18 May 1871, *NCH*, 9 June 1871.

²⁶ At the semi-annual meeting of the H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co., 31 July 1882, the directors stated that they intended to withdraw *Spark* from Canton and Macao waters and to replace her by *Yotsai*, recently purchased, *North China Herald* (later denoted by *NCH*), 11 August 1882.

ser, one fireman, one Chinaman and four passengers. The Chinese engineers, who had hidden in the coal bunkers, brought the steamer into Macao.²⁷ There were about 150 passengers on board at the time, a considerable number for a steamer which registered only 133 tons gross.

Spec was a paddle steamer of 130 tons gross, built at Hong Kong in 1862 as *Fei Wan* (*Fi Wan*). Captain Endicott appears to have purchased her in 1867. After acquiring her in 1871 the H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co. almost immediately renamed her *Fei Wan* and kept her until 1877, when she was sold out of the fleet because of age.²⁸

Captain Endicott also owned *Lily*, a wooden steamer of 411 tons, builders' measure, built for him by J. C. Cowper of Whampoa, apparently as a speculation, as she was advertised for sale immediately after her launching and four or five weeks before her completion. It was emphasized that she was of light draft, but adapted for either river or coastal work.²⁹ No suitable purchasers appearing, her owner placed her in service between Hong Kong and Canton, and when the war of 1856 stopped traffic to Canton a few months later, *Lily* was placed in coastwise service, Thos. Hunt and Co. acting as agents. Other steamers of Captain Endicott will be treated later.

Of the steamers of sound or river type which were erected in the United States and sent to China under their own power, the first seems to have been *Confucius*, 468 tons, a wooden side-wheel steamer built for Russell and Co. by Thomas Collyer in 1853. Her first register, dated 9 April 1853, shows her owned in sixtieth shares by a considerable number of persons, of whom John M. Forbes, G. Griswold Gray, Abiel A. Low and Russell Sturgis were partners or former partners of Russell and Co.,³⁰ while Captain Thomas W. Dearborn was a prominent figure in steam shipping in China at this time and for a number of years afterward. *Confucius* arrived at Singapore 140 days out of New York and left on 10 September 1853, reaching Hong Kong on the fifteenth.³¹ Later that year, she was employed in towing vessels between Shanghai and the sea.³² In August 1855, she was purchased by the Chinese government

²⁷ *Japan Weekly Mail* (later denoted by *JWM*), 5 September 1874.

²⁸ According to the transcript of her document, furnished by the Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen, Cardiff, *Fei Wan* was sold on 3 January 1877 and her British registry closed the following day. Cf. also the report of the meeting of shareholders of the H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co., *NCH*, 1 February 1877.

²⁹ *China Mail* (later denoted by *CM*), 24 April 1856.

³⁰ A complete list of the partners of Russell and Co. through 6 December 1880 is to be found in the Appendix of R. B. Forbes' *Reminiscences*.

³¹ *Overland Register and Price Current* (Hong Kong), 27 September 1853.

³² Letter of Col. Humphrey Marshall, dated 8 December 1853. *CM*, 16 August 1855.

for \$90,000 and converted to a gunboat.³³ There was a gunboat of this name, very likely the same steamer, in General Ward's fleet. As of 1863, we find this latter vessel in the Chinese Transport Service.³⁴ Afterward, she was employed as a dispatch vessel and was wrecked near Tiger Hill on the Yangtze in 1870.³⁵

The next steamer sent to China was of the same type. This was *River Bird*, a wooden side-wheel steamer of 527 tons built in 1854 at Brooklyn by Samuel Sneden for Robert S. Sturgis, J. B. Endicott and Gideon Nye, Jr.³⁶ She was laid down as *Yankee* and the name later changed to *Fung Shung*, but by the time her first document was issued, 3 February 1855, she had received her final name of *River Bird*. Her owners are there given as A. A. Low, J. O. Low and E. H. R. Lyman (trading as A. A. Low and Bro.), but they may well have been acting as agents for owners then resident in China. *River Bird* sailed from New York on 5 February 1855 under Captain Sampson with Captain George U. Sands as chief engineer, and made the Cape Verde Islands in twenty days, arriving at Macao on 24 May 1855.³⁶ She was intended for service between Hong Kong and Canton, and served on that route for a year or so, save for a considerable period when she was laid up following an accident. After the war of 1856 had stopped the river traffic, Mr. Sturgis sent her to Calcutta under charter to the British government during the Indian Mutiny. Under Captain Whitney she sailed from Hong Kong for Singapore on 4 February 1857³⁷ and was wrecked in the Hooghly River later that year.³⁸

With the coming of *River Bird*, the introductory period of American steam navigation in China may be thought of as closed, and before we turn to the succeeding period, dominated by Russell and Co. and the Shanghai S. N. Co., it is convenient to introduce a situation which is responsible for the inclusion in the present paper of a considerable number of steamers which would not otherwise appear, viz., the use of the American flag by ships not entitled to receive an American document. The practice eventually evoked much criticism in this country and George F. Seward, United States Minister at Peking, formerly consul gen-

³³ *Friend of China* (later denoted by *F. of C.*), 8 August 1855.

³⁴ *F. of C.*, 18 February 1863.

³⁵ *NCH*, 15 February 1870.

³⁶ According to Preble, *op. cit.*, p. 133. The *China Mail* for 31 May 1855 states that she arrived at Macao in charge of Captain Paul.

³⁷ *CM*, 12 February 1857.

