

Global Knowledge in the Early Republic

The East India Marine Society's "Curiosities" Museum

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On a cold January day in 1804, the Reverend William Bentley, pastor of the East Church, stood and watched a strange and exotic parade weaving through the streets of Salem, Massachusetts. A number of sea captains, who had just returned from Sumatra, Bombay, Calcutta, Canton, Manila, and other Asian ports, put on this public display to commemorate their recent business adventures. Bentley recorded in his diary, “This day is the Annual Meeting of the East India Marine Society. . . . After business & before dinner they moved in procession, . . . Each of the brethren bore some Indian curiosity & the palanquin was borne by the negroes dressed nearly in the Indian manner. A person dressed in Chinese habits & mask passed in front. The crowd of spectators was great.”¹

The objects that the minister described demonstrate the global circulation of material culture in the Early Republic. Waiting in Asian harbors for trade opportunities, captains and crews swapped souvenirs that had literally circled the world. When they returned to their hometowns, they shared the objects they collected, both privately with acquaintances and publicly in museums and parades that were widely covered in the newspapers. These global artifacts provide insights into the broad intellectual pursuits of the Early Republic, including natural history, ethnography, and aesthetics. The objects also illuminate early trade relations and cultural perceptions between Asia and the new United States. When displayed back in the United States, artifacts helped construct and reinforce social hierarchies in American seaports; they also expressed America’s arrival as a full participant in world commerce.

Bentley’s reference to the material culture of India and China, carried through the streets of Salem, described a public celebration of the international

trade that had changed the identity and character of the town over the previous 20 years. In the colonial period, Salem had been a flourishing fishing and trading village, known mostly for its infamous witch trials. The British navigation acts of 1660 and 1663 allowed the North American colonies access to the lucrative Caribbean trade, and for 150 years Salem vessels voyaged regularly to other British colonial ports to exchange cod, corn, and timber for sugar, molasses, and occasionally slaves. After the American Revolution, however, the town's prosperity reached a new order of magnitude with the start of legal trade with China and the East Indies. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Salem was the sixth largest city in the new United States, boasting the highest per capita income in the country, derived from its fleet of more than 200 trading vessels. Though the China trade is best known, Salem's wealth derived more generally from the East Indies trade: Salem dominated the cotton trade with India and the pepper trade with Sumatra.²

With global commerce came an increased demand for geographical knowledge, and institutions developed in Salem to meet this need. In the colonial period, strong kinship and social networks were the primary conduits of global knowledge, augmented by fledgling libraries and fraternal groups. These associations became stronger in the Early Republic, as more institutional venues—such as libraries, retail establishments, and the museum—emerged to circulate ideas and information. In Salem, those who had firsthand global seafaring experience interacted with those who learned about the world through study. Exchanges of texts, images, and objects became the basis of deep fraternal bonding and played a role in solidifying the town's class hierarchies. An elite class developed, characterized and united by knowledge of the wider world, particularly Asia and the rest of the Pacific Basin.

In the colonial period, sea captains in every substantial port organized marine societies.³ These charitable organizations provided assistance to disabled seamen and to those widowed and orphaned by the dangerous sea life. Founded in 1799, Salem's East India Marine Society was more select. Its membership was limited to sea captains and supercargoes (that is, the head traders) who had rounded either the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn to engage in Asian trade. Thus right from the outset the by-laws of the East India Marine Society defined the elite of Salem's elite. Because of this restriction, there were only 22 members at its founding in 1799. By 1800, however, the number neared 50, and by 1805 there were 100 members, indicative of the extent and global reach of Salem's trade.⁴

