

## James Smith and Benjamin Chew Wilcocks by Donna Przech

In researching the family of Thomas Smith of Comodu, one eventually comes across a man called James Smith Wilcox or, sometimes, James Wilcox Smith. Some have maintained that this man was related to Thomas Smith, perhaps even his brother. In fact, this individual is James Smith Wilcocks who was born into a wealthy Philadelphia merchant family.

### John and Elizabeth Wooddrop Wilcocks

His grandparents were John Wilcocks ( c1709- 1763) and Elizabeth Wooddrop (c1726-1771).<sup>1</sup> John was a merchant as was Elizabeth's father, Alexander Wooddrop. John was a member of the Philadelphia Common Council and his name appears in the minutes from the 1740s up to the 1770s.

John and Elizabeth had two sons, John and Alexander (c1741-1801).<sup>2</sup> Alexander Wilcocks graduated at the College of Phila. in 1761, and studied law. On 4 March 1774, he was appointed by John Penn one of the Justices for Phila. Co. He was one of those added in October, 1775 to the Committee of Safety. After the Revolution he was Recorder of Philadelphia, holding that office until his death.<sup>3</sup> (All Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania, 1733-1776). His law partner was Benjamin Chew who became the chief justice for Pennsylvania. Alexander married Mary Chew, the daughter of Benjamin. They had a son named Benjamin Chew Wilcocks (1776-1845)<sup>4</sup> who worked closely with this cousin, James Smith Wilcocks.

### John and Mary Hockley Wilcocks

John Wilcocks, jr. ( - 1798) married Mary Hockley, daughter of Richard Hockley, an attorney.<sup>5</sup>

John was a merchant in the rum and tobacco trade with the West Indies. He also had ships trading with Spain and southern Europe. In a paper prepared for the 2003 Conference of the Program in Early American Economy and Society, Sherry Johnson says he was the third richest man in Philadelphia. In another paper prepared for the same organization in 2008, James G. Lydon places John Wilcocks third in tonnage handled.

During the American Revolution shipping became much riskier. Ships could be seized by the enemy, cargo confiscated and ships either destroyed or sold. His sloop, Sally, on its way to St Croix was taken by the British ship Portland and taken into Antigua in July 1776 where it was condemned.<sup>6</sup>

The Privateer schooner Mars was commissioned on 28 May 1776. She sailed to the West Indies and was in St Croix in November 1776.<sup>7</sup>

In April 1776, the schooner Dolphin, owned by John Wilcocks, was given permission to

go down the Delaware River and Bay. There were several ships bearing this name and it cannot be determined what happened to this particular one.

Some ships were armed and became privateers who were issued letters of marque by the government authorizing them to capture enemy ships. The Achilles was commissioned 22 April 1779, and was on her way to Spain in company with the Brigs Patty and Hibernia when on 7 September 1779, they encountered and captured the British Privateer Brig Betsey just off the Delaware Capes.<sup>8</sup>

The Active, owned by John Wilcocks & Co. was commissioned 21 May 1779. It succeeded in recapturing the schooner Nancy which had been captured by the British. It was captured by the British Chatham in December 1781.<sup>9</sup>

The Ajax was an armed Brig owned by John Wilcocks & Co. which was commissioned on 8 Jan 1781 but was captured by the British the same year.<sup>10</sup>

The most famous ship, owned by John Wilcocks along with business partner Nicholas Low, was the Hyder Alley, commissioned November 1781. The ship was originally owned by John Wright Stanley and due to sail to France in 1782. However, the British ship General Monk was guarding the entrance to the bay so closely, no one would insure the Hyder Alley. Stanley and John Wilcocks secretly converted the ship to a privateer, armed with 16 guns and 110 men. The ship sailed on 21 April 1782 commanded by Joshua Barney, a lieutenant in the continental Navy. Although the Monk was a larger, better armed ship, the Hyder Alley took it by surprise and soundly defeated the Monk which was then brought into port with "blood running from the scuppers".<sup>11</sup>

The Wilcocks family owned several more ships operating as John Wilcocks & Co. And Wilcocks Low & Co. They included the Fayette, Financier, Friendship, Kitty Meade, Delaware and Liberty. Some of these names were used by more than one ship so it isn't always possible to determine the fate of one particular vessel.