³⁸ *Marine Engineering*, IV (1899), 110. Cf. *CM*, 9 April 1857. The wreck was purchased by the British government for two lakhs of rupees (dispatch from Calcutta, dated 21 November 1857, in *CM*, 17 December 1857). Whether the steamer was restored to service or not, is not known.

eral at Shanghai, was accused, among other things, of violating the law in this regard to his own personal profit. *House Miscellaneous Document No. 31*, referred to above, is devoted largely to testimony concerning the administration of the consulate general at Shanghai under G. F. Seward and there is much concerning the use of the American flag on ships not entitled to documentation. Whether or not Seward was guilty of the various charges made against him is not now clear. The testimony evidently involves much personal rancor, often not involving him directly. The investigating committee recommended his trial before the Senate, but this was never done—perhaps because his enemies did not feel their case sufficiently strong. In the matter that here concerns us, Seward seems to have been following what was the custom and, very largely at least, what was the law, and he believed in his course as essential to the support of American shipping in the Far East.³⁹

It is well known that at that period, as now, only American-built ships were entitled to receive American documents except under special circumstances, such as being prizes of war or being admitted by special act of Congress. However, in the Far East the practice arose of allowing foreign-built vessels to fly the American flag. The first vessel so treated was said to have been a sailing vessel, *Mariposa*, in 1848 or 1849.⁴⁰ In any case, the practice had become well established by 1856, and in 1857 the United States Legation issued a circular on the duties of consular officers with respect to American owners of foreign-built vessels, being regulations and instructions prescribed by the President in accordance with an Act of Congress approved on 18 August 1856.⁴¹

Essentially, the instructions were to the effect that foreign-built vessels purchased and owned by American citizens were entitled to the protection of the authorities and flag of the United States, although no register, enrollment, license or other marine document prescribed by the laws of the United States could be issued to them. Bills of sale for such vessels were to be recorded and authenticated at an American consulate and a certificate, frequently referred to as sailing letters, delivered to the owners. These vessels were, however, not allowed to carry cargo to any American port, nor could they call there except under special arrangements.

These instructions were repeated in the second edition of the *Consular Manual*, dated December 1862, and in the third edition, dated Novem-

³⁹ George F. Seward to Mr. Cadwalader, *HMD* 31, II, 47.

⁴⁰ Testimony of Edward Cunningham, *HMD* 31, I, 867.

⁴¹ Cf. *CM*, 9 April 1857. For further information regarding the use of the American flag, see E. Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 and 443.

ber 1867. They were modified in the regulations of 1870, though not essentially, and Article XVII of the regulations dated 1 September 1874 contains the statement that 'The right of American citizens to acquire property in foreign ships has been held to be a natural one, independent of statutory law, and such property is no more and no less entitled to protection by the United States than any other property of American citizens.' Section 226 of the regulations of 1874, however, contained the statement that 'The privilege of carrying the American flag is under the regulation of Congress and the statutes have not made that privilege practicably available to any ships except those duly registered or enrolled at some customhouse.'⁴² This seems to represent a change in the point of view of the United States government, but the earlier custom was apparently well established in China and the steamers of the Shanghai S. N. Co., which by the latter part of 1874 were almost the only ones flying the American flag in those waters, continued to do so. After their sale to the Chinese in 1877 the American flag virtually disappeared from the coast and river trade in China anyway.

There had grown up in the fifties and early sixties a widespread carrying of the American flag by small, Chinese-built vessels of which American ownership was purely nominal. This practice was definitely irregular and G. F. Seward states that early in his career as consul he took steps to correct this abuse.⁴³ Few of these vessels were steamers and no effort has been made in the present paper to treat them completely.

A problem associated with the flying of the American flag was that of the employment of Americans as officers and crew. The crews in these steamers were regularly Chinese or 'Manila men.' An effort was made to have Americans as captains and officers, but if the shipowner certified that he was unable to obtain competent Americans for these positions, he was normally allowed by the consuls to fill them with foreigners.⁴³ The law, being framed in the days of sail, had nothing to say regarding engineers and this led on at least one occasion to an ingenious device. In the latter part of 1876 the steamer *Pingon* was refused a clearance by J. C. Myers, then consul general at Shanghai, on the ground that the chief mate was an Englishman. The chief engineer, however, was an American, so the engineer was shipped as mate and the mate as engineer and the steamer thereupon allowed to proceed to sea!⁴⁴

⁴² Quoted in *HMD* 31, I, 868.

⁴³ George F. Seward to Mr. Cadwalader, *ibid.*, II, 46.

⁴⁴ C. P. Blethen to George F. Seward, 3 April 1877. *HMD* 31, II, 48.

II. RUSSELL AND CO. AND ASSOCIATED OWNERSHIPS

The greatest of the American houses in China, Russell and Co., was founded by Samuel Russell on 1 January 1824 and lasted until 1891. While primarily an agency and commission house and for the most part not shipowners in their own right, they nevertheless were active in shipping as agents and consignees of ships owned largely by partners and former partners of the firm, and as the agency amounted usually to management, it is convenient to treat the steamers owned by Russell and Co. or by interests associated with them under one head. The first of Russell and Co.'s own steamers, or at least the first of any size, was *Confucius*, already mentioned.

In 1855, R. B. Forbes had built for Russell and Co. the wooden screw auxiliary bark *Antelope* of 415 tons, constructed by Samuel Hall of East Boston.⁴⁵ P. S. Forbes, the head of the house, evidently had an interest in her, although in her first register, dated 14 July 1855, R. B. Forbes is listed as owner. She came out from Boston via Batavia, arriving at Hong Kong on 17 November 1855.⁴⁶ While intended for service between Japan and China,⁴⁷ *Antelope* appears to have traded principally between Hong Kong and Shanghai. Captain Edward Mellus, who brought her out, died of brain fever at Foochow on 19 August 1856 and was succeeded by Captain Lynch. Apparently she was not too successful financially. In the early part of 1858 she was being used by the United States on a six-months' charter and Russell and Co. planned to sell her after that.⁴⁸ *Antelope* was, in fact, sold at auction on 15 October 1858 through De Silver and Co. and purchased by B. S. Fernandes, a shipowner of Macao, who renamed her *Fernandes* and placed her under the Portuguese flag.⁴⁹ After some repairs, she was placed in coastwise service out of Hong Kong, principally to Swatow and Amoy, with Walker, Borradaile and Co. as agents. In the spring of 1861, she went north and operated on the Yangtze, with Dent and Co. as agents.⁵⁰ About October of that year she was sold for Mexican \$80,000, given her old name of *Antelope*, and placed under the British flag, with Bower, Hanbury and Co. as agents.⁵¹ She then operated

⁴⁵ R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, Appendix. See also C. Ridgely-Nevitt, loc. cit.