Part of the East India Marine Society's collecting activities were directed toward its goals of furthering navigation and providing its members with safety and a competitive edge in trade. The society collected nautical charts, which members could borrow as they prepared for voyages. It also collected unique and personal

information. Members of this fraternal organization were required from the beginning to present the logs of their voyages to the library committee upon their return. Starting in 1801, the society even provided blank journals for seafarers. Nathaniel Bowditch, author of the path-breaking *New American Practical Navigator*, was named the Inspector of Journals after he returned from his last Asian voyage in 1804. Bowditch arranged, analyzed, and bound the journals (which were sometimes illustrated with drawings) to allow members easier access to information on maneuvering harbors and conducting trade. In addition to firsthand information, the society's library offered for circulation among members a selection of published sea chronicles, particularly very expensive engraved imported volumes—including books illustrating the voyages of Captain Cook, La Pérouse, and Vancouver. In these ways the East India Marine Society became an important center for the circulation of global knowledge and visual imagery of distant lands.

The East India Marine Society was unique among marine societies because its members were expected to contribute “curiosities” they personally had collected to its cabinet.⁵ Mariners had always collected mementos of their voyages. Before the establishment of museums in America, these objects circulated much as books did—through family and friendship networks. If marine societies collected artifacts, they did so in a haphazard manner. But the mandate of the new society included forming “a Museum of natural and artificial curiosities, particularly such as are to be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn.”⁶ Salem's sea captains recognized both the intellectual and practical values of acquiring and displaying these items for members and the townspeople. The assembled objects embodied both the accessibility of the world and the diversity of members' experiences, and reinforced the captains' and traders' positions as men of status in Salem's hierarchical society.

The idea for a museum germinated in summer 1799.⁷ Captain Jonathan Carnes seems to have been the driving force behind the idea of collecting objects for the society's museum. Carnes came from a seafaring family; his father had been a successful privateer during the Revolutionary War. In the late 1790s he pioneered the pepper trade with Sumatra, first in a series of secret voyages, then returning with full cargoes of over 150,000 pounds of pepper each in 1797, 1799, and 1801. Other merchants soon followed suit, trading directly at small ports on the north side of the island in order to avoid the mark-up expenses of Dutch middlemen.⁸ Returning from his second voyage to Sumatra, Carnes donated the museum's first acquisitions: objects from the natural world, including various shells and an elephant's tooth, and cultural artifacts, including elaborate Malaysian gold boxes and a Sumatran pipe.⁹

Bentley wrote that the new East India Marine Society had decided “to make a cabinet” for such items and that he had helped the new society, which elected



1. *Ostrich Egg from the Cape of Good Hope*. 6 ³/₁₀ in. long, Peabody Essex Museum, (East India Marine Society 502), Gift of Captain Benjamin Carpenter. Photo © Peabody Essex Museum.

Benjamin Hodges as president, to revise its articles of incorporation. The minister was fully supportive of the enterprise, calling it a “liberal & important design.”¹⁰ Bentley, a naturalist as well as a theologian, used the term “liberal” in the Enlightenment sense of scientific inquiry. He and the Salem sea captains saw the value of collecting specimens as far more than entertainment; it was firsthand participation in

the eighteenth-century quest to study and make available natural history.

Knowing the minister’s deep interest in natural history, Reverend Bentley’s seagoing parishioners often brought him exotica from their journeys. His diary mentions such gifts in 1788, after he had been settled at the East Church for nearly five years. Captain Elkins gave him a Chinese razor; Captain West brought him Chinese copper coins. Captain Benjamin Hodges, Bentley’s close friend, presented him with some of the most intriguing items in his collection. In 1790 Hodges gave the minister “a Pike or Spear of Wood, with a Bow and two Arrows brought by the American Ship Columbia from Nootka Sound [in present-day British Columbia] to Canton, & Specimens of cloth from Sandwich Islands” [that is, present-day Hawaii]. Though Hodges had gone to China along the traditional Salem route of the eighteenth century—via the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France [now Mauritius], then across the Indian Ocean and on to China—the first artifacts he presented to his friend were items from the American side of the Pacific basin, where he had not traveled. From the same China trade season of 1790, Captain Henry Elkins also gave the minister Native American hooks and cloth from the Northwest coast along with French and Dutch coins and a “specimen of Chinese writing.”¹¹ Thus the artifacts the captains brought back were truly global—from all around the world—and not simply evidence of where individuals had voyaged.