John Wilcocks and Mary Hockley had seven children:<sup>12,13</sup>

Elizabeth Wilcocks, b 1773, died 1774 at 13 months

William Wilcocks, christened 25 Oct 1776; died 2 Jul 1816

Richard Hockley Wilcocks, christened 25 Oct 1776

James Smith Wilcocks, christened 4 May 1779; died 23 Feb 1838

John Clifton Wilcocks, christened 4 May 1779; died 2 Jun 1807

Mary Wilcocks, born 5 Feb 1782; died 3 Dec 1841; m William Waln

Hannah Moore Wilcocks, b 16 Jan 1784; died 18 Sep 1841

Most of these dates are christening dates not birth dates so it is not certain that there were two sets of twins or if they just had two children baptized at the same time.

James Smith Wilcocks and William Wilcocks both received A.B. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania in 1793.<sup>14</sup> R H Wilcocks and William Waln were associated with John Wilcocks in the shipping business. The schooner Experiment was owned by Richard H. Wilcocks & Co. which consisted of Richard H, William, James S. And John C Wilcocks. On 5 Aug 1798, it was taking a cargo of corn, peas, break and flour to Antigua when it was seized by the French privateer Les Deux Amis. The ship was being taken to Guadeloupe (French) but by mistake landed at St Eustatius (Batavian republic, i.e., Netherlands). The cargo was removed and the ship sold by the French but then returned to the owners. In 1913, this case was heard in a US court to determine if the US had any claim against France!<sup>15</sup>

James and his cousin Benjamin pursued the more adventurous part of the business. One of the most lucrative trade items was opium which was imported into China. Even though the emperor of China forbade its import, it was not considered immoral by most in the West. The British West Indies Company had a monopoly on opium from India so American merchants, including the Wilcocks obtained their opium from Smyrna (Izmir) in Turkey and shipped it to Canton.

James and Benjamin arrived in Smyrna in 1804 as supercargos (people responsible for the cargo on board) on the brig Pennsylvania.<sup>16</sup> On Nov 26, 1805, James shipped from Turkey on the brig Slyph, a cargo bound for Leghorn and Canton which contained, among other things, 33 cases of opium. James and Benjamin probably continued on to Canton as supercargos. In December 1804, Mr. R H Wilcocks sent to Mr. J C Wilcocks (both brothers of James) a cargo from Philadelphia containing sugar, coffee and pepper. J L Wilcocks sent to himself to Baltimore a cargo of 49 chests of opium.<sup>17</sup>

### James Smith Wilcocks

A will was probated on 15 Oct 1810 for a John Davisson, mariner, which named as executor James Smith Wilcocks of Philadelphia, "now residing in China."<sup>18</sup> Benjamin lived in Canton and Macau and was the American consul from 1814 to 1820. Some of the Chinese merchants in Canton were having trouble collecting on debts owed by American merchants and Benjamin took some of the notes to Philadelphia and collected. Others he turned over to lawyer Charles Jared Ingersoll, his brother-in-law.<sup>19</sup>

The War of 1812, which lasted until 1815, again made shipping perilous. Even after the war ended the British colonies were ordered not to trade with foreign vessels. On 19 February 1815, the Traveller with part-owner and supercargo J. Wilcocks on board, arrived at Canton. The British Sloop of War Elk captured her and she was sold by the British East India Company. Apparently she was bought back by the same owners and received clearance to proceed to Sydney with a cargo of tea. The Governor of Australia gave permission for the ship to land. (Apparently she carried goods meant for the

Governor himself.) Some local citizens seized the ship while the governor was out of town. When he returned he ordered it released and it sailed on 1 May 1816 with James Smith Wilcocks in command. He promised to stop by the Hawaiian Islands and deliver gifts and a letter from the governor to the King of Hawaii.<sup>20</sup> The Traveller visited Coquimbo, Chile; Galapagos Islands, Peru and from November 25 to December 7 was in Honolulu<sup>21</sup> where James delivered the Governor's gifts and letter.

