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**America's China trade: A framework for linking the history profession  
with social studies curriculum. (Volumes I and II)**

Bond, Elizabeth Bateman, Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1987

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AMERICA'S CHINA TRADE: A FRAMEWORK FOR  
LINKING THE HISTORY PROFESSION WITH  
SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

Volume I

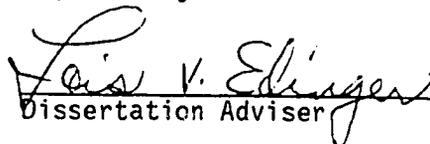
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APPROVAL PAGE

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The United States' trade with China began in 1784 with a single ship's voyage from New York City. From this modest beginning, an on-going, special relationship with China has grown. The history of Sino-American relations is more than economics; it is a history of cross-cultural transfers, affecting both of the trading partners. The first sixty years of this relationship is presented in this dissertation. The products and profits of this trade are examined in the ways in which they changed the economic development of the young republic, as well as the face of the young republic through the importation of architectural motifs, horticultural transplants, and other items of popular culture. A foundation is laid for an understanding of the second half of the nineteenth century when the relationship expanded to include increased merchant contacts, missionaries, and the military.

A historical context for the trade with a rationale for its study and a conceptual framework for secondary school curriculum modules are developed. Key concepts, organizing ideas, and content samples are included. The paper concludes with a review of American China trade literature. The review is grounded on two outstanding twentieth-century bibliographies and is expanded to include post-1965 additions. This extensive bibliography covers three centuries of writings about this rich, varied relationship and reveals the many shifts in interest, e.g., diplomatic, social, economic, philosophical, artistic, and political.

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CHAPTER I  
THE CONTEXT OF AMERICA'S CHINA TRADE

The birth of the American Republic and the beginning of the American China trade were concurrent events. The British evacuation of New York and Washington's resignation as commander-in-chief were recent occurrences when the Empress of China left New York's harbor on Washington's birthday, 1784, bound for Canton (Dennett, 7). But the entrance of these new United States into the China trade was not a coincidence. Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution along with several New York and Philadelphia investors, saw this trade as one way to alleviate the terrible financial straits of the young nation and to recoup some of their own personal losses suffered as a result of the revolution (Christman, 44). John Jay in Paris was informed of this "adventurous pursuit" by letter from Morris. It was hoped that this voyage would encourage others to follow (Christman, 18).

The first American ship to reach China was the Empress of China, a copper-bottomed, 360-ton converted privateer. Her new name (during the Revolution she had been called Angelica [Smith, 25]) reflected her future as a commercial vessel even though her guns were left in place for fear of pirates in the Malaccan Straits. Captain John Green, a 300-pound Philadelphian, was released to the Morris group from the Continental Navy. Robert Morris and his associates saw this ship and

her captain as a reasonable, if not hefty, gamble to redress the country's financial dilemma. Their hopes were not founded on pipe dreams and rumors of profit. Previously in December, 1783, the Harriet had set out for China only to have her cargo of ginseng exchanged for a nice profit off Cape Horn to a British ship (Goldstein, 27). Shipping, and ship building, both areas of proven American expertise, had suffered heavy losses due to the Revolution. But the enthusiasm of independence and the many idle ships and sailors provided a natural coupling. As de Tocqueville was to note, the Americans displayed a "heroic" way of doing business (China Trade, 4). The revitalization of the shipping industry, along with the conversion of privateers to legitimate business, began almost immediately after the British evacuation. Any financial forecaster would have seen going to China as a predictable, profitable development.

The entrance of the American republic into the West's long-established trade with China was, thus, not novel. We had long known of the products of Asia and had on several occasions tried to send one of our own ships to China via the illusive Northwest Passage (Goldstein, 23). These efforts were unsuccessful because of ignorance about geography and naivete in international politics. Undaunted by these prior failures, the newly-independent Americans, aware of the products and the profits of the China trade, were anxious to engage in an activity which had been on their minds for well over a generation.

Of these imported Chinese products, tea was the most important. The British East India Company's monopoly on the transport of all Chinese goods to Great Britain and her colonies had necessitated the importing of tea to America via London in English ships. Between 1750-74, Britain was shipping twenty tons yearly to Pennsylvania alone; this represents about 20% of the total tea to North America. All that tea was not just for Pennsylvania palates: Samuel Wharton, a Philadelphia merchant was selling tea to the Mohawk, Conojohare and Delaware Indians (Goldstein, 17). By the early 1770s, resentment over tea prices and added duties had reached a fever pitch and one needs only to remember the Boston Tea Party to see the real as well as symbolic importance of tea to the Revolution.

Along with tea came porcelain. Since the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the Chinese had been consciously imitating European designs and forms exclusively for export. This export ware made the journeys to the West with the chests of teas, providing a very important element in the trip--ballast! Porcelain for the Americans, before and after the Revolution, was a necessary luxury. Even in the humblest homes, "blue and white" ware was found. It was useful, clean, inexpensive, comparatively permanent, and reflective of a certain attitude of fascination and good taste. After the Revolution, porcelain mirrored the new republic's pride, witnessed in the appearance of porcelain sporting American eagles, the great seal of the United States, and symbols of the newly-created Order of the Cincinnati.

Second only to tea in export value were silk and nankeens (cotton). Silk, a product known and coveted since Roman times, was a prime export item, shipped by the bolt and finished products, such as underwear, gloves, window shades, and parasols. Despite several American attempts at sericulture, before and after the Revolution, all trials eventually failed; silk remained a prime item until the 1930s (Kolander, 6). Chinese cotton was imported in large quantities as finished cloth, thread, and embroidered goods (Nelson, 15). Although cotton continued to be imported into the twentieth century, it became one of the chief United States exports after 1840 (Dulles, 118).

These big three, tea, silk, and porcelain had an enormous economic impact on the colonies and would continue to be highly profitable commodities for those Americans involved in the import/export business up to mid-nineteenth century. There were other items in the trade: furniture, lacquerware, paintings, toys, fans, wallpaper, and such; but the top three items had the higher rate of return and touched more of the general populace outside the eastern ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newport, Charleston, and Savannah.

Our entrance into East Asian waters must be seen as part of the greater European intrusion into Asia. Many historians, led by John King Fairbank, see this American beginning as an extension of a larger European thrust into the Pacific basin, not a uniquely American activity (Fairbank, 410-415). This expansionistic impulse was part of a larger economic, political, and philosophical movement which had

been going on since the European entrance into the New World in the late fifteenth century. Later nineteenth-century American writers would sense this continuum and link it philosophically to the tide of Christendom noted by earlier European historians: the light of the sun rising in the East pouring westward. Thomas Hart Benton and Christian apologists notwithstanding, the farthest West was Asia, not the source but the goal of the sun. This thrust westward would be continued by the European/Americans as the lands beyond the Alleghenies and the Mississippi were opened, while justifications were promulgated for the Louisiana Purchase, for wars with our southern neighbors, for the frantic expansion of Americans in California for the Gold Rush. Frederick Jackson Turner would see this expansionistic development as part of the American frontier spirit: energetic individualism, high-spirited inventiveness, and self-reliance (Van Doren, 1057). The quasi-religious concept of "manifest destiny" also fits into this nineteenth-century thrust westward, justifying the American presence in Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippines (China Trade, 16).

The westward expansion of the United States as a continuation of an historical European movement, the linkage of the American frontier with spreading the light of Christendom, the characteristics of frontier growth with later economic development, and the justifications for American imperialism are all outgrowths triggered by the early American China trade. The development of our China connections, the protection of our markets and stations, the call

heard by the early American Christian missionaries, the development of expertise in business and international finance are foreshadowed in our early China trade. But it must be reiterated that the British, French, and other Europeans were pursuing identical Asian policies, and consequently, the movement must have been witnessed by the Chinese as western phenomena, not British, not French, and certainly not American. That we see this activity as unique speaks only to our ethnocentricity. When the Americans first arrived in Canton, therefore, we were not seen as a unique group by the Chinese, but simply as more Westerners, albeit very ignorant ones.

Americans shared this disinclination to separate themselves from European traders unless it served American purposes, as it did when the British and Chinese were quarrelling, or the British and French were at war with one another. This differentiation could be risky but it was almost always lucrative as we used our "unique Americanness" to lift our neutral selves above the petty European wars or to remind the Chinese of the altruistic nature of our economic relationship. By closing their nascent empire's ports to the victorious republic after the revolution, the British forced us to find other trading outlets. New markets were found in the West Indies, the Mediterranean, Scandinavia, and China. American entrance into trade with China was based purely on economics; there was no initial impulse toward diplomatic relations, missionary outreach, or military intervention. Those avenues developed shortly, but they were not relative to the early China traders who focused on a mercantile relationship alone.

When we entered this system which the British dominated, we came into it as true innocents abroad. It appears that we knew little of the Chinese (George Washington "knew the Chinese to be droll") (Thomson, 7), nothing of the trading system, no direct knowledge of the route, and only hints about the possible commodities to be traded! That the Empress of China made the trip is miraculous. When it did arrive, the Chinese thought it was an outrigger announcing the arrival of a larger ship.

We entered a trade and a trading system set up by the Emperor K'ang-hsi in 1699 to control the western barbarians and to accommodate the Chinese. The Emperor's original plan allowed for access through several ports, but by 1757, foreign vessels were held at Whampoa, and western traders were restricted to the single port of Canton and its compound area on the Pearl River for a three-to-six month trading season (Christman, 53). It was at Canton that all traders dealt with the thirteen Chinese merchants specifically appointed by the Emperor for this purpose. There were no set tariffs, no access to artisans and factories, no semblance of free trade (Thomson, 32; China Trade, 12). In fact the western merchants were virtual prisoners in Canton. That this system bore no resemblance to any of the then contemporary European trading standards was immaterial; this was the system. If a merchant wanted to trade here, he played by the rules. The British East India Company, working out of bases in India, had early entered the trade and tolerated the system because of the huge profits. The plans and dreams they had for changing the system remained intact and

had been activated as witnessed in the increasing amounts of opium they were importing to China, and the use of Parsee "country" shipping. The United States sailed into a well-established trading system, disliked but understood, tolerated by all participants. We were not seen by the Chinese as "new kids on the block" but simply as more Westerners who wanted to trade for products which, according to the Ch'ien Lung Emperor, had become "absolute necessities." (Emperor Ch'ien Lung's decree to King George III as quoted by Schurmann and Schell, 109).

The trade with Canton as well as with other new trading partners dealt primarily in our exporting raw materials (lumber, cordage, and metals) and some manufactured products, such as textiles and rum. Soon after the War of 1812, cotton became the chief export item (Sterns, 452). Such trade continued an established American pattern of intercoastal, carrying trade, a pattern elaborated upon by the China traders. Rarely was the cargo which left New York, Boston, or Philadelphia the one which arrived in Canton. Items for trade with China were bought and sold all along the two major routes: the Atlantic, Cape Verde Islands, the Cape of Good Hope, India route, and the Caribbean, Cape Horn, Pacific islands. The Pacific route had solved a very big problem: what to trade with the Chinese. Ginseng appeared for a while to be the answer but this product, an imperial monopoly, did not prove to be a stable commodity (Smith, 33). Spanish silver dollars were always negotiable but their supply could not be guaranteed in a country already short of capital. The Pacific route

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supplied furs from the Faulklands to Alaska, sandalwood from Hawaii, beche-de-mer and birds' nests from other South Pacific islands (Latourette, 43-45). Along with this Pacific trade, the Mediterranean shipper found opium from Turkey another lucrative commodity, though not as richly prized as the more potent Indian variety (Tamarin and Glubok, 169).

Most of the literature on American's China trade has dealt with these economic aspects of the trade, the early success stories, and the creation of America's first millionaires, Elias Haskett Derby, Thomas H. Perkins, and Stephen Girard. By 1790, twenty-eight American ships had been to Canton carrying one-seventh of the total of United States imports (Mudge, 36). The early, expansive Boston leadership which dominated the New England efforts, the innovative Philadelphia and Providence connections, and the rising New York entrepreneurs lead the reader along a fascinating path of early American economic history.