⁴⁶ *CM*, 22 November 1855.

⁴⁷ *The Artizan*, XIV (1856), 13.

⁴⁸ K.-C. Liu, loc. cit., I, 164.

⁴⁹ *CM*, 30 September 1858, 21 October 1858, and 11 November 1858.

⁵⁰ *Overland Trade Report* (Hong Kong), (later denoted by *OTR*), 27 July 1861.

⁵¹ *OTR*, 14 November 1861; *NCH*, various issues in 1862.

mainly on the Yangtze and on the Shanghai-Ningpo route, but on at least one occasion went as far south as Hong Kong. Later she became a Chinese government transport,⁵² and she seems to have ended her days in that service.

In 1856, Wm. Denny and Bros., Dumbarton, built for P. S. Forbes and others the iron auxiliary screw steamer *Min*. As she registered 191 tons net, she must have been of about the same size as *Antelope*. Being intended for Russell and Co.'s opium trade between India and China, she was heavily armed, having two swivel 18-pounders amidships and six brass 6-pounder carronades.⁵³ She came out via Bombay, leaving that port on 23 September 1856 and arriving at Hong Kong on 3 November. During her short career, *Min* plied mainly, if not entirely, between Hong Kong and Shanghai. On her last trip, she left Hong Kong on 19 March 1857 and on the 22nd was wrecked on Tung Ying in the Formosa Channel. She struck upon a rock and, being backed astern, sank in 25 fathoms. The crew were saved.⁵⁴ P. S. Forbes did not regard her highly as an investment,⁵⁵ but whether this was due to poor operating results or to her short life is not clear.

After the close of the second Anglo-Chinese war, Russell and Co. resumed service between Hong Kong and Canton with *Willamette*, an iron propeller of 370 tons built in 1849 by Harlan and Hollingsworth, Wilmington, Delaware, for George W. Aspinwall of Philadelphia and registered in his name at Philadelphia on 2 August 1850. She was evidently sold immediately afterward, as on 5 August 1850 she was reregistered at Philadelphia with the Pacific Mail S.S. Co. as owners. The same day, *Willamette* sailed from Philadelphia under Captain E. W. Willett (or Willet) and arrived at Astoria, Oregon, on 9 March 1851.⁵⁶ She was intended for service on the Columbia, but was too expensive for the route and sold a year or so afterward and subsequently sent to San Francisco. In 1855 she was acquired by the California S. N. Co. and sent to China, leaving San Francisco under canvas in command of Captain W. E. Newcomb on 16 June and arriving at Hong Kong on 29 August, consigned to Jardine, Matheson and Co. and bringing with her a staff of artificers to put her machinery together.⁵⁶ On 1 January 1856, under the command

⁵² *F. of C.*, 18 February 1863.

⁵³ *The Engineer*, I (1856), 260.

⁵⁴ *CM*, 2 April 1857.

⁵⁵ *Lewis and Dryden*, op. cit., p. 35.

⁵⁶ *Willamette* was first registered in the name of the California S. N. Co. at San Francisco on 9 June 1855. For her arrival in China, see *CM*, 30 August 1855 and 29 November 1855.

of Captain William Curry, who also acted as her agent,⁵⁷ she commenced plying on the Pearl River between Hong Kong and Canton as a freight and passenger vessel, and so continued until October 1856, when the war between Great Britain and China put a stop to all commercial communication with the city of Canton. On 1 December 1856 *Willamette* started a service between Hong Kong and Macao. It appears at first to have been irregular, but from 1 June 1857 to 31 January 1858 she operated regularly, save for an intermission of three months when she was laid up for repairs. Throughout this period she was owned by the California S. N. Co. The service to Canton had resulted in an average profit of \$2,027 per month. The Macao service, however, entailed additional expenses and produced no profits, on the basis of which facts Captain Curry in behalf of the owners filed claims for damages against the Chinese government at the United States consulate at Hong Kong on 11 July 1857 and 17 March 1858.⁵⁸ By this time the California S. N. Co. had gotten tired of their Chinese venture and *Willamette* was advertised to be sold at public auction by Lane, Crawford and Co., auctioneers, on 4 June 1857. Apparently nothing came of this as she was offered at auction on 6 February 1858. There were no bidders, but a few days later she was acquired privately by Russell and Co. or their associates for \$23,000 and placed, as stated above, on the route between Hong Kong and Canton.⁵⁹

When the Yangtze was opened to navigation in the spring of 1861, Edward Cunningham, Russell and Co.'s managing partner in Shanghai, who was keenly interested in steam navigation, had *Willamette* brought up from the Canton River and repaired, whereupon she was placed in service between Shanghai and Hankow. Her sale for \$30,000 was reported in the *Overland China Mail* for 28 May 1861 and she appears from a letter of Cunningham to have entered actual service on the river about July.⁶⁰ After she had been established in profitable operation, Cunningham sold the shares in her to his Chinese friends to induce them to invest in the more extensive operation he was planning and which de-

⁵⁷ *CM*, 11 June 1857. Robert S. Walker, at that time superintendent for the P. and O. at Hong Kong, is also listed as her agent. See *CM*, 23 April 1857.