A journal by Georg Anton Schaeffer, an agent of the Russian-American Company, notes in his journal on 2 December 1816: "it was the schooner Traveller with Mr. Wilcocks, the American consul in Canton aboard. Mr. Wilcocks was informed on the island of Oahu of my presence on Kauai, came immediately to the factory, and he and his friend Gaal moved into my apartment. He was not well and asked me for medicaments." It appears that Benjamin may have accompanied James on his voyage to South American and Hawaii. However, in another entry he refers to Mr James Wilcocks, the American consul, so perhaps he misunderstood James's position.<sup>22</sup>

In a letter to Alexander Baranov, manager of the Russian-American Company, 25 Nov. 1816, Schaeffer says, "Mr. James Wilcocks, the American consul in Canton, promised to forward this letter to you. I think you should consider establishing a friendship with, which is very important, because through him we could carry on business in Canton. ... He treated me in a manner suggesting a kind and noble character; he is entirely different in his behavior from other Americans. .... You will see for yourself how honest he is. I do not think that there ever was in Sitka an American captain as honest as he is."<sup>23</sup> However, on 15 March 1818, the Main Office of the Russian-American company wrote to Baranov, "You are to be thanked for your refusal to pay Wilcocks in Canton in seal skins for the cargo which he expected to foist off on the Company, but must now let spoil in storage... You... have made the skippers feel that it is time for them to stop robbing the Company of beavers and seals at cheap prices set by them...."<sup>24</sup>

From Hawaii James went to Bodega Bay (25 Dec 1816), Santa Barbara (Jan 8, 1817), San Diego, San Quiatin Bay; Loreto (Apr 27, 1817), Monterey (Jun), San Luis Obispo (Jul 27-28), Santa Barbara (29 Jul-2 Sep), Loreto (30 Oct 1817).<sup>25</sup> The Spanish were suspicious of him but he did manage to do a little trading along the coast. He apparently had a sly sense of humor - or was in training for the diplomatic service. When caught trading in California, he replied, It is true that I have sold my goods in California, but in no other part of the Spanish domains have I done it, and I am glad that the guilt for this is upon myself, if it is guilt to give something to eat to the hungry, and to clothe the naked soldiers of the King of Spain, for it is well known not only in California but here in Guadalajara and Mexico that there was not on grain in Loreto for supplies on the first occasion that I was there, and that in that Presidio and all those of California most of the soldiers and other could not go to Mass because of lack of clothes..."<sup>26</sup> When he got to Loreto the vessel was seized by Francisco Ramirez and confiscated 7 Jan 1818.<sup>27</sup>

In the meantime, the schooner Lydia, owned by Benjamin and James, left Canton on 12 Jul 1815, called at Sitka (27 Sep-1 Dec), Fort Ross; Refugio (16 Jan 1816) where the vessel was seized by Spanish authorities, Santa Barbara (20 Jan-2 Feb), Monterey (9 March) where the vessel was released; Santa Barbara (March 15) and Hawaii (Sept).<sup>28</sup> The vessel was sold to Schaeffer who transferred it to King Kaumualii.<sup>29</sup>

After the Traveller, which the Spanish called the Caminante, was seized, Wilcocks (usually referred to in Mexican records at this time as Wilcox) spent some time in Guaymas trying to get his ship back. It was also during this time that he unsuccessfully courted Dona Concepcion Arguello, daughter of the future governor, but he was unsuccessful in suit.<sup>30</sup>

He apparently spent quite a bit of time traveling through Mexico. In a report to the Secretary of State, dated Mexico, 25<sup>th</sup> October 1821, James Smith Wilcocks, Esq. Says, "Few Foreigners have, perhaps, had an opportunity of seeing as much of the Kingdom as myself, having travelled on horseback from the Port of Guymas, on the Gulf of California, to almost every part of Sonora, and afterwards through the Provinces and Superintendencies of New Biscay, New Galicia, San Luis Potosi, Queretaro, and Mexico, to this City; a distance at least of 700 Leagues, passing through all the principal Cities, visiting the most celebrated Mines, and conversing familiarly with all Classes of People."<sup>31</sup> He describes the Revolution in great detail and praises General Iturbide, saying "America has produced two of the greatest heroes that ever existed, Washington and Iturbide."<sup>32</sup>