For Bentley, these objects were guides for learning about the physical world. Bentley is the Salem figure who comes closest to the ideal of collecting for the intensive study of natural history, pursued in America, for example, by Charles Willson Peale, who based much of the collecting and arrangement of his museum on the Linnaean system.¹² Salem ministers, professional men, and sea captains were well aware of efforts in Philadelphia to develop a philosophical society, to publish journals on the model of the *Royal Philosophical Transactions*, and to display objects to educate viewers about the natural world. Some Salem merchants and mariners even donated objects to Peale’s museum and to the

American Philosophical Society’s cabinet before the founding of their own. Bentley’s worldview was challenged and transformed through his encyclopedic reading and intensive study of global artifacts. He concluded that knowledge of all parts of the globe—his idealistic goal—might prove impossible. And, trained in traditional Congregational theology, as early as 1788 he moved toward what he called a more “rational Christianity,” saying he was “ready to receive truth upon proper evidence from whatever quarter it may come.” He worried about doubting the Trinity and began a slow drift to what would eventually become Unitarianism.¹³

Within two years of the museum’s beginning, Reverend Bentley recorded in his diary that more than 185 articles were on display at the East India Society’s meeting room. He wrote that at the museum he saw “images & paintings of Hindostan, China & Japan, with complete dresses in the Chinese fashion.” These were intermingled with “various specimens of the Oyster shells of Sumatra. . . . The Albatross, birds of paradise, parake[*e*]ts, & several birds. . . . Some antiquities. . . . A few specimens of stones, ores, &c. not arranged, petrefactions, & curiosities.”¹⁴

In the early days, the members seem to have used the terms “cabinet” and “museum” interchangeably. Whatever they called it, it grew rapidly. From the 185 articles Bentley saw in 1801, the first catalogue published in 1821 listed 2,269 objects. The second catalogue of 1831 listed 4,299 objects. The contents of the collection mirrored the usual patterns of cabinets of curiosities (Figures 1, 2). There were natural curiosities such as ostrich eggs, stuffed penguins, and elephant tusks, and even hair shaved from an Indian Brahmin. And there were cultural curiosities such as ivory pagodas, Maori door lintels, Polynesian fans, and Native American masks.¹⁵

Some of the objects brought back to America may have been perceived as having value as fine art as well as curiosities. For instance, after his 1788–90 voyage to China, Captain Hodges gave Reverend Bentley one of the most significant Chinese sculptures now in the collection of the Peabody Essex Museum (Figure 3). Bentley described “the Image of a Mandarin exceeding two feet in height, richly ornamented in the habit



2. *Pagoda*, ca. 1800. China. Soapstone, nephrite, wood, brass, gold, and silk. Peabody Essex Museum, E9659 (East India Marine Society 173), Gift of Captain Nathaniel Ingersoll. Photo © Peabody Essex Museum.



3. *Figure of a Chinese Man*, ca. 1790. China. Unfired clay, paint, and steel. Peabody Essex Museum, E7096 (East India Marine Society 235), Presented by Captain Benjamin Hodges to Reverend William Bentley in 1790, Anonymous gift. Photo © Peabody Essex Museum.

of his order.” This sculpture is unusual in that it has moving parts; it is a “nodder,” in which a weight on a wire slides into the hollow clay body, triggering another wire to move the head and an arm as it descends. Bentley noted that the motion was not graceful—rather it evoked a realism that was, as he described it, “inspiring the idea of life.” He had high praise for the craftsmanship of the textiles the figure wears, describing the red apron embroidered with a dragon and the beautiful blue of the gown. He also noted the sculptor’s talent: “The countenance pleasant, the posture inclined,” and the ease with which the hand holds a staff.¹⁶ In his study of Chinese artists who worked for the export market, Carl Crossman noted that this is one of the earliest sculptures exported to the American market. There was, however, a strong tradition of clay Chinese portrait sculpture ex-

ported to Britain and the continent throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁷ Bentley was certainly attuned to the contemporary discourses about sculpture as a fine art and may have perceived his gift as such.

