

HUMPHREY MARSHALL OF KENTUCKY

United States Commissioner to China, 1852-1854



**A Presentation of Newly-discovered Documents
in a Hitherto Unknown Private Collection**

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Preface

In March of this year, my sister told me of some old letters that had spent years in the attic of her home near New Wilmington. Her husband, a scion of an old Kentucky family and a warm friend of mine, had died the previous summer, and she was putting his papers in order. As an aspiring historian, I felt my nose begin to twitch, and I asked if I might see them. The collection was much larger than I could have imagined, and my interest was immediately engaged. My first contact with the papers convinced me that here was the perfect subject for my History 601 capstone thesis. I began immediately the long, laborious task of cataloguing and transcribing them, which took most of the summer.

This task has proved to be richly rewarding for several reasons. When I began, I was also enrolled in a course in Chinese history at Westminster, and the documents relating to Humphrey Marshall's service in that country fitted into the historical and cultural framework with which I was becoming familiar, and gave a personalized immediacy to the course. It was also a humbling privilege to handle these pieces of paper, and to realize the importance of preserving such artifacts, without which, as we have been forcefully instructed, "there is no history." In the process, of course, I came to a better understanding of my late, and sorely missed, brother-in-law, through such close acquaintance with his forebears.

I present today a small portion of the collection, in the spirit of a janitor, who in the classic definition is one who opens a door. He claims no credit for the construction of the door or the edifice; he is only aware of the privilege which is his in the opening.

William McLaughry

New Wilmington

December 10, 1998

Introduction

On August 4, 1852, Humphrey Marshall (1812-1870) was appointed by President Millard Fillmore as American representative to the Empire of China. He was only the third such envoy to be sent there since the 1844 Treaty of Wanghwa, which opened five Chinese ports to American commerce. At this nascent stage in the relationship, the official title was "Commissioner to China," a vague and undescriptive term reflecting the uncertainty of American policy and the ill-defined duties of the office.

Marshall brought to the task a finely trained mind and considerable experience in public service. Born in Kentucky, he was descended from a notable line of distinguished antecedents. These included his great-uncle, Chief Justice John Marshall, and his grandfather, the first Humphrey Marshall, who, as a United States Senator from Kentucky, voted for the Jay Treaty, thus incurring violent hostility at home. He was nearly ducked in the Kentucky river by an angry mob, and actually stoned out of Frankfort. Still not secretive in his convictions, the elder Humphrey proceeded to incur the enmity of Henry Clay by working to expose the alleged treason of Aaron Burr. In 1809, after trading insults with Clay on the floor of the Kentucky legislature, the two shot it out in a formal duel, wounding each other, but not seriously.¹

With such a heritage, the subject of our study, Humphrey Marshall II, was not surprisingly a man of deeply-held convictions himself. After preparatory education in Kentucky, he accepted appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point. On one occasion there, his dormitory roommates came under prosecution for some unknown transgression, and Marshall, at age 17, was summoned to testify against them:

Young Marshall said he did not consider that he could disclose the secrets of his room without dishonor to himself and therefore he would not give the evidence desired. In vain the court essayed to convince him of the error of sentiment. He adhered to his own views and was sentenced to dismissal from the academy; his room-mates were acquitted for want of testimony.

¹ Allen Johnson, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), XII: 311.

Gen. Jackson, then president, reinstated Cadet Marshall to his rank and place at the academy, complimenting his fidelity to his own sense of duty, though he had erred in his estimate of it.²

Upon graduation in 1832, Marshall served briefly as lieutenant in a campaign against several Indian tribes, then resigned to study law, opening his office in Louisville in 1834. A notably successful practice was interrupted in 1846 when he was asked by the Kentucky governor to take command of a regiment of volunteer cavalry for the Mexican War, then beginning. Marshall led these troops to Mexico, where they distinguished themselves under his leadership at the battle of Buena Vista. A lavish encomium is recorded, that on that day, “he faced danger, trod with undaunted step the field of death, and coveted the place of desolation.”³

Returning with such laurels from that foray, and declining a nomination to run for Governor, Marshall set to developing a farm he had purchased in Henry County. Politics called again, however, and in both 1848 and 1850 he won election to the U.S. Congress, where, as a mid-Southern conservative Whig, he supported the controversial Compromise of 1850. His resulting prominence put him on President Fillmore’s “short list” for nomination to the Supreme Court. Political geography intervened, however, as Fillmore needed an appointee from another state. The President still saw in him a public servant not to be ignored, and offered Marshall the post of minister resident for Central America, which Marshall declined. Fillmore persisted, with the appointment as Commissioner to China. In a letter to the Acting Secretary of State, (composed but not sent, as it was pre-empted by receipt of instructions direct from President Fillmore), Marshall described his assessment of this appointment and its effect on him: “I beheld myself appointed to an important office upon which the Congress had devolved the most extraordinary powers and largest discretion...it is an office equal to the highest of my aspirations and offering a theatre for the exercise of the most ambitious intellect.”⁴

Returning from China in 1854, Marshall was again elected to the Congress in 1854 and 1856, as a member of the newly-formed American, or “Know-Nothing,” Party, becoming a figure to be reckoned

² W. H. Perrin, J. H. Battle, G. C. Kniffen, *Kentucky, A History of the State* 8th ed., 1888
<<http://www.starbase21.com/kybiog/jefferson/marshall.h.txt>> (21 Aug., 1998)

³ Ibid.

with in party councils. At the adjournment of the 35th Congress, Marshall refused to run again, choosing to practice law in Washington, D. C., and, in the presidential campaign of 1860, to stump hard for Lincoln's opponent, John Breckinridge, a fellow Kentuckian nominated by Southern Democrats. When war came, Marshall was commissioned a brigadier general in the Confederate army, and led his troops in a few minor engagements in eastern Kentucky and West Virginia. But events never seemed to fulfill his expectations:

[Marshall] was obsessed with the idea that he could swing Kentucky into line if he were given a free hand and proper support...He always wanted an independent command and never found conditions quite to his liking.⁵

In 1864, the unsatisfied general was elected to the Second Confederate Congress, where he served until Richmond fell. Escaping to Texas, he was subsequently pardoned by President Andrew Johnson, and practiced law in the closing years of his life in Louisville.

Marshall's seventeen months in China coincided with a cataclysmic upheaval of Biblical proportions there. Arriving in late January, 1853, he was confronted with the approaching apogee of the Taiping Rebellion. The firestorm of that monstrous civil war had been gathering strength and speed since 1849, and before it subsided in 1861, twenty million people had been killed. By 1853, it was sweeping through the nation's heartland, threatening the foundations of the Manchu dynasty, seemingly unstoppable. Major Chinese cities either had already fallen or were in imminent danger; the foreign commercial communities, including the American citizens and commercial interests immediately within Marshall's province, were, or seemed to be, in daily peril.

In that era, however, communication between Washington and American representatives overseas was extremely slow and unreliable. Dispatches and other mail traveled by ship, powered by sail or steam. Consequently months could pass between questions and answers, between advice sent and policies received. Under this severe handicap, the new Commissioner was "left largely to his own devices...It fell therefore to the lot of Marshall, uninstructed, unaided, and even unappreciated, to make a most important

⁴ Humphrey Marshall to Charles M. Conrad, September 25, 1852, Marshall Family Collection; see item #1.01 of the present work.

⁵ Johnson, *ibid.*

contribution to American foreign policy.”⁶

Much of Humphrey Marshall’s official correspondence with Washington on pressing matters of state has long been in the public domain. A fairly complete file of messages exchanged with the Department of State, including many enclosures reporting his other correspondence, was presented to the Congress by President Franklin Pierce on July 19, 1854.⁷ Additional letters exchanged between Marshall and Commodore Matthew Perry appear in Perry’s record at the Navy Department.⁸ As for other correspondence, public and private, during Marshall’s terms in Congress, or covering his periods of military service, first with the U.S. Army and later with the Confederate forces, the commonly accepted view has been that he burned his papers.

Some such burning may indeed have taken place. However, a hitherto-unknown treasure trove has recently come to light. Among the effects of a recently deceased descendant of Marshall, have been discovered a large correspondence copybook and many individual documents which have never before been seen, as they were privately preserved by all the succeeding generations of Marshalls. The scope of the total collection comprises over three hundred items, spanning Humphrey Marshall’s career and connections from the late 1840’s to the end of the Civil War.

The items exist in several formats. Many of them, being copies (before carbon paper) of letters sent and received, were laboriously entered into a bound copy book, 20 cm x 25.6 cm with lined and hand-numbered pages. The handwriting varies greatly, reflecting the availability of the book to several copyists and secretaries, particularly during Marshall’s time in China. These secretaries almost certainly included Dr. Peter Parker, the official translator and secretary of the American Legation, with whom Marshall had frequent run-ins, and possibly also a son of Commodore Perry, Oliver Hazard Perry II, who served as Marshall’s secretary for a time.⁹ It appears that the greater part of the writing was done by Marshall himself, judging by the preponderance of one particular hand in which he frequently writes in

⁶Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1922), 206.

⁷U.S. House of Representatives. *Correspondence Between the State Department and the Late Commissioner to China* Executive Document #123, 33rd Congress, First Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1854).

⁸U. S. Senate *Correspondence Between the Navy Department and Commodore Matthew H. Perry* Executive Document #34, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1855).

the first person. In a few instances where line-outs and rewrites appear, he seems to have used the book for rough drafts. Not all the pages are here, however. The last numbered page is 284. Scattered through the volume are gaps where one or many pages have been excised, either by tearing or by rough and hasty scissor work. One hundred twenty seven pages are missing. It seems extremely unlikely that we will ever know what was on those pages, or why they were removed from the copybook. But in just this way are some decisions made to put the record in a certain light, even before historians get their hands on it!

The collection reflects the amazing variety of personalities and issues with which Humphrey Marshall was in contact. There are the abrasive interchanges with the aforementioned Peter Parker, who seems to have regarded Marshall as an interloper on his turf; there is the parallel and far more portentous collision with Commodore Perry over strategic priorities in the deployment of U. S. naval forces; there are pleas to Congressman Marshall for appointments to West Point and to Postmasterships, pleas from hemp farmers for Navy contracts, and canny assessments of the political scene by savvy politicians. There are also eyewitness accounts of savage battles during the Taiping Rebellion and of Perry's first visit to Japan, and resounding affirmations of Marshall's China policies, as well as touching expressions of gratitude for generous favors he had quietly bestowed without benefit to himself. Particularly riveting, on both a human and an historical level, is a small black diary for 1865. The first entry is made on Sunday, April 2, the night Richmond was captured by Union troops: beginning with his hasty escape, the diary details Marshall's furtive, tortuous journey through the South into Texas.

For the purposes of the present study, I have chosen to focus on those items bearing on Marshall's diplomatic service in China, beginning with his appointment in August, 1852. I present this material to advance our collective knowledge of this little-known pioneer and particularly his contribution to the crucial and ongoing saga of Sino-American relations.

Historians through the years have struggled to frame an accurate picture of Marshall's service in China. But they have all worked within the limitations of the available information, mostly having to

⁹ Peter Booth Wiley, *Yankees in the Land of the Gods* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1990), 158.

draw on that official correspondence collection published by the Library of Congress in 1854.¹⁰ For a long time, even this resource was beyond the reach of scholars. A nineteenth-century biographer describes the problem faced by his generation, before microfilm: "Congress published Col. Marshall's dispatches and it has been years since a single copy of them could be obtained out of the Congressional Library."¹¹ Even in recent decades, with House Document #123 now available on microfilm, sources continue to be scarce.

Working within these limitations, some historians have drawn hasty, sketchy and jaundiced conclusions. Among these, sadly, is one of the most respected, even revered, experts on the Far East, John King Fairbank, founder of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University. In his widely known work, The United States and China, Fairbank dismisses Marshall thus:

The scanty correspondence of our diplomats was chiefly enlivened by the anti-British fulminations of doughty and oratorical amateurs like Humphrey Marshall...he was there so briefly, knew so little of the facts, and had such inadequate assistance, that his dispatches reflect an attitude rather than a policy.¹²

We say "sadly" because this curt verdict seems entirely at odds with the legacy which Fairbank left for generations of new historians: "the wide range of [Fairbank's] students' interests and methods demonstrates *his wry skepticism about our ability to achieve final truth.*" (Emphasis added)¹³

In sharp contrast, other historians have drawn totally different conclusions from the same pool of evidence. Tong Te-Kong:

"As a matter of fact, Marshall was the first United States commissioner to China, under the Treat of Wanghia, who worked seriously as a resident commissioner...Marshall's difficulties, therefore, were caused by his conscientiousness in carrying on the work under his charge...Had his predecessors worked as seriously as Marshall, they might have faced the same kinds of problems."¹⁴

¹⁰ See footnotes 7 and 8.

¹¹ Perrin, Battle, and Kniffen, *Kentucky, A History of the State*, 8th ed., 1888, Jefferson Co. [<http://www.starbase21.com/kybiog/jefferson/marshall.h.txt>] 1.

¹² John King Fairbank, *The United States and China*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1979), 313.

¹³ Fairbank Center Home Page <<http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~fairbank/JKF.html>> (12/8/1998).

¹⁴ Tong Te-Kong, *United States Diplomacy in China, 1844-60* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 117.

Tyler Dennett, even while calling Marshal “autocratic, dictatorial, pitifully vain, and gifted with singular capacities for controversy...,” perceived the man’s firm grasp of the greater strategic concepts:

To Marshall the United States owed the discovery of the truth that the weakness, or dissolution, of China, was a matter of national concern to the United States, and that the true policy of the American Government must be to strengthen and sustain the Chinese Government against either internal disorder or foreign aggression.¹⁵

Foster R. Dulles sees this achievement in the larger context of subsequent events, and places the laurel squarely on Marshall’s head by revealing the long-term effect of his prescience:

His stand in the 1850’s was exactly that which Secretary Hay was to take at the close of the century. The Open Door doctrine, and its corollary of sustaining China’s political and territorial integrity, could not have been more clearly forecast.¹⁶

The documents in our collection serve to bring us face to face in a most fascinating and personal way with this kaleidoscopic personality. In the context of the surge and flow of events through that densely packed year of 1853, Marshall’s manner of handling all sorts of concerns and controversies bespeaks a capable and committed public servant, with all his flaws, making an historic contribution to the creation of that chimerical relationship between the United States and China.

I have arranged the widely various items into four sections. The first, presented chronologically, are letters and memos relative to Marshall’s service as Commissioner, dated between September 25, 1852 and December 9, 1857, all unique to this collection. Secondly, there are Marshall’s own compositions and notes, written either for the record or for his own recollection, also unique. The third section consists of essays, articles and other works by identified authors, published or unpublished, dated or not, usually copied in Marshall’s own hand, included here to indicate the breadth and intensity of his interests. Finally, section four is composed of financial records and correspondence regarding Marshall’s personal accounts and those of the Legation.

The methodology behind this work involved primarily document processing and research. To prepare

¹⁵ Dennett, *ibid.*

the material required careful transcription from the original artifacts to computer, and precise proofreading to assure absolute fidelity. This required replicating archaic or incorrect spelling and punctuation. For handling the artifacts, some of which are quite fragile because of age and oxidation, archivists' cotton gloves were used; to minimize wear and tear, photocopies were made of every page, so that further work, especially the proofreading, could be done from the copies. Organization called for indexing and sorting, by date using Microsoft Excel tables, and by the four categories described above, as well as enumeration and encoding, using the type indicators and symbols found below.

Research involved acquiring and reading microfiches of the Congressional Executive Documents, kindly sent by the archivist of the Federal Depository at the State Library of Ohio in Columbus. Other valuable material was received from the California State University at Fullerton. Telephone assistance was graciously and professionally given by the Curator of Special Collections at the Filson Club Historical Society in Louisville, Kentucky, and by library staff members at Oberlin College and The College of Wooster, both in Ohio. I was able to spend one day each in the libraries of Youngstown State University and Kent State University, where I was assisted unstintingly by the able librarians there. The object of my work was to eliminate, as far as possible, any of the documents in the Marshall collection which are duplicated by material already in the public domain, and thereby determine which of the newly-found items are in fact unique to the collection. Searching for secondary sources, I learned that our own McGill Library has a much larger collection of works relating to China than I had expected. Numerous volumes there either provided valuable information themselves, or led me to further searches on the Internet. This last source is probably the largest and most untapped "mother lode" available. One could literally spend years chasing down leads and mining good information with keystrokes. Finally, I owe special gratitude to the McGill reference room staff, and two Westminster professors. Dr. Kang Yup Na was most helpful in arranging translation, by his father, of Chinese characters appearing in some documents, and Dr. G. Samuel Lightner IV, professor of astronomy, supplied from his charts the correct

¹⁶ Foster R. Dulles, *China and America: The Story of Their Relations Since 1784* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1967), 47.

phases of the moon in 1853 at Peking, enabling me to calculate the Western calendar date of one letter, written to Humphrey Marshall by a Chinese dignitary and dated according to the Chinese calendar. (See item #1.29).

The encoding scheme is as follows:

All text in regular type appears in the items themselves

Editor's enumeration and brief notations are in Bold Type

Editor's commentaries are in Regular Italic Type

After each enumeration:

"O" indicates an Original Document

"C" indicates a Copy in the Copybook

Handwriting Key, as nearly as can be determined without a handwriting expert:

"H" = Humphrey Marshall's own hand

"Sec" = Secretary or Copyist's hand

"W" = Letter Writer's hand

"Sig" = Letter closes with Writer's original signature

Section 1.

**Signed letters by and to Humphrey Marshall between September 25, 1852
and December 9, 1857, relative to his service in China,
presented chronologically**

[1.1]

C, H

A Letter to the Acting Secretary of State as Marshall awaited his ship to China

This letter is remarkable in the breadth of its subject matter, from Marshall's personal pique about rank and authority to a wide-ranging analysis of great-power balance and global strategic concerns. Dr. Peter Parker was perhaps the original "Old China Hand." He arrived there as a medical missionary, opening a dispensary and hospital in Canton in late 1835¹. Parker was one of the few Americans who understood a Chinese dialect, and was soon called on to serve in a series of official positions for the United States. Between 1846 and 1860 he served intermittently as Secretary of the Legation and Interpreter (as under Marshall,) Chargé d'Affairs, and Commissioner. The beginnings of a fractious relationship are foretold in this letter, with Marshall's analysis of Parker from half a world away, before they had met. With his military background, having commanded troops in battle, Marshall was schooled in a chain-of-command mentality, and was not about to be second-guessed by a mere "Secretary." As he notes in the heading of this copy, the letter was not sent, having been superceded by the arrival of President Fillmore's farewell message to him.

Copy of a Letter from H. Marshall to Hon. Charles M. Conrad² dated (not sent)

Marked "Private"

New York. Sept 25. 1852

My dear Conrad:

I enclose herewith an extract from a letter over your signature, as acting Secretary of State, under date of the 20th inst, which I received yesterday.

I take this method to ask your attention to it, rather than to reply to it officially, because I presume—and hope—you did not notice its tenor, before placing your signature to it. Its manifest impropriety I, readily, attributed to the gaucherie of the Clerk who composed it.

It could not be supposed, whatever may be Mr. Parker's acquaintance with the Country, that I would concede the propriety of a direction to me to consult him on the question of my residence as Commissioner in China; nor, that, I could agree to submit my views, as Commissioner, on a question of public concern, along with those of my Secretary and Interpreter, that the Department might form its judgment on a comparison of our opinions! Such a proceeding, I imagine, is new in the annals of

¹ Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 9.

² United States Secretary of War and Acting Secretary of State; as the latter, Marshall's direct superior.

diplomatic correspondence, as it would be utterly subversive of the proper etiquette to be observed between the Chief of a legation and those employed to aid him in the execution of his duties.

Should the President request your examination of a question, as Secretary of War, and direct you to consult your Chief Clerk and to request him to submit his views of the question separately from your own, what would be your conclusion as to the intentions of the President? So long as I hold the Office of "Commissioner to China," I must protest any proceeding which would strip me of all dignity in the eyes of my own subordinates. When their opinions are desired by the State Department in a matter relating especially to the public policy, as connected with my office and true discharge of its functions, their promotion over my head will surely have been determined on, and my resignation must be supposed to be invited. I could not consent to become the medium of conveying the wish of the Department to my Secretary that he should transmit his views as to the proper place for my residence and action as Commissioner. And, should the Department make any such call on him, I hope the communication will never be attempted, officially, through me. Now, it may be true – as suggested, that Mr. Parker's long residence in China would entitle his opinion on the point to high consideration, and that, in order to form a correct judgment on my own part, I would elicit it; yet, it may be also true that such long residence, in a given locality – the creation of private interests and associations, connected with such locality, would render the opinion of such a person of the least possible value. At any rate, whether his views were adopted or not or even considered or not, the relations we respectively hold to this government and to each other render the requisition upon me utterly inadmissible, unless it is intended to bring the Commissioner to the level of his own Clerks, in the direction and determination of matters connected with the Mission. I presume it is unnecessary to elaborate the proposition. I rely upon the fact that you had not noticed the character of this dispatch before its communication to me; consequently, that you will authorize me to suppress the last clause of the extract I send herewith, and that you will cause its suppression when the original shall be recorded in the State Department. The suggestion I made could not have been understood when it was "considered." My suggestion was merely that, by direct expression, the Department should refer to my own discretion the question of the place of my residence. The treaty does not indicate any fixed residence for the Com'r., neither do the laws of the United States or the instructions given to my predecessors. The residence of Mr. Everett³ at Canton was probably owing to the delicate condition of his health on his arrival, the presence of medical assistance in the person of Doct. Parker, and the pain which would have attended his removal elsewhere. The selection of Canton by Mr. Davis,⁴ as his residence was determined possibly without the consideration of those points which, in my view, now so deeply affect the question and connect it with the public welfare.

³ Alexander H. Everett, U.S. Commissioner to China, 5/21/1845-6/20/1847.

⁴ John W. Davis, U.S. Commissioner to China, 3/8/1848-7/1/1851.

1st. A large and valuable commerce has sprung up between San Francisco and Shanghae (*sic*) – those ports being the nearest to each other of any on this and the other side of the Pacific. In case of war between Great Britain and the United States, the Pacific squadron could protect the road across the ocean between parallels 38° and 33° as easily as the Anglo-Indian Squadron could come from parallel 21° to attack it. It is clearly politic to select & cherish our commerce with a port nearest to us, most accessible to us; most friendly to us; most directly connected with the producing districts of the other party to the intercourse. All these considerations are met in the case of Shanghae and all are absent in the case of Canton. Shanghae is healthy and Canton is not tolerable during summer. Every foreigner, who can leave, retires to the Portuguese (*sic*) settlement at Macao, 90 miles below. Shanghae, situated in Lat. 32° 30' North, has about such a climate as Vicksburg or Natchez, while that of Canton is about the climate of Vera Cruz. A war steamer cannot go nearer than Whampoa to Canton – 9 miles – while vessels of the heaviest burthen can safely ride in the harbor of Shanghae. The port of Shanghae is some 1600 miles north of that of Canton and by so much nearer to the imperial Court at Peking.