That the American China trade was a capital multiplier is without argument even though the Empress' return of about 25% was not earthshaking (Dennett, 7). The ship made the trip and returned with a profit; larger profits and larger ships would follow. Early fortunes in the trade were made prior to the War of 1812; following this war the China trade continued but rather than plowing the profits back into ships and cargoes much of the money was reinvested in domestic production, textile mills, and metal manufacture as in the case of the Browns of Providence. Shipping interests not specifically for Asian

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trade but as a continuance of the increased coastal, and carrying trade with Europe, Scandinavia, the Mediterranean, and the Caribbean saw an increase (Dulles, 111). Second-generation China traders continued to make fortunes in the trade into the late 1820s and early 1830s but the third generation of investors were more interested in domestic investment, i.e., the railroad. Boston China traders were among the chief investors in the early development of the railroad as is well documented in the Johnson and Supple work, Boston Capitalists and Western Railroads: A Study in 19th Century Investment Process. The skills of the China trade, the familial bonds of trust over long distances, and the patience needed for long term investments were all China trade characteristics which held these men in good stead for this investment opportunity. Railroads, textile mills, tool and shoe factories were areas in which China trade money was put to work and thus multiplied capital. The importance of China trade money and expertise in early American economic, industrial development cannot be overlooked.

The trade was, however, more than economic, more than just an exchange of commodities. It was an exchange which would color our intellectual and cultural life for all time. This exchange would produce a dichotomy of perception and reality, one aspect of which would come to be known as the "myth of the China market." It must, however, be re-emphasized that the myth does not concern itself solely with economics. It is a myth begun centuries earlier, perhaps with the Roman imports of Chinese silk, a fascination with the Orient

extending through the Crusades and reaching a new height with Marco Polo's remembrances. The myth was renewed and enhanced by the European chinoiserie movement promoted by the Bourbons in seventeenth-century France, spilled over into Britain, and then, due to the American penchant for things European, arrived in the United States.

Part of the myth is the way the Chinese exports have colored our lives, in our gardens, our homes, our furnishings, our decorative arts, our literature. One reason the Chinese products made such an impact on the first half of the nineteenth century was that they collided with that century's romanticism. One aspect of the Romantic movement is an appreciation of the exotic, the remote. And what could be more exotic and remote than China? China's products--tea, silk, and porcelain--were also exotic, remote and luxurious. Attempts to produce silk and raise tea domestically had failed; even porcelain factories, which did have minor success, never achieved the lightness, the lucidity, and the color which the Oriental imports exhibited. The products reinforced the fascination. After the Revolution amounts of these products would increase and more Americans would be infected with the fascination, not just those Americans of eastern port cities.

While tea with all its accoutrements remained the number one import throughout the nineteenth century, porcelain also continued to figure as a high priority item for trade; the return of the Empress is early evidence of this with her six tons of porcelain (Oman, 3)! Unlike tea, porcelain imports began to fall due to the competitive pressure of domestic production in the 1840s (Mudge, 148). A revival

of interest in Chinese porcelain--porcelain never meant for export-- did not occur until after the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, a revival caused by a combination of factors. Contemporary products of Chinese porcelain had declined drastically due to internal rebellion and lack of imperial leadership, and American collectors began to look to previous dynasties, such as the porcelain of the Ming and early Ch'ing, particularly that of the K'ang-hsi period (Denker, 41-42).

Changes in fashion dictated the rise and fall of silk imports into the United States. Silk imports were also affected by the rising production of finished cloth, whose quality was improving with the American textile manufacturing industry's sophistication and the increasing amounts of cotton being raised and processed in the South. Silk would begin to appear in other forms other than bolts of cloth; it would become specialty items, appearing in fans, purses, parasols, hosiery, and interior products such as wall coverings.

In architecture, there had been some early buildings which had shown an Oriental influence: the James Reid House in Charleston (1757), the Miles Brewton House nearby (1769), and Gunston Hall (1758) in Fairfax, Virginia. The source of this influence was William Chambers, an English architect who had been to Canton. His 1757 publication of Designs of Chinese Buildings produced among other things the Great Pagoda at Kew Gardens and this, in turn, was the direct progenitor for the Pagoda and Labyrinth Gardens of 1827 at Fairmount Park in Philadelphia (Lancaster, 191). In the 1790s there was a rise in interest and production of architecture exhibiting an

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Oriental flavor. Almost none survives today as they were usually built of wood with many built as temporary garden structures. John Markoe's house and garden are good examples, though all that survives today is a garden summerhouse preserved on a private estate. Thomas Jefferson drew the plans for a Chinese Pavilion to be included at Monticello (Lancaster, 191) (his interest in the Orient probably dates from his days in France); Samuel Powell's home in Philadelphia can be seen in part today at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, American Wing. Other notable post-Revolutionary examples are General John Mason's home on Theodore Roosevelt Island on the Potomac (1790s); the China Retreat of A. E. van Braam Houckgeest complete with Chinese servants, and Nathan Dunn's home at Mt. Holly, New Jersey.

These architectural examples were buildings which Americans constructed based more or less on architectural drawings, but reflected much more of American dreams of China. If a building had a concave roof with bells hanging on the corner eaves, it was Chinese. As is obvious from the listing above, the people who built these were the wealthy, many of whom had been to China and/or made fortunes there. But the man-in-the-street was also fascinated by the rich whom they emulated and by the China presented to them in the products of the trade. This dual fascination was evident in the great numbers of people who flooded to museums and exhibits which were advertised as Oriental in nature. In 1799, the East India Marine Society of Salem opened its "Cabinet of Curiosities"; in 1838, Charles Wilson Peale opened his museum in Philadelphia, followed the next year by Nathan

Dunn (Denker, 21). Many of these exhibits traveled and always attracted thousands.

Our gardens would have been drab, lackluster places without the imports from East Asia. Early naturalists recognized the similarity of the climate and the vegetation of eastern Asia with that of the eastern United States. Harvard's Asa Gray (1810-1888) drew notice to this Asian-eastern American disjunct genera and encouraged activity and exploration (Radford, 342). Work in this area truly blossomed after the Civil War as collectors and professional organizations, like Harvard and its Arnold Arboretum, began to send "plant hunters," Charles Sprague Sargent and E. H. "Chinese" Wilson, to China, Japan, and Korea (Stone, 283-85).

Interior furnishings and the decorative arts also revealed the early China contacts. Chippendale, Queen Anne, and Sheraton furniture owed much of their design and ornamentation to the Chinese, particularly the fretwork of Chippendale. Carpets, grass mats for summertime floor coverings, and wallpaper are all direct imports from the China trade. Bamboo furniture, curio chests, lacquerware, "japanned" furniture, and various decorative items filled the homes of the new republic.

Prior to the Civil War, none of the Chinese goods exported to the United States could be classified as objet d'art. None of the exported items came from domestic production, Chinese homes, or antique collections. The objects traded were of a very ephemeral nature, reacting to the latest fads and economic bellwethers of the

importing countries. Porcelain patterns, furniture designs, and textile colors changed in response to the traders' understanding of the markets' demands. Thus it was the transitory nature of the trade that was influencing Americans about China. There were certain things "we knew" about the Chinese based on the trade and its products. Based on this mythical certainty, we created fantasies about them, their philosophies, their needs, and we laid the foundations for the ways we would deal with them in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The way we see a people through the products of their country influences our ideas about them and about ourselves. It is this legacy of ideas about our special relationship with China that is perhaps the most important of these early years of the China trade. Those first sixty years produced a tradition, a mindset, a mythology which still influences the way we think about and deal with China. The sources of this myth were multifaceted and include products and individuals, merchants, diplomats, missionaries, and soon actual Chinese who would come to this country for work and for education.

There was however, little true understanding or appreciation on either side. Our fascination may well tell us more about ourselves than it ever could about the Chinese. Reality began to make an impact on our myth with the advent of photography, but the fascination was so strong that even pictures which shattered the storybook land could be explained away, and were reconciled by politicians, and missionaries.

The early American China trade, building on the experience of a rich and varied past, laid the foundation of fascination, which haunts us to this day.

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CHAPTER II  
A RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY OF  
AMERICA'S CHINA TRADE

History, even the word itself, is at first sight, a story--not a made-up story, a pretend story, but a story which attempts to record that which has taken place. Depending on the story teller and the facts he has available to him, the story may be spotty and incomplete; it may display certain biases; and it may contain parts assembled on the best available facts at that moment. As a result the story is subject to change when new storytellers appear in different times and places, and new facts are uncovered. History is ongoing, revealed truth of man's past actions, art, philosophy, and science.

There are several varieties of history: chronological, geographical, cultural, institutional, and biographical (Commager, 16). These varieties form different foci for looking at the past and can be used as organizing frameworks for a study. They should never be seen singly as the full explanation for any historical discussion. A chronological rendering of an event forms a flat picture; the river which overflowed its banks, the discovery of iron smelting, the shift in leadership from priest to king, or the appearance of an Alexander flesh out the skeleton formed by any single variety. Any history (story) worth recounting will use all of the varieties to tell the tale. It is in this full telling that the past is revealed to each new generation of storytellers and listeners.

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In examining America's trade with China from its inception in 1784, the storyteller realizes that it can be told in all its varieties with multiple variations on the theme--stories within stories, like the Russian mutushka doll. Layer upon layer of truth-telling can be revealed so that the storyteller can both select and confect.

History is one of the oldest disciplines. Joseph J. Schwab, identifying two parts of any discipline, states that the first part is the body of knowledge which establishes the discipline and the questions it asks, and the second is the methodology of inquiry and usage (Fenton, 12). History is a true "synthesizing discipline" (Feldman, 185), unique in the fact that the results are in! All historians are "Monday morning quarterbacks," but ironically, the discipline requires genuine problem solving, the problems of sifting evidence, checking validity, weighing factors, making generalizations, and exercising judgments (Feldman, 184).

Many consider the social studies a separate discipline and have identified four key elements in its makeup: 1) the societal goals of a nation; 2) the heritage and value of a specific civilization; 3) the global, interdependent nature of the world; and 4) the process of scholarly inquiry (Feldman, 202). As so defined the social studies, made up of multi-disciplinary segments, is held together by the glue of history. Historical methodology is obvious, the ideas of multiple causality, the realization that there is no "right answer," and the encouragement of independent thinking and inquiry. The question is

not "what?" but "how?" Every fact must be approached with "What is it?" "Why is it?" and "What of it?" (Feldman, 189).

The social studies curriculum as conceived by leading educators is a combination of history, geography, economics, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Strongly humanistic and aimed at the progressive era's goals of producing good citizens, this curriculum has remained virtually unchanged since the early twentieth century. The expansion of this basic framework into the 1970s included this multi-disciplinary approach along with a global, non-Western perspective. The historical method as outlined above still forms the basic methodology: identify the subject, acquire the facts, criticize these facts, both externally and internally, synthesize, and present (Feldman, 346-48). Fundamental changes in the critical synthesizing skills for the long-range goals of the social studies must be "release rather than restraint, inquiry rather than rote memory, and discovery rather than regurgitation" (Feldman, 190).

The infusion of the American China trade into the social studies curriculum would fit into these overall objectives. All of the disciplines of the social studies can become means of focusing on the trade. The story of the American China trade is American history, the story of a nation caught up from its very earliest beginnings in Asia, in a global network of trade and transportation. Our country's discovery, expansion, and development are deeply rooted in Asia; global interdependence is not a twentieth-century phenomenon. The study of the geography of the trade presents an arena of questions:

what were the routes used and why these routes? What is the significance to the China trade of the early explorers like Cabot and Hudson? Where did Captain Cook go and why are his voyages of so much import to the trade? What is the Northwest Passage and why does it play such an important role in the development and expansion of North America? What were the ports of call in the journeys? Why these particular ports and what was their significance? The linkages in the study of geography and history are endless.

The China trade is a subject perfect for an economic study, not only of the young bankrupt United States, but also as a focus for world trade generally and the China trade specifically. What items were traded and why these? What does this trade tell us about the countries involved, both about their domestic concerns as well as their foreign economic policy? What were the media of exchange? What part did foreign banking houses play in the international trading scheme? Are multinational companies and cartels a twentieth-century creation?