What did global artifacts mean once they were brought home? For the collector, certainly, souvenirs enhanced personal memories. Objects also signaled their owners’ success, for life at sea was grueling, and completion of a voyage constituted a recognized achievement for a mariner of any rank. For captains and traders, artifacts held another layer of significance as signs of essential scientific, practical, and commercial knowledge. Those who possessed and displayed these Asian curiosities were men of accomplishment who had led a successful voyage—and returned a good profit to their investors. Beyond symbols of successful trading voyages, these objects were signs of intellectual aspirations. As Daniel Finamore observed, “[T]he museum closely linked commerce with enlightenment philosophy” and “placed mariners not only in the role of merchants but, simultaneously, that of intellectuals.”¹⁸ Exotic curiosities were also signs of American achievement in commerce, and they reinforced an emerging national identity as former British colonials who were becoming significant players in the global economy.

Insights into the meanings that the collection held for society members can be discerned from the toasts proposed at each of their annual meetings. Toasts at fraternal

organizations during the Early Republic signaled far more than momentary sentiment in the midst of a social event. They were prepared and written out in advance by committee and often sent to the local newspaper to publish. They presented the elite perspective on important social, political, and intellectual currents of the day. From the very first, some of the toasts at the East India Marine Society dinners were dedicated to the collection. One 1804 toast, for example, commemorated: “A Cabinet. That every mariner may possess the history of the world.” This toast clearly defines objects as a source of knowledge. And it gives history an expansive resonance, evoking natural history as well as political history. Another toast from the same year was to: “Natural history. May commerce never forget its obligations.”¹⁹ It suggests that beyond economic motives, the captains and merchants practiced learned and gentlemanly pursuits, such as geographical and scientific inquiry. At the elaborate dinners, toasts often linked multiple types of knowledge that are today considered more distinct, and they suggested this knowledge would bring practical mercantile benefits.

Three toasts from 1809 make clear that mariners—at least these New England Federalist mariners—saw free trade as an essential part of American national identity. Imagine a room filled with cigar smoke and men downing several glasses of brandy, rum, gin, and Madeira. After the standard toasts to George Washington and Christopher Columbus, and the American Navy, were the following:

To: “Commerce, it is our *birthright*; and ought to be as free as the winds which woof our ships.”

To: “The cause of *Liberty* throughout the World.”

To: “American enterprise. May it never be restrained by lawless power, or rival jealousy.”²⁰

Taken together, the toasts reveal this fraternal organization was bound together by useful specialized global knowledge. The collection not only reinforced the wonders of nature, it reinforced members’ self-perception as men of knowledge, taste, civilization, leadership—and business acumen.

But what did the mariners think about their Asian trading partners? Their journals and logs and their letters home leave no doubt that they believed in their own cultural superiority. They saw themselves as recently released from the bondage of British colonialism that had controlled their mercantile exchanges, and, as we have seen, they believed mightily in the right to free trade. They were continually frustrated by the elaborate Chinese trading system, which confined outsiders to a small area of Canton and insisted that all commerce filter through designated trading posts called hong. Language barriers were great, as was suspicion on both sides. In general, the American seamen saw the Chinese as dishonest, superstitious,



4. *Nusserwanjee Maneckjee Wadia*, ca. 1800. China or India. Oil on canvas, 39 x 29 in. Peabody Essex Museum, M245, Gift of John R. Dalling. Photo © Peabody Essex Museum.

cruel, and corrupt, as well as oppressed by the authoritarian rule of the emperor.²¹ But they sailed to the other side of the world because they valued Chinese inventiveness and craftsmanship, particularly in the production of porcelain and silks—technologies that could not yet be replicated in Europe or America—and because they wanted tea.