The people of Kiangsoo & Chekiang are governed by a Viceroy who lives at Nanking, each province having besides its own governor. These people are cordially friendly, it is said, while they of Canton are proverbially supercilious, arrogant and treacherous, indeed yielding to foreigners nothing which may not be commanded by the immediate presence of a force sufficient to extort what is required at their hands. At Canton, a citizen of the United States cannot go within the walls of the City – at Shanghae, he has free access to every street and to the surrounding country. I have derived much information from the Rev'd. Dr. Bridgman⁵ and his lady who have resided in China since 1829, and for several years past at Shanghae. Mr. Bridgman was present when the Hon. Caleb Cushing⁶ negotiated the treaty of 1843. The American Commissioner was not permitted to enter Canton, but conducted his negotiations at an obscure village in the vicinity of Macao, where he was met by Keying. When the ratifications had been exchanged, as the treaty guaranteed access to Canton for our citizens Dr. Bridgman walked into the City alone so soon as the gates were opened. He says he proceeded about (60 rods ?— *obscure*) when two police officers took him by the shoulders, marched him out shut the city gates upon him and they have been closed upon us ever since! Mrs. Bridgman says she has traversed, in perfect safety, the streets of Shanghae, at all hours of night and day, and there was no attempt at insult. Such contrast I regard as very strong. Every author whom I have consulted represents Shanghae as rising in importance as a theatre of trade while the fortunes of Canton are evidently waning, and the intelligent Americans whom I have met here concur in this statement.

Personally, I have no care upon the subject; though I should prefer the latitude nearest to that to which I have been accustomed and the healthiest place for my family. My suggestions have been made on

⁵ Elijah C. Bridgman, American missionary, interpreter, Editor of *Chinese Repository* 1831-1848.

⁶ Caleb Cushing, U.S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China, 6/27/1843-9/29/1845.

account of public interest. I remarked the solicitude of Messrs Webster, Upshur and Buchannan⁷ that the Commissioner should go to Peking if possible, as each, in turn, so instructed the Commissioner, and I presumed that American desire, unsatiated, remained unchanged. The adventure authorized by the instructions as detailed in the communications referred to, might be of interest to a man of enterprize (*sic*) under any circumstances; but to me it would only be inviting from its probable bearing upon the commerce between the two countries, and as its success might be calculated to impart additional lustre to the administration under whose auspices it might be effected. I did not imagine that any hostile demonstration could be politic for the attainment of such an object; but even if this failed, it might be of much consequence to select a residence among a people already well inclined to us and among whom increased opportunities for the interchange of official & personal civilities might pave the way for a better understanding between the Nations and ultimate in valuable acquisitions to our own land and its people.

I am aware that a closer view of the subject might teach me that these opinions are erroneous, but I could not have presumed, and am yet unwilling to do so, that the Department under the circumstances would decline to leave the selection of my residence to my discretion, satisfied that such discretion would not be abused. I beheld myself appointed to an important office upon which the Congress had devolved the most extraordinary powers and largest discretion, extending even to the alteration of the laws of the land operative in China, the appointment of officers, the creation and regulation of judicial process, trial and execution, embracing within its scope property, liberty and Life – remedies for contracts broken and penalties for crimes and misdemeanors – it is an office equal to the highest of my aspirations and offering a theatre for the exercise of the most ambitious intellect. So invested, in a distant and almost unknown land, with the administration of justice among my own fellow Citizens, the cultivation of friendly relations with people of other nations, the protection of the faith and guardianship of the honor of my country, could I have imagined that there would be hesitation on the part of this administration to permit the exercise of my own discretion in the selection of my residences at any of the five free ports to which under whatever circumstances, by force of the treaty, I might claim access?

But the extract accompanying this letter will prove to you that I am to be subjected, by implication, to a confinement at Canton, until the Department, by conference with Mr. Parker, the Secretary of Legation, shall be satisfied I may change. The poor compliment is not vouchsafed to me of trusting to my report. The department will not rely on the information the Commissioner may acquire, and impart; but, on the contrary directly appeals to other sources of information and selects the quarter which must be most pernicious to the Commissioner since it is among the subordinate officers of the Commission that the Department would open this new channel of correspondence. I submit to your own sense of official propriety that, to call on me to commit that instruction to the Archives of my legation as

⁷ Daniel Webster, Abel Upshur, James Buchanan: former Secretaries of State.

one of my first official acts, is to degrade me in the estimation of my own secretary, and to detract from my station its entire value.

If you infer from the vigor of my expression in regard to Shanghai that I have any strong prepossession which would refuse to yield at once to reasons contra, you fall into error. I express freely my thoughts on the subject, so far as they seem to me to be founded in good sense, without particular care, personally, on the subject. And, if the Department cannot conclude that it is proper to leave the selection within my own discretion under all the circumstances, would it not be better to decline to give me any direction whatever in relation to it?

Accepting you as my person friend, proved by a multiplicity of kind offices and acceptable interchanges both of a social & political nature, I have felt no hesitation to invite your correction of what must be regarded as a faux-pas, doubtless made by an improper appreciation of diplomatic etiquette by the clerk who framed this instruction. Were the letter to remain as the direction of the State Department and to go in its present condition to record you cannot fail to perceive (*sic*) that its direct tendency would be to produce misunderstanding from the example it makes of affording to the Secretary and Interpreter the right to correspond directly with the department and to make issues with the Commissioner. It would, under this view, seriously embarrass all my future action. I hope that my instructions will be at least as ample as those of my predecessors in regard to the penetration of the Interior of China so that the brief period which I may expect to remain abroad may be employed with some chance to advance the public interest and my own name, thus vindicating the choice of the President in my selection and making a proper return for the liberality of Congress in increasing the salary to a degree which makes the place of Com'r. eligible and desirable.

I am here looking out for an opportunity to sail and determined to use every energy to leave America by the earliest safe conveyance to my destination. I do not partake of the wonder expressed that a National Ship has not been provided for my commodious passage, for, apart from the comfort of the Naval veterans who command our Men of War, I do not suppose the "pomp & circumstance" of a passage on National decks as a representative of the country will add materially to the efficiency of the Mission. Those points are matters of taste and I have no desire to prescribe in regard thereto – I shall be pleased to preserve our friendly relations by occasional letters, and hope you will indicate your interest by immediately attending to the rectification of the matter herein referred to.

I am, dear Sir, Very truly

Your friend etc.,

Humphrey Marshall

Hon. C. M. Conrad

Washington-City.

[1.2]

C H

From President Millard Fillmore

Marshall had become known to Millard Fillmore as early as 1845, when Fillmore was in private law practice in Buffalo, New York. The collection includes Fillmore's answer to Marshall's inquiry about the effect on that state of the abolition of slavery there.

After the foregoing was prepared I received the following from the President.

Private & unofficial

Washington, Sept 22, 1852

Hon Humphrey Marshall

New York City: My dear Sir:

Yours of the 19th came to hand this morning and I regret to hear the difficulty which you encounter in obtaining a passage to China. But, I know your resolution and energy will surmount all obstacles. I intended to have seen you again before you left this city, but a slight indisposition confined me to my room, and partially to my bed, on Saturday and Sunday before you left.

I have shown your letter to the acting Sec of State, and he will write you officially on the subject of your instructions in regard to claims upon the Chinese government, and also in reference to your place of residence in China. As to the latter, I advised him to authorise you to select your place of residence, if you and the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Parker, agreed upon the subject; but, if you disagreed, to require each of you to report your views to the Department, whence positive instructions would be issued.

I infer from a part of your letter that you regard your mission as diplomatic, and that with that view you desire to go to Peking or as near as practicable to the Emperor; and you say such instructions were issued to your predecessors. Your mission had generally been regarded by me, as one of rather a commercial and judicial character, the duties of which would be best performed at the Chief Commercial Emporium. I, however, conversed with Mr. Hunter upon the subject, and he says, that he believes the instructions were different to Mr. Cushing and Mr. Everett because one of them was sent to negotiate a treaty and the other to exchange the ratifications. I directed him, however, to look up the matter, and make your authority as full and your instructions as ample, as those given to any of your predecessors who had the same duties to perform. He or the acting Sec of State will write you on the subject.

I also showed your letter to the Secretary of the Navy, who will give the requisite instructions to our Naval forces in the Pacific and Indian oceans to render any assistance in their power to aid you in the accomplishment of your journey.

You express your intention of taking active measures to enforce the treaty stipulations between this government and China, prohibiting the opium trade. My desire is, that every treaty stipulation

between this government and any foreign country should be punctiliously observed by every officer and citizen of this republic; and I am gratified to hear that you intend to lend your assistance to the Chinese officers in enforcing this salutary provision, and that you will promptly report any officer of this government to the department of State who is guilty of a violation of its provisions. I need not say, however, that prudence would seem to dictate that your efforts should be in aid, and not independently of the Chinese authorities. The laws to be executed are their laws within their territories, and this consideration alone will suggest to you the proper course for you to pursue.

Wishing you a prosperous voyage, a successful official career, and a safe return, with increased honors, to your own country, I remain, your obe't. Servant,

Millard Fillmore.

[1.3]

C, Sec

From Henry Anthon, Jr., U.S. Consul at Hong Kong

Soon after his arrival in China, Marshall directed all U.S. Consuls to report to him all statistics on trade, including imports and exports, as well as emigration of Chinese workers, "coolies," a practice which concerned him as a Southerner, sensitive to the threat which cheap Chinese labor in the British West Indies could pose to the slave-based economy of the southern states.

Hong Kong March 2nd, 1853

My Dear Sir

As requested I send you a memorandum of the Emigration of Chinese from this Colony – You will observe that the only two ports to which they go are San Francisco & Sydney; as yet there have been no Shipments of Coolies from this [sic] either for Peru or the West India Islands, & the reports that this Government has offered £10.10 per vessel, to freight Coolies to their West India possessions is without foundation. I am unable to furnish you with the Statistics of the Emigration from China. The Consuls at the various ports can doubtless give you the information you require in regard thereto, and Capt. Endicot no doubt will ready furnish you with an Account of what has been going on at Cunnymoon (?). The Chinese who have taken passage at the place for San Francisco are mostly respectable men, many of them taking considerable merchandise with them. They usually pay from \$40 to \$60 per head passage money, finding themselves with provisions: the Ship providing wood, water & accomodations.

The Emigration from this *[sic]* was increasing until the unfortunate proclamation of the Governor of California brought it almost to a termination. The Chinese are beginning now to venture over again, & if assured of protection in San Francisco, I do not see why they should not proceed there in great numbers unless the recent discovery of gold in Australesia *[sic]* diverts the current of Emigration thither. Below I give you the memorandum alluded to and remain

My dear Sir

Yours truly

(Signed) Henry Anthon Jr.

Hon. Col: Marshall

Macao

Emigration of Chinese from Victoria

PORT	YEAR			
	1850	1851	1852	To 1st March 1853
New South Wales	None on record	None on record	None on record	26
San Francisco	328	7785	30,000	673

Total on record from 1st Jan'y. 1850 to 1st March 1853

To Australia 26

To San Francisco 38,786

[1.4]

C Sec

Detailed commercial and export report, Russell & Co.

Shanghai February 24th, 1853

Since our circular of the 14th inst, the transactions in this market have been very limited. There is usually much activity immediately after the holidays, but this season, the movement has been prevented or delayed by fears as to the result of the rebellion.⁸ The news on this head is contradictory, and unsatisfactory; but though the alarm at Soochow has been so great as to cause a rise of 15% in the price of

⁸ The Taiping Rebellion, then raging in central China, potentially threatening Shanghai

gold from the demand for the purpose of investment, and secreting of wealth, the impression is gaining ground among the Chinese that the rebels [sic] will not risk an attempt upon Nankin which is strongly garrisoned with some of the best troops of the Empire. They are however in possession of Chongsha and How Kow, large places of trade, 300 miles to the westward of Nankin, where they obtained much treasure & in consequence, many recruits, and we have the unsatisfactory prospect of a long continuation of the trouble neither party being apparently strong enough to carry out decisive Operation. The hinderance to trade will be felt rather in imports, than exports.

English Grey Shirtings Sales are 5000??? at previous quotations, and we have no other transaction in imports to report.

American Goods are quoted, Drills 40 yds \$3. 30 yds 2.25 Sheetings 40 yds 2.65 30 yds 2.10 ???
2.65

Woolens are in no demand

Lead is in request \$5.60 & there is probability of further advance

Teas Con??? The stock was increased to 50 Chops contrary to expectation of these, 30 Chops were settled on or soon after the arrival of the mail at from 1/1 to 2 Tls. advance and we now quote

Ordinary to good ord'y	12 ½ to 13 ½ Tls.
Best Middle	14 " 16 "
Ho how kind	16 " 17 "

The Chinese state that we may import no further supplies beyond 4 or 5 chops of inferior tea.

Greens 2000 pkgs have been settled at entrance rates leaving none in market but Shanghai packed goods—

Raw Silk about 200 bales have been settled since our last quotations. There is about 900 bales in stock. Prices are firm and tending upward both here and in the country.

We quote as follows:

[PRICE TABLE LARGELY ILLEGIBLE]

We are

Your Obt Servants

(Signed) Russell & Co.

Comparative Statement of Exports from Shanghai to the United States					
[TABLE LARGELY ILLEGIBLE]					
Arrivals			Departures		
Feb 14th	Leopard from	Liverpool	Feb 14th	Audano	HongKong
Feb 15th	Sea Witch	San Francisco	15th	Recugi	Hong Kong
"	North Star	"	17th	Mandarin	New York
16th	Mohawk	Sydney	"	Munion	Hong Kong
17th	Duke of Portland	New Zealand		Island Queen	

18th	William Watson	Hong Kong			
20th	Str. Singapore				
23rd	Pacifique				

[1.5]

C H & Sec

Marshall's relationship with Commodore Matthew C. Perry was antagonistic from the start. Their basic aims in Asia were at cross purposes, reflecting the absence of any coordinated foreign policy in Washington. At times their exchanges came close to resembling a kindergarten tug-of-war over a toy—in this case, warships. Marshall was under pressure from American residents in China, mostly missionaries and merchants, to provide protection of their lives and property by stationing American vessels in the rivers and bays of the five Treaty ports, and he made his case in clear and strident terms to Perry, who commanded the flotilla of the "U.S. Naval Forces, East India and China Seas." Perry, on the other hand, was focussed solely on preparations for his mission to "open" Japan, and would not be gainsaid. The bulk of their correspondence is recorded in the National Archives; seven of those letters are duplicated in Marshall's copybook and so are not unique to it. The following, however, does not appear anywhere else, as far as my research could determine, and is one of the earliest on record. The stilted formality of these letters does little to conceal the prickliness of their relationship.

Letter from Commodore Perry to Mr. Marshall (This line in H.M.'s hand)

U.S. Steam Frigate Mississippi

Hong Kong April 9th 1853

Sir

I was much embarrassed on arrival at Macao to find that You had left for Shanghai, as I had proposed to stop at that place on my way to Japan with my whole force, and would have been happy to have taken You up in the Flag Ship, as the increased Force would have given greater weight and importance to Your mission.

But as matters now Stand, I have thought it advisable to direct Commander Buchanan to remain at Shanghai until my arrival there, which may be expected about the 26th or 30th instant.

The uncertainty of the return to Macao of the Susquehannah under the instruction of Commander Kelly, and the necessity of concentrating the whole Naval Force in the China Seas, in view of seizing upon this favourable Season to make my first visit to Japan, has rendered this arrangement imperative.

With great respect I have the honor to be Your most obedient Servant M.C. Perry Commander in Chief
U.S. Naval Force, East India China and Japan Seas

The Honorable Humphrey Marshall U.S. Commissioner to China, Shanghai China

P.S. I hope you may have embarked in the Susquehannah before the arrival of the Plymouth, provided you propose returning to Macao, and she may have sailed in which case I shall see You here, in any case I shall endeavour to render You every accommodation that the nature of my instructions, and emergencies [sic] of the service would allow.

[1.6]

C Sec

From D. N. Spooner, Acting U.S. Consul at Hong Kong

It was common for foreigners residing in the stifling subtropical climate of Canton to seek relief at the Portuguese island colony of Macao, just across the mouth of the Chu Chiang (Pearl River) from Hong Kong.

Canton April 26th 1853

Col. H. Marshall.

Shanghae

My dear Sir;

Jose Maria reserves till you can answer this the house recently occupied by Mr Gilman situated on the Praya, just beyond Mr. Stuarts. Rent \$350. p. annum. I went over it yesterday. On the lower floor is a good office room and Godowns⁹ with wine cellar &c. as usual. On the second floor, in front is a verandah with large pillars, extendending [sic] the whole front of the house, in the middle is a very large dining room with a smaller room on each side of it, and one good sleeping room in the rear. Above (on the second or third floor as you choose to call it) is another front verandah, and there are five good sized sleeping rooms with two bath rooms in the rear. It needs repairs, which Jose will put on it when he rent it, and that except that it has no gardon [sic] room is the house best suited for you that I know of in Macao. It is a house I should take for my family, but that we are already provided for in that now rented by Russell & Co. It is so difficult to get a large house with a gardon, [sic] that I would recommend you to take this for a year, if you are expecting your family out this summer, or if you want a Macao house at all. My family, that is to say Mrs Spooner, two children and nurse, with a brother of Mrs Spooner, and a sister of mine, sailed, I am happy to say, in the "Gentor" for China on the 7th Feby., and I expect to welcome them at Macao before June 1st.

⁹ Warehouses or storage rooms

This city is very quiet now but the Mandarin[sic] are on the alert which looks as if they expected squally times.

The "Capricieuse" is at Whampoa and her Officers have been up for the past few days attaching chains to the Flagstaff stays, (like the British) the rope lanyards having been five times cut in the night by some miscreant. My Consular acts Forbes¹⁰ will tell you of as I wrote him a story yesterday from Macao and I am glad to say they put the Americans on an A1 footing with the French: - Not only officially but privately and actually as I learned by calling on Mons. and Mad. de Bourboulon¹¹ at Macao on Sunday Evening -

Please give me an answer about the house as soon as possible, as Macao is now fast filling up for the summer.

Resp'y & truly Yours
D. N. Spooner

[1.7]

C Sec

To George Law, Esq.

The identity of Mr. Law is unknown to us, but the text suggests that he and Marshall were close friends, and that the two had discussed entrepreneurial possibilities both in Asia and in the American West.

per Bombay

No. 1 -

Confidential

Shanghai. China, 8 May 1853

My dear Sir,

I promised to write to you as you did to me, and unlike you, I have had nothing to write of up to this time or I should have observed my promise.

I am about to make an attempt, at any rate

Our last conversation had some reference to a Steam line between the United States and China. I am at present impressed that it cannot be made to pay unless the Government of the United States will agree to dispense nearly the entire amount from the Treasury. I am very sure freight and passengers between China and the United States will not sustain it.

¹⁰ Probably Paul S. Forbes, U.S. Consul at Canton

¹¹ Alphonse de Bourboulon: French Minister to China.

You will be able to see the present condition of the American trade to China by referring to my dispatches 13. and 14. at the State Department – I have made the Consuls report to me for a series of years; though, outside of the return, I do not doubt that 25 per cent might safely be added for the smuggling that has been done.

Do not you be deceived about China. There is a great deal of twaddle in the newspapers about “opening the Yangtze-kiang,” but the fact is the people who are writing about it, don’t understand what they are talking or writing about. If the Yangtze-kiang were opened for steamers it would add very little to the exports or imports of China, for now thousands of Chinese boats traverse the Yangtze-kiang and bring to the Seaboard and carry to the interior what is to be sold and purchased. How much would a change of the kind of conveyance add to the sum or aggregate of consumption? The City of Shanghai commands the entrance of the Yangtze-kiang and is the great point of China for American trade

2. My opinion is that California has little or no interest in China and can’t (sic) be made to trade here unless a great revolution occurs in the principles on which the trade now rests. The reason is simple. California pays in gold. China takes nothing in payment but silver. The consequence is that here California gold is usually at 10 & 15 per cent of discount below the Spanish dollar – in London it stands at a premium. Of course the Californian will send his gold where it will bring the highest price, and the time to market for what he wants is shorter to New York and London than to Shanghai or Canton, and it will continue so to the end of time. When the price of gold is higher in this market than in London, the current of Californian trade may set across the Pacific but never before. China produces teas and silks for exports – but France produces the latter also, and Lyons is as a silk market at present better than Canton or Suchau. The East India Company will carry teas to Indian plantations and the French will carry them to African plantations, and the article will come down. California will never be a tea consuming country: she will be to a great extent a wine-producer, and her people, like the Germans & French will use wine instead of coffee and tea. California will purchase from China some few things for her own consumption but the mass of merchandize (sic) that she takes will come from New England, British and French looms. In coarse cottons, jeans, drills &c., China depends to a large extent on them herself, therefore she cannot export them for California use. Her woolens in the North come through Kiachtu from Northern Germany through Russians hands – her south don’t want woolens – Her north uses furs mostly – California can send neither one nor the other. – Again: New England is engaged in navigation- Her ships know the time of the Chinese crops (Tea) and will supply California and China with manufactures from New England looms and take back at the right season the teas of China. Will the New England Merchant put his ship in ordinary and discharge his sailors to give employment to a Steam line? Again: The Mail matter must be the paying matter, but there are not today 150 Americans in China and there will not be 1000 passengers annually to and from China – Put that in your pipe and smoke upon it.

You will recognize a great change in my opinion of this matter. It is the effect of thought and observation – intelligent observation of the practical instead of the pursuit of the merely theoretical.

Advantageous extension of commerce with China can only follow a certain education of the Chinese mind, and that has yet to be imparted by intercourse with the people of Western Nations. We now touch the Empire with about as much effect as the shower produces upon the rise and fall of the Bay of New York. We must force our way to the usual intercourse that we hold with other countries – we never will enlarge our sphere of influence, until our Government demands practical equality in its intercourse with China and agrees to sustain a vigorous action here by an intelligent Commissioner – At present my hands are tied and I am left without the means to accomplish anything – I am left to travel as best I may from one point of the country to another, and I see what should be done but I am not backed at home. Write to me – Tell me what you are doing. How about the Pacific Rail-road. Remember our conversation about that.

Believe me your sincere friend
(signed) Humphrey Marshall

George Law Esq.

[1.8]

C, Sec

A Letter from Bayard Taylor

Taylor, 1825-1878, was “a popular American poet and author of travel books during the Gilded Age...[who] found material for his poems and narratives during his many travels throughout the world.”¹² Marshall had befriended him, and invited him on an aborted trip up the Yangtze aboard the warship Susquehanna in March, 1853, to investigate the Taiping rebels. With this experience as his recommendation, Taylor was accepted by Perry to join the expedition to Japan, and was forever in Marshall’s debt.

U.S.S. Susquehanna,
off “Gutzlaff”¹³ May 20, 1853

My dear Colonel.

It was only at the very moment of our departure that I learned you would not accompany us as far as the saddle Islands. I regret that I thus missed the opportunity of saying good-bye to you, and thanking you, as I do now, for your [sic] kindness to me during my stay in China. Indeed, to the fortunate accident of my meeting you in Macao, I attribute the fact of my being allowed to join the present Expedition; for, had I not made the acquaintance and secured the friendship of the officers of the Susquehanna, I most

¹² Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia, http://gme.grolier.com/cgi-bin/gme_bp?artbaseid=0285100

¹³ Chusan Island, near the mouth of the Yangtze River, where Pomeranian Protestant missionary Karl Gutzlaff was serving as sometime “magistrate.”

probably would not have obtained permission. I shall always look back upon the two months I have accompanied you, as one of the most agreeable Episodes of my life of travel.

I most sincerely hope that you may be enabled to carry out your plans in regard to China, for I believe that their failure would be a loss, and their realization a vast benefit, to our country.

I only write this as the parting word, which I would much rather have spoken, and in conclusion wish your health and the largest success. I have no doubt we shall meet again in a year or two at home. I shall certainly not forgive you, if you ever pass through New York without letting me know of it.

Hastily, but most sincerely

Your friend,

Bayard Taylor

Hon. H. Marshall

U.S. Commissioner to China

Shanghai.