James next appears in Mexico in 1822 as an American Commercial Agent. Mexico was on the brink of receiving its independence from Spain and Wilcocks wrote to the Secretary of State urging that the United States recognize its independence. After independence, he served as American consul from 1823 to 1833.<sup>33</sup>

In 1822, he was given a patent to introduce steam engines into Mexico for the purpose of draining mines. In messages to James Monroe, 1822, is a long report on conditions in New Spain by James Smith Wilcocks, who had traveled by horseback through California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas.<sup>34</sup>

In 1826, Wilcocks seemed to be discouraged. U S Minister to Mexico, J Poinsett, reported that "Wilcocks may resign the situation he holds". He suggests that the vacancy not be filled and that there is no American citizen here at all fit for the office. He adds that, since learning the condition of Wilcocks' "private affairs," (not explained further) he has himself performed "all the duties of the consulate" and found them "trifling" [sic].<sup>35</sup>

In January 1829, there is a curious exchange between Juan de Dios Canedo, Secretary of State, and Mr. J R Poinsett. Mr Canedo says he is looking into a report of a duel

between two American citizens, G. Follin (a shipowner from Philadelphia and vice Consul of Mexico for the port of Philadelphia) and James Smith, in which the latter was wounded. Mr. Poinsett replies that he does not know anyone named Don Santiago Esmit. He asks that the taking of the declaration from James Smith Wilcocks be delayed because "Mr. Wilcocks is recovering from an indisposition under which he has labored for the week past, and if he be allowed to remain a few days longer, without being agitated and disturbed by the presence of strangers, his recovery is no longer doubtful." He says that the "declaration being taken at the present moment, when the agitation it would be likely to cause might seriously endanger the life of Mr. Wilcocks." He says that a judge came to the legation asking whether a Don Santiago Esmit was under my roof. He denies the rumor of a duel and states that Mr. Wilcocks only has signed his name as James Smith Wilcocks or Santiago Smith Wilcocks. Poinsett further points out that the "slightest mistake in writing the name of the accused vitiates the indictment and destroys all the proceedings."<sup>36</sup> Apparently nothing more was heard of the matter.

In 1833 Hall J Kelley was traveling through Mexico. He writes: "July 12. I walked to St. Nicholas, the beautiful residence of James S Wilcox, Esq., the American Consul, situated on the border of Lake Chalco, a distance of four leagues from the city."<sup>37</sup> This was located southeast of Mexico City near Xochimilco. He commented that he was informed by his family that the consul was absent in the city. He also mentions a George L. Hammerkin [Hammeken] who was associated with the consul in the management of his hacienda. In a letter dated 28 Feb 1844, George Hammeken says "I was then residing on a Hacienda distant about 14 miles from the City. This Hacienda belonged to Mr. James S Wilcocks, Consul General of the United States. I rented from him an undivided half of his Estate, we kept house and lived together on the most amicable terms."<sup>38</sup>

James is reported to have married a Miss Verdugo but no evidence of this has been found.

Hammeken says, "Mr. Wilcocks was the guardian of two Mexican young ladies residing with their mother in the city." He does not name them but says Stephen Austen was quite interested in one and the charge d'affaires, Anthony Butler, proposed to one, even though he was married.<sup>39</sup>

In 1833, Stephen Austin came to Mexico and visited Wilcocks. He was trying to establish separate state (within Mexico) for Texas.

In the meantime, Anthony Butler, US charge d'affaires, was making life impossible for Wilcocks. He was a friend of President Jackson who appointed him to his post. Everyone seemed to agree that he was anything but a diplomat. Even Jackson called him a scamp. Butler tried to bribe the Mexican government to release Texas and encouraged revolution. In 1833, Wilcocks wrote to Washington saying "Butler is

unworthy of and a disgrace to the office he now holds and ought to be recalled by his Government.” He cited 11 examples of scandalous behavior including immorality, seduction, usury and proposing to the young lady as charged by Mr. Hammeken. Instead, Wilcocks was dismissed.<sup>40</sup>

He died 21 Feb 1838 and is buried in St Peter's Episcopal Churchyard in Philadelphia with other family members.<sup>41</sup>

## Benjamin Chew Wilcocks

It appears Benjamin arrives in Canton in 1804 operating for William Waln (James' brother-in-law and Benjamin's future father-in-law) and R. H. Wilcocks of Philadelphia.<sup>42</sup> B C Wilcocks arrived in Philadelphia as a passenger on board the Jefferson on 20 Apr 1807.<sup>43</sup> He may have stayed home for some years.