⁵⁸ 40th Congress, 3rd Session, *House Executive Document No. 29* (Washington, 1869), 'Claims Against China' (later referred to as *HExD 29*), pp. 111-112. The claim of *Willamette* was not allowed.

⁵⁹ *CM*, 11 February 1858. Apparently Henry G. Wolcott, who was connected with Russell and Co., had a large interest in *Willamette*. Cf. E. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

⁶⁰ K.-C. Liu, *loc. cit.*, I, 170. *Willamette* arrived at Shanghai from Hong Kong on 25 July 1861 according to the *Consular Returns of Shipping* (later denoted by *CRS*), Shanghai (at National Archives).

veloped into the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company. *Willamette* continued to trade on the Yangtze under the management of Russell and Co.⁶¹ until sold about May 1862 for \$50,000,⁶² it being presumably thought wise to accept a good offer for her, as newer and more suitable ships were then coming out. Thereafter, Chapman, King and Co. were listed as agents,⁶³ but she was soon resold or else the purchase was by, or in behalf of, General F. T. Ward, in whose service she later was.⁶⁴ Subsequently, she was in the Chinese Transport Service.⁶⁵

To return to the coastwise trade, Morrison states that the seagoing paddle steamer *Yangtze* (1857) was built for Russell and Co.,⁶⁶ but the evidence indicates that she was intended for Dent and Co., in whose service she later was, as will be described below. However, the following year, 1858, the seagoing wooden side-wheel steamer *Peiho*, 1,113 tons, was built by Thomas Collyer for Russell and Co. Paul S. Forbes is listed as her owner in her first register, dated 23 April 1859, but it appears that he was acting as agent, Russell and Co. as a firm being financially interested in this ship.⁶⁷ *Peiho* arrived at Hong Kong from New York, 11 September 1859 and was placed in Hong Kong-Shanghai service, on which she continued for several months, leaving Shanghai for Hong Kong on her last voyage for Russell and Co. on 5 March 1860.⁶⁸ Later that month she was listed as at Hong Kong, repairing, and about this time she was sold to the French for use as a warship, being renamed *Saigon*. Her surrendered document in the National Archives is marked 'Surrendered at Boston, 29 June 1860. Vessel sold to French in China.' It appears that P. S. Forbes had for some time felt that the funds invested in her could be more profitably employed, and with less risk, elsewhere.⁶⁹

In 1858-1859, Thomas Collyer built the wooden side-wheel steamer *White Cloud* (or *Pak Yun*) of 521 tons, chiefly for the account of Robert S. Sturgis and Captain George U. Sands.⁶⁹ In her first document, dated 12 February 1859, George U. Sands is listed as owner and master. The following abstract of her log on her way to China appeared in *Marine Engineering* for September 1899:

⁶¹ NCH, 3 May 1862.

⁶² *Boston Shipping List* (later referred to as *BSL*), 21 June 1862.

⁶³ NCH, 10 May 1862.

⁶⁴ Mixed Court, *C. E. Hill vs. Estate of Yang Taikee*, NCH, 21 January 1875.

⁶⁵ *F. of C.*, 18 February 1863.

⁶⁶ J. H. Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

⁶⁷ K.-C. Liu, *loc. cit.*, I, 165.

⁶⁸ NCH, 10 March 1860.

⁶⁹ G. H. Preble, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

Left New York, 2 March 1859. Captain, Josiah Paul; Chief Engineer (Captain) Samuel Newton.

Arrived at St. Vincent, Cape Verde Islands, in 17 days. Distance run, 2919 miles. Coaled.

Left for Cape of Good Hope and arrived in 23 days, 12 hours. Distance, 3896 miles. Coaled.

Left for Point de Galle, Ceylon and arrived in 24 days. Distance, 4380 miles. Coaled.

After stopping at Singapore, dropped anchor in Hong Kong harbor, 7 June 1859. Total distance from New York, 14,195 miles.

White Cloud, a typical American sound steamer, was placed in Russell and Co.'s line between Hong Kong and Canton⁷⁰ and subsequently ran also between Hong Kong and Macao, remaining on these routes until sold late in 1865 to the Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Co. She remained in the service of the latter company until lost in a typhoon in Macao harbor, 23 September 1874. Her engine was salvaged and placed in a new *White Cloud*.

Upon the arrival of *White Cloud*, Russell and Co.'s Hong Kong-Canton service was maintained by *White Cloud* and *Willamette*.⁷¹ When the latter steamer went to the Yangtze, she was replaced by *Hankow*, a wooden side-wheel steamer of 726 tons built by Thomas Collyer in 1860. In her first register, dated 26 January 1861, she is in the name of E. J. Hale and John M. Forbes, comprising the firm of P. S. Forbes and Co. In charge of Captain Walcott, *Hankow* arrived at Hong Kong from Philadelphia, 30 August 1861. She was consigned to Russell and Co. and (in spite of her name) intended for their Hong Kong-Canton service,⁷² a service on which she was primarily employed until she burned at Canton, 21 July 1865.⁷³ However, she was chartered in 1862 by the Shanghai S. N. Co. and by them operated on the Yangtze between Shanghai and Hankow.⁷³ The new *Plymouth Rock* was placed on Russell and Co.'s Hong Kong-Canton line in the fall of 1864 and served there until sold to the Shanghai S. N. Co. in June 1866. Meanwhile the line had been reinforced in the latter part of 1865 by the purchase of Olyphant and Co.'s Yangtze steamers *Poyang* and *Kiukiang*, to be described later, but these were sold to the Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Co. in August 1866 and the service given up. *Poyang* was lost on her way from Hong Kong to Macao with about one hundred lives in the typhoon of 31 May 1875. *Kiukiang* continued in the Hong

⁷⁰ Cf. e.g., the *Daily Press* (Hong Kong), 16 August 1859 and the *China Directory* for 1863.