[1.9]

C, H

A Letter to Reverend Charles Taylor, Southern Methodist Missionary, author of *Five Years in China* (Nashville, 1860), from the U.S. Vice Consul at Shanghai

One of Marshall's deepest convictions was that the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Wanghia be carried out "punctiliously," through the observance by all Americans of the strictest neutrality between the belligerents in the Taiping Rebellion. He was continually irritated by the activities of American missionaries who myopically viewed the rebellion as some sort of Christian Armageddon, since the leaders spouted quotations from their contorted concepts of Biblical teaching. Rev. Charles Taylor was one of these missionaries, whose journey to the stronghold of the Taiping gave ready fodder to those seeking their own detours around some of the treaty's restrictions. Note that Marshall was behind this letter, although he did not write it.

Mr. E. Cunningham to Revd. Charles Taylor

written at the Suggestion of Mr. Marshall.

-copy-

Private

Shanghai June 11. 1853

My dear Mr. Taylor:

I regret to learn that you have allowed Mr. Shearman to publish an account of your travels up the Yangtszekiang, & that it will appear in today's paper. I supposed you fully understood that such a decided violation of the treaty and of common law as the entering into communication with the rebellious subjects of a friendly power, could only be carried on under the cloak of privacy, and that any personal interest in your adventures, evinced by Col. Marshall or me, was entirely apart from our official capacity, and that such interest could not interfere with our public duty – if called upon to act. Your published statement will come before the eyes of the Taoutai, & he will, very likely, call upon me to arrest you; and if he does, I assure you, I shall do my duty, if the rebels were to appear before the town within the next 24 hours to aid their friend. I have had compunctions of conscience in even being privately interested in your recitals; for it borders on duplicity to be privy to what is actually Treason, when we are still, publicly, on terms of friendship with the Government, with which we are bound by the solemn obligations of a treaty. But, as a Consul, there can be no doubt of my duty; and, the appearance of a public avowal of your proceedings will oblige me to address you an official letter of warning, and, very likely, a Notification to all our countrymen, cautioning them not to violate the laws. It will depend on the Chinese authorities if this is followed up; but, even without such intervention, you will now have placed me in such a position that I shall be obliged to prevent any expeditions of a similar nature if they come to my ears.

Yours truly

Edw'd. Cunningham

[1.10]

C, H & Sec

A Letter of Appointment as Consular Agent

One of the five Treaty Ports, Fuhchau was under Marshall's responsibility to maintain a resident representative.

Per Ship Tzai [?] June 1853

Mr. Marshall to Mr. Charles W. Orne at Fuchau-foo

Official, No. 1. (to Fuhchau). (Copy)

Legation of the United States

Shanghai China,

June 12. 1853

Charles W. Orne Esq.

Sir: The interests of American commerce and the protection of American persons and property have induced me to send you a commission to act as Consular Agent at Fuhchaufoo for the present.

Your duties will not extend to the exercise of Judicial functions under the law of 1848, and there will be no pecuniary compensation, therefore, for services, under the provisions of that law. But, other consular duties, under the laws regulating the duties and emoluments of Consuls, will appertain to your new position.

I desire that you report to me the news, the condition of our countrymen at Fuhchau, their number, occupation etc, -- prospects of trade; capacity of the country, its advantages etc.; disposition of inhabitants, habits, domestic economy, etc. etc. by every opportunity.

Your letters will be regarded as Entirely Confidential unless to the President of the United States and to Congress, if called for; and so you will please to look upon notes from this Legation.

Yours very truly, etc.

(signed) Humphrey Marshall

Comr. U.S.A.

[1.11]

C Sec

From Woo, Chinese intendant (Taoutai) at Shanghai

Wu Chien Chang, or "Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai," as he signed all his letters to Marshall, was a central figure in Marshall's long and frustrating efforts to present his credentials and an official letter from President Fillmore to Emperor Yih Chu at Peking (Beijing). Sixteen missives between them dated between June 12 and September 6, 1853 appear in the copybook. Woo's position as a local official of the Chinese government placed him in an awkward position between the anti-foreign aloofness of the Emperor and the firm assertiveness of the determined American Commissioner.

Copy

Woo, provincial judge, the Taoutae etc. to the Honorable Minister Mr. Marshall of the United States

The prefect, now the Guardian of Sea at Shanghae, has just arrived from Soo Chow foo, and I have taken this opportunity [sic] and have intended him to leave to-morrow for Chang Chow foo, and see the Governor General of Two Kiang provinces E. and I have informed him of all the particulars and that an interview is requisite between the Minister and Gov. General, whether it be at Chang Chow or Soo Chow foo.

So soon as the said prefect returns to this city with an answer from the Governor General I shall directly communicate the same.

Herein I enclose a list of names of the Prime Ministers of the Emperor.

Shanghai

12 June 1853

Woo, provincial judge
the Taoutae at Shanghai

etc.

Seal ㊦

Four Prime ministers consisting

*[Here appear the four names and titles, and for
the Tartars, their tribes, in Chinese characters]*

Yu Ching –

Yellow flag Tartar.

Cho Ping Tien – Wa Yang

citizen of Sue Chuen Province

Nan-Urh-King Ngat – White flag Tartar

Kih Chin Cow-Sien Vang

citizen of San See province

[1.12]

C Sec

From Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai, Taoutai of ShanghaiPrivate & unofficialShanghai June 16th 1853

Dear Sir

Fearing you will not be rest assured in expecting for the answer, I take the liberty to inform you that on the 13th inst. the prefect took his leave to the Governor General with a letter by me particularly stated on the matter and that according to the Treaty I shall have to abide to and to my best ability to get the interview accomplished and so the same the Government must understand: and also stated that the Governor General should move down nearer and appoint a quiet place best suited for the interview and delivery of the letter. I shall like to accompany you in a boat and that you in another boat taking your own Interpreter.

It is probable by this fair wind the prefect may have arrived to day and I hope to have answer tomorrow or to morrow next day. Should the Governor General in his answer decline the interview, I shall insist upon his doing and immediately despatch another letter regarding it. You shall be assured I will do my best and there will be no loss of time.

I remain

Dear Sir,
 very faithfully etc.
 Woo, Provincial Judge, Taoutae
 etc. etc. etc.

Seal 

Conl. Humphrey Marshall
 the United States Minister
 etc. etc. etc.

[1.13]


C Sec

From Woo, Taoutai of Shanghai

Dear Sir:

Shanghae 19th June 1853

I have had expected [sic] this day to start together with you to-morrow morning, but I greatly regreted [sic] after have just at this moment receiving a letter from the Prefect stating that on his arrival at Chang-chow on the 16th June unfortunately the Governor General had left the city on the 14th to Nanking to meet General Heang on business, and that he will be back on the 21st June, therefore from this date adding five days for a letter to reach Shanghae it will then be on the 26th June before we shall be able to start. I must state my great sorrows & regret in regard to this detention. However I have just again written a strong and urgent letter to the prefect not to wait at Chang Chow for the Governor but to proceed direct to Nanking to meet him there in order to get him returned as soon as possible preventing any detention whatever

Remaining, dear Sir,
 Yours very faithfully
 Woo, Provincial judge,
 Taoutae etc. Shanghai
 Seal 

To the Hon'ble Minister of
 the United States Am.
 Con'l. Humphrey Marshall

[1.14]

O: Draft—numerous line-outs and corrections. H-Sig
A Letter to Woo

Shanghai . June 20. 1853

Private & unofficial.

Dear Sir,

I am in possession of your favor of yesterday, and I regret that any circumstance should have occurred to procrastinate or defer the time for my interview with His Excellency, the Governor General of the Liáng Káng. The duty is a plain one—a simple and ordinary act of courtesy and of treaty-obligation, on the part of his Excellency, and of straight forward prosecution of the preliminaries to business on my part. You are already apprized how simple I consider the whole matter, when I have told you that His Excellency is but the Messenger through whom I send my credentials to the court to which I am accredited; I come to him as that Messenger just because the treaty nominates the Governor General of the Liáng K'ang as the officer through whom the communication from the one government to the other may pass—I have no business to transact with the Governor General of the Liáng Káng until I hear again from the Emperor after he shall receive my credentials of office, for I shall not know until then who is the Imperial Commissioner authorized to do business with me. You may therefore imagine my surprise that there should be any emphasis laid on the proposed interview by you or by His Excellency, because I see no reason why such a business matter should occupy more than five minutes of my time. I should be very far from going to meet the Gov. Gen. at all, could I do otherwise, since he is so difficult of approach. There is a point where patience ceases to be a virtue, and really I think we have nearly arrived at that point.

Will you please to inform me whether you expect the Gov. General to write to me by the Prefect, fixing the time & place for the interview? Communications I have received from Canton render it more important than ever to your Government and to me, that our official connection shall be established without delay or severed altogether. I shall write myself to His Excellency, if you are designing to send another Messenger forward within the next 24 hours—I will not wait longer than the 1st of July to have this affair finally disposed of.

I am yours very truly etc.

Humphrey Marshall

To His Excellency

Woo, Provincial Judge, etc, etc, etc.

[1.15]

C, Sec [Two copyists' work]

A Letter to Paul Forbes

Mr. Marshall to Paul S. Forbes Esq¹⁴

Shanghai June 21, 1853

Private

My dear Forbes,

Your note per "Audax" came safely to hand but not so my letters from home. Again they have failed entirely, to my intense vexation. I recieved [sic] by the mail a despatch from the State Department which Anthon opened "to look for letters for Dr. Parker," and also a note from Dr. P. and one from Mr. Lampson (of Wetmore & Co.), but nothing from Anthon, and—nothing from home. I have not received anything from Kentucky since my wife's letter of January 17th, and I feel entirely assured that my wife, children, and friends have, each and all, written to me regularly. I do not know how to account for the delay of my letters.

There is nothing new here. The Taoutae says he will have an interview between Eliang, Heang-Yung and myself appointed for some place between this and Nanking, by the 26th inst. The Prefect is now in the Interior making the necessary arrangements. When that comes off, I presume I shall return to Macao forthwith, or to Canton, unless I see a Show to go on to Peking. That, you know, is my main desire, and every day convinces me more and more of the great importance of succeeding in it. It is a necessary preliminary to the opening of China. You have a consulate at Canton it is true; but, to enjoy the trade really belonging to Canton you must be able to penetrate to the heads of the Tung, the Peh'Kiang and the Sziho: in other words to get to Nanking, and Nangan and to the North Eastern districts of Kwangtung; So here, these people, to develop the trade properly, must be permitted to go West along the course of the Yangtze to all the Provincial Capitals which lie upon the great tributaries of the river. These advantages will never be secured while we are held off at arm's length or while the Mandarins make a merit of incivility to the representatives of Western powers.

[New handwriting:]

Dr. Parker does not acknowledge receipt of the despatch granting him a leave of absence for 18 months. Will you inquire whether he received it? I hope you will enforce neutrality in your District upon all citizens of the United States. I received a letter from Mr. Roberts which convinces me that there is a necessity for vigilance, and I suggest that you shall notify all concerned of our determination to preserve the neutrality in reality which we profess to observe. The consulate of the United States of

¹⁴ U. S. Vice Consul at Canton.

America has been closed at Amoy, and Mr. Bradley will cease to act from this date in any official character. I have directed him to return his flag, seal, and papers, to my address in Canton "under care to Russell & Co." and I desire you to have care taken of them on their arrival should I not have returned to Canton. There will not be any Consular transaction with the Rebels on the part of the United States until the Government at home shall direct me to that effect. A reverend missionary has been to Nanking (Taylor) advising his brother the Rebel Chief as to military movements. You will see in the last North China Herald that dismal Jimmy was cut out of a promised narrative by the interference of the authority of the United States. He thinks it devilish hard that men are held to any sort of good conduct or the observation of any obedience to law! I should not be surprised if we have considerable trouble with some of our Religiosi who after drinking generous wine and living on the fat of the land through the long quiet which has prevailed in China now suddenly are alive to their mission to extend the influence of the Cross and want to turn the rebel camp into a Camp meeting! Thortrede [?] would have a rich theme in dressing this fellow here down a little.

There are two boxes for me sent to Wetmore & Co. I want you to receive them—open them yourself to see what they contain. If only books, a flag etc., keep them for me—but nail them up again and inform me. If one of them has some shirts send it up to me by the steamer. Let my papers and letters also come up by the next vessel. I hope to be in Canton by the 10th of July.

I do not see the death of Mrs. Cass announced in any of my papers. No news in regard to my successor having been appointed.

You speak of assuming joint management of the public square at Canton by Consuls etc. You know my opinion of municipal codes out here. I will do whatever I can do properly to carry out rules so that all shall be under the force of law, but each country must enforce its own laws, and Americans cannot be under any sort of responsibility to French, English, or Chinese rulers[?] Verb. lap.[?]

Make my respects to Spooner & Dana, Hubball, Nye, etc. etc.

and believe me, Dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully etc.

(Signed) Humphrey Marshall

P. S. Forbes Esq.

Consul U.S.

Canton

[1.16]

C, Sec

—Woo: Taoutae to Mr. Marshall— [This heading in H.M.'s hand]

Private

Shanghai June 25 1853

Dear Sir,

I have just received a letter of today from the Governor General, stating he received my letter one day while reviewing the forces and forts about Nanking and others that are under his Government. He states of being very happy and glad to see you, & has started from Sin Fa Tsin, a place two days journey further up than Chang Chow, and about one day to Nanking city, and is coming down towards this way to meet you. I shall call upon you to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, and arrange about our starting.

I remain Dear Sir

Your most faithfully

Woo, Provincial Judge

Taoutae of Shanghai

Seal ●

To Con'l. Humphrey Marshall
the Hon. Minister of the
United States of America

etc. etc. etc.

[1.17]

C, Sec

Mr. Marshall to the Taoutae

June 27. 1853.

Dear Sir

I did not clearly understand in our interview yesterday, whether His Excellency the Governor General of the Liáng Kiáng had directed you to convey a message to me, or whether you were merely communicating the results of an intercourse between yourself and him, merely having an indirect relation to me.

If you were the bearer of a message, will you have the goodness in reply to this note, to repeat it so distinctly, that I can understand it certainly; and if you had no message to convey to me, you will please to say so.

I understood you to say that His Excellency sent me his compliments, and said he would be happy to see me and was on his way now to meet me; but, you remarked likewise, that his public duties would bring him down this way—(near to Shanghai--) and that then you would arrange some place, where I could go to see him. etc. etc.

The imperfect manner in which we understand each other when conversing, leaves me in doubt, whether I have comprehended exactly your idea. But if I have, I desire you to say if I am to attribute the proposed arrangement to you, or to His Excellency the Governor General. And, that you will please to say whether you were authorized in his name to present me any such plan for the proposed interview between us? Or to state distinctly what time, day, and place you were authorized to name? Your early reply to this note will oblige

Yours Respectfully
(Signed) Humphrey Marshall

His Excellency, Woo,
The Taoutae, Provincial Judge etc. etc.
Shanghai

[1.18]

C, Sec

Private

Woo, the Taoutae to Mr. Marshall
June 27. 1853

Dear Sir,

I have in possession of you favor of today's date, and in reply, I beg to say that it is the answer of the Governor General to my letter saying that he is very glad to see you, and wish his compliments to you, and is coming this way to meet you to prevent the trouble to you of having an interview to travel so long a distance to him; and it is not that his public duties would bring him down this way, and that then I would arrange with you to go and see him.

He has left Sin Fa Tsin and is on the way towards here; I have already particularly instructed and ordered an officer, to wait his Excellency the Liang Kiang Governor General's arrival at Soo-chow, to come and report it to me, that I may lose not the slightest time to communicate to you what place, day, and arrange with you about our starting.

Remaining Yours

Most faithfully
 Woo, Provincial Judge,
 the Taoutae of Shanghai
 Seal ☉

To, Con'l. Humphrey Marshall
 the Hon. Minister of the
 United States of America
 etc. etc. etc.
 Shanghai

[1.19]

C, Sec

[Undated; written either on June 28 or 29]

Mr. Marshall to the Taoutae

Dear Sir,

Mr. Cunningham said to me last evening that you proposed to start to morrow morning, and desired that I should start [sic] Friday morning to see the Governor General.

I have to say to you that I do not understand this way of managing the affair.—I have received no communication from His Excellency, establishing date or place at which he will see me, and I do not understand where I am to go, or the terms of this interview—It will be necessary for me to wait until all this is clearly understood between His Excellency and myself. If, meanwhile, he should prolong his journey to Shanghai, so much the better. If His Excellency has now arrived at Suchow it will be very easy for me to address him to state my desire to have an interview, and in his reply he can arrange the meeting as will be consistent with our mutual rank, and the business between us.—I am willing to waive my addressing him, and then it remains for him to address me inviting me to an interview at a given place and time. But it is clear that this starting to an unknown point, in this secret way, is not consistent with either my wishes or my position.

When all shall be clear and satisfactory I will act, and not before.

Yours truly

(Signed) Humphrey Marshall

His Ex.

Woo, Provincial Judge
 etc.

[1.20]

C, Sec

Taoutai to Mr. Marshall

(A reply to page 88) [Item 1.19]

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of today's date, I beg to despatch Mr. Teen Sau, my interpreter to see you, and explain about the arrangement of the interview between you and the Governor General.

Yours very faithfully

Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai

Seal

[1.21]

C, Sec

Private

Taoutae to Mr. Marshall

Thursday morning (30. June 1853)

My dear Sir,

I hope there is no interruption [sic] and every thing shall be arranged and agreeably met with according to what I have expected and have told you.

Undoubtedly I shall hand over your letter to His Excellency¹⁵ soon as his arrival taken place. I shall be waiting there and shall without delay forward the reply of it to you.

P.S. Much obliged for your kind wish.

Your faithfully

Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai,

Seal

¹⁵ Marshall had written a formal letter direct to the Governor General of the Liáng Kiáng requesting a time and place for an interview for presenting his credentials and a letter from President Fillmore to the Emperor. U.S. House of Representatives *Executive Document #123*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session., 198.

[1.22]

C, Sec

Woo, Taoutae, to Mr. Marshall

Kwoonsan. Friday 11 A. M.

Private.

1st July 1853

Dear Sir:

The Gov. Gen'l. arrived at Kwoonsan today. On my seeing him he expressed of being very happy to meet you at Kwoonsan at your earliest convenient day. The accompanying is the answer to your communication forwarded by me.

Yours most faithfully.

Woo, Provincial Judge

& Taoutai of Shanghai



Col. H. Marshall

etc. etc. etc.

Shanghai

[1.23]

C, Sec

A Letter from Woo

Kwoonsan Sunday July 3.

My dear Sir

I am very glad to hear of your safe arrival at this place. The weather is so very warm and unpleasant I think it best for you to anchor your boat little out of the City or by the Pagoda for cool and fresh breezes. The interview shall take place at the Kwoonsan Kongsoo tomorrow morning at 8. AM and I shall send an officer to accept you and show this place. The Governor General is living in his boat and the same with me.

Yours very faithfully

Woo, Provincial Judge etc.

To Col. H. Marshall

etc. etc. etc.

[1.24]

C, Sec

A Letter from Woo

Kwoonsan Monday (July 4)

My dear Sir,

If you will move and land as you say at 12.M – will do very well and his Ex. the Gov. Gen. & me will be waiting at the Kongsoo to accept you at that hour. I congratulate you today being the birthday of America and that the United States was introduced to the world.

Yours very faithfully

Woo, Prov. Judge & Taoutae

of Shanghai ☸

Co'l. H. Marshall

etc. etc.

Kwoonsan – Pagoda

[1.25]

C, Sec

The Taoutae to Mr. Marshall

Private

Shanghai 10th July 1853

My dear Sir,

To-day I received a letter to me by the Gov. General stating that he has arrived at Chang chow foo, and that he is very sorry of the warm weather, as it must have given you very unpleasant heat and passage. He has despatched a messenger with the letter and has written beside a letter describing of your Excellent character to the Emperor in every description, competent, clever, etc. commissioned by the United States' President to keep up friendship for ever, for the benefit of both nations. The Governor General also suggests if you look at the 1st Article of the Regulation and the 18th 25th & 26th between the President of the United States & China Emperor you will find that it is for both country [sic] always to hold friendship, love and protect each other etc.

In regard to the presents of pieces Satins [sic] to you by his Excellency, as you refused to accept them, I have mentioned the same to his Excellency, who says you are welcome to do so, and I consider myself to have done and finished my services to you and his Excellency, and beg to present you a few trifling curio of my own which I hope you will not refuse to accept it with my best regards.

Remaining your most faithfully
Woo, Provincial Judge Taoutae
of Shanghai –

To Con'l. Humphrey Marshall

(L. S.)

etc. etc. etc.

Shanghai

[1.26]

C, Sec

Mr. Marshall to Mr. Ed. Cunningham

Shanghai July 12. 1953

Sir:

It is proper to apprise you that by the terms of a commercial convention concluded between the United States of America and His Majesty the King of the Netherlands and in force from the 26th Feb. 1853, "Neither party shall impose upon the vessels of the other wether [sic] carrying cargoes or arriving in ballast from either of the two countries or from any other country any duties of tonage, harbor dues, lighthouse salvage, pilotage, quarantine or port charges of any kind or denomination which shall not be imposed in like cases on National vessels."

This convention extends to His Majesty's government at Java and the archipelago generally.

Your Obedient Servant
(Signed) Humphrey Marshall

Edw. Cunningham Esq.

Vice Consul, U. S.

Shanghai

[1.27]

O, W & Sig

From J.G.W. [?] Harris: Eyewitness description of Commodore Perry's first Japan expedition

The identity of Harris has thus far eluded me. He is almost surely not the famous Townsend Harris, the first U.S. envoy to Japan after Perry's visits, and who is credited equally with Perry for the birth of the U.S.-Japan relationship. This Mr. Harris has obviously a long-standing, cordial friendship with Marshall. The initials (if they are such) in his signature are difficult to decipher; further research is called for to illuminate this correspondence.

U.S. Ship Saratoga

North of the "Krosing" [?]

Private

Saturday evening July 30, 1853

My dear Marshall

The agony is over. The first part of the Japan Expedition has come off.

Susquehanna, Mississippi, Plymouth & Saratoga arr. in the Gulf of Jeddo,¹⁶ (or Jeddo Bay as it is called, I believe) 9th inst. and remained there nine days. Comm'r. presented the President's letter to an official, said to be the Prince of Izon, appointed by the Council of State at the capital to receive it. The ceremony took place on the beach some fifty miles from the city of Jeddo which we did not see. Temporary saloons were arranged on the sandy shore for the ceremonies. Some five or six thousand Japanese troops were on parade in honor of the occasion. Their appearance was rather of the Falstaff style of elegance, yet no doubt they might make a pretty good fight upon a just emergency. The ceremony was dull and stupid. The Prince and his attendants sat passively, of course, for they expected we had "come-a-courting" as the negroes say. The letter and the awfully powerful credentials were presented to be sure and received, and that is all. Perry had himself saluted with 13 of the guns of his own flagship as he left her and had sent some 30 of the officers with some 250 or 300 marines and sailors ashore to receive him with "all the honors" when he should land. Our force escorted him with two full bands of music about a hundred rods to get six or eight rods from the water side where the saloons were erected and where the Japan Commissioner was in waiting for him; and of course we had to perform "the snake movement!" The entrance lasted about 25 minutes,—that is we were ashore that length of time. He did wisely however in not permitting the hundreds of police boats to surround or visit his ships—we had no communication with any of them.