Using the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, and psychology, the China trade could be used like a cut stone, turned over and over, revealing a new facet in the relationship of these young Americans and the ancient Chinese. What were the family patterns which produced these merchant families in the United States and China? Is familial piety, a trait we associate exclusively with the Chinese, a trait unknown to American families who sent sons to manage businesses halfway around the world? How could these peoples so separated by

race, religion, and culture trust one another? What strategies were used? Was profit the only motivator? What effect did all of this have on the women who went on the journeys with their husbands? How did women like being lumped together with firearms and opium as contraband and relegated to Macao while the men traded in Canton? What effect did the China trade have on the women who stayed behind? What changes in the status of women were brought about by women who had to stay and run the store (and home) while the men were gone to sea for eighteen months? What is the structure of the society and government which produced the Canton system? How does all of this meld with the intruding nineteenth-century European society and government.

There are five large, overriding principles of history, which can also be identified as underlying assumptions of decision for establishing a curriculum for the social studies. Examining these principles, let us look at the American China trade and thereby justify the study of the trade in the history and social studies requirements in the curriculum of today's secondary schools. I believe that if the social studies are to promote the societal goals of America, to pass on the values of Western civilization, to broaden the student's worldview, and to teach the student to rationally question, then the study of the American China trade would provide an excellent heuristic device.

Continuous and unrelenting change has been a universal condition of human society throughout both remembered and recorded time (Commager, 100).

If there is one thing that is constant, it is change. No culture has failed to realize this fact of life and state it in some form of art, literature, and philosophy. The histories and chronicles which most civilizations have kept evidence the reality of this constancy. For children and particularly adolescents, the concepts of time and continual change are difficult. One reason for this is the intensity of their own individual moment. The "me-ness" of adolescence makes thinking on a larger scale agonizing. "History" is yesterday; "I" am now, and never the twain shall meet. Yet, this is exactly what the history and social studies teacher must do: give history that presentness, that intensity which makes possible the joining of the "then" with the "now."

The history of American involvement with China is a young history, only beginning to have enough depth to be considered history. The bicentennial of the trade occurred in 1984 and this celebration by some of the major American China ports, particularly New York and Boston, helped to place the trade into a comprehensible frame: our young nation beside the ancient civilization of China--two hundred years of contact versus six thousand years of existence. Having students examine the whole and our tiny part in it will aid in bringing the time and change into a more reasoned framed of reference.

When we entered the China trade in 1784, the system as designed by the Chinese had been restricted since 1757 to the single port of Canton. Historically, trading between China and the West had been going on since before the days of the Greeks and Romans. Multiple

ports and trading possibilities had existed since late in the seventeenth century. Into a much contracted market then, the Americans made their late entrance. The management of the Canton trade followed the Confucian-based tribute system in which outsiders, barbarians, to whom the Chinese were the superior culture, brought tribute to the Chinese heads of state in recognition of their subservience and inferiority. Ch'ing leadership saw the European merchant-traders as a continuation of this ancient system. Several instances occurred in which Western traders were reminded of this attitude, much to their chagrin. If they attempted to redress the situation, the Chinese would calmly shut down the port; it did not usually take long for the outsiders to bow to Chinese convention.

The Canton trade, managed by Chinese merchants appointed by the Emperor, was finally changed by the British, with the backing in principle, if not in military fact, by the other Western traders during the First Opium War, 1840-42. The system would be altered to open more ports and regularize tariffs and rates, an alteration to more closely resemble a European system of free trade, an open door. These changes were granted to the United States in 1844 with the signing of the Treaty of Wanghia, a treaty which gave the young nation most-favored-nation status, thereby awarding us by default whatever concessions China granted others. The British did all the work; we got all the benefits, while maintaining a neutral (though superficially so) attitude, which enhanced our own self image as a "special" friend of the Chinese.

Changes in the trading system brought with it changes in the way the United States conducted its trade. The changes would alter, too, the types of people who went to China, e.g., missionaries and military men, politicians and diplomats, as well as merchants. Change had been inherent from our entrance into the trade as can be seen in the products we traded. Ginseng and Spanish silver dollars were within the first decade of the trade replaced by furs, Pacific Ocean products, and Turkish opium. Why the changes? What did this mean for the shipping routes? What did this mean for profits, and how did this affect financing? What kinds of ties were reestablished with our recent enemy, the British, to use British banking houses for long distance financing? Why were Boston and New York initially unable to handle these issues? What changes had to occur in the young republic before it could arrange its own financing? Changes, changes . . . .

The trade brought on all sorts of changes to the young nation. It has been stated that the discovery, expansion and development of the United States is directly tied with Asia, and particularly China. What were the changes in our history, our geography, our economics, our cultural arts, our psychology about ourselves, and others because of these Asian connections? Once students see these changes wrought by such a recent enterprise as our China trade then analogies can be made with longer range linkages. We do not exist in a vacuum; we cannot claim spontaneous generation; we are what we are not because of a separate existence. We are tied inextricably with other cultures and other times, knotted with interactions and looped over and over with changes.

History makes man aware of the possible rather than the probable, allowing him to choose among rational alternatives concerning the time in which he lives. History offers no immutable laws, givens, or inevitables, however, upon which to base such decisions (Commager, 110).

Just because the tribute system had worked for over a thousand years did not make it an immutable law on which the Ch'ing should have made trading decisions, but they did. When they came face to face with superior British naval strength the whole system, already shaky, broke down. Just because the China trade made fortunes for many Americans did not mean that all the trade with China was so profitable or that it was widely accepted by American political leaders. Many ships sank, and many fortunes were lost. Unstable markets, pirates, damaged cargoes, and storms stood in the way of what seemed to be inevitable success. Those Americans who made the most of the trade appear to be those who saw the evolution inherent in the system. Buying and selling of firms (Perkins to Russell), investments in domestic production (the Browns in Providence), and keeping the third generation at home in the United States, these activities reflect the need for farsightedness, the lack of confidence in a system which was naturally changing. Taking some old adages such as "He who hesitates is lost," "Don't change horses in midstream," and "It takes money to make money," the student could explore this principle and the old China trade.

Many politicians and leaders of the economic community also did not appreciate the outflow of silver from this country for what they considered luxury products while the nation was suffering from a

hard-money crisis. There were also men in Congress who did not see the necessity for special legislation to help the China traders, to protect them and give them special tariff privileges (Graham, 234-35). As far as these men were concerned there were many other options for the nation, particularly after the War of 1812. What had been an accepted truism at one point in our history may not necessarily remain so at a future date. The China trade is a good example of this principle.

Ideally, the past should be understood on its own terms. Historical events should be examined in light of the standards, values, attitudes, and beliefs that were dominant during a given period and for a given people rather than evaluated exclusively by twentieth-century standards (Commager, 120).

Perhaps one of the hardest things a person has to do throughout his life is to judge. Deciding the rightness or wrongness of a committed or an omitted act can be difficult. Such judgments must be made in the light of the person's time. Standards for one generation many times do not fit with those set by another. A good example of this is the present controversy about the advertisement of condoms on the television to combat the spread of AIDS. Requiring students to take history out of its context to ask questions such as "How would seventeenth-century Boston Puritans have handled this issue?" is demanding of those students an understanding of the context of the Boston Bay Colony, their standards, their problems, their perspective. Making judgments is a trying predicament for most students much less making judgments for others in different centuries. And yet it is exactly what all students need to do:

understand, appreciate, tolerate, and evaluate other times and other peoples. What is right for the United States of America is not automatically right for Nicaragua; what works in the Soviet Union is not necessarily transferable to Afghanistan. On what terms do we make these judgments?

A good example of generational differences can be taken from the American China trade and opium. Opium had been used in China since time unremembered, much as it had been in most of the world, as medicine, a pain killer. The use of opium changed as its method of usage changed. The Portuguese introduced tobacco to China in the late sixteenth century and the lacing of tobacco with opium following quickly as did addiction. The enormity of the situation was realized by mid-eighteenth century with increased British importation of opium from its nearby India colony. Opium solved a problem which the West had had with China since the beginning of trade relations: what to trade. China's self-sufficiency had made trade difficult as it exchanged unwillingly in anything outside hard currency. The specie drain from the West was a critical factor and some historians even add it to the causes for the collapse of Rome. The fact remains that the West had never come up with a stable, profitable commodity until opium.

The United States entered the opium trade late in relation to other traders but early in our own trading experience. As early as 1804, American merchants were buying opium from the British Levant states and Turkey, and shipping it to China. There were a few firms

which did not deal in opium, having determined that it was morally wrong to do so. Outstanding among them was D. W. C. Olyphant of Philadelphia. What are the factors and attitudes for discerning right from wrong in this case? What are the pressures forcing some merchants to behave in one way, while others take an opposite course? What did the early nineteenth-century Americans know about the Chinese, their economy, their needs, their fears, their world view? Would it have made a difference if we had known? The answers to these questions aid students in reaching decisions about other issues such as the Nestle case and the selling of European radiation-tainted food to Third World countries. What are the pressures forcing some merchants to behave thusly? What are the decisions based upon? What do late twentieth-century Americans know about the Third World, their economy, their needs, their fears, their world view? Would it make a difference if we did know?

The whole issue of trading in purely luxury goods is another issue which not only makes the China trade exotic and exciting, but also makes it difficult for modern-day students to understand. What's the big deal about tea? Silk is hardly a fabric that is in such mass demand as a luxury cloth; in fact, today cotton is more desirable than silk and in some cases more expensive. Porcelain products have a certain following but the secret of porcelain production has long been known and the Chinese no longer have the exclusive monopoly. Glass and plastics have surpassed porcelain for the general populace's needs. Why would men risk their lives and property to go to China for

that? What were the needs of nineteenth-century Americans? What were their standards of beauty, of necessity, of "one-up-manship"? How did American entrepreneurs know that the China trade had the potential for bailing this country out of its economic crisis? What are today's luxury products and where do they come from? What are our standards of beauty, of necessity, of "keeping up with the Joneses"? What is the "Myth of the China Market"? Why is it still alive and well? Who promotes this myth? What are the trade items today? Opium? Tobacco? Ginseng? Cotton? Or are we into a whole new realm of trade relations with advanced technology and ideas?

A much weightier issue is the question of our relationship with China, a relationship reinforced by our assumption throughout the nineteenth century that we were special friends of the Chinese. Our special friendship sought to preserve her integrity, and her territory. Such altruism would be formalized in the Open Door Notes of Secretary of State John Hay in 1900, but their essence was implied in earlier dealings with China. During Anglo-Chinese confrontations, the United States remained neutral. When the smoke had cleared we would pick up the pieces and arrange our own treaty, incorporating those concepts which the British had fought for and won. We could do this and retain our "special relationship," untarnished by the demanding for favors or the shedding of blood.

Earlier instances of this special relationship concern Robert Bennet Forbes, who got around bans on opium importation by setting up docking facilities outside Chinese jurisdiction in Lintin, where opium

could be unloaded, thereby allowing ships to enter Canton free of the contraband. This is clearly neither the spirit, nor the letter, of the Emperor's ban. But somehow, our special relationship remained intact. What did the Americans know about the Chinese government? What did they understand about the Emperor, the bureaucracy, the whole trading structure at Canton? How did they perceive their relationship with a country which obviously was not attending to nineteenth-century trading standards? What was American foreign policy toward China, and East Asia? What were our short, and long, term goals in the area? What were the factors pushing this policy? How do these differ today? What do we know of the Chinese government? What is the trading network of modern China? What are our foreign policy goals? How do these differ from the nineteenth century? Why did we in the post-World War II years talk about the loss of China? How could that question even be asked if that special relationship was not seen as existing? Does that relationship exist today? How does it differ from the relationship we have with other East Asian nations, especially Japan?

Another issue which may be difficult for public schools to handle is that of the changing face of Christianity in Asia. Among the earliest Americans to go to China were missionaries, and one of the most outstanding of these was Peter Parker. Trained as a medical doctor, Parker was in China off and on for over twenty years, ending his career in the diplomatic service. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent Parker to convert the Chinese

to Christianity, but Parker early became engulfed in the demands of his practice, specializing in eye diseases. Because of the crowds of people who flocked to his hospital, the time for evangelizing was limited. His association with the Chinese people, including such outstanding personages as Houqua, made him an invaluable early representative of his nation and his faith, but the American Board did not see this and dismissed him in 1845 for not fulfilling his contract. He was not achieving conversions.