He was a patron and friend of the painter Thomas Sully. In 1809 Sully moved to Philadelphia at Benjamin's suggestion and he financed a trip to England for Sully in exchange for painted copies of European masterpieces. In 1807 Sully painted a portrait of Benjamin's sister, Ann. Benjamin Trott, who shared a studio with Sully, painted a miniature of Benjamin Wilcocks. In Macau he was friends with the painter Chinnery.

In 1811, George E. Coles wrote to Mrs. Dolly Madison: “Dear Cousin: While I was in Philadelphia some of the friends of B. C. Wilcocks, with whom I became slightly acquainted, requested me to recommend him as a fit person for be made consul for Canton in China.”<sup>44</sup> He served as American consul 1813-22 and stayed on until 1827.<sup>45</sup> In Canton East met West and each believed their own civilization to be far superior. They knew little of each other but both sides had one thing in common: they wanted to make money - lots of it! The West desperately wanted trade with China because there was a great demand for tea, silks and porcelain. The Chinese had little interest in Western products, believing their own to be superior but there was a demand for opium. The western traders were confined to an enclosed compound in Canton where no women were allowed. Macao was located at the mouth of the river leading up to Canton and the wives of married traders had homes there as did many single men including Benjamin. All business, including diplomatic, had to be conducted through local Chinese merchants called hong.

Being consul was more than just an honorary position, but involved no compensation. Harriett Low, a merchant's niece living in Macao says in 1832, “It is a great shame our rich “Uncle Sam” doesn't make the Consulate in Canton more respectable. There ought to be a salary and an establishment, instead of which there is neither honor or profit, not enough to support the flag.”<sup>46</sup> Throughout this period and, indeed, until 1854, the consul was merely a merchant whose only compensation was the fees of the office, the dignity of the position, and such information as to the business transactions

of his competitors as would become available for him because of his access to official reports.<sup>47</sup>

Benjamin was involved in at least two serious diplomatic incidents, one of which ended satisfactorily, the other not so much.

On 26 May 1817, the ship *Wabash* out of Baltimore was anchored in Macao where ships would take on pilots for the trip up the river to Canton. It was boarded by 15 Chinese who attacked the crew, killing several and took the cargo of opium, which was never mentioned in the complaint. Less than a month later the Chinese apprehended the thieves and discovered they still had some opium left. The Viceroy was upset at finding the drug but Wilcocks said the ship had not asked for a pilot and hadn't intended to land the cargo in China. Five of the thieves were then executed.<sup>48</sup>

On 23 Sept 1821, a seaman, Francis Terranovia, a native of Sicily, on board the ship *Emily* from Baltimore got in an altercation with a local boat woman. The allegation, denied by the seaman and his captain, was that Terranovia threw a jar at her which caused her to fall off her boat and drown. Wilcocks consulted with the local hong merchant and they both decided that, according to custom, the payment of a few thousand dollars bribe should take care of the matter. However, the local magistrate got involved, The Chinese demanded the man be turned over to them (The magistrate said, "Let there not be the least delay, for it will in guilt. Hasten! Hasten! These are my commands." The Americans refused to turn him over to be tried by a local magistrate since the Chinese were already referring to him as "the foreign murderer." Wilcocks demanded a trial and there was much correspondence about where it would be held, who could attend, who would translate, etc. In the meantime, it was vital that the authorities did not discover that the ship's cargo was opium. Wang, the local magistrate referred to Terranovia as "the devil in the foreign ship." The magistrate was becoming more frantic and wrote "Do not screen nor connive; you will thereby incur guilt. Hasten! Hasten! A special edict." All trade with Americans was halted. In the end the Chinese came, took Terranovia to the viceroy and he was executed by strangulation.<sup>49</sup>