The first official conferred with was the governor of the Port of Norugawa [?] at the mouth of the bay and opposite our anchorage—and he was conferred with by Buchanan and Adams,¹⁷ the Commodore refusing to confer or speak to anyone except the person of rank who might come with a commission to

¹⁶ Former name of Tokyo

¹⁷ Captains of two of the U.S. ships

receive the President's letter. This was well enough. We saw little or nothing more of them – did nothing – a great and good chance to do everything has slipped – Perry intends to do wonders next year—he has promised them he would return with an immense squadron next May.

As ever, Harris

[P.S.] Susquehanna, Mississippi, and Plymouth¹⁸ are at Seou Chou [?] bound to Macao soon

[1.28]

C, Sec

A Note from Woo, with gift

Shanghae. 29. August '53

My Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure of presenting you my likeness with my best regards which I send you by the Bearer of this—It is taken from the original one which was done by the best London artist by the name of Mr. Generale at Macao and Canton fifteen years ago, and hope you will accept it.

Yours etc.

Woo, Prov. Judge etc.

Taoutae seal

To

Con'l. H. Marshall

etc. etc. etc.

[1.29]

C, Sec

Woo's final letter to Marshall in this collection, in an entirely different tone

Dated "Sixth day of the Seventh Moon," [8 or 9 September, 1853¹⁹]

¹⁸ U.S. warships in Perry's fleet.

¹⁹ My calculation based on lunar phases for 1853 at Peking, provided by Dr. G. S. Lightner, Professor of Physics and Astronomy, Westminster College. The Chinese New Year occurs on the second new moon after the beginning of winter. Chinese months are thereafter either 29 or 30 days.

Woo, the Taoutae to Mr. Marshall

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 4th day of the present moon. I understand its tenor to be as follows:--

Your Excellency desires of granting ship-registers to some merchants vessels of your honorable nation, for the purpose of carrying goods to the Yang tsze kiang, Ming-ho-how Soo-chow etc. and there to trade. The registers are to be granted by me, say, dated to-morrow, and shall show how much tax to be paid by them per month to Government, and to whom the vessels belong, and what is the captain's name of each vessel; whose goods they carry; bound to what ports, and also; the quantity and quality of the goods to be specified in full. The captains are not permitted to carry any contraband goods. If any contraband goods be found on board, the Commissioner of the United States to China will fine the defendant \$1000, and drive him out of China. The cargo on board of the said vessel shall be confiscated to Government. In the Register, the several ports to which each vessel is allowed to go, should be specified, and no other but those specified.

The Government will take back the ship-register, if the payment of the tax be three day after due, and if the said vessel again carry goods to the Yang tsze-kiang, Ming-ho-how, Soochow, etc., she should be fined \$1000, and the cargo she carries is subjected to be taken. Such vessel could [sic] not again be registered.

The vessels are not allowed to carry any foreign merchants on board, and also not to create any disturbances, every case should be treated according to the tenor of the Treaty etc. etc."

I have carefully considered the 8 articles of your letter, and found them to be based on the principles of trade. Though there is nothing particular offensive in them, yet I think they are the thoughts of the Young go-a-head merchants of your Honorable nation, who the more they know the more they want want [sic] to know, and they would take this opportunity to make excursions, and increase their knowledge so that they may not be misled by the Chinese merchants as to the goods, and they want to benefit themselves by their person acquaintance with all these affairs. They do not know, [sic] that the people of the different ports of commerce, by their long experience, are able to live and deal with foreigners peaceably. But Yang-tsze-kiang, Ming ho-how Soochow etc. are no place of commerce. Your language is not understood there, and your costume is utterly strange to them. These circumstances may cause some strange thoughts in the bosom of the ignorant and shortsighted people, they may mock your merchants, they may quarrel with them, or they may cheat them, and then hide themselves. The robbers may rob your merchants, and kill them, for their valuables, and then make their escape, and the local authorities may not be able to find the robbers out and punish them. Are not all these a great enemy to the spirit of friendship? If your Excellency considers the matter in this light, their [sic] is not only no advantages [sic] in such a project, but injurious, and such thing should not be done. The people of the

interior do not know how much goods the foreign merchants have, and what is their proper price, besides there are no large wholesale merchants in the interior, and then great loss must be felt by the foreign merchants.

The Emperor and his Ministers who well acquainted with these evils, determined to let only five ports open to foreign commerce, so that the large wholesale merchants may buy and sale to retailers, and goods be conveniently circulated through the country. The cause for not letting the foreign merchants trade everywhere is, that there can be no advantage in it; therefore the thing is strictly forbidden, in order to enjoy friendship.

In the reign of the Emperor Ken lung, when Canton was the only port opened for commerce, shops, in that port, were not many, foreign imports were not very well circulated, and commerce was in an uncertain state, until the rieg[n] [sic] of Kea-king, and afterwards for several tens of years commerce was in a thriving state, the number of shops were increased daily, the goods of the various nations, such as broad cloth, long Ell, cotton, feathers, long cloth, birds nests, rattans, ginseng, frank incense, nutmeg, hides, etc. went through the hands of the Hong Merchants. The amount of imports were known to them, and after the Hong merchants had fixed a price to the goods, they sold them to the various shops and by these shopkeepers, foreign goods were sent to the proper markets in the interior. For these goods, it was paid sometimes cash, sometimes promissory notes due at certain time, and sometimes in bills of exchange, and the Hong Merchants stood for their securities. Therefore money shops increased in number, and commerce was good. Of all articles of Export such as Silk, Tea, Rhubarb, the native merchants knew how much was required yearly, and had them ready for exportation in due time. The Foreign merchants could borrow money from the Hong merchants, or they could buy goods with promissory notes, This was very convenient. The foreign merchants could judge for themselves, what goods were salable in their respective countries. Ships could be loaded immediately and despatched homeward bound, for if goods imported were not salable for the time, the Hong merchants could store them away for the foreign merchants. After abolishing of the system of Hong merchants, the commerce is far worse than before. For it requires years for the people of a port to get an acquaintance with foreigners, so as to render trade advantageous. This cannot be done in a morning or an evening.

Your Excellency's letter states, that ships registers should be granted to vessels for the purpose of carrying trade to the Yang-tsze kiang etc. but those places are not markets, nor are they ports of commerce. The people are not acquainted with foreigners and foreign goods such as woollen and cotton cloth. China can be without them just as well as with them. If foreign vessels were permitted to go, they would spend their time for nothing. If this project were really beneficial to commerce I will act with you in all my might, but as it is, if it were reported to the Governor General, and through him to the Emperor, the Emperor would surely not allow it. I am a man brought up to this branch of business when I was young, and have tolerable experience in it, and in my present office I acquire not a little. All the words I

have told you heretofore are sincere, I hope your Excellency will hear and consider my words. Please to accept my best regards.

(L. S.)

Sixth day of the Seventh moon

[1.30]

C, Sec

A Letter to C.D. Williams of Hong Kong

The identity of Williams is also unknown to me at this time

Macao. 10 November 1853

My dear Mr. Williams

I received the note and the number of the Hong Kong Register that accompanied it containing a communication signed O.P.Q., to which you have called my attention.

The Editor had the good sense to perceive [sic] that some apology was proper for permitting his columns to be filled with this “temperately written criticism” which he avers is the production of an American; but I hope the basis of this apology is not sound and that few will be found to acknowledge the necessity he presumes to exist—that of an organ to the American Commercial body in China to criticise the proceedings of their public authorities. The Editor of the Register is entirely excusable. His motives were those merely of kindness to one set of Americans to afford them a means to arraign their public authorities, also American, in his valuable journal, and to spread the attack and defence before his British readers for their impartial judgment on the merits of the issues formed. So far as the Commissioner of the United States is concerned he declines the forum.

But what shall be said and thought of the author of this scandalous publication, assuming the truth of the statement that he is an American? Had I “countenanced a breach of Neutrality” as he avers, what good purpose does he propose to accomplish by publishing angry comments upon it in the Hong Kong Register? Methinks his patriotism would have prompted him to let my faults sleep in oblivion than to irritate the wounds already made by a constant probing of them. But at least he must have known the British Colonial Press was not a proper arena of strife for Americans, and his manner of assault proves him to be below the level of ordinary decency and honesty. I think he must be some vagabond who has no respectability and is entitled to no consideration and therefore I shall not be annoyed by him. Let him amuse himself for he cannot either vex or injure me.

Yours truly, etc

H. Marshall

[1.31]

C, Sec

Eyewitness description of the recapture of Amoy, one of the five Treaty Ports, from Taiping rebels

Extract from Letters from Mr. Doty, a citizen of the United States at Amoy – to Doctor Parker²⁰
17th November [1853]

“But what (it is believed) the Imperialists could not have accomplished by fighting, with all their forces, by land and water, the want of means has helped them to effect—the recapture of the place. It is also said that, recently, among the ostensible and active adherents of the Insurgents there was great defection at heart.

Early this morning, about daylight, the Imperialists nearly surrounded the city walls and scaled by ladders. I have not yet heard whether the Insurgents were taken by surprise. Their whole force, however, was not in the city, as by 6 o'clock there was skirmishing on their recent battle ground, near E. Mûg-Káng, at the foot of the flag-staff hill (A place commanding the entire city & bay of Amoy where the British flag staff is fixed as a signal to ships (Bah!) H.M.²¹) After effecting an entrance within the walls the Imperialists (I have been told) soon obtained possession of three gates, leaving the fourth unguarded, out of which the Insurgents fled. By 6 ½ o'clock some of the flying troops reached the waterside and took first to their small boats and steered for the mainland. By 7 o'clock flying parties in greater numbers crowded on the landings and, fast as they could get boats, took to their junks of which there must have been from 40 to 60 at anchor. Many overloaded boats swamped, and some were drowned. So far as I saw there was no pursuit. Yet if what I hear be true, farther uptown there must have been pursuit and many killed. By 8 or 8 ½ o'clock all the junks were under way with favoring wind & tide. There did not appear to be any wish on the part of the Imperial fleet either to attack or to prevent the flight. Very few shots were fired on the water, but the fleet of the conquerors came in close on the trail of the departing one. By 9 o'clock Amoy, entire, was in the hands of the Imperialists.

Of the Insurgents—only two of their junks passed out to sea. The rest went up the bay towards Chinchew, from which region most of them had come.

Since morning the Imperial soldiers have been scouring Amoy and Kolong su, ferreting out such of the Insurgents as did not make their escape.

The number who have perished today in the flight--(as it is said the inhabitants attacked them with stones etc. from the tops of the houses)—by drowning, and by decapitation must be very considerable. A British officer tells me that such a scene of deliberate cold blooded butchery has been going on at a point on the water about half way to Mr. T's. he could not have believed men capable of.

²⁰ See preface to item #1.1.

²¹ Marshall's expression of disbelief?

There has also been some plundering of known or suspected adherents and favorers of the insurrection but to no great extent. Indeed the Insurgents have so effectually done up the work of squeezing and plundering that it would seem there cannot be very much for others to do. I do think however it has been mercy to Amoy that the Insurgents were so hastily and precipitately expelled. If it had not been so, it is to be feared there would have been burning and rapine on an extensive scale. Plundering had become, during the last few days, of constant occurrence. Among the Chinese everybody was in constant fear of being visited by an armed mob.

I learn that the Insurgent Chief and principal actors have generally escaped.

We are under great obligations for the kind and polite attention of the officers of the British Man of War Steamer "Hermes" and Brig "Bittern" and H.B.M.'s Consul during this day's commotion. Marines were on shore during the morning, guarding and ready for any emergency. Not only so around my dwelling, equally with those, nearby, of British subjects, but the offer of a Guard was made to Mr. Tallmadge who, you know, lives far removed from all foreign neighbors. Then again, the Captain—I think of the "Bittern"—himself came around to see that all were quiet and safe, about noon, and again this evening in company with the Consul.

For these acts of courtesy, in the absence of all aid, if needed from our own Country's flag, would it not be well that acknowledgement from the proper source be made?

14th - Much plundering, among the poor chiefly, has been going on, producing more real misery than during the reign of the insurrection. But the scene of human cold blooded butchery has been perfectly horrifying. How many have been killed I don't know. At one of the Amoy landing places, in the mud, on the 12th inst I saw near a hundred hacked corpses – There has been no burning – but when or where these scenes are to end, it is impossible to conjecture.

E. D.

[1.32]

O, W & Sig

From J.G.W. [?] Harris, about the recapture of Shanghai from a rebel splinter gang

My Dear Marshall--

Shanghae Nov. 1853

The Nymph is expected to leave for the south tomorrow of which I avail to communicate. Matters and things are not precisely and exactly as they were in and about Shanghae—although the insurgents still hold possession of the City. The Toutae [Woo] has made a most vigorous effort both afloat and ashore to recover the place within the walls—there has really been a good deal of shooting and cutting off of heads on both sides; and it would seem that both parties are so exasperated that "no quarter" will hereafter be given. The Toutae has brought his own large fleet to bear against the walls from the river, bombarded for

three or four days and nights with great activity—taken the rebel fleet of 1 ship, 1 brig, and some half-dozen Chinese war boats, firing the suburbs and attacking all round the walls at the same time. Indeed, the Toutae had so clearly defined his position that the Insurgent Chief offered \$20,000 to any one who should deliver His Excellency inside the walls, or \$10,000 for his head. So, you perceive they are no longer friends!

Bourboulon²² arrived here in the French steam frigate a week ago. I hear nothing of his sayings or doings. It was a fact you know before you left that the Cassini²³ stopped the Imperialists when firing upon the city opposite the Cathedral. It is said the Padre and his suite have recently taken up their quarters on one of the French Steamers—a rumor—I do not know it. The day after the arrival of Bourboulon a letter from the French (Acting) Consul appeared giving his (the Consul's) views and opinions touching the duties of foreigners in this emergency. Worse than Alcock's²⁴ pretext for "hostile" and "aggressive" measures, he assumes that the Treaty (French) is reciprocal, that the preservation of peace in and about Shanghae by the Chinese government is a condition precedent to a payment of duties! This is the simple analysis of his opinions. I hope Bourboulon has had no voice in it—for it is pure nonsense! There is nothing reciprocal in any of the Treaties which foreigners have made with China; or China made with foreigners. Foreigners demand privileges—China granted them on such conditions as would least disturb the Empire—she granted them amid the thunders of foreign cannons, and granted them most unwillingly.

It is well enough—I think it right—since China cannot protect the persons and property of foreigners who are permitted to reside here—that foreigners would adopt measures for self protection—and to that end that they should maintain an active police round the foreign settlement. All parties here (foreign) have resolved on this. There was an irruption out of the imperial camp into the foreign settlement the other night of some 500 or more of the rabble of the camp. It seems that certain guns and ammunition from the South brought up by one of the opium clippers, were being taken from "the Bund" through the outskirts of the village to the rebels in the city; and that the object of entering the forbidden foreign ground was to intercept them. *On dit*—a couple of English houses were interested in these guns. The Imperialists were no doubt right enough—but foreigners took the alarm and there was quite a fight, in which some four or five Imperial soldiers were killed. Vice Consul Wade visited the Chief at the Imperial Camp next day who treated it as a small matter of which he had scarcely heard before, and entirely unauthorized by him.

Foreigners are more vigilant now than before—for they are literally between two fires. The siege has really been respectable for two or three days and nights last past, but all is quiet today—sleeping,

²² See footnote # 11.

²³ French warship.

perhaps. Cunningham, Worden, Rowdy and Dawes went to Mugho in the Gung tsze a week ago—the Confucius followers three for four days afterwards. They have not yet returned—hourly expected. There are a plenty of rumors here that Thae-ping way's forces²⁵ are on their way from Nankin to Souchau—the Chinese say so. I am now quite well satisfied that these rebels will be able to hold the City. Foreigners of all nations here continue to have the same high sense of their duties which they entertained at the time of your departure. Nobody seems to know exactly where Old San Qua²⁶ is at this moment. That price upon his head seems to enliven the inquiry.

I think Sir Geo Bonham²⁷ in his last April dispatches (Parl. Doc.) most unworthily alludes to the object of the Susquehannah's attempted ascension of the Yangtze Kiang. Make him explain. Do write me all the tricks. Sincerely, yr. friend, JGW: Harris

[Written on reverse of letter, Marshall's own hand:]

Purser Harris

Rec'd. Macao, Nov 26.

[1.33]

Another Letter from the mysterious Harris

Private

Shanghai China

Dec. 31, 1853

My Dear Marshall—

I agree with you in this: you will remain in China quite as long as you have expressed a desire to. None of the old fogies are coming out here. You are right in attributing past proceedings of the President to “pressure from without.” You are right in supposing that Cushing has an itching this way. Indeed I think you are right altogether with reference to this matter.

I have not the slightest idea what your correspondence with the “Royal Comm'r.” can be about. Enlighten me. Let us know what is going on at Court.

I have not a word of news for you. You have seen Bourboulon's visit to Nanking, and, no doubt, Cunningham has written you the on dits of “the Bund.” Bourboulon has not accomplished much.

²⁴ Rutherford Alcock, British Consul in Shanghai. Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 200.

²⁵ The rebel army

²⁶ Woo's former name when he was a Canton hong merchant. Immanuel C.Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 329.

²⁷ British Plenipotentiary

Johnny Bull continues to exercise all the essential rights of sovereignty at Shanghai, with the exception of the little space around the foot of the French Flag-staff where Bourboulon made the rebel chief—or rather one of them—perform the Kowtow the other day: He will have no Regiments here until they are necessary! Wise old Johnny—

The Russians are driving a strong team over this part of Asia. The old admiral's squadron will consist of nine men of war before the summer is out; and he will not only watch our Japan and Exploring Expedition but have an eye to the Sandwich Islands. He is a full fledged minister withal. Russia has been operating upon Peking through Kiackto as well as Canton. Her religious mission at the capital manages diplomatic as well as religious "pigeon." I have no doubt that, before this, Russia has a maritime [sic] treaty with China. The argument was backed at the north by the entire Siberian Army within 150 miles of Kiackto and at the south by the Admiral's fleet. Powerful arguments when applied in a proper manner.

We are getting weary of Shanghai and grant the reality of your assurance "You will go home in April." You meant to say, "You will start for home," and even then we shall be well into our fifth year of absence. But then we belong to Samuel, and what right have we to entertain a desire to see our friends at home?

Many thanks for your polite invitation to your quarters at Canton. I have communicated it to the Saratoga²⁸ generally—as it was given—and they too except [sic] it with many thanks.

If there should be a war with Mexico, I am not so absolutely certain that I will not try to "get a horse" myself, if the fun is not all over before we get home.

I see but little of those people. This is not exactly the place for me. When we shall depart none of us know. Where we shall go, is equally uncertain. "Beautiful situation for a white man"—isn't it? Give me a good long free letter, and believe me, dear Marshall,

Ever your friend, JGW: [?] Harris

[1.34]

0 W & Sig

A Letter from C. Carvalho to Marshall in New York, after his return from China

This letter from a young Portuguese whom Marshall had befriended in China reveals a personal side of his character not seen in other letters. He had obviously given Mr. Carvalho some career guidance and references to friends in San Francisco who could help in getting a foothold in a strange land. Carvalho's

²⁸ U.S.S. Saratoga, which carried Harris to Japan with Commodore Perry's fleet; see item #1.27.

continuing concern for the Chinese immigrants in this early phase of their Americanization is also of great interest.

San Francisco June 30, 1854

Aciemento Street No. 84

My dear Colonel

I take the liberty of addressing you a few lines and have to apologize in having done so sooner I trust I may have the pleasure of congratulating you on a safe arrival to your native land and that yourself and family are well.

I arrived at San Francisco on the 10th May and tendered your very kind recommendation to your friends. I was received by them in a most friendly manner and am confident that I have their best wishes. Mr. Beard is not here, therefore I did not see him but Messrs Brenham and Howard are certainly 2 of the finest men I have ever met. Thanks to the kind interest you took in my welfare when I saw you in China, and for which I shall ever feel grateful. It was your especial advise to me to pursue the study of law. I accordingly commenced the study but find that I cannot devote so much of my time to it as I could wish. The necessity here of earning my daily bread has compelled me to join in copartnership with a young and intelligent merchant of this city and am doing very well.

The Chinese are generally pleased that I have come over, and I have the satisfaction of deeming myself the only foreigner in this country capable of writing, reading and speaking their language with native fluency.

The Chinese population is vastly on the increase, ships arrive monthly loaded with passengers and about 10,000 more are coming. The public entertain a strong feeling of antipathy against them, and it is rumoured that at the next legislative session of this state measures will be proposed to stop the emmigration, and if possible drive them from the soil. Whether such an act would be consistent with the "All embracing" Policy hitherto pursued by the U.S. Government to emigrants, remains to be seen. but I am at led [sic] to think from what I have read, that such an act would be decidedly contrary to the spirit of the U.S. Constitution. I have no hesitation in saying that they are perfectly useless (at present) to the state. The Chinese farmers, artizans and mechanics will not follow up here their original professions at home.-but considering the many obstacles in their way, a very proper and just resolve. Neither does it suit their taste to consume any other produce save those of their own country. They live here as they do at home, on rice & salt fish. 950 out of the 1000 go to the mines. They are nevertheless a very quiet and inoffensive people, intelligent by nature, and sharp from practice. The idea therefore of placing them on the same level with negroes, appears to me ridiculous. Notwithstanding their many peculiarities of character, I am sure that were a more liberal treatment shown them, they will become at some future period a very useful portion of the State Community.

A Chinese newspaper has been got up with which I am indirectly connected. I hope it will prove of some use, but they want something more than a mere newspaper to defend them. They

absolutely require one who being in possession of influence and talent may successfully battle for their rights as emigrants and citizens. There is none here willing to undertake the task for fear of making himself unpopular, but if such a person could be found, I have no doubt his laudable endeavours will be duly appreciated and rewarded by them.

The lawyers are the rulers of the day—nothing is done without law. I love its study and will not give it up.

I take this opportunity of begging[?] you to mention us (Mocatta & Co.) to any of your mercantile friends in New York, and respectfully request your kind influence with them on our account. We are but beginners, work hard, and with the best of intentions; if you could with convenience to yourself influence any consignments to us, we shall not fail to prove ourselves worthy of this patronage.

Messrs. Brenham and Howard present their kind regards to you. Before I close I have the great pleasure of tendering you my heartfelt thanks for your kindness towards me and in advising me to come here. Nothing would please me more than to see you. I shall not fail to do my best here, and make myself worthy of the honor of your friendship. Wishing you all happiness and health, I have the honor to remain

Yours most sincerely & obligedly

C. Carvalho

[1.35]

O, W & Sig

From Rev. A. P. Happer, American Presbyterian Missionary in China in 1853²⁹

Here is one missionary who thoroughly agreed with Marshall. They had obviously exchanged views at length in China. Marshall must have been refreshed by Happer's breadth of thinking, and his practical, strategic program to fight the opium trade.

Pittsburgh Pa. March 12th 1856

Hon Humphrey Marshall M.C.

Respected Sir

I fancy you may have some slight remembrance of meeting me in China when you look at my signature and you may be surprised to be addressed by me in this country. We agreed in our opinions

²⁹ Prescott Clarke and J.S. Gregory, *Western Reports on the Taiping* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), 75.

pretty well about the nature and character of the insurrection in China & I think the subsequent developments of it up to the latest dates have established the correctness of those opinions. I also heard when I was in Louisville that you did me the honor as to refer to the fact that I approved of the course you pursued towards the Rev. Mr. Roberts, the so called Instructor of the Insurgent chief. I left China in Dec. 1854 owing to the long continued ill health of my wife -- I spent two months at Batavia, three months in England and France and arrived at New York the 29th of Aug. 1855. Since then I have been travelling in various parts of the U.S. and visited Louisville & Danville in Ky, among other places--I have often wished to write to you but I knew from the public prints that you were so completely immersed in the exciting affairs of public interest that I did not feel at liberty to intrude—and the less so as the object of philanthropic interest could not be introduced at that time. As there appears some opening for it now I beg leave to briefly present it to your attention.