Parker is seen by the twentieth century as an early exponent of the "social gospel," a concept which did not take hold in the mission field until after World War I. Seen in an early nineteenth-century framework, what do Christians know of China, of their ancient beliefs and philosophies, some predating Christianity by thousands of years? What did they know of the family structure, the language, the demands of society? Why despite almost nonexistent conversions, frustration, disease, and inhospitality, did the Chinese mission field remain so ripe? What were nineteenth-century factors underlying the entire movement? Is the myth of China lessened or enhanced by the missionaries? It should not be unusual to find that among our students their first contact with Asia came from a missionary returning from the field on leave. What were their impressions from this encounter? What did they learn about Asia? Does this knowledge fit with facts? Is missionary reality the same as historical reality?

Questions like these prompt more than just an examination of the trade, but rather place students in a position for analyzing larger

issues and trends in American history. This analysis will lead to a broader scope of American history, a history not locked in a vacuum of its own time and space, but within the larger framework of an interdependent world.

Rarely can complex historical events be explained in terms of a simple, one-to-one, cause-and-effect relationship. Rather, a study of the past indicates that multiple-causation is the dominant pattern (Commager, 131).

If one takes the three-pronged statement that America's discovery, expansion, and development are deeply rooted in Asia, and particularly China, the above principle is clear. The discovery of the New World was not a purposeful happening. It was not the New World Columbus was after! He had read of Marco Polo's travels and was enthralled with the notion of Asia and the possibility of sailing west to reach the East. Circumventing the Arabs had become an economic necessity since the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Spain, led by two enthusiastic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, saw the potential for profit, fame, and religious fulfillment riding on the imminent defeat of the Moslems. The error of geography which produced the discovery of the New World was not a simple one, but a complex one full of the hopes and dreams and ambitions of many Europeans.

The expansion of this country across the Alleghenies, the Great Plains, and the Rocky Mountains, on to the Pacific, and then to the purchase of Alaska, and the acquisition of Hawaii and the Philippines, the wars with our northern and southern neighbors for stable borders can be reflected in our China trade. The desire to find out how wide this corridor separating us from China was and the need to protect our

China links and markets were vital issues. Many of the explorations of this continent up through the nineteenth century were directly connected with the finding of a Northwest Passage to Asia. Thomas Jefferson, prompted by John Ledyard, had China on his mind when he sent out Lewis and Clark. Thomas Hart Benton's statue facing the west in St. Louis attests to his belief in this destined connection. Its inscription reads: "There is the East. There is the Road to India" (Greenbie, xii).

The development of this young nation is firmly based on profits made from the China trade. China trade profits were made early in the trade and by the 1830s and '40s the trade was concentrated in a few familial firms, such as Perkins and Russell. Other families had not completely extricated themselves from the trade but had begun to diversify, as the Browns of Providence did by investing in textile mills and metal production. Firms remained in shipping and ship building but did not put all their ships in one ocean. Development of extensive overseas markets in the Baltic and Mediterranean far outdistanced Asian waters prior to the Civil War. Intercoastal trading and the more traditional carrying trade increased in volume particularly after the War of 1812. The early development of the nation's railroads is directly linked with China trade money and expertise. Canals and interstate transportation networks, as embodied in Clay's American System, reveal close ties to the thinking patterns which emerged from the China trade. The entrepreneurial skills and the financial expertise developed for the China experience worked well

in the international business dealings of the cotton trade for the South and the industrial development of the North prior to the Civil War.

Multiple causation can never be seen in merely economic or political terms but also must be examined in view of the philosophical climate of the era. In nineteenth-century America, the philosophy of the Enlightenment and Romanticism were both holding court. The Enlightenment saw the Chinese as the leaders in a stable known world in which morally superior emperors cared for their people in a land of plenty; no one starved or went without adequate housing. All of this information about China was upheld by documents which the Europeans had access to in Jesuit writings. This European fascination with the Chinese was transferred intact to the young America. Later Romantics built upon this picture of an exotic, distant land portrayed in its products: the luxurious silks, the porcelains showing lovely scenes and sensitive people, and the delicious teas.

Add to this atmosphere, the revival of Protestant fervor which affected the young nation soon after the Revolution. This movement was very reminiscent of the eighteenth-century's Great Awakening. Peter Parker was only one of the young men of this nation who was moved by this religious experience and felt compelled to go to China. Romantic and enlightened American admirers of the Chinese politically and economically did not preclude other Americans from worrying about the destiny of their souls. Going to far distant lands to save people fitted well with the Romanticism of the era. The trade with China,

then, became an extension of philosophical themes of the early nineteenth century.

The record of the past is irremediably fragmentary, selective, and biased. The significance of available historical "facts" varies with the individual who studies them, and each generation tends to recreate and rewrite history in terms of its own needs, aspirations, and point of view (Commager, 139).

Henry Steele Commager identified five component parts to this principle: 1) individuals who were involved directly in the incident; 2) other individuals; 3) explanation of the event and the people involved by another at a later date; 4) explanation of the same event from different periods; and 5) explanation of the event based on the available data (Commager, 145-54). Using this principle and its parts to flesh out a person or an event in the history of America's China trade would be very exciting. There are many interesting people and events to choose from, but one area of contemporary interest is women's history. What role, if any, did women play in the China trade? A good example to use is Harriet Low, who with her aunt Abigail and uncle, William Henry Low, was in Manila, Macao, and the Cape of Good Hope from 1829-1834. Harriet, the twenty-year old daughter of Seth Low, the great China trader and partner in Russell and Co., spent her time in Macao, wishing she could be where the action was in Canton. Finally, her youthful spirit could bear it no longer, she and her aunt (who probably went along to protect her headstrong niece rather than from any spirit of adventure!) went to Canton in disguise. It did not take the Chinese authorities long to discover this transgression of the law against women in Canton and

trade was halted until they removed themselves. Who is this young woman? Did this adventure remain a high point in her life? Did it affect the way she managed her later life? Did her stay in Macao, falling in and out of love with all the young men there, make her later life as a wife and mother dull by comparison? The time of her meeting with famous men has been immortalized in a small portrait by George Chinnery. In looking at the painting at the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, what can we know about her? There is a very curious little smile, a comic tilt to her head. What kind of scamp was she? How did she take the death of her beloved uncle in the Cape of Good Hope on the way home? Was she the comfort to her aunt that her aunt was to her in China? Many of the answers to these questions can be gleaned from her diary which her daughter edited and published in 1900.

Harriet Low provides an individual directly involved in the early American China trade, one who can be spoken of by her contemporaries and then can be seen by later generations. She is also someone who is interesting to examine from the point of view of her own age as well as our own. How does she differ from young women today in her wants, needs, and fears? The clues about her are available in data from her own writings, portraits, and remembrances of her immediate family and later her own children.

This same exercise can be used again with Robert Bennet Forbes, one of the most original, and attractive, China traders. Going to Canton as a young boy, he would make and lose fortunes in China,

repeatedly returning to recoup his losses and simultaneously spanning the trade's transition from sail to steam. He made one of his fortunes trading in opium. But trading in such a controversial, yet lucrative substance must be seen in Forbes' appreciation of the Chinese which outdistances his contemporaries' understandings. Views of him can be gleaned from his own writings, Personal Reminiscences (1882) and Remarks on China and the China Trade (1844), as well as from contemporaries such as his uncle Thomas H. Perkins, and Freeman Hunt, editor of Hunt's Merchants Magazine. Later writers will see him as part of the larger picture of the early trading days and their demise with the era of the treaty ports and the magnificent, but short-lived clippers. Different perspectives on Forbes are available through his early trading experiences, his set-up at Lintin, and his later work with aged sailors in Massachusetts. What are the clues about Forbes the man? What interpretations can be made? In the final analysis, what made this man tick?

Each generation has its own needs and dreams, hopes and fears. What does this generation need to see in the early American China trade? What hopes does it have for the future of our relations with the Chinese? What dreams do we want to fulfill with this nation which catapulted itself into the twentieth century after almost a hundred years of war and revolution? Individuals, both Chinese and American, as well as single events can often be used to answer these questions and the China trade offers the scenario for in-depth questions and analysis.

There are, however, problems, and the chief among them is access to material. By taking a look at the majority of American history textbooks, the teacher will be hard pressed to find materials on the trade. Individual Americans involved in the trade, even if present, are rarely mentioned for their involvement in the trade. For example, if Robert Morris is in the text, he will be there for his financial work during the Revolution, but no mention will be made of his organizing and financing of the Empress of China and America's first successful trip to Canton. Thomas Jefferson and all his associations with John Ledyard, the Louisiana Purchase, Lewis and Clark, and the Embargo of 1807 may well be discussed in the text but never in relation to the China trade. Highly visible individuals in the trade such as Samuel Shaw, Thomas Perkins, Elias Derby, Robert Bennet Forbes, Stephen Girard, and John Jacob Astor will rarely surface.

The answer to this problem is that the materials are not to be found in textbooks. They are found in basic historical research, for instance, in getting students to look at local history, in having them take advantage of materials which are being produced at a surprisingly rapid pace by such institutions as the Peabody Museum of Salem, the National Portrait Gallery, Jackdaw publications, and locally organized historical consortia, such as the South Atlantic States Association for Asian and African Studies. Curriculum coordinators in most states have access to such materials as well as specialists on call to help out with the formation of units and to aid in the gathering of materials. Infusing the American China trade into the existing

curriculum is going to take imagination and the use of the historical method of gathering facts, analyzing them, judging their value, and synthesizing them into the format already in place. The study of the trade gives the opportunity for the teacher to incorporate not only the material but also the methodology which can be transferred to other areas not readily accessible through available textbooks.

Another problem is effective strategies for infusing this material into existing teaching materials and guides. With the increased pressure to "teach to the test," to be accountable for teaching certain competencies, and competency levels, the addition of "new" material, which will in all probability not be "on the test," is unlikely. The complaint of many teachers is that there is not enough time to teach what must be taught, much less an extra.

The answer to this problem is that this type of material must be taught. In this time of increased conservatism, rising ethnocentricity, and protectionism (despite the new catch word of "competitiveness") the subject of the American China trade affords teachers an opportunity to combat all three of these traits. No American history course can be taught without the overriding discussions of discovery, exploration, expansion, and development. To teach these large ideas through the focus of our Asian connection--and this can be done not just for the early years of the trade, but up to the immediate present--would be to place the United States in a global network, an interdependency that has been with us since the very beginning of our nation. We did not become Americans alone; this

country did not spring forth full blown; we are what we are because of the influence of others. Those others are not just the honored forefathers and our European cousins. Those others are Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans. To lead a student to this world view, the teacher may use the early American China trade as the vehicle to a more global concept of our young nation and to a wider vision of our future.

The processes of learning, problem solving, evaluating, and acting upon these decisions are all processes expounded by the social studies. These are all goals for which the social studies strive. The general study of history, the keystone of the social studies, and the specific study of the American China trade, a focus for the still-emerging United States, provide an avenue of education for all ages. The concept of "learning how to learn" is one which must be better taught in our public schools. The tools used in the study of history--gather facts, devise an idea, inquire into that problem, criticize it, and arrive at a workable solution--these are tools which are used in every phase of life. If the leading goal of the social studies is to provide good citizens, then the study of history and the social sciences is a major national requirement for citizenship. The desire for lifelong learning, life-time citizenship, should be desired goals of every student; studenthood should be a fact of life, a state of being until death do us part! Many people come to history late in their lives. The enjoyment of biography, the reliving of a war experience, the sheer fun of genealogical work--why must this be an

opsimathic activity? Perhaps through enthusiastic, relevant presentations, which can be made to resonate in the student's life, we can rear up generations of lifelong learners who will be good, responsible citizens of the world.