Benjamin stayed in Canton until 1827. He had accumulated a lot of debt and couldn't afford to come home. When he explained this to the hong Howqua, the man forgave his debt and told Benjamin he was free to go.<sup>50</sup> He turned his business over to John R. Latimer and returned to Philadelphia on 12 April 1828 on the *Thomas Scattergood*. According to Reports of cases adjudged in the district court of the United States for the *Thomas Scattergood* was seized by the United States on her return to Philadelphia from a voyage to Canton (on or about the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April 1828).

Charles Jared Ingersoll's son in law, Sidney George Fisher (who was the husband of Benjamin's niece), wrote a diary called "A Philadelphia Perspective." He says of



Benjamin, "For some weeks before I left town he had sunk into a state of profound depression, similar to that with which he was once before affected, which lasted for 12 years during which he never left his house and from which he was roused some 3 or 4 years ago. When he was roused, he compensated by extraordinary activity for his long seclusion and apathy."

The illness probably began in China and might account for his falling so far into debt. John R. Latimer charged that, at least temporarily, Wilcocks went insane.<sup>51</sup> Wilcocks is often described as a bon vivant, who appreciated the good life. He had a set of china designed for himself which featured his crest. He had a mistress in Macau by whom he had a child. Latimer, for some unknown reason, arranged for his illegitimate daughter, Fanny Henry, to go to Philadelphia to see her father after he retired there. Since he was looking for a wife at the time, this was a bit of an embarrassment.<sup>52</sup>

Like many retirees from the China trade, he found life back in the US boring and the servants impossible. According to the Latimer papers, he wrote, "I am unhinged, unsettled, idle and of course irritable. I have lost my taste for the enjoyments that this Country afforded to me seventeen years ago, and everything here loses in comparison with what I once knew it."<sup>53</sup>

On 10 Oct 1842, at the age of 66, he married Sarah Waln, the daughter of Mary Wilcocks, sister of James. They had two children before he died on 1 Dec 1845.

The two cousins had strikingly similar lives. They were both baptized at Christ Church and Saint Peters in Philadelphia, started in the family business as supercargoes, were active in the Canton opium trade, became American consuls, retired under a bit of a cloud, returned to Philadelphia and are buried in St. Peter's Episcopal Churchyard.

## Footnotes

1. Charles P Keith, *The provincial councillors of Pennsylvania who held office between 1733 and 1776, and those earlier councilors who were some time chief magistrates of the province and their descendants*, (Philadelphia: 1883), p. 331.
2. Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania Wills, 1682-1819 [Ancestry.com]. John Wilcocks will proven 28 Jan 1798 mentions brother Alexander Wilcocks and Children Richard Hockley, William, John Clifton, Mary, Hannah, James Smith Wilcocks.
3. Charles P Keith, *The provincial councillors of Pennsylvania who held office between 1733 and 1776, and those earlier councilors who were some time chief magistrates of the province and their descendants* (1883), (Philadelphia: 1883).
4. Ibid, p. 332.
5. Saint Peter's Episcopal Churchyard, Philadelphia, PA, [FindAGrave.com]. Her tombstone reads: In memory of Mrs Mary Wilcocks, the wife of John Wilcocks, daughter of Richard and Hannah Hockley, departed this life Jan 27, 1784, aged 34 years.
6. American War of Independence - At Sea [aiwatsea.com].
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Horace Edwin Hayden, *The Reminiscences of David Hayfield Conyngham*, (Wilkes-Barre, Pa: Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society, 1904), p. 55-6.
12. "Pennsylvania, Births and Christenings, 1709-1950," [Family Search.org].
13. Saint Peter's Episcopal Churchyard, Philadelphia, PA, [FindAGrave.com].
14. Degrees Conferred by the College of Philadelphia, Classes of 1790-1799. [archives.upenn.edu]
15. U S Congress, *Congressional Serial Set, Issue 6891*, 63<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, December 7, 1914-March 4, 1915, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), Document No. 1289.
16. J M Downs, *American Merchants and the China Opium Trade, 1800-1840*, (1968) [journals.cambridge.org/article\_S0007680500017967]