You may perhaps remember some conversations we once had in reference to the Opium Trade—its moral and fiscal and political evil to China, and its hindrance to the extension of the legitimate commerce of Western Nations with that Empire. I prepared a series of letters on the subject, a copy of which I beg to send to you. They were published in England with commendation, republished in China in the “China Mail” and a number of copies published in pamphlet form.

The object I had in view in visiting England was to endeavor to awaken attention to the enormities of this iniquitous traffic, the poisonous drug being grown by the East Indian Government & the traffic being principally carried on by British subjects. I found British Christians and Philanthropists read to engage in any practicable effort for its overthrow. It was then greatly to be feared that Sir John Bowring at the revision of the British Treaty would endeavour to induce the Chinese government to legalize this destructive trade. I after much correspondence succeeded in getting a committee whose object should be to endeavor to attract attention to this iniquitous trade—of which the Earl of Shaftesbury is Chairman and a Maj. Gen. Alexander of the Hon. E. I. Company's³⁰ army is Honorary Secretary. Before I left England they presented a memorial embodying many of the principal facts stated in these accompanying letters to Lord Clarendon—and deprecating any attempt to pressure its legalization from the Chinese government—and requesting that the article, in the Treaty then recently made with France, which provided for its being carried to Siam in British vessels might not be ratified. It was the intention of this committee to bring the matter before Parliament this session by having Lord Shaftesbury move for this memorial's being laid on the table of the House of Lords. Those who were interested in this matter in Britain were anxious that an effort should be made to arouse attention to this question in the U.S. It was considered that as it injures the extension of the trade of the U.S. with China and as the U.S. have no revenue therefrom and hence no pecuniary interest to deter the Government from taking prompt action for

³⁰ British East India Company, a private trading company, founded in 1600, which was the instrument for enabling British hegemony in India.

its suppression such action could easier be obtained from the U.S. Congress than from the British Parliament. And if the U.S. would declare it a contraband trade, as is the slave trade, this would powerfully act upon public sentiment in Great Britain. Do you think the subject could be brought before Congress with any probability of a favorable result?

I have some 120 copies of these letters which I would gladly distribute amongs the members of Congress. Memorials were presented to Congress in Feb. 1854 and referred to the "Committee for For. Relations," or "On Commerce." And several persons both in the Senate and H.R. were prepared to advocate the measure when the excitement which arose on the introduction of the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill" diverted all men's minds to that exciting question to the neglect of this other, which has laid in abeyance ever since. I could visit Washington in the latter part of April if by personal intercourse I could communicate any additional facts or awaken any increased interest.

If you have any time I should be pleased to hear from you and hear your views.

Before Dr. Parker left for China I wrote to him requesting him to give his official influence in favour of some decided action on the part of the Congress of U.S. But I never received any letter from in answer to mine. [sic]

By the way could you favour me with a copy of your correspondence with the said Dr. P. which was published. I left China before any copies of it had reached China and I have never been able to come across a copy since my arrival.

There is nothing which would have so favourable an influence towards extending commercial relations with China in the prospective revision of the U.S. Treaty with that Empire than some such action for the suppression of the opium trade by the U.S. govmt as that proposed in these letters.

I hope to return to China as soon as my wife's health will admit of it.

With great respect, Yours very truly A. P. Happer

P.S. My P.O. address is "Pittsburgh Pa." the time after which the U.S. treaty with China may be revised is July 3rd, 1856.

[1.36]

O, W & Sig

**From William B. Reed, U.S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China, 5/15/57 –
5/18/59³¹**

Private

³¹ U.S. National Archives, Pamphlet 73.8958, *Despatches from United States Ministers to China, 1843-1906* (Washington: General Services Administration, 1973), 6.

On board the Minnesota. Harbor
of Hong Kong. December 9, 1857

My Dear Sir,

I have deferred writing to you till I should see Mr. Hunter and be able to make some enquiry about your furniture. I was at Macao last week and there learned, that in addition to our other causes of war with China, your things were all destroyed in the fire at the factories last year. The Chinamen found the factories and other houses filled with English soldiers who fired at every one within sight—and on the outside of which in the river lay a British steamer shelling their city every ten minutes—so in their simplicity, after giving full notice, they set them all on fire and drove out their enemies—and in doing so burned a good deal of American property—I am very sorry for your loss but I trust it won't make you too belligerent. Hunter promised me to write you fully about the things and I hope he's done so. Mrs. Hunter sails homeward tomorrow in the ship Contest for New York They seem to be warm friends of yours. And here, let me say,—and I am sure you will be gratified—that the good you did or tried to do here is not 'interred with your bones'—for I find on all hands, and among those who, I dare say, murmured and criticised while you were here, very earnest tributes to your services. It is a new illustration of how surely in the end a steadfast American (not technical) spirit carries one through. The publication of your despatches did great good. Has it ever occurred to you that Mr. McLane's³² ought to be published? Of course with his consent. They were creditable, and the lapse of time is now sufficient to justify it. There is another thing that Congress ought to call for, the correspondence last year with the Navy Department as to the affair of the Barrier forts. It will gratify our officers who behaved well and will throw some light on the state of things here, then and now.

I hardly know what, with propriety, to say to you about my own prospects. I do not know what your relations to the Department are, but, personally, I have no objection to your seeing what I have written, relying fully on your discretion. Any revelations of correspondence at this juncture would be mischievous.

Of one thing, you may be assured that the attack on or surrender of Canton is inevitable, and we can only hope for the best—tho' really, being a believer in this world's retribution, I can hardly imagine good to come from so unbroken a series of wrongs and follies as have been committed. When I arrived and for some weeks after I had a faint hope that I might avert an actual catastrophe, but that is over and I can only watch and pray. How that spark of hope has been extinguished, will appear from my despatches. I think a week will terminate the suspense here, for ...[?] Gros told me yesterday something might be done before this mail closes—and as I write, the remaining gunboats and steamers with troops are going up the river.

³² Probably Robert M. McLane, Humphrey Marshall's successor as Commissioner to China: Ibid.

As it has turned out, it might have been better for me not to have arrived till after the crisis—for it has required a steady head and hand to drive the team amidst this excitement. Our merchants—and for once the missionaries agree—are wild for war. I have thus far kept cool. I am determined, if we ever get war, we shall do it alone.

I rely confidently on your kind offices in Congress. Do what you can for a light draught war steamer—and take care of me in other ways. I find as you said would be the case, there is no such thing as being ashore. A leg of mutton costs five dollars!

Remember me to Mr. Phillips & write to me, if you have time.

Truly yrs. W. B. Reed

Section 2.

**Marshall's own compositions for the record and notes to himself as he researched China
and the region**

[2.01]

C H

A Memo of a request before departure

Washington. Sept 10. [1852] Phi Delta Society of Waterville Maine, through Charles M. Sanger Esq. Corresponding Secretary, want the autograph of the Emperor of China to place in their collection.

[2.02]

C, H

Marshall's account of his side trip to Rome enroute to China, November, 1852

Civita Vecchia

It was about 8 o'clock in the morning of the 12th November 1852 that the French Steamer "Oronté" cast her anchor in the port of Civita Vecchia.

It had not been my purpose to visit Rome, but finding it would be an easy matter to disembark here, spend five or six days in Rome and then travel by land through to Naples in time for the next Steamer of "La Lignola d'Italie," which would leave Naples for Messina on the 23rd November, I determined to gratify my curiosity to see the ancient city of the Caesars. I was led partly to this determination also by meeting a party from America consisting of Doctor Hosmer of Boston and his daughter, Miss Smith, Miss Hayes, Miss Clarke (Grace Greenwood), Miss Charlotte Cushman and Mr. Deyes. They came aboard at Leghorn destined for Rome, and urged me to make the detour from my intended route. I began to feel great inclination for a few pleasant days with intelligent Americans. Mr. Wood, an English artist sojourning in Rome, had procured permission to land for this party in advance of their arrival, and while I was below certainly not more than five minutes taking a morsel of breakfast the whole Boston party had gone ashore without taking even "good morning" of me. I concluded their anxiety for me to go to Rome, was more the mere expression of politeness than the result of any real solicitude on the point.

We were told that none of us could go ashore until our passports had been submitted to the Prefect of the Police who would send written permits to each one who was allowed to land in the kingdom of His

Holiness, the Pope. Accordingly, about 11. A.M. all hands were piped to the deck to hear the “billets of permission” read aloud, that each might procure from the strange officer what was intended for such person. I never in my life heard such jargon. The permit for “Mr. Humphrey” to land being read, I was sure it was meant for me, so I took charge of that. By this time the mate and hands were raising the trunks from the “holr” of the ship, but mine being marked “for Naples” all the baggage designed for Civitta Vecchia was disposed of, which postponed my departure to the very last among those who were to leave the “Oronte.”

The only passengers who remained were a Mrs. Clapperton and her daughter, a girl of some ten or eleven years of age. They were going to Rome to spend the winter for the benefit of the young lady, who had been for some time at school in Germany. I proferred my attention to these of course as I had been introduced to the mother by Madame Ledyer of Cairo. Mrs. C. was the wife of Capt. Clapperton of Her Brittanic Majesty’s Service.

As soon as we arrived on shore, a Commissionaire undertook to instruct us how to proceed; so, leaving our baggage, we followed him. We passed through crowds of beggars who literally swarmed in the streets, presenting every species of malady and deformity to observation in order to enlist sympathy and to induce the bestowal of alms by the passengers. At length we were introduced into the office of the Diligencia for Rome—in other words, the Stage officer. We were informed all the seats in the Diligence¹ were taken except inside seats of the Diligence to start at 2. P.M. I looked at these but they appeared very uncomfortable, and I did not relish the idea of being shut up all night in a box 4 by five feet, jostling through the Campagna² of Rome, noted for its poisonous atmosphere. The manager pointed to a light carriage with four seats which he said he would send through “by post” if I chose to travel that way, but he said it would cost 80 francs. This was rather strong and I declined but after a while he said he would send the carriage “by post” to Rome for 65 francs. Mrs. Clapperton proposed to pay one half of this sum for herself & daughter and I undertook the other 32 ½ francs myself—The price of a seat in the usual Diligence was 11 francs—in the Coupée 16 francs, so that we were charged for each seat in our carriage as for a seat in the Coupée, but then we would get away from Civitta Vecchia without delay and would probably reach Rome by bedtime that evening—

I was now informed that my baggage was at the Custom House and that my passports were at the Police office. I found my trunks in a mass of baggage awaiting inspection. It seemed that my turn would come about nightfall, so I enquired for the residence of the American Consul and went thither—He was not in, but his brother who is Her Brittanic Majesty’s Consul and his partner in business, was present occupied in business. I told him who I was and how anxious I was to proceed immediately to Rome, but he seemed to

¹ A Stagecoach

² The plains around Rome

pay so little attention that I turned to leave the office in no very good humor. I imagine my having changed his determinations for very soon he followed me to the Custom House, saw the chief administrator, had my baggage placed on my carriage without inspection, and sent a fellow for my passports—He also had the baggage of my *compagnons de voyage* inspected immediately and ordered the horses for the road. I felt how important it was “to be cousin in law to a three tailed bashaw,”³ for had I been left to myself, I should have been 24 hours in doing what His Honor the Consul did in as many minutes. I had an opportunity however both for amusement and disgust at the petty swindling that is carried on at Civitta Vecchia. They charged Mrs. C., through every state, thus: one charge for bringing her baggage ashore.—another for bringing them to the Custom House—another for taking the baggage in the Custom House—another for “plumbing” it, that is, arranging the trunks in a line after inspection; another for taking the baggage out of the Custom House and another for putting the trunks on the carriage from the ground. This is literally true, but the whole space over which the baggage was moved from first to last, at & about the Custom House, was not forty feet!--

The laborer is worthy of his hire, and here the laborer must resort to this subdivision of work in order to afford employment to a number. The most enterprising line of business I have seen in Italy is that of fleecing travellers.—At last we were off, but again at the gate of Civitta Vecchia our passports were demanded and taken away somewhere, I presume to be inspected. In ten minutes they were returned—a new fee given and our Postillion drove off at full speed for Rome – It was now about half past 2. P.M. Of all who had arrived at Civitta Vecchia on the “Oronte” only a single Diligence left the place ahead of my carriage – Very soon the postillion suggested that if he was expected “to make good time” he must have five francs as a *douceur*. He had a person perched on the seat of the Driver, and as I was “posting” I demanded to know by what right a stranger occupied the front seat of my carriage. I learned that my fellow passenger was a postillion returning to a stand in the country. I wished to know if the five francs would indeed increase the speed, and being answered affirmatively and given to understand that if it was not paid we should probably fall behind others who did pay the postillions, I advanced the sum. In about ten miles I found that I changed horses and driver, and the next postillion presented the same demand. I began now to see how the extras count in travelling through Italy and determined to moderate the amount, but this fellow insisted that as I paid five francs at the first stage, I must pay the same at each of the five stages through to Rome, which I flatly refused to do. So he moderated his speed nearly to a walk and I paid nothing to him at the end of the drive, and shelled out only very moderately to the next, but really I thought I should have been stopped entirely out in the country in order to enforce this extortion. I was resolute however, and when night closed in I voluntarily offered the last driver a five franc to put me

³ Turkish dignitary, “Pasha,” source of quotation unknown.

through at full speed, which he did faithfully – I arrived at Rome about 11 o'clock at night—on the 12th November, and we drove to the Hotel de l'Europe.

I found that the Maitre d'Hotel took Mrs. Clapperton for my wife as he offered a salon & two chambers for the party, but he could not let them apart. I told him he was mistaken but he insisted that I wanted the suite of rooms – I asked for a single chamber for myself. He said he could give me one, but could not accommodate the lady and her daughter with another, if they were not of my family. I then vacated the chamber he would have assigned to me, for the use of the lady & her daughter and bidding them good evening, I drove to another quarter of the city & procured accommodations for myself at the Hotel d'Allemagne. I never saw the lady or her daughter again – They appeared however to be innocent and genteel, but more extended acquaintance was not agreeable to myself.

The country between Civitta Vecchia & Rome was apparently poor. It was very hilly, and I observed that it was stony – The farmers were sowing wheat and a crowd of peasants were frequently to be seen in the fields at rural employments – The harrows were drawn by teams of oxen – It carried me back quite to the days of the Commonwealth – I was now hurrying on to see Rome once the Mistress of Empires—now the seat of the Papal power – My mind was full of her history—her glory & her shame.

[2.03]

C H

Eulogy for Daniel Webster, for delivery in Rome, enroute to China

November, 1852

Remarks prepared on hearing of Mr. Webster's death – [I was at Rome when the news arrived and I was informed that a meeting of American citizens would be held in the Evening to express their sense of the National loss and that I would be called to preside. I retired to my chamber and prepared the following which I intended to deliver on taking the chair. But, some other arrangement was made by Mr. Cass, the Chargé, and the meeting did not occur. Some resolutions were prepared & published in the name of the American citizens, with which I had nothing to do. I preserve this fragment as expressive of my feelings at the time & under the circumstances under which I heard first of Mr. Webster's death].

My Countrymen,

The melancholy and unexpected intelligence which has afforded the occasion for this

meeting finds me at once unprepared for the position you have assigned to me and for an appropriate expression of the emotions that intelligence naturally awakens in every American bosom.

Journeying to a distant empire to discharge public duty, I availed myself of a brief interval at my command, to examine with my own eyes the ruins of ancient Rome. Little did I expect, while here, amidst the memories of her magnificence and the tokens of her former grandeur, that my attention would be arrested to contemplate a ruin in our own country before which all these sink into comparative insignificance. In her palmyest days Rome had no equal to Daniel Webster. The flowing elocution of Cicero – the chaste style of Tacitus – the energy and vigor of Caesar were all possessed by him to a pre-eminent degree: his the purity of taste which made Atticus illustrious, and united to it, the simplicity and elegance of Pliny. But yesterday all America acknowledged in him the profoundest jurist – the precisest logician – the most persuasive orator. In the courts of law he was regarded as the brightest light of the forum – in the Senate, his voice was listened to by the most experienced with a faith in his counsel which the most accomplished Statesmanship only could have established, and in the Cabinet he was first in fact, as in position. Today a Nation weeps at his bier and nothing remains to America of her distinguished Citizen but the recollection of his virtues and the recorded monuments of his gorgeous genius and massive intellect – the memory of what he was, the hope of what he is. But. Mr. Webster will need no towering St. Angelo to perpetuate his fame. His monument rests upon an entablature as broad as knowledge and rises as high as the light of letters shall shine among men. When the porphyritic sarcophagus shall have crumbled into dust, and the arches which commemorate Imperial triumphs shall have fallen in heaps of undistinguished ruins, pilgrims will still gather around the simple and unostentatious grave of the great Republican to commune, as did Numa with the fabled Egeria, with the Genius of that sepulchre, and to catch something of the science of true Government from the Spirit of the Scene.

It is my fortune to have been associated with Mr. Webster for some years past in public life and, probably more than any here, I have had opportunities of witnessing his devotion to the United States and his unswerving fidelity to those great conservative elements which cement the Union of those States. I know that he was a patriot. Honestly I believe, that he preferred the prosperity, welfare and preservation of the Union to his own life. In the pursuit of these, I have seen him in the darkest moments of political convulsion – moments, when the boldest held their breath, expose the chart by which the constitutional rights of all could be preserved and firmly, and as it were, alone, pronounce his determination to his course thereby and to abide the hazard of offence to all the world. But I am not here to pronounce his eulogy, my countrymen, or to add, by an indulgence in reminiscences of his varied services and exalted character, to your afflicting sense of loss, experienced by his death. His private life, in all the domestic relations, was beautiful. As a father, husband, friend, he was so wont to give vent and way to the

overflowing affections of a generous and susceptible heart, that his domestic circle glowed with the purest and brightest halo ever shed over the family hearth. I have seen him at home, the very centre and focus for the affections of delighted relatives and friends, enlivening, nourishing, warming into life and play, all the finer feelings of the heart by his own example of domestic enjoyment, and by the exceeding simplicity and beauty of his conversation.

It is proper that, participating in the general sense of the National loss, we, who are sojourning in Rome, should express our sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of Daniel Webster, not only by ourselves as Americans, not only by the United States – but by the world. The chair will entertain any motion which it may be the pleasure of gentlemen to offer on this occasion.

[2.04]

O, W

Various events between August 1849 and July, 1853, and other notes

Diary of Occurrences.

Kept by H. Marshall

In August 1852 the Rebels had closely invested the city of Chang-Sha, the capitol of the Province of Hunan. While they closely pressed the siege a detachment from Szechuien came to the relief of the city, an engagement occurred in which the Rebels were worsted and they retreated to Hangshon, where a truce was proposed to last until spring, which proposition See rejected indignantly. He ordered Yëë to occupy Sauchow pass which is the pass leading from Hunan into Kuangking where Yëë remains to this day.

The next thing I see of the rebels they have taken Yohchaw, on the Yangts [sic] river and have deployed right and left to King chau and Hang kau at the mouth of the Han river with the Yangtzkiang. Yohchau is said to have fallen 18 Dec. 1852 and Kingchau in ten days thereafter.

North China Herald of Jan 29. believes the rebels have had possession of Han nang for six weeks prior to its date, but have not moved farther down the Yangtze—

March 22, 1853. The rebels took the city of Nanking and slaughtered every Tartar in the city. They burned three hundred Tartar women in one house.

March 31... The new Emperor was crowned at Nanking—who he is I do not know but his reign is “Tai-ping:--

March 27. I arrived at Shanghai in the steam frigate “Susquehannah” – tried unsuccessfully to ascend the Yangtze kiang and returned to Shanghai on the 6th of April--

April 29 Doctor Parker left Shanghai for Canton in the Steamer Larriston.

April 30. The ship “Plymouth arrived at Shanghai at night, 19 days from Hong Kong—

May 1. Heang the Generalissimo of the Imperial army issues Proclamation to Merchants to trade at usual low prices.

June 22: Heang Yung has been before Nanking for nearly three months and has as yet done nothing. The Rebellion still holds Nanking & Chinkiang foo and Amoy.

July 4. I met Iliang Gov. Genl. at Kaenshaw 20 miles N.E. of the City of Suchow and delivered my credentials.

July 5. Returned after Midnight to Shanghai—24 hours in boats from Shanghai to Kaenshaw. Intervening country highly cultivated and producing Cotton, rice, and a sort of Chinese indigo which makes a blue dye of inferior quality—population entirely civil everywhere.

July 10th – Taoutae informed me he had recieved [sic] letter from Iliang stating my credentials had gone forward by a special Messenger to Peking.

22nd August 1849 – Gov. Amaral was assassinated near Macao by a party of seven Chinese who made their escape, carrying with them his head & only hand.

The Present Emperor’s name is Yih-Chu—his reign is styled Hien-fung –

The Land Tax, Salt duties, and Customs constitute the chief portion of the regular income of the Government – The “fixed Revenue” derivable from these (according to “the Digest of the Statutes”) should be about 45,000,000 Taels say \$60,000,000. – Of this the Land Tax amounts to 33 millions of Taels – the salt Reciepts [sic] at 7,500,000 Taels

Marshall's notes to himself

In the Chinese Government there are Six Boards to wit

- 1st The Board of Ceremonies - A President, Sen'r. & Jun'r. Vice President
- 2nd The Board of Civil Office
- 3rd The Board of Revenue
- 4th The Board of War
- 5th The Board of Punishments
- 6th The Board of Works

To each of these there is a Corresponding Cabinet Secretary, and, besides the Censorate, there are nine High Courts, all of whom correspond, by Memorial, directly with the Throne on public business.

There is a Code referring to matters within the cognizance of each of these Boards respectively – Each of these Boards has a Department corresponding to it – It seems that the whole returns of the Income pass through the Board of Revenue's Department – It is the Department of Finance – has a President and Vice President (as have each of these Boards), and in its management of affairs is, theoretically, checked by the members of the nine high courts, the Officers of Correspondence of the Board, and the Censors.

When a despatch is received by a Board the Secretary opens the cover and hands the despatch to a Clerk to register it and note the date of its arrival, after which it is laid before the President or Vice President of the Tribunal (The Metropolitan Court?)

The Governors, treasurers, and judges of the Provinces are entitled to address the Throne; Intendants also on business matters but not for compliment's sake, and the Chiefs of the nine Metropolitan courts.

C, Sec

A short essay on the Chinese economy, and foreign trade, including opium statistics

There are very few British productions adapted to Chinese consumption. The demand for China teas and silks increases and so the balance of trade was much against England. The question was how could it be restored? Cotton in the raw form could be bought cheaper from the American States, and in the manufactured form it could not supplant silk. The spices were too limited in importance to weigh much in the scale and Chinese taste for them was dying away. Rice could be brought cheaper from other countries and could be produced cheaper in China, and besides when there was a scarcity of bread-stuffs in China, it was apt to be felt also in the Asiatic peninsula.

The Asiatic peninsular colonies of Great Britain were constantly in debt to England, not only for salaries to sinecures which were drawn at home but to fortunes which were being transferred home by persons who had made them in India. The looms of the Deccan⁴ were silent and the exportation of spices was failing. Speculative advisers of the E. I. Company suggested that the opium plant might be turned to account, on the British side of the trade with China.