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CHAPTER III  
A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR AN AMERICAN  
CHINA TRADE CURRICULUM MODULE

The history of the American republic is deeply rooted in Asia. North America's discovery, United States' geographic and economic expansion, and industrial development are outgrowths of Asian involvement. Early American tastes, fashion, and culture were strongly affected by the trade. Not to teach this trade/cultural relationship is to deny a vital element in our early history as well as to ignore one of the bases of contemporary economics, foreign policy, and popular culture. Thus the infusion of America's China trade into a social studies curriculum presents teacher and student with unique learning opportunities.

The early American China trade gives teachers and students an opening through which to see themselves in a community, a state, a region, a nation, and a single world--not an individual isolated in historical or geographical cliches: mill town, border state, the Sunbelt, democratic bastion, Free World. This broad approach is one of the reasons that the study of the trade can be applied to several different academic levels of learning as well as a variety of abilities and interests. It also responds to an increased awareness by our nation's leadership that today's students/citizens do not have a solid grounding in geography, foreign languages, and international

issues. Economic conditions are not exclusive concerns of the Interstate Commerce Commission; they are international problems being peripherally dealt with by a citizenry that believes that the "state" of Atlanta borders North Carolina, (Salholz, 67) and that Central America is Kansas.

Curriculum guides published by individual states and educational groups commend the teaching of high-minded goals and objectives, such as, the student will see himself in an interdependent, global world; the student will recognize the uniqueness of the American experience while acknowledging the contributions of other cultures to his nation's development; the student will develop, in appreciating his nation's past, an ability to plan for his commitment to citizenship. Such worthy goals are then presented to the teacher, who has, in too many cases, an inadequate background of the specific field, few research skills or concepts of methodology, and faulty teaching materials. In addition to these worthy goals, students must be produced who can score passing marks on examinations to meet state requirements for competency.

One of the inherent problems with teaching exciting social studies is the absence of stimulating and intellectually demanding textbooks and resources. The use of original sources and good secondary materials will help to correct this dearth. Teachers can introduce students to both, most of which are available in nearby college and university libraries in hard copies or on microfilm. In the past twenty-five years, many of the nineteenth-century journals,

ships' logs, diaries, and letters, comprising what used to be referred to as "literature" and often times anthologized in collections of early American writings, have been reprinted. Sentence structure and vocabulary notwithstanding, these sources are lively, readable accounts spoken by the actual participants in this provocative era of American history. The Library of the American Civilization is a microfilm collection of early American writings which many libraries have on site or have access to through interlibrary loan facilities. This microfilm can be inexpensively xeroxed so that these resources, many of which are held in the original in vaults of prestigious libraries, such as the Library of Congress, become available as in-class materials. Not a few contain maps of Canton, the hong site, hand-drawn duplications of documents; all can be easily and legally xeroxed. Samuel Shaw's journal, Harriet Low's diary, Robert B. Forbes and Hosea Ballou Morse's memoirs are primary sources for use with students of varied levels of ability, interests and age.

One of the common complaints about social studies and history is that it is not relevant. It does not speak to "my present" needs. Secondary school social studies must confront the issues which face these students:

adolescent girls facing their own feminine future: what were the roles of women in this trade both at home and abroad?

young people looking to questions of their own faith: what role did religion play in this seemingly purely economic situation?

rising citizens examining the role which the United States government and military played in these first sixty years of the trade: what part did either organization fulfill in the development of our early China policy? What relation does this beginning have to the situation today? Homogeneous students in an increasingly heterogeneous world asking questions about cultural change and diversity: where do I fit? what can I do globally? how must I act locally?

All of these questions can be funneled through the early American China trade. The teacher has an opportunity to give a truthful account of the world, not an account from a textbook written to suit the present political and philosophical needs of a nation.

The Taba Social Studies Project (1969-70) isolated eleven key concepts from a variety of social studies curricula. All of these concepts do not necessarily appear in any one curriculum but these are key concepts found in some form in all social studies curricula. The eleven are: ". . . causality, conflict, cooperation, cultural change, differences, interdependence, modification, power, societal control, tradition, and values" (Banks, 401). These concepts, ideals, and attitudes have been recognized in the teaching profession as ones which should be encouraged. An infusion of the American China trade into the social studies programs will allow for teaching these eleven concepts.

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Lois Edinger, professor at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, has presented several specific organizing ideas, which can be used as guides to aid in focusing the study of the American China trade in the present social studies curriculum (Edinger).

These are:

- 1) The early American China trade was an important component in the growth of the American economy.
- 2) The journey by sea to Asia began a major phase in United States history relative to trade, missionary and medical outreach, diplomacy, and cultural and intellectual life.
- 3) American belief in manifest destiny encompassed the continuing westward migration to include the trade with China.
- 4) Profits made in the China trade were used in the nation's industrial development in the period prior to the Civil War.
- 5) The entrance of the United States into the China trade was viewed by the Chinese and by later historians as part of the larger European presence in Asia.
- 6) The United States has had a continuing fascination with the Orient, a fascination built more on myth than reality.

Each of these organizing ideas could form the wedge for inserting America's trade with China into the existing materials: bankrupt America after the Revolution; the second Great Awakening, the Transcendental movement, and the early reform movements; the footholds in Washington and Oregon including the growing importance of California, Alaska and Hawaii; Clay's American system; continuing European influence and growing world imperialism and American participation in both; and the growth of America's "special

relationship" with one of the world's oldest civilizations. America's China trade is not just an economic consideration as is apparent from this partial topical list, and this is exactly what makes it such an adaptable study for the social studies unit whether it is state and local history, national or world history. It is in the recognition of this versatility that the teacher realizes the potential for richness and variety in the existing, required curriculum.

Making decisions about the content appropriate to achieve these objectives may be made easier if the Taba Social Studies Project is recalled along with state guidelines/handbooks. Using the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction's Teacher Handbook: Social Studies K-12, a teacher can identify the objectives sought and appropriate methodology. The framework, which follows, will aid in bringing together the concepts as listed by the Taba Social Studies Project, the organizing ideas as formulated by Dr. Edinger, and some content samples which have been discussed throughout this paper. Following the framework, a fuller discussion of each grade level will be presented.

Grade 7: The Eastern Hemisphere--Africa and Asia

CONCEPTS: Cultural Change, Tradition, Values, Modification

ORGANIZING IDEA: The United States has had a continuing fascination with the Orient, a fascination built more on myth than reality.

CONTENT SAMPLES: Physical geography: use the various routes the West used to reach the East: Old Silk Road overland. India route via Cape of Good Hope. Atlantic-Cape Horn-Pacific route. Growing importance of Oregon/Washington coast, Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippines.

Discuss the old myths of "El Dorado" and the "Gold of Ophir."

Cultural geography: use the routes and the changes brought about by these routes to those who took them as well as those who received the travelers. Early travelers' accounts and their importance to myth-building.

Variety of environments: creation of multiplicity of life styles.

How are these related to their environments as well as to one another? How do traditional bases of societies influence contemporary societies? Discuss the ethnocentricity inbred in China's culture, traditions and values as well as China's attitude toward "barbarians" within the Chinese social strata.

Products: exchange of goods, ideas, and values. How have these influenced the sense of fascination? Are they, in fact, a basis for the myth?

Grade 8: North Carolina History--The History of an American State

CONCEPTS: Cultural Change, Differences, Tradition

ORGANIZING IDEA: The journey by sea to Asia began a major phase in United States history relative to trade, missionary and medical outreach, diplomacy, and cultural and intellectual life. Gear this goal specifically to North Carolina.

CONTENT SAMPLES: The economic, social, and philosophical values of the United States and North Carolina transplanted to a far distant land. Emphasis on the uniqueness of North Carolina with constant reminders of its place within the total United States historical framework. Who was changing whom? On a balance sheet, which side contributed the most? What kinds of things were traded? Were all the traded goods tangible? What was the impact of the objects on North Carolina and China?

Discussion of the parallels of North Carolina and the United States' involvement in China. How does the state mirror what is happening on the national level? Number of ways which North Carolina exhibits the national mainstream.

How have we changed one another? Was China's entrance into the twentieth century made different by North Carolina's participation in her history? What impact does China have in North Carolina today?

Grade 9: The Economic, Legal, and Political Systems in Action

CONCEPTS: Interdependence, Power, Causality

ORGANIZING IDEA: The early American China trade was an important component in the growth of the American economy. Profits made in the China trade were used in the nation's industrial development in the period prior to the Civil War.

CONTENT SAMPLE: What were the economic problems faced by the republic? Background of the China trade from our European experience. Why did Robert Morris see the China trade as a possible solution for the young nation's economic woes?

Appearance of America's first millionaires. Products, routes, and diversion of funds into the trade and into domestic growth and production. Use of the China trade dollars for factories and economic expansion (railroads, shipping lines, factories). Specific families involved (Forbes, Brown, Sturgis, Low).

Expansion beyond our own borders for markets for our products as well as to protect our coaling stations and trade contacts.

Role of the government and the military in the early trade and post-Opium War developments. Laws and tariffs enacted in response to the China trade. Transfer knowledge of old China trade to contemporary international trade in Asia. Roles played by individuals, government, military, cartels, etc.

Grade 10: World Studies

CONCEPTS: Conflict, Cooperation

ORGANIZING IDEA: The entrance of the United States in the China trade was viewed by the Chinese and later historians as part of the larger European presence in Asia.

CONTENT SAMPLE: The roots of Chinese influence on the world. See literature, philosophy, mathematics, politics, art, architecture, drama, music, popular culture, and food. Read early western accounts of visits to China beginning with the Greeks.

Shifts in balance of power as western imperialism begins to find its roots in Asia, particularly China with its luxury products and later as a source of markets and raw materials for the growing industrialism of the West.

Grade 11: United States History

CONCEPTS: Power, Imperialism

ORGANIZING IDEA: American belief in manifest destiny encompassed the continuing westward migration to include the trade with China.

CONTENT SAMPLE: American intrusion into Asia, particularly China, for goods and later markets for our products. Outlets for our philosophical and political fervor as the nation moves westward. Expansion of industrial and transportation bases. Importance of United States' west coast from Alaska to California, and including Hawaii.

Influence of China in United States and vice versa.

Ramifications for 20th century in both world wars and the post-Mao period.

Contemporary trade. Compare with the old China trade. How are the problems and prospects of these two eras of trade similar?

Discussion of continuing myth/reality.

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In grade seven the study of Africa and Asia is mandated. This course is primarily one of cultural geography and anthropology; it does not predetermine the countries to be studied. In my experience in the public schools doing special emphasis programs, the countries chosen have usually been Asian, China, Japan, and India leading the way, while African nations have played a decidedly secondary role. When Africa is studied, it tends to be through the use of Egypt and South Africa. There are many reasons for this situation not the least of which are student interest and access to materials.

The China trade generally and America's early trade with China specifically would be simple infusions into these units, both Asian and African. Since the emphasis at this grade level is geographic, the routes used--the traditional Indian Ocean versus the newer Atlantic-Cape Horn-Pacific Ocean--would provide the base for a discussion of the basic routes, economic and political problems and decisions made based upon the routes, in other words, a forum on economic determinism, employing questions of cause and effect on a global scale. Even in a study of the African continent and particularly its eastern coast, the China trade would be an unusual focus for the discussion of geography, products, individual traders, and politics. The Ming voyages of the fifteenth century are an excellent example of Chinese foreign trade; the West going to China for its unique products is the historical norm. What are these unusual trading voyages, apparently the reverse of what we normally see, all about? What did they learn of Africa? What products did

they buy and sell? What impact did this have on China and why were the voyages suddenly terminated? This exercise could prove to be an interesting exercise in cultural geography about two very different cultures as well as a starting point for a discussion of aborted interdependence and what is implied in such an occurrence.

In North Carolina's grade eight social studies, the state is studied from the discipline of history. The emphasis is on ". . . the building of tradition that gives continuity in society, the complex process of change, and the forces, personalities, and events which underline the transformation of society" (NCDPI, 357). Colonial, revolutionary, and ante bellum North Carolina never had the China trade which other south Atlantic states had such as Maryland and South Carolina. North Carolina's China connection begins to emerge after the Civil War with the entry into China of many North Carolinians as missionaries, merchants, and military men. This participation has been well-documented in a production by the North Carolina China Council, 1981. Using these slides and accompanying text and tape, an eighth grade teacher could effectively show the nineteenth-century China trade and its influence on China and North Carolina. The tobacco industry alone through the British-American Tobacco Co. and James B. Duke provides a fascinating topic for a class to pursue particularly with all its modern ramifications. A teacher might even get into ethical questions about the continued participation of North Carolina firms in exporting tobacco and tobacco machinery to China when such products have been proven to be carcinogenic.