⁷¹ *OTR*, 31 October 1861. *China Directory* for 1863.

⁷² *BSL*, 23 September 1865.

⁷³ S. S. N. Co. Advertisement in *NCH*, 19 July 1862.

Kong, Canton and Macao service until broken up at Canton in March 1892 after an unusually long and relatively uneventful life.

Among Russell and Co.'s small vessels of this period may be mentioned *Hyson*, a little paddle steamer sent to China in the bark *Palmetto* in 1861.⁷⁴ The following year, she was purchased by the Taotai for General Ward's service.⁶⁴

About the beginning of 1861, P. S. Forbes contracted for Russell and Co.'s future use the coastal steamer *Flambeau*,⁷⁵ a wooden propeller of 850 tons,⁷⁶ built that year by Lawrence and Foulkes. She never went to China, however, as Forbes sold her to the Navy, 14 November 1861,⁷⁷ before she had been documented. At the close of the Civil War, the Navy sold her at auction, 12 July 1865 to G. W. Quintard, acting, evidently, on behalf of the Atlantic Coast Mail S.S. Co., in whose name she was enrolled on 23 August 1865. While in their service, she foundered, 1 March 1867, on Cape Fear Bar, off Fort Fisher, North Carolina, without loss of life.⁷⁸

To replace *Flambeau*, P. S. Forbes sent to China in November 1861 the iron screw steamer *Pembroke* of 241 tons,⁷⁹ which had been built the previous year by the Atlantic Works, East Boston, under R. B. Forbes's supervision. *Pembroke* was built for William E. Coffin and Co. and intended for service between Boston and Pembroke, Maine.⁸⁰ She ran her trials in October 1860, but was immediately acquired by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and subsequently sold to R. B. Forbes and others. In an enrollment dated 9 May 1861, the ship is owned jointly by John M. Forbes and John A. Andrews, acting as trustees. On 16 November 1861, she was registered, with R. B. Forbes as owner. Actually, however, it appears that Forbes had a one-fourth interest in her and the sale of this interest at a profit of \$3,338.50 after the ship reached China was one of his few successful ventures in steam shipping at this period.⁸¹ Under J. A. Cunningham, *Pembroke* sailed from Boston for Batavia on 19 November 1861. From Batavia she went to Manila, leaving the latter port 1 April 1862 and arriving at Shanghai on the ninth.⁸² Immediately afterward, she was transferred to the Shanghai S. N. Co., and her further history will be given below.

⁷⁴ D. Henderson, *Yankee Ships in China Seas* (New York, 1946), p. 192.

⁷⁵ K.-C. Liu, loc. cit., I, 166.

⁷⁶ *Lytle List*. When she was documented, her tonnage was given as 767.

⁷⁷ *History of the Union and Confederate Navies*, II, 1, 84.

⁷⁸ *Lytle List*; *Steamboat Bill of Facts*, March 1954.

⁷⁹ K.-C. Liu, loc. cit., I, 167.

⁸⁰ *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, LXXI (1861), 53.

⁸¹ R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, p. 277.

⁸² *NCH*, 12 April 1862.

A steamer having a very brief connection with Russell and Co. was *Kiang Soo* of 240 tons, built in 1862 for Henry G. Ward, under whose ownership she will be more fully discussed. During the Civil War she became U.S.S. *Fuchsia*, being sold at auction to N. L. and G. Griswold for \$11,000.⁸³ She does not appear to have been redocumented until 12 March 1869, when, under the name of *Donald*, she was registered with owners including Henry H. Warden and J. N. A. Griswold, both associated with Russell and Co. On the same day, however, she was registered in the names of two other owners, the second of whom was acting as agent for Donald Beadle of San Francisco as owner. *Donald* thereupon went to the west coast under sail, arriving at San Francisco in 1869, and was put on the southern coast route, being sold to Goodall and Nelson in 1871.⁸⁴ As a tug, she went to Puget Sound in 1877 and returned to San Francisco the following year.⁸⁵ She was finally abandoned in 1889.⁸⁶

Another, much larger, steamer which had a rather tenuous connection with Russell and Co., but seems to deserve mention here, is *Meteor*, a wooden screw steamer of 1,221 tons built by Tobey and Littlefield, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and launched 21 May 1864. She was built for some sixteen prominent businessmen, including R. B. Forbes, J. M. Forbes, P. S. Forbes, A. A. Low, John G. Cushing and William H. Aspinwall, for sale to the government as a cruiser, but although her trial, 5 January 1865, was satisfactory, Congress, considering the war nearly over, reduced appropriations for the Navy to such an extent that the Secretary decided not to take her. She was then chartered to the War Department and afterwards placed on Cromwell's Line to New Orleans in command of Captain E. Kemble. As this was unprofitable, she was withdrawn in January 1866 and fitted out for sale, whereupon she was seized by the government on the grounds that she was fitting out to make war on a friendly power. She was eventually released and sold at auction, 11 September 1866, to Thomas Walsh (formerly a partner in Russell and Co. and their manager in Japan) of the firm of Walsh, Hall and Co., Yokohama.⁸⁷ Under Captain J. S. Watson, *Meteor* left Boston, 21 September 1866 for Japan, being presumably intended for the Far Eastern trade. She is listed as leaving Rio de Janeiro, bound for China, on 1 November 1866,⁸⁸ but upon her arrival

⁸³ *History of the Union and Confederate Navies*, II, 1, 89.

⁸⁴ Benjamin C. Wright, *San Francisco's Ocean Trade, Past and Future* (San Francisco, 1911), pp. 122-123.