Before 1796 opium had been regarded as a medicine and as such 300 chests had been annually admitted into the Kingdom on the payment of a small duty. Through some extraordinary influence the demand suddenly increased until it reached 20,000 chests annually. In 1796 the Emperor issued his proclamation to prevent the trade. Smuggling was carried on to an extent before unthought of. The following entries shew the amt. at different periods during 20 years.

	Chests	Value
1816	3,210	\$3,657,000
1820	4,770	8,400,800
1830	18,760	12,900,031
1836	27,111	17,904,248

1. To the Chinese government belongs the obligation of enforcing its own revenue laws.

[2.07]

⁴ The huge upland plain comprising most of India's southern peninsula.

C, H

Geographical facts on five Chinese cities

Rough notes made on China from reading:

Shanghai (Approaching the Sea)—on the Hwangpu (sometimes called the Woopung improperly) contains 250,000 inhabitants. It is situated on the north shore of the river 14 miles above the mouth or where it empties into the Yangtze Kiang. Lat. $31^{\circ} 10' N.$; Long. $121^{\circ} 30' E.$ —In the province of Kiangsu.

—
Ning po (Peaceful-wave City) – Lat. $29^{\circ} 55' N.$; Long. $121^{\circ} 22' E.$ on the Tsieh river, 12 miles from its mouth where it empties into the ocean. About 250,000 inhabitants—in the province of Chekiang.

—
Fuh Chau-fu (Happy City) Lat. $26^{\circ} 5' N.$; Long. $119^{\circ} 20' E.$ on the Min river 34 miles above its debouchure into the ocean Population 600,000. In the province of Fukien—said to be beautiful in surrounding scenery.

—
Amoy (Harbor of Hia) or Hia mun—in Fuhkien province is situate on the island of Amoy at the mouth of the Lungkiang or Dragon River—population 300,000—Lat. $24^{\circ} 40' N.$; Long $118^{\circ} 20' E.$
35 miles to Changchau – 15 miles to mouth of the river

—
Canton –Broad City—on the Chunkiang – lat. $23^{\circ} 7' 10'' N.$; long. $113^{\circ} 14' 30'' E$

[2.08]

C, H

Chinese Real Estate Transfer Practices

Of alienation of Real property by Sale

A deed consists of two parts

1st The sale (Ke) 2nd the Deed-end (Ke-wei)

The Ke or real deed of sale is written on rough paper (called pe-che) by the vendor—the Ke-wei is in a printed form which is procurable from the District Magistrate to whom the Superintendent of Finances for the Province sends a large number and these are on thin paper.

As a security the purchaser usually demands from the seller the delivery also of two or three deeds from those under whom he claims.

A verbal agreement of sale affords no proof -

[2.09]

O, H

Second page of Marshall's analysis of the reasons for the Taiping Rebellion

Draft: many line-outs and corrections. Page 1 lost.

-2-

There is no reason in the idea that the people of China rebel against the Throne upon a principle so trivial and light as the mere choice of persons. There is sufficient assimilation in the races to produce nationality. The approach to identity is as great between these races as between the Chinese of Kwangtung and Shantung. That declaration is only an exponent of some other discontent. It is the badge worn on the outer garment, not the sentiment which inhabits the heart. The people would not paralyze commerce, destroy social order and desolate the dwellings of their neighbors, on such a frivolous ground as the difference between a Chinese and a Tartar occupancy of the throne. That is not the cause of this wide-spread discontent.

Nor does it arise from too great extension in the geographical limits of the Empire, for since the boundaries were the same, the people have been happy. The rebellion nowhere has suggested a dismemberment of the Empire, for all know that the Power of the Tu Tsing Empire may be increased by a continuance of the sovereignty for one hand from the Ablonoi Mountains to the Gulf of Yulin, and from Cashgar to Shanghai.

[2.10]

Measurement

10 Funs	make one Chuen
10 Chuen	“ “ Cheh (or cubit, about 82/100 of an English foot.)
10 Cheh	“ “ Chiang

Weight

10 Candarines	make one Tsin (or Mace).
10 Tsin	“ “ Liang (Tael)
16 Liang	“ “ Catty = 1 1/3 lb
100 Catties	“ “ Picul = 133 1/3 lbs

One Ton = 2240 lbs = 16 Piculs and 80 Catties

[2.11]**C, H****Notes on Japan**

Japan is said to have been discovered in 1542 by a Portuguese bound to Macao, others ascribe the discovery to Marco Polo—which is the truth makes no difference. All agree that the inhabitants were hospitable and friendly.

In 1549 a Japanese fled to Goa, a Portuguese settlement on the coast of Malabar, he was converted to Christianity, and was sent back to his country. Francis Xavier, a Jesuit priest, also then went to Japan. The Sinto, Suto, and Budha [sic] forms of religion then prevailed there, but at first they were very liberal and Xavier was permitted to preach Christianity according to the forms and doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. Xavier remained in Japan three years, made many converts and established several churches. He died in 1551 or 1552, at Hainnan island. The successor of Xavier made 30,000 converts and established fifty churches. In 1591-2 the missionaries of the Romish Church made 12,000 converts. The jealousy of the Heathen priests was excited and they asked the banishment of the Christian priests but the Emperor refused. So things remained until about the commencement of the 17th century. The Portuguese had the Eastern trade, but now came the English and the Dutch. The Portuguese abused them to the Emperor as heretics and advised the crucifixion of an Englishman by name of Adams. On the contrary the Emperor took Adams into favor, and he became a man of high consequence, in fact Grand Vizier--The Roman missionaries of various sects were now actively at work and jealousies, hatred, occurred and in 1597 the Emperor ordered that no more missionaries should come in. Nevertheless they were smuggled in--The Portuguese Bishop at length refused to pay the proper courtesy to a Japanese nobleman and this nobleman became an open foe of the Christians--Persecution now began. In 1614 many Christians were crucified. In 1622 there was a general massacre of the native converts to Christianity--At length treasonable letters

written by a native Christian to the Pope and the King of Portugal inviting an invasion of Japan were taken in a Portuguese ship which was captured by the Dutch—These letters were immediately laid before the Emperor of Japan by the Dutch, and in 1637 the Emperor banished the Portuguese by his Imperial edict and the native Christians rebelled--The churches erected by the Roman Catholics were razed to the ground, and every trace of the religion they had established was sought to be obliterated. The Dutch assisted in this persecution. Forty thousand native Christians were put to death at the storming of their last stronghold and over their grave the Emperor put up this inscription: "So long as the sun shall warm the Earth let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan: and know all that the King of Spain, or the Christian's God, or the Great God of the Universe, if he violate this command shall pay for it with his head." Those who trade with the Dutch are required to take an oath of hatred to & renunciation of Christianity two or three times a year, and to trample under foot the cross and other emblems of the Christian's faith.

Ever since 1637 the Dutch themselves have been confined to a little peninsula in the harbor of Nangasaki [sic] called Desima, 600 feet long by 200 broad.

In 1837 the ship Morrison took some Japanese shipwrecked sailors home. She was fired on & driven from the Japan coast.

In 1841 the U.S. Ship Columbus and the Vincennes visited Japan to try and open commerce and to secure humanity to shipwrecked sailors. Trade was refused.

In 1849 American sailors from the Lagoda were wrecked on the coast of Japan.

[2.12]

C, H

Notes on region of northeastern Kashmir now called Lakakh

Ladak—Cap.[capital] Leh—Area 30,00 S[q. Mi.]; population 150,000

language Tibetan, Religion Buddhism [sic] or Mahomaden [sic].

Rugged & hilly—climate bleak—cold winters & short hot summers

Thermometer going to 135°.

Manufactures – Shawl-wool, from the goat.

productions – wheat, barley, buckwheat, apples, apricots

trade extensive & profitable – Leh is the great thoroughfare for caravan trade from Russia, Yenkund &

Ylapa, to Cashmere & Lahore and India.

800 camel loads wool annually transported over the mountains of Little Thibet on sheep carrying 25 pounds.

Civil government in hands of a Rajah—

Real power is in priesthood—

people drink hard and given to amusements

Polygamy practiced.

[2.13]

C, H

Notes on plan for Indian telegraph line

Distances in India – Track of the Telegraph.

From Calcutta the line is to proceed by the Grand Trunk road to point opposite Benares, where it will cross the Ganges and thence by the Grand Trunk Road to Allahabad. 492 miles – thence to Agra 266 Agra to Delhi via Meerut 180 – Delhi to Lahore 342.

[2.14]

C, H

A note to himself? The orphan quotation marks raise the question

It may be assumed as a doctrine perfectly and incontrovertibly established, that the judicial power of Nation extends to every person and every thing in its territory, excepting only such foreigners as enjoy the right of extraterritoriality, and who consequently are not looked upon as temporary subjects of the state.

“The Empire, united to the domain, establishes the jurisdiction of a Nation in its territories or the country that belongs to it

[2.15]

O, H

On the causes and progression of revolutions
Marshall's hand is shaky (elderly, therefore post-Civil War?)

In violent revolutions the most extreme party becomes supreme--over all the more prudent and rational. This is a fact which has occurred so uniformly as to suggest a regular law of causation. Thus, in the later Roman Commonwealths it was the most popular party, espoused by Julius Caesar, which triumphed over the old aristocracy headed by Cato and the more moderate party headed by Cicero and Pompey. Under Octavius Caesar it ripened into despotism, which seems to be the natural development of radical democracy. In the French Revolution the Mountain⁵ overpowered first the Center, then the limited monarchy gave way to anarchy and ripened into Empire under Napoleon I.

[2.16]

O, H

Miscellaneous Notes

Tsiang-Kim (Koom?) means Major General

King Chau foo is a prefect city on the Yangtse-kiang, in Hupeh province, and is a depot of considerable trade. It fell into the hands of the Rebels on 28th Dec. 1852.

Youchou.foo is a prefect town in the north East corner of Hunan and commands the passage of the Yantze-kiang into Tantung lake.

⁵ A faction of the National Convention which "...owed much of its strength to the radical and popular elements in [Paris]..." and condemned Louis XVI to death. Jackson J. Spielvogel, *Western Civilization* 2nd ed. (St. Paul: West Publishing, 1994), 687.

Section 3.

Essays, articles and other works from identified authors, dated or not, usually copied in Marshall's own hand, included here to indicate the breadth and intensity of his interests

[3.01]

C, H

Wojin, a Mongolian, President of the "Criminal Court of Revision" thus addressed the throne
30th April 1850 –

In an administration no point is prior in importance to the selection of fit persons to serve; and to this end, nothing more essential than a strict distinction between the good man and the worthless. [The "good man," Kiun-toz, as defined in various parts of the classics is a character in whom Religion, learning, and good breeding are combined—a perfect gentleman.]

In the first section of the chapter on Táí, in the Yin-King (ancient Book of symbolic changes) it is said 'With the tall flag-stem pull up also the lesser plants of its kindred; succeed in this and thou shalt prosper.' The present is the season for so doing.

Between the good man and the worthless, while the workings of the mind are concealed, it is hard to distinguish; where the deeds are made manifest, the difference is easily discerned. There are several points by which it may be detected to which of the two classes individuals belong. The good man is for the most part cautious and unobtrusive, the worthless is self-sufficient and intriguing; the good man delights in giving place, the worthless will struggle with his rivals, for advancement; the good man regards the talents of others with fond consideration the worthless sets aside and forces back, those who are of a different policy from himself; the good man's speculations are far extending, his chief object, the well being of the people of the state—the schemes of the worthless affect only the immediate present, his business is with the accumulation of wealth and vexatious oppression. He who is Sturdily immovable from what is right, who allows no feeling of complaisance to influence him, is the good man; the man to whom it is indifferent what he consents to or opposes, who comes forward in any matter or keeps out of the way, as he finds his Master to be pleased or vexed thereat, is the worthless man. He who aids the Sovereign by rebuking him, supplying that in which he has fallen short, and recovering that which he has lost is the good man; he who complaisantly anticipates his Master's inclinations, leading him to indulge in what is wrong and to encourage a spirit of arrogance is the worthless man. He who will bring to notice things unpleasing, or indications of danger, thus alarming to caution the heart of him who fills the Throne, is the good man: he who attributes all that occurs to chance, and who, by his disregard of ominous events, induces a false security, is the worthless man. Thus are they, in all cases, opposed to each other; the one disinterested, the other selfish; the one unprincipled, the other upright.

The wishes of Your Majesty are matter of active curiosity to all: the ear and eye of Your Majesty

are exposed to the misrepresentations of many. Without the power of distinguishing for yourself between things important and trivial, falsehood would be mixed up with fact with an increased frequency, and a personal prejudice in favor of individuals or against them, would too probably interfere with a correct decision as to their employment or removal. Hence, it is said, “the knowledge of mankind is wisdom,” and difficult it is to attain. There is but one means that can be suggested: Apply your mind to study and, of Yourself, be diligent, without relaxation, in your researches, that your understanding may be more enlightened and the Virtue of Your Majesty may be yet more firmly established. Seek for and invite men, really scholars, and by minute and searching enquiries of them, master the principles of the Ta hioh, (Treatise on Knowledge necessary to adults) then examine the writings of the six Classical books and review the track of antecedent generations, imitating in your own person the good examples you find in the history of the latter, pondering in your breast upon the principles of the former, and thence deriving a basis of solidity for your rule and a source whence good government may proceed. Care should be bestowed in the selection of Ministers who are to frequent your presence—even your body-servants and guards should be chosen men. Books not written by the Sages, put away; read them not; avoid works that are unprofitable; and whether in the recesses of your chamber alone, or in the Presence Hall—at all times of your uprising, speaking or acting, in the most trifling matters, use caution and abstain from doing bad works. Thus, there will be ever a safeguard placed completely about the body, a perfect protection against improper impulses of the mind—the understanding of the Sovereign will be enlightened and his body will be strengthened and made firm.

Your Majesty’s slave holds that these rules contain all that is most essential to the Moral regulation of a Prince and the choice of persons proper to an Administration. When these shall be pursued & chosen the Empire will be well governed.

[3.02]

C H

Kiying¹ (22nd May 1851) then gave his view

1. As to the employment of fit servants in the administration:

¹ Or Ch’ing, the Chinese Governor General, Imperial Commissioner, who negotiated the Treaty of Wanghia, 1845. He is the high official whose elusiveness made Marshall’s attempts to receive accreditation from the Emperor so infuriating. See items 1.11 ff.

“The merits of servants employed should be scanned, the manner in which they have borne themselves on occasion ascertained, their past scrutinized, and observation taken of their conduct heretofore.

But few of the loyal have abilities; such as have not are yet worthy of trust, but not of employment. Of the intelligent and capable, again, the greater part are overweening and officious; such may be employed, but are not to be trusted. Some men are of a harder nature than others—some men have more talent and others less: if a man be employed in a capacity for which his talents do not fit him, though he be “the good man,” he will too probably mar his undertaking; if he be employed to do what he is able to perform, though “worthless,” he may still be turned to account. Office is distributed among public servants that each may do his own duty—it is not intended as a mere berth for a number of persons. Whoever is capable of doing his duty in earnest, even though he be “worthless,” should be protected, but he who is averse to taking on him trouble and unpopularity, even though “the good man,” should be otherwise disposed of. The highest class of wisdom it has never been easy, from the earliest times, to attain; men possessing it in the mean degree are even now to be found; but the many are of the lowest order of plodding persons, of a hundred schemes and a thousand shifts, cloaking their lack of excellence, making a display of what excellence they possess—false men, trafficking for a name and courting approbation,—intriguers, making up statements, decieving [sic] and concealing, wise only to benefit themselves and not to benefit the state.

In an administration the great matter is to obtain people fit to serve. The talk of mere scholars is of no avail to the practice of Government. The arguments of men, bigoted in their adherence to the ways of the ancients are inapplicable to the exigencies of the times. No state has ever procured proper persons for Ministers without enjoying good government as a consequence. Let the careful selection of real ability be the paramount consideration with the Boards and thus genuine men will find place and the ordinary and untalented will fail of public employment.

[3.03]

C Sec

A Report on the leader of the Taiping Rebellion, apparently by a translator.

December 2nd, 1852

For P. S. Forbes, Esq.²

Tien teh³ No. 1.

Hung Sau chuen studied books from his early youth, was intelligent beyond comparison & having read all kinds of books, he went to the examinations at fifteen or sixteen years of age. At one of the examinations in Canton he met with an extraordinary looking man, with large sleeves and long head who gave him a book entitled “Huen sei leong quen” – “Good words exhorting [sic] the age” – In this book it was taught that men should truly believe in God, in Jesus, obey the ten commandments, and not worship devils. Afterwards when sick he had a vision or dream in which he received instructions corresponding with those doctrines taught in the book, and therefore he immediately commenced speaking and acting according to the instructions of the book received; and made a stanzas [sic] of poetry on repentance of the following sentiments:

“Confessing our transgressions against heaven,
Our dependence on the full atonement of Jesus;
We should not believe in devils, but obey the holy commandments,
Should worship only the true God, with the full powers of the mind;
Should think on the glories of heaven,
The terrors of hell and compassionate the wicked;
And early turn to the truth, escaping
From the affections and errors of the word.”

Again he made another stanzas saying:—

“Besides the God of heaven there is really no God
Why therefore do simpletons take the false to be true?
Only by the conscience do we perceived [sic] our lost estate
But how shall we come forth of the common errors?”

Then he travelled in Kwangsi province, and made several books exhorting the people to forsake the false and turn to the true.

Some time after he received the book above reffered [sic] to he went to the chapel in Canton where he continued for several months, memorizing the Scriptures and studying their doctrines. After which he went again to Kwangsi and published the doctrines acquired which were very generally believed. (Here the narrator tells of some some [sic] matters which look superstitious

² Paul S. Forbes, U.S. Consul at Canton

³ Chinese title for Hong Xiuquan, the instigator and titular head of the Taiping Rebellion

about his working miracles, foretelling events which afterwards came to pass etc. of which if true we have not the evidence and hence we shall omit translating that part of his narrative until farther informed – Tr.) He goes on to say—“It was not the original design to raise a rebellion, but from the encroachments and injuries of the officers and soldiers to which we could not submit there was no alternative left us. The chief therefore at leisure wrote a few couplets and pasted them upon the walls as follows:

“Believe truly in Jesus, and ultimately have happiness;
Turn away from God, and ultimately have misery.”

Another:

Keep the Holy commandments, worship the true God; then
when the decapitator comes, Heaven will be early assended.” [sic]

The common people who believe in devils when they come
to lay down their heads, will find it difficult to escape hell.”

It would be difficult to tell of all the essays he wrote which he early perfected and left them at home.

The narrator.⁴ No. 2.

In a second paper the narrator, who is a friend of the chief and of the same surname, gave some account of himself and of the rise and progress of the religion taught by the chief. He says:

“I have been with the chief from about 1840. During that period he received the book referred to entitled “good words exhorting the age”—In this book were taught the almighty power of God, the miracles of Jesus, and the temptations of the devil. He thoroughly explained the whole to me. Then when he was sick, and his spirit traveled in heaven, what he saw there he also fully explained to me. Then like one in a dream, just perceiving, like one asleep just awaking I wept, unawares the tears coming forth. I then took the picture of Confucius which was in the school room and the idol images in the house, and cast them all away and frequently spoke to my father, brothers, relations and friends and connections that they might know the truth. Among them there were some who heard and immediately believed; some heard and opposed; some heard and knew that it was true, but did not dare to obey; some at first did not believe, but afterwards perceived its truth, and as those who believed at first, obeyed. Those believers whom the Holy Spirit had converted, united and destroyed a great number of images; but those who did not believe, whose

⁴ Possibly Hong Rengan, the cousin and long-time associate of Hong Xiuquan.

hearts were hardened by the devil opposed and persecuted us. About the year 1846 we heard that a foreign brother was preaching the gospel at the chapel in Canton, at this I was glad and rejoiced. I left the school room and did not teach; and three of us went travelling and preaching the same as we did at home. Then I perceived the truth of what the scriptures say — “A prophet is not without honor save in his own country and in his own house.” Then we bent our course towards Kwangsi, and the various places there where many listened and sought to worship God. We went from Kwangtung to Kwangsi province several times. And though some believe in Kwangtung, yet not so many as in Kwangsi.

At the commencement of our preaching the officers and soldiers admitted that the preachers were good men and did not fight us; only wishing as they professed to drive out thieves. Yet soon we were indicted and two of our number—Wong and Loo persecuted unto death. And fighting commenced, all because we taught men to love one another and to do good. Tens of thousands of the people were soon assembled as a wing of protection. How could we but esteem these fathers and brothers as the power of heaven to whom the true policy would be to join ourselves?

Now daily we publish the true doctrines and daily we increase in numbers, and those with whom we fight have to succumb. The strict rules which have been established in the army are upright, outside of the army among the people men’s hearts bow submission, while the fame of our success daily extends. Myself and fellow preachers have been sent among the villages to teach conversion, and to make known this business extensively; but contrary to expectation men’s hearts are not united. This matter has leaked out, and the covetous officers and vile understrappers [sic] wish to seize us; but fortunately we have obtained the favor of our heavenly Father and brethren, and escaped their snares and nets. Although thus at present we seriously think that our hearts may ultimately be united and this doctrine extend every where!”

[3.04]

C, Sec

A Paraphrase from an address by Sir John Bowring⁵

The Zoological Society of London offers to defray the expenses of transmitting any really new or

⁵ British Superintendent of Trade at Hong Kong; interim Plenipotentiary during Sir George Bonham’s home leave, who “claimed to understand two hundred languages, and to speak fluently in one hundred. He also wrote the hymn *In the Cross of Christ I Glory*.” William J. Reynolds, *Songs of Glory: Stories of 300 Great hymns and Gospel Songs* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 87.

scarce animals on their being delivered at Liverpool. The Horticultural Society keeps Mr. Fortune in the field making collections and Her B. M.'s Government gives a garden and undertakes a moderate expense at Hong Kong to serve as a depôt for the introduction of plants to China and for the transmission of plants to England.

The English Administration conveyed a general authority to Dr. Bowring for the encouragement of scientific and literary pursuits in China—

The Chinese Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has a mineralogical Cabinet, also a Museum “to concentrate and thus subject to observation in a condensed view the more and interesting [sic] productions of the natural world.”

Bowring's opening address

[3.05]

C, H

A Biographical Essay by Thomas Wade, British Vice Consul in China

Sketches of eminent Chinese

Lin Tsih sū, was born in 1785 in the Department of Fuhchau foo. In 1804 he took his Master's degree and in 1811 his Doctor's degree; was advanced yet higher after his Examination and commanded to study the Manchoo language. He was employed variously as a Literary officer until 1816 when he was appointed assistant Moderator at the Triennial Examination for Degrees in the Province of Kiangsi. In 1820 he became one of the two Censors representing Kiangnan, and in the same year Intendant of one of the four Circuits of Cheh Kiang. In 1822 he resigned on account of ill health, but after a short interval was reappointed to one of the five Circuits of Kiang Su, and in a few months was made acting Commissioner of Finance for that Province.

In 1826 he was Chief Superintendent of the rivers of Cheh Kiang and Kiangsu (a most important trust) when his Mother's death obliged him to return home to mourn the three years prescribed by law. Before this term expired an Imperial order directed him to assume the supervision of certain earthworks on the Southern river, and presently he was moved to Shanghai to consult with other officers upon the expediency of allowing grain to be transported by sea instead of by the Grand Canal. His health again failing he was permitted to return to his native province to remain until the end of his term of mourning, and while living in retirement on this account he was permitted to decline a Salt Inspectorship.