Certainly with the several large bases for soldiers and sailors in North Carolina, the national interest in China would be a lively topic of discussion. How did we come to have gunboats on the Yangtze? What about the Marine's participation in the rescue of the embassies in the Boxer Rebellion? The missionary movement in North Carolina has always been strong and as many missionaries have retired in the state, they are available for in-class presentations of their wide experiences. Many students know missionaries personally from their own churches. Are they aware of these rich resources?

Local history projects from a multitude of different China connection angles is an obvious approach. How is North Carolina different because of China? How did (does) North Carolina affect China? What is the background of North Carolina's present relationship with this ancient civilization? There are several dozen exchanges with the People's Republic of China, the Republic of China, and North Carolina colleges, universities and industries. Many of these Chinese speak excellent English and are more than willing to come into the classroom as resource persons.

Perhaps by viewing the present, the student will be more anxious to explore the past. Where did all this begin? Why a North Carolina China connection? By approaching this subject in such an active, present form the hoped-for result can be achieved: the student will ". . . gain an understanding of and respect for the cultural pluralism that characterizes the American experience" (NCDPI, 358).

Using "North Carolina's China Connection", the teacher can explore many of the above avenues to discussing North Carolina's history. The China trade allows for an expanded view of this individual state history incorporating economics, politics, arts and culture, philosophy, and international activity. Such a wide, global approach to North Carolina will dovetail into grade nine's study of economics, and the eleventh grade's survey of United States history. Much of what North Carolina did in China parallels mainstream America's role of outreach into Asia.

The North Carolina grade nine social studies focuses on economics and political science, justifying this two-semester emphasis on the realization that for many students this is their last year in school. For these future working, voting citizens, it may be a last chance to impress upon them their place in the economic and political scheme of the city, state, nation, and world. This course is for most students their introduction to basic economic concepts. One of the objectives of this study is that "The learner will have a continuing awareness and understanding of issues and problems confronting the economic, legal, and political systems" (NCDPI, 477). These systems, though independent are also interdependent upon one another as a nation endeavors to fulfill its obligations and responsibilities to its citizenry. America's China trade provides material for several different conceptualizations of this single sophisticated objective.

Because of the richness of materials available for the study of America's China trade, different approaches can be used and varied with ease in consideration of the student audience. What were the issues and problems inherent in the old China trade? A review of the geography, transportation, items of trade, problems inherent in the Chinese trading system, and individuals involved will remind students of what they already know from previous years' study. In a discussion of the economic problems which confronted the young nation, how are such basic economic ideas as supply and demand, scarcity, free enterprise, entrepreneurial skills, and production met and solved? Economic and political problem-solving sessions can center around such issues as the role of government in the early China trade, the influence of China traders on Congress, and the drawing of contrasts and comparisons with contemporary trade relations with China.

The early American China trade changed dramatically the economic and political structure of the young republic. The transportation network (railroads and canals), many early tariff enactments, the leadership cliques of the northeast, and the founding of large, monied institutions (insurance and banking) were in direct response to the early successes of the China trade. American dependence on this early stimulus for its development is readily apparent for any course emphasizing economics and politics. As these two are by nature so strongly intertwined, the China trade makes for a natural illustration of this co-evolution. Non-continuing students can, through a study of the trade, transfer this knowledge to contemporary North Carolina, the

United States' dealings with foreign countries. Using the old China trade as a metaphor for present trade transactions, many students may see that protectionism and restrictive trade legislations are not necessarily the answer to import/export issues. Continuing students will note that many of the ideas incorporated in this particular study are transferable to other subjects, and particularly to the next year's study in world history in which economics and politics play such large roles in the determining of global history.

Grade ten is an expansion of grades 5-6-7 entitled "World Studies." It examines ". . . the impact of non-Western civilizations on the West and upon world culture" (NCDPI, 545). The deep, historic roots of America's China trade are found in a variety of sources among which are the writings of Marco Polo, the journals and articles of the early Jesuit missionaries to China, the French chinoiserie movement, British imperialism, and the early American republic's leadership. The impact of China on these different cultures and then the reverberations are seen in literature (both prose and poetry), philosophy, art and architecture, popular culture, such as drama, music, and film as well as apparel, textiles, and jewelry. The complex interdependence of the world, whether it is referred to as non-Western or non-Eastern (!) is such a dynamic topic that grade ten social studies should be one of the richest experiences in the secondary curriculum.

One topic which must be re-emphasized in such a world study is western expansion into all of Asia. China is an easy target for such

a discussion as the major European nations had already made inroads into China long before the United States' 1784 entrance. The China trade is easily focused for students as it was primarily the products of China which attracted the West. China's reaction to this merchandising mania by mid-eighteenth century was to confine these intruding barbarians to Canton, where they must comply with the imperial hong system or be denied the trade. The remaining years of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are for the West years of altering the system to gain greater contact with Asian goods and minds. The history of western penetration into Asia is the story of the triumph of nineteenth-century industrialism, in search of markets and raw materials, over ancient civilizations. These civilizations were rich in buying power and raw materials, feeding the growing imperialism of the West, but weak in any ability to fight off the intrusions of the technologically advanced western nations. The China trade, well into the twentieth century, can demonstrate this rapid and truly phenomenal shift in the balances of power in world politics.

United States history is taught for the final time in grade eleven in North Carolina. The approach is through the use of multiple causation and ". . . competing schools of historical thought" (NCDPI, 593). The first seven competency goals (NCDPI, 596-616) areas are:

1. The learner will know important developments in American history from the pre-Columbian period of exploration and discovery.
  2. The learner will know that European nations differed in their methods of colonizing the Americas.
  3. The learner will know important aspects of life in colonial America.
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4. The learner will know the causes and effects, major events, and major personalities of the Revolutionary War.
5. The learner will know how the problems created by the Articles of Confederation led to the development of the Constitution.
6. The learner will know major trends, events, and problems of the "new nation."
7. The learner will know that the period of 1815-1850 was a time of both nationalism and sectionalism.

No specific mention is made of the China trade or the part it played in the discovery, exploration, expansion and development of the United States. The trade beginning in 1784 and continuing to the present, individuals involved, traders, diplomats, missionaries, merchants, and the military are not listed. Using "North Carolina China Connection," the teacher can demonstrate in this individual case study the sources of American expansion into China. How did these contacts with China contribute to the growth of the United States. Why did the United States, so anxious for markets (for industrial products as well as religious fervor) not become a colonial power like other western nations? Thus, aware of such important themes and questions in American history, the teacher adds flavor and excitement to these otherwise unimaginative objectives, and produces not only citizens excited about their past, but individuals more in harmony with their global future.

The framework has presented several concepts, organizing ideas and content samples for five grade levels of study as outlined by North Carolina. This material need not be used in the same way each year and, with the richness of the materials, even an annual rerun can

be avoided; the China trade invites change in material used as well as approaches to different topics and interests. Though it can be used unto itself, it can be seen as enrichment materials for the standard textbook narratives. However, decisions about what to include in the actual unit must be based on difficult, professional questions. The Taba Social Studies Project presented five areas of questioning which aid in this selection process. They concern validity, significance, appropriateness, durability, and balance (Banks, 403).

Validity refers to the discipline on which the material is based. Can the material being used be substantiated, what are the sources of this knowledge, can the knowledge be transmitted through more than an oral tradition? Students often know wonderful stories of history; they are just that--stories. Myth and legend have a valid place in history but they must be so identified. There is quite enough material in the truth to make fiction pale without adding unvalidated romanticisms. The American China trade abounds in truth which reads like fiction; the excitement of the good story is hardly lacking in this material and virtually all of it can be authenticated.

Significance of the material refers to the relevance and timeliness of the material. If there is one issue that most students agree upon when discussing history it is "So what does this have to do with me?" With over half the people in the world Chinese, it should certainly be a requirement that the United States understand its two-hundred-and-two-year-old dealings with this civilization. What is the basis for this special relationship? How does our joint history

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affect the parties involved? What is our mutual indebtedness? Based on the past what does the future hold for these world partners?

Appropriateness deals with students' specific needs and maturation levels. The American China trade is such a rich field that depending upon the audience's interests, background, and age the materials can be greatly modified without loss of integrity. Middle school students in North Carolina studying Asia might well look at Pacific/Asian trade from the Chinese perspective. Products for foreign export versus products for domestic consumption; history of western encounters and the way these influenced China's history and development; Chinese geography and the way geography determines outcome in trade and production. Senior high school students in American history would find the early years of the China trade particularly helpful in discussing the early exploration of the thirteen colonies, colonial tastes and culture, early republican economics, and pre-Civil War entrepreneurs involved in expansion and development of industries. College undergraduates can explore the literature using primary and secondary sources to understand early American development of trade relations, foreign policy, and the foundations of Sino-American relations. Elderhostel classes, rich in personal background, readings, and travel experiences, come to the China trade with wide perspectives. Interest in porcelain, clippers, individual family involvement in the trade, and present-day implications are only a few of the areas of possible study.

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Durability and balance are perhaps the most important questions to be considered in choosing materials. There is so much material in these first sixty years of the trade that one is often tempted to choose the exciting, the romantic, the exotic. Yet, these may reveal very little about the important issues, the development of the wider scope, the great depth of understanding. One of the most widespread criticisms of history and social studies teaching is that it is superficial, lacking in any depth, and taught only to achieve test results. As a result, there is no understanding, no interpretative skill development, and no transfer of knowledge or methodology to other areas of study. A study of the American China trade allows for "post holding." Take the China trade as one attempt that the new republic tried to recover economically from the Revolution. Many of the individuals involved, the expertise required, the skills developed were the same ones which will appear in later American industrial endeavors. Knowledge gained in one area can be transferred to other areas: familial bonds and long-distance trading were two characteristics important in the China trade. These will show up in the later development of the Trans-Continental Railroad. Transfer this knowledge as the China traders did; enable students to pick up knowledge from one study and apply it to later inquiries. Knowledge about the trade will not disappear or be dumped as soon as the test is taken.

Decisions about what to include in the unit should be made on these criteria and they should also be chosen on the basis of what the

unit already contains. The infusion of the American China trade into the social studies curriculum is just that: an infusion--not a revision. The infusion of the American China trade is spice, the soupcon for an existing unit. On the basis of what is being attempted, the American China trade can be added to give the additional dimension, the opportunity to change the angle, to alter the usual frame of reference.

The American China trade offers a variety of activities including all the old stand-bys such as map work, flow charts, individual case-studies, group work on specific traders or companies, role playing, etc. It is also tailor-made for local history projects. One way to awaken student awareness of their own local China connection is to use the North Carolina China Council's production, which reveals China as a place of work, and China as home to North Carolinians. This exhibit housed at Warren Wilson College in Swannanoa, North Carolina, is available for transportation costs across the state.

Primary sources for use in teaching the China trade are invaluable and must be made available to the class, but there are a variety of other resources which reveal an array of materials. For background content, the teacher can consult several standard works, such as Tyler Dennett's Americans in East Asia and John K. Fairbank's The United States and China, both of which provide solid information and excellent bibliographies. Jonathan Spence's To Change China: American Advisors in China, 1620-1960 and James C. Thomson, Peter Stanley, and John C. Perry's Sentimental Imperialists: The American

Experience in East Asia, both available in paperback not only provide scholarly background, but their readable style, and emphasis on individual involvement in China, provide personalized, exciting reading for the better student. Spence's endnotes and Thomson's suggestions for further reading furnish good leads for students. Despite their romantic styles, Helen Augur's Tall Ships to Cathay and Sidney and Marjorie Greenbie's Gold of Ophir: The Lure that Made America are good early accounts of the China trade; the first concentrating on the A. A. Low family of New York, and the second a more general cultural approach to the trade. Several books are available written with the younger reader in mind: Francis R. Carpenter, The Old China Trade: Americans in Canton, 1784-1843, Helen Augur, Passage to Glory: John Ledyard's America, and James Connolly, Canton Captain (Robert Bennet Forbes). Oscar R. Armstrong's "Opening China" in the March-April, 1982 American Heritage contains a good text and several fine pictures of ships, ports, and trade items. Even though taken from a later time period, Burton F. Beer's book, China in Old Photographs, 1860-1910 provides a timeless look at nineteenth China port life and individuals.