⁸⁵ *Lewis and Dryden*, op. cit., pp. 253 and 262.

⁸⁶ *Lytle List*; *Lewis and Dryden*, op. cit., p. 366.

⁸⁷ R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, pp. 269-276.

⁸⁸ *BSL*, 9 January 1867.

at Singapore was diverted, leaving that port for Melbourne on 22 December 1866. She arrived at Melbourne on 16 January 1867 and sailed three days later, arriving on 2 March 1867 at Callao, where she was sold Peruvian. She was apparently intended for use as a warship, thereby justifying the earlier suspicions of the American authorities. *Meteor* was later destroyed by the Peruvians to keep her from falling into the hands of the Chilean government.⁸⁹

The composite propeller *Niphon* of 399 tons was built in 1862 for R. B. Forbes, H. A. Peirce and James B. Endicott. Her iron frames were constructed by the Atlantic Works and her planking and joiner work were by Sylvanus Smith. She was intended for the China trade⁹⁰ and, had she entered it, would doubtless have been under the management of Russell and Co. As it was, she was purchased from R. B. Forbes by the United States Navy for \$75,000 on 9 May 1863 and proved very successful in capturing blockade runners. At the close of the war, she was sold at auction for \$18,250 to the Atlantic Works on 17 April 1865.⁹¹ She was documented as *Tejuca*, 23 October 1865, and went to South America, where she is described as being in good condition as of about 1868.⁹²

Another steamer intended for China service was *Hoquang*, a wooden side-wheel vessel of 1,055 tons, listed in American Lloyd's for 1864-1866 as owned by Forbes and Co. and built at New York in 1861, being surveyed there in January 1862. There does not seem to have been any such ship in China, although the larger and newer *Huquang* is sometimes referred to as *Hoquang*. The *Hoquang* listed in American Lloyd's was apparently sold before documentation and renamed, but it has not thus far been possible to identify her with certainty.

We now return to the consideration of steamers which actually served on Russell and Co.'s lines in China. *Oriflamme* was a seagoing wooden paddle steamer of 1,205 tons built in 1863 by Lawrence and Foulkes at Brooklyn and intended for use as a gunboat in the Civil War. By the time she was completed, however, the war was so near its close that she was never commissioned, but sold for the China trade.⁹³ Her first register, dated 31

⁸⁹ R. B. Forbes, *Notes on Ships of the Past*, pp. 60-61.

⁹⁰ R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, pp. 266-267.

⁹¹ *History of the Union and Confederate Navies*, II, 1, 161.

⁹² Atlantic Works, *Wooden Ships Superseded by Iron* (Boston, 1869), p. 6. A dispatch from San Francisco, dated 31 March 1868, in the *Boston Shipping List* for 11 April says, 'The steamer *Niphon* was wrecked off Amoy in January with the loss of 12 or 15 lives. She was of 468 tons register and built at Boston in 1862.' But this is a case of mistaken identity, the American-built *Niphon* being confused with the Peninsular and Oriental S. N. Co.'s *Niphon* (1865), wrecked, 23 January 1868, on a reef 25 miles south of Amoy.

⁹³ *Lewis and Dryden*, op. cit., p. 151; K.-C. Liu, loc. cit., II, 172, footnote 40.

March 1864, shows her owned by several individuals and copartners, of whom William H. King, Robert S. Sturgis and Henry H. Warden were sometime partners in Russell and Co., the last being afterward president of the Shanghai S. N. Co. The builders owned $\frac{2}{32}$ of her. The 14th of April following, she was reregistered with the same owners, save that the shares of the builders had been sold to George U. Sands. Under Captain George E. Lane, *Oriflamme* left New York for Hong Kong, 16 April 1864, arriving at Singapore on 15 July and leaving on the 23rd for Hong Kong.⁹⁴ By August of that year she was in regular service on the China coast running primarily between Hong Kong and Shanghai, although on occasion she was on the Yangtze and she made one or two trips to Japan. The Shanghai S. N. Co. apparently chartered her at times, but never owned her.⁹⁵ As she was not entirely satisfactory for service in China, she was sold near the end of 1865 for the route between San Francisco and Mexico.⁹⁶ On her final coastwise trip, still under Captain Lane, she arrived at Shanghai from Hong Kong, 22 December 1865, and was thereupon advertised to leave for San Francisco via Yokohama.⁹⁷ She came to San Francisco early in 1866 and was shortly placed by her new owner, Ben Holladay, on the northern route, arriving at Portland, Oregon, on her first trip, 24 June 1866.⁹⁸ *Oriflamme* continued on this route almost uninterruptedly for the next ten years, save for frequent use as a private yacht for her owner, on which occasions she was the scene of parties that were colorful to say the least.⁹⁹ In her later years, she was enrolled in the name of the Oregon S.S. Co. Her last document was surrendered at San Francisco on 16 June 1879, the vessel having been broken up.

After the return of *Oriflamme*, Russell and Co. operated *Varuna* for a while between Hong Kong and Shanghai, and after that, *Yung Hai An*. C. H. Mallory built *Varuna* (second of that name) at Mystic in 1863, a wooden screw steamer of 867 tons. She served for a while in the Savannah service of the Atlantic Coast Mail S.S. Co. According to his diary,¹⁰⁰ Mallory sold her to J. M. and W. H. Forbes on 27 February 1866 and on the 13th of March following she was registered at New York with William H. Forbes, John M. Forbes and H. S. Russell, all of Boston, copartners, as owners, and Comfort Whiting as master. Under Captain Whiting, she left

⁹⁴ *BSL*, 27 April 1864. *CRS*, Singapore.

⁹⁵ See, however, K.-C. Liu, loc. cit., II, 172, footnote 40.