In 1829 he was sent to Shensi as Judge and Acting Treasurer. The death of his father now put him in mourning, but in 1830 he was made Treasurer of Hupeh and was soon transferred to Honan in the same capacity, thence to Nankin in 1831, and thence again to the Superintendency of the Yellow river.

In 1832 he was Governor of Kiang-si, in 1835-6, Governor General of the Hu-Kwang (Hunan and Hupeh). In 1838 he was summoned to Peking and the privilege was accorded to him of riding on horseback within the precincts of the Imperial residence. In 1839 he received his seal as High Commissioner and proceeded to Kwangtung to put down the opium trade. This special appointment obliged him to decline the appointment of Gov'. General of the Liang Kiang but that of the Liang Kwang was soon conferred on him to be held together with the High Commission. His energetic action at Canton brought on the English War and the news of the troubles reaching Peking he was recalled to Peking in Sept. 1840 to be tried for his life as one who had increased the mischief he was sent to remedy. He left Canton in May 1841 and was banished to Ili. In October 1841 he was however restored to the office of Superintendent on the Yellow River, and in 1842 he was reported as dead and Imperial orders were issued praising the deceased in the highest terms but this Imperial Manifesto was no doubt a forgery. In 1845 a work on foreign states from his pen appeared at Suchau. In February 1845 he was gazetted as Governor of Shensi and afterwards as Governor General of Shensi and Kansuh pro-tem. In 1847 he was made Governor General of Yunnan and Kweichau from which he retired in 1850.

In all these public trusts Lin was acquitted of all suspicion of corruption which is the highest compliment that can be paid to a Chinese statesman. He filled in turn five of the eight Governor-Generalships of the Empire, so that from first to last he has ruled over more than half of the people of China.

He is said to have bestowed much attention upon the wants of the common people which is a rare virtue here, and he was the first son of Han who had the boldness and patriotism to point out to his countrymen their inferiority to foreigners and to invite their attention to the necessity of improvement especially in the Art of War. This was the main object of his work before alluded to, which has passed already through several editions.

Worn out, he at length retired from public life by Imperial permission on the 3rd Sept 1850 which fact was thus gazetted "Lin Tsih sū Governor General of Yunnan and Kweichau should return home and tend himself." He suffered from some ailment of the stomach and chest which had afflicted him for a long time and now gained ground on his constitution, and he died near Fuhchau foo in 1852.

Canton, the focus of all foreign traffic before the war, must now gradually yield its priority to

Shanghai. Not only does the latter possess a more convenient anchorage, but, besides being within easy distance of the principal tea lands, it is otherwise so placed as to exercise a far wider influence, than Canton, upon the internal trade of a nation beholden to its rivers and canals rather than to its seaboard for its mercantile importance. Its Maritime customs are comparatively insignificant, and it is taken for granted that our chief desideratum, so long as our intercourse is as limited as at present, is access to a point from which our merchandise may be scattered with the greatest speed over the farthest extent of country. This we have in a great degree in Shanghai. Shantung appears to be without a seaport of consequence; so that between Canton and the Peiho, there is scarcely a coast-town of any magnitude upon which it would be worth our while to experiment, with the exception of Chinchew and Hangchafoo, the navigation of the river approaching which latter city is, in a commercial point of view, more impracticable than even that of the Min below Fuhchafoo, the Capital of Fuhkien. The grand channel of inland communication in China is the Yangtsz'Kiang, at the mouth of which stands Shanghai. [Inaccurate, for Shanghai is 14 miles from the Yangtsz' on the Hoangpo river, and 70 miles above the mouth of the Yangtsz', though vessels drawing 22 feet of water can go to the dock at Shanghai.] After traversing Ig-chuen, the richest of all the provinces in its various produce, it either skirts or crosses the most thriving districts of the Empire, and at Wuchangfoo, some 600 miles from the sea, is nearly a league in breadth, and of depth to bear junks of considerable tonnage. This city and two others (Hankau and Hannang) cluster around its confluence with the chief stream that drains the country between the artery itself and the Hoang-ho; they lie in the centre of a circle of lakes, spread over a region intersected by streams and ducts, feeding and fed by these inner waters; when released from these, the great river, then first named the Yangtsz'(Son of the Ocean) rolls eastward, washing the walls of some of the principal cities in Kiangsi, Ngan-hui and Kiang-su (in which last it is crossed by the Grand Canal), and receiving tribute from rivers on which the others are situated. It is surely on these shores rather than along the comparatively unfrequented coast-line, that the British Merchant should look forward to establishing a trade. He must wait, it is true, until his imports shall have become more generally necessary to the Chinese before he can expect a market extensively remunerative. At the present moment the only article that would seem to command a high price, however great the amount of supply, is the contraband drug: the produce of our looms appears to be called for as a luxury, but not as indispensable to a people whose mechanical skill has for centuries enabled them to make adequate provision for their need. But this lack of eagerness is not less conspicuous at Canton than elsewhere.

Note on China by Thos. Wade, H.B.M. Vice consul.

[3.06]

C, H

An Analytical Essay by Thomas Wade, British Vice Consul

China

This vast empire is surely, though it may be slowly, decaying. It has in many respects retrograded since the commencement of this dynasty, and in none are we aware that it has made any sensible progress. Its people are not at this moment better versed in War, than when in 1600 a few handfuls of Japanese overran the South Eastern provinces; close imitators of mini details, they have gained nothing from Europeans in this chapter of learning, save the use of a rude artillery, which they have not the science to employ in the field, and which is so imperfectly fashioned as to be more dangerous on their ramparts to themselves than to their enemy. The same may be said of their small arms; and these have by no means superseded their bows and arrows, to the exercise of which they devote as much, if not more, time and attention than to the gunnery or ball practice. In Painting and Sculpture they are precisely where they were centuries ago: the one is not more symmetrical or better proportioned, nor is the other less unnatural in coloring or inaccurate in delineation of form. The arts once peculiarly their own have declined; neither their silks nor porcelain, in their own estimation, equal in quality those of former years, and their mechanical contrivances remain but as monuments of an originality which would appear to have exhausted itself by its earlier efforts. They appear never to have investigated the principles of any of the discoveries by which the requirements of their Agriculture, Architecture or Navigation were first satisfied; the means which their genius suggested to meet their immediate wants they adopted, and, without the aid of theory, perfected;--in some instances not surpassed, if attained, by the most scientific of nations—but errors and defects were left untouched; no spirit of enquiry quickened the dormant powers of their reason, and the lack of a habit of reflection prevented their pushing Invention beyond a certain necessary point. Thus, the Compass, in their hands produced none of the results that followed upon its discovery at a much later date, in the West; their printing is still behind the German press of the 16th century, and, in the British War, their gun powder was found so inferior that natives of Macao⁶ were said to have been called into Canton to superintend its manufacture.

⁶ Note in journal: "It was a native of the United States." Authority unattributed.

When knowledge was placed before them by the Jesuits, they availed themselves of its riches only so far as these served to gratify their National pride, or had the air of increasing their Security. A survey of the Empire, a better regulation of the Calendar, and the armament of fortresses, untenable an hour against a European army, are all the visible results of the instruction imparted to them by these missionaries. In Medicine, Botany, or Natural History, they adhere to a clumsy mixture of truth and fable handed down to them by their forefathers; and of History, Geography and Astronomy they may be pronounced practically ignorant, and incapable of an appreciation.

A Chinese is a short-sighted utilitarian; industrious and gain-seeking, he strives assiduously to accomplish his object—this achieved, he does not trouble himself about cause and effect; and, it may be added, that, in the present day, were his interest to incline him to an examination of principles, the tenuity of his intellect is such, that a difficulty, quickly to be solved by the reason of a European, would be beyond the grasp of his comprehension. (Note: Such is not my opinion, though the Chinese might want the means for the want of preparatory Education and practice in the exact sciences.) The Chinese are the most reading people in the world and are possessed of a literature of 2000 years growth, and confessedly indebted to it for a moral superiority over all their Asiatic brethren. It is a restriction to this diet of their mind that has denied them an appetite for wisdom not supplied by it, and has impoverished the thinking power of its zealous admirers. The example of the earlier sages must have first excited the respect which has ever since been entertained for their compositions; to the singular approximation of their maxims to the truths of Revealed Religion the Nation was indebted for such excellence as is to be found in its code of morality, and to the adoption of this as the basis of legislation, again in accordance with the doctrines of their teachers, for a scheme of government which has remained longer unchanged than that of any other kingdom in the world.

The duration of the Chinese Empire in its integrity is doubtless greatly due to the isolation of its vast territories, the ample riches of which, circulating with ease among themselves were found to be amply adequate to the supply of the luxuries and wants of their inhabitants, unencumbered with foreign relations, and for many centuries beyond the reach of the arms of any nation save Japan, which appears to have confined, themselves, to piratical incursions along the coast; but the immutability of its rule must be chiefly ascribed to the active principles of Dependence and Subordination on the national mind and conscience, laid down in the writings of Confucius. These, on the other hand, although they enjoined elevation of mind as an object to be sought, contained nothing in their matter or form calculated to expand the reason or to animate a spirit of research. They merely formalized what is taught by the light of nature, adding but little of good or

evil, and the highest praise that can be bestowed upon the precepts contained on them, is, after all, that they are less open to objection than any other unassisted coinage of human fallibility. The system of education pursued for ages past enjoining, as it has done, a perfect conversance with these and similar books has excluded all other erudition, or condemned such as is not held profane by its side, to a far inferior place; it has only exercised the faculties of memory and imitation, and the scholars of each succeeding age, discouraged, if not prohibited by the general taste, from swerving from the beaten track of thought, have but varied the words of those before them, whose sentiments they have piously recast: when not tamely moral, their Philosophy is tediously puerile and unattractive, their History, except in the guise of romance, barren and ill-arranged; and their Poetry, rich in figurative beauties is remarkable for vagueness and repetition. Not only is the mind, however, incapacitated from grappling with the mysteries of Science, by the devotion of its chief strength to study so profitless in itself, but the subordinate means of acquiring and retaining scientific knowledge are also defective. The authors, with whom it costs a native many years to form even a moderate acquaintance furnish no terms which may record the steps or express the functions of science, the sounds of another tongue, whose terminology it may hence be necessary to adopt, the oral language is particularly ill-fitted to represent; and it is almost impossible, while the present system of numeration, which is as cumbrous as that of ancient Rome, continues in vogue, to employ symbols in prosecuting the study of any branch of mathematics.

With little inducement to advance of itself, the first foreign temptation to self-improvement was speedily removed from the nation. In a kingdom constituted, like China, the impulse given by the Sovereign must be the most powerfully felt; and shortly after the commencement of this Dynasty, there was reason to hope that the encouragement given to solid learning by the literary Emperor, whose reign is known as the period of Kang-hi, would have been attended with beneficial effects; but the disputes of the Jesuits and Dominicans ended in the annihilation of their influence, which has never since been restored. In the succeeding reigns, there have been persecutions more or less severe. In some parts, since the promulgation of the Edict of Tolerance in 1845-6, strange preachers have been arrested and sent out of the country and native Christians cruelly maltreated. There are, nevertheless, French, Spanish, and Italian friars in all parts of China and its dependencies, but of an entirely different class, in point of Education, from those formerly ejected on political grounds. Baulked of its only chance of amelioration, namely, the introduction of new and profitable matter of thought, before it could have made much progress, moral or intellectual, the national mind relapsed—it could hardly remain stationary—and, unaided by Enlightenment of a higher order, it has accordingly become vicious; the outward form of much that is admirable is

retained, and admission of what is right, and self-condemnation of error, find utterance in language of stereotyped perfection: but to judge from the tone of the novels now read and written, which are the only picture within our reach of modern social life in China, gratification of the senses is the chief object of all ranks, and this unrelieved by aught that deprives sensuality of its grosser aspect—for the mind appears even less concerned in the Flowery Land than elsewhere, and the rare contact of this people with those of more polished states has deprived them of the opportunity of softening their licentiousness by refinement such as, in days of yore, Asia communicated to Greece, and Greece in her turn reflected upon Rome. These latter, it is true, were not advantaged by a change which completed the obliteration of what traces were left of primitive simplicity; but, in the upper moneyed classes of China, it is to be feared that the virtues of a ruder state have long since disappeared, and the introduction of the comfort and cleanliness of civilized life would be gain to those who are not the more pure because the less refined. The practice of selling rank must hourly recoil on the government in the maladministration of unfit persons who have by this means climbed into place; and it is a constant cause of discontent and loud complaint by the lettered men, whom it disappoints of their right, and subjects, in common with the mass, to the exactions of those who are anxious to reap with all speed the benefit of their investment. This error is always quoted as a chief one among those that have led to the downfall of previous dynasties; and its manifest injustice, and necessarily increasing mischief, joined with the poverty of the exchequer, and consequent recurrence to so disastrous a remedy apparently more frequently than of old—incline one to apply to the State the words of its great philosopher, spoken of himself a few days before his death

“The Mountain is crumbling,
The strong beam is yielding.”

Still, widely as the grievance must be felt, it may be long ere the outcry against it is sufficiently general to menace the security of the present line; the difficulties of intercommunication are great, news of all kinds travels slowly, and the propagation of written opinions, save in placards, which only affect an immediate neighborhood, seems less a habit with this people than with any other who have the command of a press. The selfishness of clanship is also opposed to a community of feeling; a district or province is not supposed to be much interested in the oppression or affliction of the one adjoining it, as was shewn in 1842, and the inhabitants of many a country-side wage real and endless war with their nearest neighbors. A revolution would but transfer the present form of government to other hands, as the Chinese are unacquainted with the nature or merits of any other, and complain neither of the present mode of governing them nor of

the laws, in which they are not stated to discern any defect, but simply of an abuse of the latter. There is not yet to be detected any prognostic of the Empire's immediate dissolution. Its sovereign neither contemplates nor attempts any sort of aggression, such as that of the latter monarchies of the Ming dynasty, the strife ensuing of which after the struggle of half a century, seated his ancestor upon the throne. In Peking—the Paris of his dominions) he maintains a large army, by various ties affected towards him rather than to any Chinese aspirant to the throne, and he has been at pains to conciliate his Mohamedan [sic] colonies. The pirates whose presence in the South has moved some, at home and abroad, to prophecy [sic] the speedy downfall of this dynasty, have risen, it is true, from the command of a few vessels to that of the formidable fleet in the last four or five years; but have never taken a place of political importance and the remainder that escaped the Men of War last autumn have tendered their submission and are dismissed to their homes.

Wade's (unpublished) note on China.

The following appear to be Marshall's own notes, on the same page

The above author says the force in the metropolis cannot be far short of 80,000 men—

Note: A Gazette states that in Hunan in the last 47 years the sale of rank has yielded 4,269,190 Taels. In Cheh Kiang in a period of seven years ending in March 1849 there was raised in the same manner 1,962,550 Taels. Thus is kept up the pay of the official establishment of the province—The provincial pay & allowance to civil & military officers is 242,824 Taels per annum in Hunan, and 280,364 in Chehkiang.

The poppy is now cultivated in nine provinces of China, to wit Yunnan, Szechuen, Kwangsi, Kuang-tung, Kweichau, Hunan, Hupeh, Cheh Kiang, and Fuh Kien. — The crop in 1847 was said to be from 8000 to 10000 piculs—The manufacture is yet in its infancy.—The native is used to adulterate the foreign drug and is coarser & more pernicious to the constitution. That most esteemed for its flavor comes from Kansuh.

[3.07]

C, H

An Essay by Thomas Wade, British Vice Consul

The Gentry and Elders of Canton.

In the contest about entering Canton these were the real adversaries of the foreigners. The latter are men who have passed their 60th year and whose voices, by reason of the experience of their age, have weight whether raised in their village synod, or in their larger assemblies. The former are graduates who have earned or purchased their degrees; officers who find themselves in their native province on sick leave or during periods of mourning; expectants of office; and those who have retired from public life or who have returned from exile—unemployed, but retaining the insignia of rank. They too, who are come of an Official stock, and Bachelors or Masters, holding a wooden seal as heads of townships or justices of the Peace, are all entitled to be designated by the term translated by the term “the Gentry.” [The Kiensang, or Bachelor by purchase, pays but 120 Taels (£40) for his grade and he may stand for the Masters degree, which is sometimes given, by grace, but cannot be purchased.] Many of the above class are engaged in trade or closely connected with Commercial Men. From the clique connected with the Ex-Hongists, as persons not only desirous of prohibiting greater freedom of trade than is at present enjoyed by the foreigner, but naturally anxious to see it revert to its ancient limited channel, a determined opposition to opening the city was to be looked for. But apart from the motives of this clique, the Gentry are not supposed to take a friendly interest in the foreigner. They know nothing of him but as a trader whose vocation it accords with their national theory to despise; whom, for his want of acquaintance with their manners and literature, they regard as uncivilized; and of whom they have heard and seen nothing that should incline them to give him a farther footing in their country than was granted him by those from whom they inherit their depreciation of his general merits.

It is through the Gentry that all public good in China is effected or misfortune alleviated, and honors are carefully bestowed on all who are recommended to the Throne as having ably seconded the Government in arresting the progress of a calamity. This class was indefatigable in moving the mercantile bodies to demonstrations of hostility and inciting the mass to arm themselves to protect the sanctity of the city.

With such influence as these evidently possess, it is almost vain to expect that the minority in a popular question will give utterance to their opinion, and as to their acting upon it, there is enough of proof on record of the penalty incurred by those who have been rash enough to secede from a general league, or to refuse to aid the intent of a confederation.

It is not to be expected of the commissioner, when the Emperor writes that “the will of the people is not to be thwarted to comply with the wishes of the men from afar,” would warmly plead the cause of the foreigner or become the advocate of the treaty. The Natives generally reply to enquiries as to their aversion to opening the city of Canton, that the citizens feel alarm for the

inviolability of their Harems—that they fear, once we have free access to the city, we should end by keeping it altogether—appropriating the duties—and as an invariable last resort they fall back upon the reluctance of the mass to change what has been long established.

Li-Siang Kung, a graduate, was decapitated on the charge of corresponding with the foreigners on the subject of entering Canton in 1848.—

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23rd Feb. 1848 the Emperor's council at Peking sent instructions to Su of which this is an extract:

“The charge of a Province is an important trust. By preventing disaffection on the part of the people, the Commissioner will be enabled to repress the insolence of the barbarians. If therefore any troubles arise out of the intercourse between them and the people, he must not go out of the way to comply with the humors of the former, as by so doing he will alienate the hearts of the latter. In deliberating on any change which the times may require let him always bear in mind, if he would not be faithless to his trust, that he must consolidate the affections of the people and keep a check upon the barbarians.”

“At Canton, we have no reason to expect that any Minister, even if he should possess it, will venture to exhibit to the people a feeling of favor towards the foreigner, whom they detest.”

Wade's Note

[3.08]

C, H

Quotations from an author named Davis, not otherwise identified

China

“The chief functionary of the British Crown in China was to correspond with the Chinese high officers, both at the Capital and in the provinces, on terms of perfect equality.”

Davis, Vol. 2. p. 85.

The principal seat of the Russian trade is at Kiachta adjoining the Mongolian frontier establishment Mai mai chin – Second in importance is at Kokand by caravans from Orrenburg. There the Chinese merchants from Shanse and Toorkistan meet the Russian traders and traffic with them.

Davis, 2nd Vol. p. 93

[3.09]

C, H

Quotations copied from the "Daily News" [London?]

"There can be little doubt that in the event of a serious and prolonged war between Russia and Turkey, the former would be certain to extend still farther the encroachments she has made upon Turkey in the region where the Araxes and Tigris have their sources.

This is an eventuality which would deeply affect the commerce of England" Further encroachments of Russia on the frontiers of Kars and Erzroum⁷

would materially affect the lucrative and growing commerce we (England) carry on with central Asia by the route of Trebizonde.

There are two routes by which trade can find its way into central Asia from the Eastern coasts of the Black Sea: one, by the Sea of Azoff, to the East of the mountainous country inhabited by the Circassians and Georgians—the other by Trebizond, turning the extremity (southern) of those mountain masses. During the middle ages both routes were traversed by Genoese mercantile adventurers. After the irruption of the Khazars and the expulsion of the Genoese from their Black-sea settlements, central Asiatic commerce, for a considerable time, took the long overland route from Smyrna. For somewhat more than a century, the more easterly of the two routes mentioned has fallen into the hands of Russia, while the other has remained in the possession of the Porte⁸

. The Russian route though incomparably the more practicable of the two by nature, and the more easily susceptible of being made at once safe, speedy and commodious, remains to this day hermetically sealed against us, while the trade-returns show that along the Turkish route, notwithstanding the rough mountain country over which it is carried, an important trade has developed itself which is still on the increase. While at the Turkish Trebizonde the merchant is left free and unfettered, in the Russian ports he is retarded and pillaged for the profit of bumboat men—douaniers—in short every kind of peculating vermin the Government can let loose upon him. If the Russians are allowed to annex Ezroum and Trebizonde—an object which they keep constantly in view and toward the attainment of which they have been creeping, serpent like, for years, the route to Central Asia, along which our commerce now finds its way with so much profit to the nation will be as effectually blocked up as that by the Caspian. The integrity of the Ottoman Empire in which England is interested relates as much to the far east of Asiatic Turkey

⁷ Cities in northeastern Turkey.

as to Constantinople. Russia has forward [sic] her frontier between the Caspian and Black Sea far to the south of Constantinople. Her armies have turned the flank of Turkey and it is feared she will avail herself of some period of confusion between Persia and Turkey to make advantages from this position – South Eastern Turkey depends on the independent Circassians.

(Daily News) –

[3.10]

C, H

Extracts from the “China Mail” newspaper

Tai-ping (Great Peace) is the name of the Rebel chief.

China Mail Jan 28

Hung-sau-chuen – is the name of the chief according to the narrator to Rev. Mr. Roberts. Roberts styles him Tien-teh and writes that the rebellion is resistance to persecution because Tienteh and his followers proclaim the doctrines of Christianity. Tienteh pretends to have had a vision in which the truths of Christianity were revealed to him. The narrator says that there are many believers in Kwangsi, not so many in Kwang-tung province.

Extract

China Mail Jan 28.

The doctrines of Confucius obtained currency in Japan at an early day – They are called “The Suto” or “the way of philosophers.” Sutoism proclaims five points of duty to wit D’sien, Gi, Re, Isi, and Sin. the Maxims of which are 1. Live virtuously. 2. Do right. 3. Be civil. 4 Be prudent. 5 Preserve a good conscience.” Sutoism prescribes no worship and encourages none. It not only permits suicide but in certain cases commends it. It is said that Sutoism “while refining the sense of honor to a keen susceptibility, nurtures pride of heart, arrogance and self complacency to an extraordinary growth” Sutoism prevails among the higher classes of Japan – and their vanity and superciliousness to foreigners – mortification under insult and ..?.. suicide are traced to this cause.”

⁸ The government of the Ottoman Empire.

Section 4.