17. *Message from the President of the United States to Two Houses of Congress at the commencement of the Third Session of the Twenty-Fifth Congress*, (Washington: Blair and Rives, Printers: 1838)
18. Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania Wills, 1682-1819 [Ancestry.com]
19. Frederic D. Grant, Jr, *Hong Merchant Litigation in the American Courts*, [http://www.grantboston.com/Articles/HMLitigation.pdf].
20. Frances Jackson, "Duke of Portland, the Traveller and the Prince Regent: Three Little Vessels from Australia," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 26, 1992. (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1992). [http://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/200]
21. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p 167.
22. Richard A. Pierce, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817*" (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), p 188
23. Ibid, p. 82.
24. Ibid, p. 124.
25. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975)
26. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 78. [citing Wilcocks to Antonio Cordera, Guayman, Dec. 8, 1817, Provincial State Papers, XX, 164-71.]
27. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975),
28. Ibid, p. 166.
29. Richard A. Pierce, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure*, " (Limestone Press: 1976), p. 12.
30. Henry L. Oak, *Annals of the Spanish Northwest, California II*, (Author's copy: 1885), p. 78. [http://archive.org/stream/annalsofspanishn04oakhrich#page/n9/mode/2up]
31. Great Britain. Foreign Office, *British and Foreign State Papers, 1821-1822* (London: J Harrison and son, 1829), p. 416.
32. Ibid, p. 480.
33. The Early American Foreign Service Database. [eafsd.org/individuals/509]

34. [dsloan.com/Auctions/A9/P378.htm]. Description of this trip was taken from an auction house site. It may actually be the same document as above describing his travels through Mexico.
35. Mary W M Hargreaves and James F Hopkins, ed., *The Paper of Henry Clay, Vol. 6* (University Press of Kentucky: 1981)
36. United States Congress House, "House documents, otherwise published as Executive documents: 13th congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> session," pp. 266-9.
37. Hall J. Kelley, *A history of the settlement of Oregon and the interior of Upper California and of persecutions and afflictions of forty years' continuance endured by the author* (Springfield: Union Printing, 1868), p 38.
38. George L Hammeken, "Recollections of Stephen F Austin," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XX (July 1916-April 1917), p. 370.
39. Ibid), p. 374.
40. United States Congress House, "House documents, otherwise published as Executive documents: 13th congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> session," p 109-111.
41. Saint Peter's Episcopal Churchyard, Philadelphia, PA, [FindAGrave.com]
42. Ken Cozens and Dan Byrnes, *Merchant Networks*.  
<http://www.merchantnetworks.com.au/futurework.htm>
43. *Philadelphia Passenger Lists 1800-1850*, [Ancestry.com]
44. Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), p. 63 [citing Madison Papers, June 10, 1811, George E. Coles to Mrs. D. P. Madison (N.Y. Pub. Lib.)]
45. The Early American Foreign Service Database. [eafsd.org/individuals/401]
46. Rosemarie W N Lamas, *Everything in Style, Harriett Low's Macau*. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), p. 205.
47. Tyler Dennett, *Americans in eastern Asia; a critical study of the policy of the United States with reference to China, Japan and Korea in the 19th century* (Macmillan Company, New York: 1922).  
<http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/tyler-dennett/americans-in-eastern-asia-a-critical-study-of-the-policy-of-the-united-states-w-nne/page-6-americans-in-eastern-asia-a-critical-study-of-the-policy-of-the-united-states-w-nne.shtml>
48. *Message from the President of the United States to Two Houses of Congress at the commencement of the Second Session of the Twenty-Sixth Congress*, (Washington: Blair and

Rives, Printers: 1840), Doc. 71, p. 7-8.

49. *Ibid*, p. 9-16.

50. Frederic D. Grant, Jr, *Hong Merchant Litigation in the American Courts*, [<http://www.grantboston.com/Articles/HMLitigation.pdf>].

51. Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1997), p. 43

52. *Ibid*, p 43.

53. *Ibid*, p 243.