Focus on Asian Studies, a publication of the Asia Society in New York, is a thrice-yearly published magazine rich in resources. The winter 1986 volume was devoted to Asian trade, both the historic and present versions. This particular issue gave resources to tap, including the Jackdaw packet (#A22) which contains portraits of China traders, both American and Chinese, excerpts from ship's journals and

manifests, maps, routes, and well-documented background information.

The bicentennial celebration of the trade took place in 1984. New York, Boston, and Philadelphia as well as some of the other participating ports used the occasion to publicize and reprint many books, i.e. Samuel Eliot Morison's The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860 and Jean McClure Mudge's Chinese Export Porcelain. A wide range of catalogues appeared from museums and historical societies including two from the Peabody Museum of Salem, Christina Nelson, Directly from China: Export Goods for the American Market, 1784-1930 and Ellen Decker, After the Chinese Taste: China's Influence in America, 1730-1930, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art special catalogue Philadelphians and the China Trade, 1784-1844. The National Portrait Gallery staged a small, elegant exhibit entitled "Adventurous Pursuits," and produced a catalogue of the same name. Internationally traveling exhibits featuring the ancient beginnings of the trade were at large museums in North America, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the accompanying catalogue, Silk Roads-China Ships, furnished impressive reminders of the depth of the trade. Our late entrance into this old trade is seen in Philadelphia Maritime Museum's publication of P. C. F. Smith's book The Empress of China, filled with readable, exciting text, beautiful pictures, excellent notes and bibliography. These examples reveal some of the current scholarly yet popular materials available.

One of the best sources for Chinese influence on popular culture, design, fashions, etc., are magazines such as Architectural Digest,

and Antiques. Frequent issues appear featuring porcelain, furniture, painting, architectural and horticultural influences, clothing and jewelry. The China trade and its later effects on literature, and film can be found in more specialized publications but they too are easily procured.

The bicentennial celebration of the trade also produced some interesting reverberations such as the impetus behind the restoration of Southport Seaport near the Battery in New York City. Part of the motivation for moving the China trade collection from the Museum of the American China trade in Milton, Massachusetts to the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts was the renewed interest spurred by the trade's bicentennial. At the Peabody, more of the public would be aware of the fine collection put together by the Forbes family. One of the results of this consolidation is that the Peabody Museum probably has the finest collection of American China trade materials in the world. Publications from the Peabody are beautifully and lovingly done. Their educational outreach program would be an excellent resource for any teaching project.

The bibliography at the end of this dissertation represents over four years of reading and searching. The few books listed above will lead any reader to many of the basic texts, which will, in turn, lead to others. Specialized collections and journal articles are included to help with specific needs and interests.

The inclusion of America's China trade into the multi-layered social studies curriculum should be seen as an opportunity to enrich,

enlarge, and enhance a subject which is vital to the learning life of all students. With the circles of the student's life reaching from the individual in his home and neighborhood, and expanding to the individual in his world, the teacher can use America's experience in trading with one of the world's oldest civilizations as the catalyst for taking this learning opportunity to its fullest possible development.

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CHAPTER IV  
AN AMERICAN CHINA TRADE BIBLIOGRAPHY--A NEW LOOK

Scholars of America's China trade and curriculum consultants upon viewing this bibliography will realize a surprising richness--both in width and depth--of the literature. It is a treasury of American sources dating into the 1780s and of world sources to the twelfth century. Our eighteenth-century fascination was well-rooted when we began to write our own accounts. Entries into the early twentieth century have been included to illustrate the extent of the continued, special love affair with China growing from those early mercantile beginnings.

The literature of America's early trade with China is abundant and diverse. As with much of the early republic's history, it is personal, composed of letters, diaries, and journals of both major and minor actors, who did not see themselves as makers of history but simply as participants in the life of a new nation. As a result, these primary sources are rich in individualized perceptions and personal notations often missing from many of the more self-conscious primary sources. The spectrum of individuals represented is also broad: ship captains and supercargoes, common seamen, husbands, wives, children, travelers, physicians, artists, missionaries, merchants at home and in China. The list appears endless to the researcher as he looks for the clues to the era. The angles from

which the material can be approached are as diverse as the individuals available for consultation.

The trade is also well documented with the impersonal: national records, statistical reports, government documents relating to trading contracts, activities of the navy in Asian waters, and Congressional debates on the merits of subsidies for China traders. Speeches before Congress and civic groups are also interesting for the public face of the trade. A comparison of these sources with the more private-letter thoughts about the trade makes for some very interesting contrasts.

Documentation for the early China trade is also rich in materials outside the customary sources of documents; it is strong in the organizational history: church history and missionary records, business and industrial archival resources. The more obvious sources of documentation, such as the United States Navy and State Department records, hold an abundance of information, but the record presented by the church and business holdings adds another dimension to the subject.

It is in the area of what may be termed "hard," non-written documentation that the early American China trade has its greatest depth: the actual objects of the trade, the mainstay of the myth. Porcelain in all its manifestations, silk in heretofore unwrapped bolts as well as in the myriad of forms it took, tea in boxes, tins, and caddies, furniture, lacquerware, toys, paintings, and silver are some of the physical forms this documentation takes. Then too, there are the physical results of the trade: architecture, interior

designs, gardens (both contents and designs), clothing, textiles, and jewelry, and United States domestic porcelain production. Many of these non-written materials are available to a mass audience through catalogues revealing both the source of the myth and the effect of the objects upon early American tastes and cultural development.\*

One of the earliest, and undoubtedly the best, attempts to organize materials on America's early China trade was Kenneth Scott Latourette's 1917 publication, The History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784-1844. Receiving his doctorate from Yale, Latourette abandoned a career in law late in his academic training and entered the Christian mission field. From 1909 to 1910, he traveled in the United States and Canada for the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission; from 1910 to 1912, he was a staff member-instructor in Changsha, Hunan, with the Yale-in-China program (Candee, 342). His stay in China ended prematurely due to ill health (Kunitz, 554). He returned home to teaching and writing at Yale, and serving as an ordained (1918) Baptist minister. "True to my background and interests, my primary writing has been in the history of Christianity, especially the history of missions, and my secondary interest has been in Far Eastern and particularly Chinese history" (Kunitz, 554). His 1917 essay/bibliography reflects this dual

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\*Another whole arena of consideration would come in the influences of the Chinese on literature, both prose and poetry, philosophical developments, artistic styles; though perhaps harder to document, the influence is apparent and can many times be traced using a common avenue of sources--letters and papers on the topic, such as Emerson's and Whitman's writings.

interest: an historical framework and discipline as well as a commitment to Christianity as a world enterprise.

Latourette had personally examined practically all of the known materials on the subject including correspondence, logs, journals, and narratives of the trade. Biographies and memoirs, Congressional documents, and a few pertinent periodicals, including The Chinese Repository round out his resources. The bibliography's introductory essay is divided chronologically beginning with the inception of the trade in 1784 to the signing of the Treaty of Wanghsia, 1844. He emphasizes the trade, the diplomatic underpinnings of the first United States treaty with China, and American Protestant missions. He sees this latter effort, following an earlier British lead, laying the foundation for various educational institutions, hospitals, other social service organizations as well as publishing houses.

This bibliography stood virtually alone until after World War II. There was a variety of reasons for this, not the least of which were the emphasis on revolutionary China and the interruption of World War II. In the mid-1940s, there was a flurry of material about the trade with the historians' noting the centennial of America's first treaty with China. This activity tended to focus not only on the diplomatic history, but also applied a new lens on the arts of China. The Chinese export items were examined for their decorative value and for their influence on American designs. One of the articles signalling this renaissance of American interest in things Chinese was by Joseph Downs, writing for the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum

of Art. His 1941 article, "The China Trade and Its Influence," though now long out of print, was very influential in awakening and warming a victorious post-war, affluent America to Asian art and literature. Our relation with our World War II ally was more than just this century deep and Downs' article began to reintroduce the United States to one of its mentors.

This shift in interest away from the economic, diplomatic, and ... evangelic was not recognized by the next major bibliography of the old China trade. Perhaps the movement was not strong enough? Perhaps the fall of our Chinese ally to Communism and the McCarthy era were still too frightening for historians to wrestle with such an antecedent? Perhaps it was safer to stay with traditional history? Whatever the reasons, Liu Kwang-ching's 1963 Americans and Chinese: A Historical Essay and Bibliography follows a traditional approach to the trade. The primary concern of this Peking-born, Harvard-educated historian (Press, 457) is with commerce, followed by a discussion of the various manifestations of the evangelic influence, ending with an examination of the Chinese who came to the United States, including laborers and students. No attempt is made to discuss the diplomatic scene despite the essay's title, "Historical Problems Arising from the Contacts between Americans and Chinese." Liu states that this inquiry was done with an eye toward the non-governmental level of relations. His essay covers from initial contact well into the first half of the twentieth century. "My aim is to raise questions and suggestions and to indicate unexploited opportunities for study, new vistas for the

historical researcher" (Liu, viii). He accomplished his aim by highlighting areas in which facts and interpretations of facts have not been clearly explored. He saw an acute shortcoming in the area of missionary studies. Liu called for more investigation in causal studies in light of China's modernization.

Liu's bibliography is divided into manuscripts and archival collections found in the United States in Western languages with emphases placed on those dealing with merchants, missionaries, diplomats, and the military. Biographies, memoirs, and published letters from these same four large groups are included with the addition of the works of physicians, journalists, and scholars. Newspapers and periodicals published in the United States and China as well as reference works are taken into account.

Both of these bibliographies concentrate on the tripartite nature of the early trade: merchants, missionaries, and diplomats. Very little, if any attention is given to influences on American development. They tend to be the West imposing itself on the East, the impact and the responses, how the West changed China. It has only been since Liu's bibliography that there has been a shift in the kinds of materials being produced and the bibliographical essays being written. Two of the reasons for the shift and the increased efforts were the celebrations of the country's bicentennial in 1976 and the bicentennial of the trade in 1984. Exhibits were mounted; catalogues were published to allow the shows to go beyond museum walls.

In examining the bibliography of this dissertation, it will be apparent that this shift in interest is impressive after 1965. There are over one hundred entries which can be classified as business history, some dealing with specific individuals, companies, and products (Chester Fritz and Dan Rylance, Ever Westward to the Far East: The Story of Chester Fritz; Barbara B. McGee and Ruth D. Jones, Barney: Journal of Harry Virden Bernard; Lee Parker and Ruth D. Jones, China and the Golden Weed; Stephen C. Lockwood, Augustine Heard and Co., 1858-62: American Merchants in China, and Sherman G. Cochran, Big Business in China: Sino-American Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890-1930). Others confront the growth of America in Asia generally (James Thomson, Peter Stanley, and John Perry, The Sentimental Imperialists: The American Experience in East Asia). There are eighty titles devoted to the early American China trade, its merchants, and influences. Forty-five titles devoted to the missionary movement, including some very candid presentations of individuals and particularly of women (Irwin Hyatt, Our Ordered Lives Confessed and Jane Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China). There are over two hundred entries for art, including George Chinnery and other China coast artists (both American and Chinese), furniture, cloisonne and lacquerware; popular culture including newspapers and literature; silver, textiles, porcelain (fifty-eight), architecture and horticulture, and ships, sailors, and ports (twenty-two). Standard

histories for background continue to appear as do books on the foundations and growth of Western imperialism.

What follows is a brief overview of some of these books and catalogues; they were chosen because they are in the author's personal collection and thus show their accessibility and relative inexpensive nature.