**Financial records and correspondence regarding Marshall's personal accounts and
those of the Legation**

[4.01]

O, Sec

Statement of account; receipt for payment in full, from John Miller, U.S. Fiduciary Agent in London

<u>Original</u>		To John Miller, Dir.		
1852		£	s	d
July 17	Postage to Canton		8	
	Freight " "		6	
22	Postage from " 32/-8/-	2	-	-
	Advice with Bill of Lading		2	
27	Charges on Parcel from Canton			
28	Postage of 29 Pamphlets @/6 each		14	6
	Carriage of parcel to Edinburgh		2	2
	" " " " Cheltenham		1	6
Aug ¹ 17	Freight to Canton		6	
	Postage " "		8	
Sep ^r 16	Freight " "		6	
	Postage " "		4	
24	" from "	2	14	
Oct ^r 16	Freight to Canton		6	6
	Postage to "		8	
21	" from "	1	14	
Nov ^r 19	" to Canton 14/- Freight to D ^o 6/-	1		
20	Postage from Canton		10	
Dec 2	" from Malta (Mr. Marshall)		8	9
16	Freight to Canton 6/- Postage to D ^o 10/-		16	
27	Postage from Canton		12	
	Port Charges on Despatch Bags to			
	& from L'pool during the Half Year	1		
		£	14	13 11
London December 31st 1852				
	Received of The Honorable Humphrey Marshall Commissioner of the United States to China, the payment of the preceding amount in full on account of the Legation.			
	John Miller ¹			
	£14.13.11			

¹ Fiduciary agent, presumably an employee of Baring's Bank, in London.

[4.02]

O Sec

A Letter from the Acting Secretary of State to the British Bank acting as agent for U.S. funds

Original Signatures of Conrad and Marshall in their own respective hands

Duplicate

Department of State

Washington

9th September, 1852

Messrs: Baring, Brothers & Co. Bankers of the United States, London.

Gentlemen: Mr. Humphrey Marshall, appointed Commissioner of the United States to China, is authorized to draw upon you for the amount of his salary as it may become due, from and after the 4th of August, 1852, at the rate of nine thousand dollars per annum; and for the contingent expenses of the Legation, not to exceed five hundred dollars.

You are requested to honor his drafts accordingly. For your security, his signature is annexed.

I am, Gentlemen, Very respectfully, Your obedient servant, C.M. Conrad, Acting Secretary. [of State]

The signature of

Humphrey Marshall

[4.03]

O, Sec/W-Sig

From John Miller, United States Fiduciary Agent in London

Miller's Receipt for postage—Original forwarded August 7—by "Lady Mary Wood" (British Steamship)

<u>Duplicate</u>		
Legation of the United States at Canton		
		To John Miller, D'r

1853				
Jan 18	Postage to Canton		16	
	Freight to D°		9	6
22	Postage from D°		16	
Feb 2	" to Canton		6	
	" to D°		8	
17	Freight to D° 4/6 Postage to Canton 12/-		16	6
21	Postage from Canton		18	
Mar 1	Freight to D° 3/- Postage to D° 8/-		11	
8	Postage from D°		2	
18	" to Canton 6/- Freight to D° 4/6		10	6
22	" from Canton 12/- 4/-		16	
	Port Charges on Despatch Bags to and from Liverpool		10	
		£	6	19 6

London, 31st March 1853

Received of His Excellency Humphrey Marshall Commissioner of the United States to China
payment of the above amount in full on account of the Legation.

John Miller

£6/19/6

[4.04]

O, Sec/W

Receipt for expenses

Shanghai May 12th 1853.

Received from the Honorable Humphrey Marshall, Commissioner of the United States of
America the sum of \$3. Three dollars for a camphor wood box, for the use of the Legation of the
United States in China

Kiang fung's. X mark

[Then follows the same text in Chinese characters]

[4.05]

C H-Sig

pr. "Lady Mary Wood"²

June 2.

Mr. Marshall to Mr. John Miller of London.

Legation of the United States of America

Shanghai 30 May, 1853

Mr. John Miller: Sir; I enclose herewith the second of a Draft for £19.17.11 to pay the amount of your acc; also, a copy of my letter enclosing the first. In case of accident, which I have reason to fear, since some of my dispatches were lost on the "Larriston" on the night of the 2d. inst off Fuhchau, you will please to comply with the suggestions made in that letter.

I am very respectfully

Your obedient servant

Humphrey Marshall.

Copy Enclosed in the above—

Legation of the United States of America

Shanghai 29. April 1853

Mr. John Miller, Sir: I have the satisfaction to enclose herewith a draft on Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co. for the sum of £19.17.11. — the amount of your acc, rendered per letter of January 15th 1853. against this Legation, to balance on the 31st December last.

You have only furnished a receipt to me for sum of £14.13.11., and it will be necessary for you to forward, by return mail, a duplicate receipt for the balance of £5.4.0. (which Doctor Parker agrees does remain due to you) in order that I may have a proper voucher, at the Auditor's office at Washington, for this expenditure.

I have some cause to complain of the manner in which my letters and papers arrive. By the last "overland" I received letters under date of Sept. 1852, and now I have no dates later than December from the United States.

I am your obedient servant,

(signed) Humphrey Marshall

² A steamship

[4.06]

C H-Sig

Mr. Marshall to Messrs Baring Brothers & Co.
(Copy)
Original despatched June 2. pr. "Lady Mary Wood"

Shanghai 1st. June 1853

Messrs Baring Brothers & Co.

Gentlemen: Last month I wrote you and enclosed your letter of Credit back to you with a request, that you would transfer the sum remaining due to me thereon to Messrs. Corcoran & Riggs of Washington City or to their credit, and that you would advise them of that fact. The sum was some small amount (a few shillings) over (£200) two Hundred pounds, Sterling. The exact amount you will be able to tell by referring to the Sum advanced on your letter by Green & Co. at Paris and by your correspondent at Rome: for, I drew no more.

My letter to you was despatched by the Steamer "Larriston" I think, and so has probably gone to the bottom of the China Seas, where your letter of credit has certainly become liquid-ated. Do me the favor, however, to transfer the balance due on said letter to Messrs. C. & R. and oblige

Your very obedient servant,

Humphrey Marshall

N. B. to the amount of £200 I should have Exchange, so as to realize that sum at Canton – I mean, of course, from home.

[4.07]

C, H-Sig

per. Lady Mary Wood

June 2

Mr. Marshall to Messrs. Corcoran & Riggs.

Messrs. Corcoran & Riggs:

Shanghai China June 1, 1853

Gentlemen: I have reason to believe that my former letter advising you of the transfer to your

credit of an amount of something over £200 at Baring Brothers & Co., London, was lost in the Steamer "Larriston" which was wrecked off Fuhchau on 2d. of May. My secretary was on board and writes that he only saved his life but lost my despatches home. I think a letter to you must have been among the packets.

I write now to say merely, that I have directed Messrs. B. B. & Co. to pass the above amount (which was due on a letter of credit I held from their House) to your credit. I only received your letter by the April mail and until then I did not know whether you had complied with my wishes; consequently did not know, whether to pass the amount to your credit or not. However, you know me well enough to be assured that it will all be made right. I will pay for any inconvenience to which you may be subjected. This remittance will balance us very nearly and the amount I shall deposite [sic] hereafter will probably leave you in possession of my funds longer than I have been in possession of yours.

This country is in a state of revolution from its circumference to its centre. My position is interesting, because not without danger, night and day. These fellows are not more than half-civilized.

Yours truly etc.

H. Marshall

[4.08]

O, Sec

Receipt for expenses

Shanghai June 3d 1853

Received from the Honorable Humphrey Marshall, Commissioner of the United States of America, the Sum of \$6. Six Dollars for my expense for a boat to Suchow with an official letter to the the [sic] Viceroy of the two Kiang provinces.

Wong Ashing

[4.09]

O, Sec

Receipt for expenses

[Signature obliterated by worm damage to paper]

Legation of the United States

The following amount paid by the undersigned by order of H. Exc'y. Humphrey Marshall, being his Expenses on a visit to the Viceroy of the two Leang provinces, viz

Hire of 5 Boats	\$65.00
Chair Coolies & Attendants	31.00
Customary presents to the Servants of the Viceroy	22.00
	\$118.00

E. & O.E. Shanghai 16th July 1853

[4.10]

O, Sec & Sig

Receipt for expenses

Received from the Honorable Humphrey Marshall, Commissioner of the United States of America, the sum of (\$8) eight dollars for one Letterbook, for the use of the Legation of the United States in China.

Shanghai August 4th, 1853

[Then follow two lines in Chinese characters]

[4.11]

C, H

A letter to the Fiduciary Agent

Copy

Mr. Marshall to Mr. John Miller.

Shanghai, China Sept 21, 1853

My dear Sir,

By mail, on the 19th inst, I recieved [sic] your account made out in full, amounting to £32.18. to 1st July.

You do not acknowledge a draft from me for £19.17.11, which I sent you as early as 1st May—

original lost in the “Larriston”—duplicate afterwards forwarded and a letter accompanying, requiring another receipt [sic] from you.

I now forward the third of same draft, and another on Baring Brothers & Co. for the balance of £13.0.1 to close the acc. of the U.S. and for £2.6.6. which please apply to my private acc., and I will deduct in my own account with Government—say Total £15.6.7.

and oblige etc. etc.

H. Marshall

Mr. John Miller

London

P.S. You need not send the “Evening Mail” as I think it probable I shall shortly return to the United States.

H. M.

Copy of the Draft Enclosed

Exchange for £15.6.7. Stg.

Shanghai 21st Sept 1853

At sight of this first of exchange (second and third of the same tenor and date not paid pay to the Order of Mr. John Miller of London the sum of fifteen pounds six shillings and 7 pence sterling for value received and place the same to account as advised.

Humphrey Marshall

Commissioner U.S.A. to China

To Messrs Baring Brothers & Co.

[Marshall’s footnote to himself]

Note Messrs B. B. & Co. at London were advised per formal letter on 21st Sept. [1853] that the above draft was drawn on them by me—Letters sent by St [Steamer] Lady Mary Wood Sept. 22

[4.12]

O, Sec

Final financial report covering the entire period of Marshall’s incumbency in China

Statement of the Account of Humphrey Marshall, late U.S. Commissioner to China from the 4th

August 1852 to 27th Jan'y. 1854

Dr. Humphrey Marshall, late U.S. Commissioner to China, In account with Said States
Cr.

To Warrants on the Treasurer, per Registers

Certificate, herewith, viz:--

For	No.	7547	dated	10th Sept. 1852	9,000.00	
	"	1825	"	18 Nov. 1853	1,388.00	
	"	2372	"	7th Feb'y 1854	1,368.59	
	"	2651	"	8th April "	6,370.55	
						18,127.14

" Baring, Brothers & Co. U.S. Bankers London

For amount paid by them on his drafts of

29th September 1852 £ Stg 568.03.07 @ \$4.84,

per Report No. 12.213

2,749.99

" amount paid by them on his drafts from the

9th September 1852 to 24th January 1854

£2321.09.00 @ \$4.84, per Report No. 13.418

11,235.82 13,985.81

Dollars

32,112.95

In account with said States

By Outfit of Commissioner to China

For his outfit as such to China, allowed herein

under a letter from the Sec'y of State to this office

dated 24th April, 1855, a copy of which is herewith

marked A, equal in amount to 1 year's salary 9,000.00.

By Salary of Commissioner to China

For his salary as such from 4th August 1852 the day on which
it commenced, to the 27th Jan'y. 1854, the day it terminated per said

letter from the Secretary of State 1 year, 5 months, & 25 days at \$9,000
per annum 13,343.48

By Contingent Expenses of all missions abroad

For amount of the following payments made by him during the above
period for contingencies usually allowed at that Legation, under Circular,
and others under instructions from the Sec'y of State per said letter aforesaid,
and as per Abstract of the same herewith marked B, viz:--

Postages	193.47
Stationery	54.40
Newspapers	10.33
Freight	29.23

Miscellaneous, consisting of the following items viz:--

Camphor Wood Box, for use of the Legation, 3.00; ex-
penses of a visit to the viceroy, including boats, attendants
& presents to the servants of the Viceroy 118.00; Wong
Ashing for expenses of a boat to Lichow with an official
letter to the Viceroy of the two Kiang provinces 6.00;
Sandalwood box for President's letter to the Emperor 3.75;
Trunk for Legation archives ongoing to Shanghai 3.71;
China Mail for the Dept. of State 12.00; printing 100 pass-
ports etc. 6.50; Seal for Legation to replace one lost 2.50;
Wooachaw, linguist, for carrying despatches to Chinese
Gov't. in 1853, 20.00; Mahogany case for books presented
to Chinese Govt. 2.75; Binding Vol. 17 of Legation archives
1.25; Passage for self & serv't. from Shanghai to Hong Kong
119.00; Do from Canton to Macao 8.00; Do from Shoushong
to Macao 5.00; Do from Macao to Canton in all 319.40 606.89

Loss in Exchange

This amount of Loss in Exchange on his drafts from
4th Nov. 1853, per abstract herewith marked C 2,756.59
And Return Allowance 4,500.00 7,256.59
30,206.96
Balance due from him 1,905.99
Dollars 32,112.95

As Mr. Marshall has not rendered his final account, there can be no statement of differences. As far as rendered, all the items embraced in his accounts have been allowed with the exception of £5.4.0 or \$25.16, the amount of John Millers bill for Postage at London for the 2nd quarter of 1853, which had been previously allowed to Mr. Peter Parker per Report No. 13.619.

INVENTORY: HUMPHREY MARSHALL, CHINA PAPERS, 1850-1857

Item	Date	Writer	Location	Addressee	Location	Title or subject
Section 1.						
1.01	9/25/52	Humphrey Marshall	New York	Acting Secretary of State Charles M. Conrad	Washington City	"Private" (Not Sent): Conflict with Peter Parker; analysis of strategic advantages of locating legation in Shanghai
1.02	9/22/52	President Millard Fillmore	Washington	Humphrey Marshall	New York City	Clarification of Marshall's instructions
1.03	2/24/53	Russell & Co.	Shanghai	unstated	n/a	Detailed market report of exports & imports; several tables; recent ship arrivals & sailings
1.04	3/2/53	U.S. Consul at Hong Kong, Henry Anthon,	Hong Kong	Humphrey Marshall	Macao	Report of Chinese emigration from Hong Kong from 1850 to date; table
1.05	4/9/53	Commodore M.C. Perry	Hong Kong	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Regret at missed connections; pledge of "every accomodation"
1.06	4/26/53	Acting U.S. Consul D.N. Spooner	Canton	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Description of house available to rent in Macao; report on relations with the French
1.07	5/8/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	George Law, Esq.	unk	"Confidential": Prospects for U.S.-China trade,
1.08	5/20/53	Bayard Taylor	Onboard U.S.S. Susquehanna	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Farewell, thank you, invitation to New York
1.09	6/11/53	U.S. Consul Edward Cunningham	Shanghai	Rev. Charles Taylor	unk	Strong censure of Taylor's involvement and apparent support of Taiping rebellion; threat of arrest if similar expeditions are reported
1.10	6/12/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Charles W. Orne	Fuhchau	Appointment as U.S. Consular Agent
1.11	6/12/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Prefect is leaving for Chang-Chow-foo to inform Governor-General and arrange for H.M.'s interview with same

Item	Date	Writer	Location	Addressee	Location	Title or subject
1.12	6/16/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	" <u>Private & unofficial</u> " Arrangements underway for interview with Governor General; anticipate "no loss of time"
1.13	6/19/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Prefect missed Governor General, who's left for Nanking; delay regretted; alternate plan
1.14	6/20/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Losing patience with complications over a "five minute" procedure; states deadline is 7/1. N.B.: Contains numerous corrections & additions--probably good sample of Marshall's hand
1.15	6/21/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Paul S. Forbes, Esq., U.S. Consul at Canton	Canton	Must see Emperor to proceed with opening of China; complaints about mail delivery; strong stance on neutrality; strong words re Rev. Charles Taylor's flirting with treason, etc.
1.16	6/25/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Governor General has replied; is coming this way; glad to meet you; "I'll call on you
1.17	6/27/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Woo, Provincial Judge	Shanghai	Please clear up my possible misunderstanding
1.18	6/27/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	"Private" Clarification of interview; Governor General is enroute--meeting to be arranged
1.19	6/29/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Will go nowhere until precise date & time for meeting with Governor General is clear
1.20	6/29/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Reply to item #1.19: "Am sending Mr. Teen Sau to explain arrangements to you."
1.21	6/30/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Hope all goes well; will hand over your letter to His Excellency without delay
1.22	7/1/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Kwoonsan	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Governor General arrived here today; happy to meet you here at your earliest convenience
1.23	7/3/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Kwoonsan	Humphrey Marshall	Kwoonsan	Happy your safe arrival here. Governor General will meet you tomorrow 8:00 am
1.24	7/4/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Kwoonsan	Humphrey Marshall	Kwoonsan	If you land at 12 M, Governor General will await then; congratulations on birthday of
1.25	7/10/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Description of Governor General's report to Emperor re H.M.; it's OK to refuse satin gift

Item	Date	Writer	Location	Addressee	Location	Title or subject
1.26	7/12/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Edward Cunningham, U.S. Vice Consul at Shanghai	Shanghai	Quotes U.S.-Netherlands treaty of 2/26/53 re mutual immunity from duties
1.27	7/30/53	J.G.W. Harris	Onboard U.S.S.	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Eyewitness description of Commodore Perry's first Japan visit
1.28	8/29/53	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Sending gift of "his likeness," done by "the best London artist, Mr. Generale;" hope you'll
1.29	"Sixth day of seventh moon"	Woo, Provincial Judge & Taoutai of Shanghai	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Long argument that no need exists for expansion to non-treaty ports; Chinese do not need foreign wool & cotton goods
1.30	11/10/53	Humphrey Marshall	Macao	C. D. Williams	Hong Kong	Re letter published in "H.K. Register" attacking H.M. for "countenancing a breach of neutrality"
1.31	11/17/53	Mr. E. Doty	Amoy	Dr. Peter Parker	unk	Eyewitness description of recapture of Amoy by Imperial troops
1.32	11/18/53	J.G.W. Harris	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Macao	Eyewitness description of battle for Shanghai
1.33	12/31/53	J.G.W. Harris	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	unk	Good friend's assessment of political & military situation in east Asia
1.34	6/30/54	C. Carvalho	San Francisco	Humphrey Marshall	New York	Thanks for references; description of plight of Chinese immigrants in California, plea for help for them.
1.35	3/12/56	A.P. Happer,	Pittsburgh	Humphrey Marshall	Washington	Renews China acquaintance; asks influence in Congress to fight opium trade in China
1.36	12/9/57	W.B. Reed	Hong Kong	Humphrey Marshall	Washington	Report on H.M.'s lost furniture in Canton; losing hope of avoiding catastrophe there; resounding affirmation of H.M.'s China

Section 2.

2.01	9/10/52	Humphrey Marshall	Washington	Notes to self	n/a	Re request of Phi Delta Society for autograph of Chinese Emperor
2.02	undated	Humphrey Marshall	unknown	For the record	n/a	Long personal account of H.M.'s side trip to Rome enroute to China, November 1852

Item	Date	Writer	Location	Addressee	Location	Title or subject
2.03	11/?/52	Humphrey Marshall	unknown	For the record	n/a	Eulogy for Daniel Webster, prepared in Rome enroute to China
2.04	Various	Humphrey Marshall	unknown	Notes to self	n/a	"Diary of Occurrences": A few events scattered between 8/22/49 & 7/10/53, Emperor's name, and taxation facts
2.05	undated	Humphrey Marshall	unknown	Notes to self	n/a	Organization details of Chinese government
2.06	undated	Humphrey Marshall	unknown	Notes to self	n/a	Short essay on Chinese economy & foreign trade; details & statistics re opium trade
2.07	undated	Humphrey Marshall	unknown	Notes to self	n/a	Geographical facts re 4 Chinese cities
2.08	undated	Humphrey Marshall	unknown	Notes to self		Chinese real estate transfer practices
2.09	undated	Humphrey Marshall	unknown	Notes to self		What are and are not reasons for Tai'ping Rebellion
2.10	undated	Humphrey Marshall	n/a	Notes to self	n/a	Short table of Chinese weights and measures
2.11	undated	unstated	unknown	Reader	n/a	"Notes on Japan" Brief history of Western relations with Japan, 1542-1849
2.12	undated	Humphrey Marshall	unknown	Notes to self	n/a	Facts re Ladakh region of northern India, incl. Trade & Government
2.13	undated	unstated	unknown	Notes to self		Projected route of telegraph, with mileage, from Calcutta to Lahore, India
2.14	undated	unstated	unknown	unstated		Brief comment on judicial powers of nations
2.15	undated	unstated	unknown	Notes to self	unk	On the causes & progression of revolutions
2.16	undated	unstated	unknown	Notes to self	unk	Definitions; geographical facts re China

Section 3.

3.01	4/30/50	Wojin, President of "Criminal Court of Revision"	Peking	Address to the Throne	Peking	Analysis of "good men" and "bad men"; Advice on how to choose, from ministers to body guards
3.02	5/22/51	Kying	Peking	n/a	n/a	Policy statement: "As to the Employment of fit servants in the administration"

Item	Date	Writer	Location	Addressee	Location	Title or subject
3.03	12/2/52	Unnamed translator	unknown	"For P.S. Forbes, esq"	unk	Two essays re Tai'ping leader Hung quoting his poetry, and 'narrator' who could be his cousin
3.04	undated	unstated	unknown	Notes to self	n/a	Paraphrase from Sir John Bowring's address re British Zoological & Horticultural Societies
3.05	undated	Thomas Wade, British Vice Consul	unknown	Reader	n/a	Two-page bio of Chinese statesman Lin Tsih Su; analysis of Shanghai as prime trading city
3.06	undated	Thomas Wade, British Vice Consul	unknown	Reader	n/a	Long essay on Chinese society, government, character; statistics on corruption, opium trade
3.07	undated	Thomas Wade, British Vice Consul	unknown	Reader	n/a	Essay: "The Gentry and Elders of Canton"
3.08	undated	"Davis"	unknown	Reader	n/a	Two quotes from Davis, Vol. 2 re Sino-British
3.09	undated	"Daily News"	London(?)	Reader	--	Dangerous consequences to British trade in central Asia from Russo-Turkish war
3.10	1/28/53	"China Mail"	unknown	Reader	n/a	Extract re "Sutoism" and other religious practices in Japan

Section 4.

4.01	7/12/52	John Miller	London	U.S. Legation	Canton	Statement of account : "Original"; receipt for payment in full
4.02	9/9/52	Acting Secretary of State Charles M. Conrad	Washington	Baring Bros. Bank,	London	Instructions to release official funds to Marshall; features formal original signatures of Conrad & Marshall
4.03	1/3/53	John Miller	London	U.S. Legation	Canton	Statement of account:"Duplicate"; receipt for payment in full
4.04	5/12/53	Kiang fung	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Receipt for camphor wood box
4.05	5/30/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	John Miller	London	Baring Bros. Bank draft to square account; encl: Text of previous letter lost in shipwreck
4.06	6/1/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Messrs. Baring Bros. Bank	London	Request to transfer funds to Corcoran & Riggs
4.07	6/1/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Messrs. Corcoran & Riggs	Washington City	Advises re #4.05; Fierce comment about Insurgents

Item	Date	Writer	Location	Addressee	Location	Title or subject
4.08	6/3/53	Wong Ashing	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Receipt for travel expenses, "Duplicate"
4.09	7/16/53	Signature damaged	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Expense account for trip
4.10	8/4/53	Signature in Chinese	Shanghai	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Receipt for Letterbook
4.11	9/21/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	John Miller	London	Ref: #4.05: Third copy of draft lost in shipwreck; do not send "Evening Mail"-- I am shortly returning to U.S.
4.11a	9/21/53	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Messrs. Baring Bros. Bank	London	Ref: #4.11: instruction to pay upon sight
4.11b	undated	Humphrey Marshall	Shanghai	Note to self	n/a	Ref. #4.11: Letters sent 9/22 aboard Steamer "Lady Mary Wood"
4.12	1/27/54	Baring Bros. Bank	London	For the record	unk	Final report of Humphrey Marshall's account

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