⁹⁶ *NCH*, 9 December 1865.

⁹⁷ *NCH*, 23 December 1865. *Oriflamme* left Shanghai for San Francisco via Kanagawa on 1 January 1866 (*CRS*).

⁹⁸ *Lewis and Dryden*, op. cit., pp. 151-152.

⁹⁹ At the Museum of the Marine Historical Society, Mystic, Connecticut.

New York on 24 March and Bahia on 19 April, bound for Hong Kong,¹⁰⁰ and she first arrived at Shanghai on 25 July.¹⁰¹ *Varuna* was employed between Shanghai and Hong Kong and between Shanghai and Nagasaki, Captain Whiting continuing in command, until she was sold at the end of October 1866.¹⁰¹ This is the last information I have regarding her.

The following year, Captain Whiting had *Yung Hai An*, which, according to the *Consular Returns of Shipping* from Shanghai, was owned by Russell and Co. and operated by them between Hong Kong and Shanghai, making a round trip about once every three weeks, from April through October 1867. Just how this was consistent with the agreement of the Shanghai S. N. Co. for whom Russell and Co. were the managing agents, not to operate on that route for ten years from February 1867, is not now clear. *Yung Hai An* appears to have been the former *Lancefield*, an iron screw steamer of 449 tons net, built by Robert Napier at Glasgow in 1855 for Jardine, Matheson and Co., who sold her in September 1862, probably to the Japanese, as she had arrived at Yokohama on the eighth of that month.¹⁰² The details of her history for the next few years are not known, but as the American steamer *Lancefield* she came to Shanghai in March 1865 and was in port there as of 1 January 1866, leaving for Hong Kong on the eighteenth.¹⁰³ Russell and Co. owned her in 1867 and 1868 as *Yung Hai An*, and for about a year after she left the Shanghai route, they operated her between Hong Kong and Indian ports.¹⁰⁴ Toward the end of this time she was available for purchase, as in a letter to his brothers, dated 14 September 1868, George F. Heard, of Augustine Heard and Co., says, 'We may get the *Lancefield* for \$45,000 or \$50,000.' Nothing came of this, however, and in December 1868 she was sold at auction at Hong Kong for \$25,000.¹⁰⁵ She later had the name *Manila* and was converted to sail about 1873. In that year the China Navigation Co. bought her and renamed her *Lancefield*, rebuilding her as a hulk in 1889 and finally selling her to Chinese in 1912.

A steamer which had a long career on the China coast and was associated with Russell and Co. for a time was *Pingon*. As *Moneka*, a wooden screw steamer of 550 tons, she had been built by William Cramp and Sons, Phila-

¹⁰⁰ *BSL*, 6 June 1866.

¹⁰¹ *CRS*, Shanghai.

¹⁰² M. Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days* (Kobe, n.d. [1930]), p. 344.

¹⁰³ According to *CRS*, she arrived at Shanghai on 24 March 1865. Her name is given in error as *Sandsfield*.

¹⁰⁴ *CRS*, Singapore.

¹⁰⁵ *NCH*, 28 December 1868.

delphia, for E. A. Souder and Co.,¹⁰⁶ being registered on 5 October 1865 in the name of Archibald Getty (of A. Getty and Co., trading as the Peoples S.S. Co.). On 29 April 1869, *Moneka* was registered in the name of Ira W. Steward of Brooklyn, New York, and on the following day in the name of Edward W. Corlies, also of Brooklyn, with H. A. Barclay as master. Corlies sent her to the Far East shortly afterward and under Captain Barclay she arrived at Singapore on 26 July 1869 and left on the 31st for Hong Kong.¹⁰⁷ It seems likely that she was sent out with a view to selling her in Japan and, indeed, her sale to the Chiji of Yoshida for Mexican \$85,000 was reported in January 1870.¹⁰⁸ But the sale was evidently not carried out, and she traded on the China coast and between China and Japan until acquired on 28 July 1871 by John M. Mackie, of Mackie's Hongkew Godown, who continued her in the same service under the name of *Pingon*.¹⁰⁹ On or about 29 March 1873, Mackie mortgaged the steamer to the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation for Tls. 24,000, the mortgage being registered at the U. S. consulate general in Shanghai. The following summer and fall, *Pingon* was lengthened and reboiled by Boyd and Co., Russell and Co. furnishing materials to the amount of Tls. 11,946.09.¹¹⁰ Shortly afterward, Mackie made her over to the Union S. N. Co. (to be treated later) and another creditor jointly as partial compensation for losses they had suffered due to the dishonesty of his compradore. However, the steamer was subject to the balance of the first mortgage, viz., Tls. 23,000, as well as to the claims of Russell and Co.,¹¹¹ and furthermore it was estimated it would require Tls. 9,000-10,000 to make her ready for sea, so the directors of the Union S. N. Co. decided against taking her up.¹¹² Effectively the mortgage was foreclosed in 1874,¹¹³ and in *Lloyd's Register* from 1875-1876 through 1877-1878 she is in the name of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, of which William H. Forbes, a partner in Russell and Co., was then chairman. In the *Register* for the latter year, *Pingon's* ownership was changed

¹⁰⁶ G. H. Preble, op. cit., Appendix.

¹⁰⁷ According to *CRS*, Singapore.

¹⁰⁸ *NCH*, 18 January 1870.

¹⁰⁹ *CRS*, Shanghai.

¹¹⁰ *NCH*, 13 November 1873.

¹¹¹ Russell and Co. sued the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corp. to collect, but George F. Seward, the American consul general, found in favor of the bank.

¹¹² Union S. N. Co. meeting, *NCH*, 2 April 1874.