In 1970 the Massachusetts Historical Society issued Boston and the China Trade, primarily a picture book using materials from the Society's collection and the family papers of Robert Bennet Forbes. (The Society had published these papers on microfilm in 1969). A catalogue not so specialized but a nice companion piece was created in 1976 when the China Institute of America staged in New York and Seattle a special bicentennial exhibit: China's Influence on American Culture in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Nine color prints and sixty-eight pages of black and white reproductions make this small catalogue valuable. Voyaging to Cathay by Alfred Tamarin and Shirley Glubok in 1976 celebrated not only the bicentennial but the debt to China from our early beginnings. All the pictures, maps, and drawings are black and white, and the book's physical size (6.5" x 9.5") is awkward for holding open in front of a classroom and for xeroxing. The book's strength lies in the text which is an excellent introduction to the subject and written with younger readers in mind; however, this could have been strengthened with a bibliography.

In 1979, the Museum of the American China Trade in Milton, Massachusetts, was very active with exhibits and catalogues: two

results were Shopping in China: The Artisan Community at Canton, 1825-1830 and The China Trade: Romance and Reality. Both catalogues are in black and white, but the objects shown and discussed are in many cases so unusual that the reader is grateful just for the colorless glimpse. In both productions, the text is distinctive with footnotes and checklists so that particular objects can be pursued. In The China Trade: Romance and Reality the descriptive text is so expertly done that the reader gains not only insight into the specific object but also into surrounding history and implications for later works in the trade.

Antiques magazine in 1979 put together a collection of articles which had appeared in the magazine over a period of forty-seven years on Chinese export porcelain. The result is a masterpiece of information by leading experts, including Homer Eaton Keyes, Clare Le Corbeiller, J. A. Lloyd Hyde, and Carl L. Crossman. There are fourteen color plates including the magnificent pink lotus bowl on the cover and well over a hundred black and white reproductions. The text is beautifully written as one would expect from such an established, prestigious magazine, but not so erudite that an amateur can not enjoy it. It is a worthy introduction to the porcelain field.

In 1980, Sotheby Parke Bernet published Masterpieces of Chinese Export Porcelain from the Mottahedeh Collection in the Virginia Museum. The value of the slim (eighty pages) volume is that all of the fifty illustrations are in full color. The introductory essays about the growth of the porcelain trade and principal styles and the

influence on decoration by Europe and the West from 1720-1850 provide basic knowledge for the historian and the collector.

One catalogue from 1982 and another from 1983 are from magnificent exhibitions to establish the background for the ancient trade with China: the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Along the Ancient Silk Routes and the Royal Ontario Museum's Silk Roads: China Ships. The first centers on nineteenth-century western European expeditions which rediscovered these ancient routes and their concomitant cultures. The second, though not intended as an addendum, takes up the story with the old silk routes and caravan cities and ends with the development of commercial empire building. Both volumes are elaborate in color prints, maps, and text.

These two weighty catalogues were perfect forerunners for the 1984 bicentennial year of America's China trade. One of the best productions is Philip C. F. Smith's The Empress of China. Seventy-one illustrations, including maps, the ship's documents, and a bibliography make this a very useful book. The topic is not restricted to the Empress; there are chapters on furs, ginseng, and the Byzantine nature of the trade in Canton.

Probably one of the most elegant productions to celebrate the trade's bicentennial was the National Portrait Gallery's Adventurous Pursuits: Americans and the China Trade, 1784-1844. The exhibit which ran for six months in Washington was small and priceless. Everything on display was a piece de resistance. The accompanying catalogue did much more than the exhibit could showing objects which were not

available for loan for the exhibit. The text by Margaret Christman is excellent. To show her devotion to this project Ms. Christman took "the show on the road" and appeared around the country on the Smithsonian lecture circuit the year of the bicentennial. Her enthusiastic delivery and obvious love for the materials made her audiences aware of an area which had been exotic to them previously.

Several key cities' museums and historical societies during the trade's bicentennial celebration staged exhibits of their own; New York Historical Society and the Philadelphia Museum of Art were two. The catalogue for New York's exhibition is lifeless and expensive, while the Philadelphia book encompasses two exhibits which they staged: "Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1784-1844" and "The Canton Connection: Ships, Captains, and Cargoes." The resulting book is Jean Gordon Lee's Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1784-1844. It is a beautiful book with many color reproductions, and an excellent text for background information as well as explanations about objects throughout.

One small exhibit at the Rhode Island School of Design in late 1984 featured Chinese export silver. A small elegant exhibit of silver from the China Trade Museum's collection with the catalogue, Chinese Export Silver: A Legacy of Luxury, written by H. A. Crosby Forbes, was the result. This intimate little exhibit (there were sixty-nine objects on display) shows the wide variety of export items and explores an area of the trade unrecognized until recently.

The Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, has exhibited a long-term commitment to perpetuating America's history in the China trade. It is not a recent phenomenon though this commitment has been enhanced with the recent acquisition of the collection of the Museum of the American China Trade in Milton, Massachusetts. With this incorporation, the Peabody undoubtedly has the largest, most diverse, and best collection of Americana concerning the early American China trade. Several early catalogues attest to the point: the 1964 A Design Catalogue of Chinese Export Porcelain and the 1967 catalogue for the exhibit George Chinnery (1774-1852) and Other Artists of the Chinese Scene. A Catalogue of China Trade Paintings and Objects followed in 1972. But perhaps two of the best recent exhibits were to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Massachusetts' entry into the trade. Two catalogues focus on these exhibits: Directly from China: Export Goods for the American Market, 1784-1930 and After the Chinese Taste: China's Influence in America, 1730-1930. Both books are beautifully illustrated with black and white photographs of the trade's objects as well as the influenced objects, i.e., the Tea House in Newport, Rhode Island.

Three important photographic collections appeared, two in 1978 and a third in 1982. The first two are Burton F. Beers' China in Old Photographs, 1860-1910 and Goodrich and Cameron's The Face of China as Seen by Photographers and Travelers, 1860-1912. Dover Publications put together a new issue of Old China in Historic Photographs: 288 Views by Ernst Boerschmann. Though all three books cover a time span

not associated with the early years of the China trade, the contents are of scenes and people, ports and cities which remained virtually unchanged until the twentieth century.

Reprints began to appear in the 1970s. Among the most useful of these are The Old China Trade by Foster Rhea Dulles, The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860 by Samuel Eliot Morison, and Chinese Pottery and Porcelain by R. L. Hobson. All three were, in their original publication dates, 1930, 1921, and 1915 respectively, seminal works. When they could be located they were often in disrepair, and as a rule, the two-volume Hobson was missing a volume! (The Dover reprint is in one volume.) Three primary sources have also been reissued: William C. Hunter's Bits of Old China and The Fan Kwae in Canton before the Treaty Days, 1825-1844; and Hosea Ballou Morse's The Gilds of China. A complete microfilmed edition of The Chinese Recorder, 1867-1941 and its index have been reproduced. All of these reissued resources are valuable tools and their appearance is encouraging to the student.

The following bibliography represents several years of reading and compiling. It includes much of the Latourette and Liu bibliographies but also attempts to show the shift in emphasis which has taken place. Business and missionary history show up prominently as do entries in porcelain, art and architecture, and the influences of the Chinese on American culture. In the original compilation, the sites where the materials could be found were included. This has been omitted in the final version as most libraries have access to

computer-finding devices; the books' availability is open knowledge. Access to most primary materials is in most cases easy through the use of microfilm collections, such as the Library of the American Civilization, or through inexpensive xerox copies from holding institutions. Interlibrary loan arrangements make actual contact with the materials reasonable, if not free.

No attempt has been made to indicate locations of slide collections, replicas, and reproductions. Any researcher will find an abundance of suppliers, including most museums, who if they do not have these themselves can provide names and addresses of suppliers. The usual routes to audio-visual materials have also not been included. What I have included are books and articles from scholarly journals as well as from popular magazines. There are several bibliographies included to give the beginning researcher leads to the material, several of which are highly specialized.

It is hoped that the teacher or student using this bibliography will find it useful, easy and exciting. There are so many angles from which to attack the subject that perhaps this bibliography can get the researcher into the literature and from that point it becomes "open water." A perusal of the bibliography will give the reader some indication of the subject and its tremendous influence on early American development as well as the evolutionary nature of the literature. Rarely does a week go by that an entry is not added to the bibliography, often from what seemed a remote source. It has only been with the passage of time that this compiler realized the vastness

of the subject and the richness of its depth. What was a foreign now seems strangely familiar.

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## EPILOGUE

This dissertation was written with two distinct audiences in mind: professional historians and secondary social studies teachers. It is too often the case that these two groups, with so much in common, never meet. Research conducted in prestigious universities and libraries at far-flung sites, and in a multitude of languages rarely reaches into the classrooms where teachers daily meet the realities of scholarship. This failure of confluence is often discussed at professional meetings, meetings of historians, and meetings of teachers--separate meetings of historians, and meetings of teachers--separate meetings in apparently separate worlds. Both groups note the need for linkage; both see the need for the new ideas, the new interpretations, and the new evidence to permeate the classroom. Each group leaves its meeting with no better idea of how to meet what is seen as an unsolvable problem.

This dissertation addresses this problem. Trade with China was highly influential in the discovery of North America and in the expansion and development of the United States. The first sixty years of trade by the young republic laid the foundation for economic and cultural exchanges between the two great nations. A special relationship grew up between this ancient civilization and our young nation, a relationship clothed in myth and reality. This dichotomy is in large part responsible for the richness of the partnership which

extends beyond economic ties into every phase of our national culture. The cross-cultural transfers between the two countries are rich, varied, and complex.

The story of America's early trade with China is a story which must be included in the secondary curriculum of our public schools as a model of global networking. Infusing the existing curriculum with this fascinating story of Americans in China and the way the young republic's sons and daughters dealt with the products and profits of China is a natural avenue for exploring many of the key concepts of the social studies curriculum. Many of the most up-to-date theories concerning early American economic development can be explored in the classroom using the American China trade as the paradigm. Ideas of global education and global interdependence can be introduced on a local level by employing this exciting material.

The bibliography of this dissertation is a collection built on Kenneth Scott Latourette and K. C. Liu's earlier bibliographies. Building upon these beginnings, I have added works since the mid-1960s to show the different foci that bibliographies of the American China trade have begun to take. Many of the works were motivated by our nation's 1976 bicentennial and the 1984 bicentennial of the trade. Works focusing on specific cities (New York, Philadelphia), specific trade items (porcelain, silver), and specific individuals, firms, and ships (the Crowninshield family, Augustine Heard and Co., and the Empress of China) highlight the bibliography. Another facet of the bibliography is its emphasis on American popular culture and design.

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Works previous to the 1960s emphasized American influence on Chinese political, diplomatic, social, and economic development; works in the last twenty years have shown a remarkable shift and now address questions such as how was the United States affected by the Chinese? And how are we different because of this trade?

By providing a simple introduction to the historical context of the trade, a rationale for its study, and some possible approaches to infusing the material into the existing curriculum, the author hopes to make the linkage with the professional historian's material more accessible for the public school teacher. By collating a bibliography of many of the China trade materials and revealing the changes in approach, the author hopes to alert the professional historian to the areas which still require investigation and to remind them of their continued need to reach into the nation's classrooms.

## A NOTE TO THE READER IN REGARDS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography follows the format set by the MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers, second edition, 1984, with some notable exceptions. The first exception is that this list is not double-spaced. Such a luxury has been used in the "Works Cited" following each chapter, but in a bibliography of this length, already requiring a separate volume, it seemed a waste.

The second exception is that in most entries the place of publication and publishing house have been omitted. This was done primarily to conserve space. However, it also seemed irrelevant to include this information due to the excellent finding aids most libraries have. Author, title, and publishing date are adequate for any search. Full citation following MLA guidelines have been given for journal and magazine articles, though there are a few exceptions to this, such as citations which have pages missing. These exceptions were included with the data available under the justification that they were important enough to remain even though not fully cited.

This bibliography will be kept up-to-date and addendum will be available periodically.

AMERICA'S CHINA TRADE: A FRAMEWORK FOR  
LINKING THE HISTORY PROFESSION WITH  
SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

Volume II

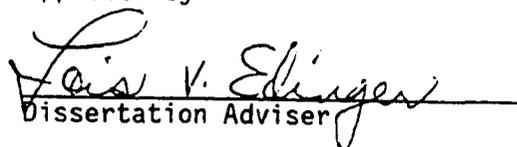
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