¹¹³ *Pingon* was not sold by order of the court, but by consent of the parties involved. Cf. 'The Union S. N. Co. and Messrs. Lane, Crawford and Co. vs. the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corp.' (*NCH*, 13 June 1874).

to E. Cunningham and Co.,¹¹⁴ and so continued through 1881-1882. Throughout this period *Pingon* was regularly consigned to and dispatched by Russell and Co. and the latter are given as the owners in the contemporary *Consular Returns of Shipping*. Her subsequent owners were Fullarton Henderson,¹¹⁵ James Alexander Harvie, and Felice Frederick Carozzi.¹¹⁶

Through the years, *Pingon* was employed largely on the China coast and between China and Japan. In particular, she maintained a service between Shanghai and Nagasaki, with sailings approximately weekly in each direction, from 1875 to the beginning of 1877. Her career had its vicissitudes, but was not especially eventful. In August 1874, she went on the rocks at Inasa, near Nagasaki, in a typhoon, but was refloated a couple of weeks later without much damage.¹¹⁷ In July 1877, she was badly damaged in a gale, but was subsequently repaired.¹¹⁸ For a while *Pingon* was operated by the Ningpo S. N. Co., that small successor of the Shanghai S. N. Co., but evidently never owned by them.¹¹⁹ After coming to China, *Pingon* flew the American flag by virtue of sailing letters issued by the U. S. consulate general at Shanghai. She became British and her registry was changed from Shanghai to Hong Kong early in 1881, and in *Lloyd's Register* for 1890-1891 she is marked 'Broken up.'

Russell and Co. were regularly agents for W. S. Lindsay's auxiliary steamers, but only one of them, *Scotland*, seems to deserve a place in the present paper. She was an iron screw vessel of 759 tons net, built in 1856 for Lindsay's line from England to the Cape.¹²⁰ After that enterprise collapsed, she was sent to the Far East for use as a transport in the Indian Mutiny, and she was one of the early steamers in the Yangtze trade,¹²¹ making her first voyage there in June 1861 under Captain A. A. D. Dundas, R.N., who owned her jointly with Mr. Lindsay and others. Thereafter, she plied regularly on the river, with Russell and Co. as her agents. About the end of 1861 she was purchased by Edward Cunningham, a partner in

¹¹⁴ This probably refers to Edward Cunningham, first president of the S. S. N. Co., although he had left China in 1870 (*HMD* 31, I, 867).

¹¹⁵ *Lloyd's Register*, 1881-1882 (addenda) to 1886-1887. There was an F. Henderson who was a shareholder in the S. S. N. Co. *Pingon* was transferred to J. A. Harvie on 26 November 1884 and by him to F. F. Carozzi on 29 November 1884.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1887-1888 to 1890-1891.

¹¹⁷ *JWM*, 29 August 1874 and 12 September 1874.

¹¹⁸ *NCH*, 7 July 1877.

¹¹⁹ *NCH*, 28 April 1877, and *JWM*, 7 April 1877.

¹²⁰ Cf. M. Murray, *Ships and South Africa* (London, 1933), p. 26; W. S. Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce*, IV, 467.

¹²¹ *NCH*, 27 May 1861.

Russell and Co., who continued her in the same trade and to Japan under Captain Ballard, with Russell and Co. as agents.¹²² She appears to have left Shanghai for Hankow on her first voyage under the American flag on 9 January 1862 and to have returned to Shanghai from her last voyage on the river on 13 July 1862, after which she was laid up at that port until 6 October when she left for Hong Kong, whence she proceeded to Japan, arriving at Yokohama on 15 November in charge of Captain Ballard. Later she appears to have gone to Hong Kong as a dispatch from Canton, dated 13 November 1863, states that the American steamer *Scotland* had been seized by the customhouse authorities for taking guns and other contraband cargo in (*sic*) Cum-sing-moon Bay, Canton River.¹²³ In due time she must have been released, as on 29 February 1864, *Scotland* arrived at Nagasaki from Hong Kong under Captain C. L. Gardiner and was sold on 7 March to the Prince of Satsuma.¹²⁴ She served around Japan for some years, being lost in 1871.¹²⁵

The last of the steamers associated with Russell and Co., rather than with the Shanghai S. N. Co., which we consider are *Ta Yung* and *Express*. *Ta Yung* was a small iron steamer of 125 tons gross which had been built at Glasgow by Tod and M'Gregor in 1858. She left Glasgow on 16 May 1859 and after a tedious voyage under sail arrived at Hong Kong on 2 December. *Ta Yung*, which was intended for towing on the Yangtze but may have carried some cargo, seems to have been operated on that river primarily by the British firm of Shaw Bros. and Co., but in 1868 appears in the name of Russell and Co., although still under the British flag. It may be that Russell and Co. purchased her when the S. S. N. Co. was securing a monopoly on the Yangtze. *Ta Yung* was sold foreign (probably Japanese) at Hiogo on 16 December 1868.

Express was an iron paddle steamer of 490 tons gross built at Glasgow in 1861. She was purchased from David Sassoon, Sons and Co. by Russell and Co. for Tls. 30,000 in February 1868 to get possession of the Ningpo line, which was to the advantage of the Shanghai S. N. Co., but resulted in a loss to Russell and Co. themselves, as, according to the statement of Edward Cunningham at the annual meeting of the shareholders of the S. S. N. Co., 21 February 1868, the steamer was old and fit only to be broken up.¹²⁶

¹²² *CRS*, Shanghai. Her British registry was not closed until 7 March 1862.

¹²³ *New York Herald*, 29 January 1864.

¹²⁴ *CRS*, Nagasaki.

¹²⁵ *NCH*, 8 November 1871.

¹²⁶ *NCH*, 19 February 1868. Also statement of Edward Cunningham at annual meeting of S. S. N. Co., 21 February 1868; *NCH*, 29 February 1868.

To be continued