The only way to break down such wariness and suspicion was to develop relationships among individuals. Mariners operated in contact zones between cultures, and global knowledge gave mariners the confidence and ability to operate in these zones.²² In her book *Yankee India*, Susan Bean described how gifts between American and Asian merchants helped to

develop friendly, reliable business relationships. Some of the objects they presented to their shore agents had deep American cultural resonance. As Partha Mitter has noted earlier in this volume, in 1801 a group of American merchants gave the prominent Calcutta merchant Ramdulal Dey a life-size copy by William Winstanley of Gilbert Stuart's iconic Lansdowne portrait of George Washington. No doubt this nationalistic gift was meant to reinforce their message to the Indian trader that their country had recently become independent from the British empire.²³

The gifts exchanged between Salem captain George Nichols and Bombay (now Mumbai) merchant Nusserwanjee Maneckjee Wadia around 1800 were more personal and may be more typical. When Nusserwanjee learned that Nichols was engaged to be married upon his return, he helped him to select the highest quality fabric for his fiancée's wedding dress. The merchant then gave the captain an elegant camel's hair shawl for his future wife, and the captain reciprocated by giving the merchant a 20-volume illustrated set of William Mavor's *Voyages*, a fairly expensive collection of tales of historical sea expeditions that was popular in Salem. As Bean observed, "Gift exchanges like these built relationships in the contact zone, where expectations were imperfectly understood and legal constraints were treated pragmatically."²⁴

In 1803 Nusserwanjee donated objects directly to the new museum in Salem. As a Parsi, a member of an ethnic and religious group in India descended from ancient migrations of Persian Zoroastrians, Nusserwanjee was a minority in a land of Hindus and Muslims.

Thus the merchant may have been especially sensitive to intercultural contacts. His gifts to the museum—shoes, robe, shawl, and turban that made up a “complete Parsee dress”—educated Americans about the ethnic complexities of India and specifics of his own group. The same year, the Salem captain John R. Dalling gave the museum an oil painting of Nusserwanjee, which became the basis for a sculpture of the Indian merchant that the East India Marine Society commissioned to display the clothing he had donated (Figure 4).²⁵ The painting suggests Nusserwanjee’s role as an agent between two parties. An Indian-style carpet lies under his Western-style desk and chair. His pen and paper signal his involvement in the business of trade. Displayed back in Salem, such portraits reminded sea captains about their steadfast and trustworthy agents abroad and illustrated for the townspeople the captains’ mastery of the complexities of global trade.

At the museum, Nusserwanjee shared a home with a life-size figure of Yamqua, a Chinese merchant, that Captain Benjamin Hodges gave as a gift to the museum in 1801 (Figure 5). Museum records are sketchy; they say Hodges donated “an original dress of Yamqua.” The body was formed of iron and fabric by carpenter Jonathan Bright in Salem, and the head and hands carved in wood by Samuel McIntire and likely painted by Michele Felice Cornè.²⁶ Carl Crossman has suggested that McIntire worked from an original guide, perhaps a clay portrait that had broken, because the realism is readily apparent—right down to the small pox scars on the merchant’s face.²⁷ Or McIntire may have worked from Hodges’s description of the merchant.²⁸

Visitors never failed to remark on the dramatic and authentic impression made by life-size sculptures of Asian merchants. These Asian merchants were the elite counterparts to the American traders. As such, they were presented as individuals, unlike the more generic representation of cultures in the society’s cabinet. While they reminded sea captains of their trustworthy agents abroad, more importantly, they illustrated the complexities of global trade and acknowledged the Salem captains’ ownership of privileged contacts and information.

International trade was the basis for the Salem’s wealth in the Early Republic. Institutions such as libraries, fraternal organizations, and the museum arose to meet the deep



5. *Yamqua*, 1801. Head and hands carved by Samuel McIntire, painting attributed to Michele Felice Cornè, body constructed by Jonathan Bright. Wood, paint, human hair, moss, iron, and cotton duck, 72 × 20 × 20 in. Peabody Essex Museum, E7161, Gift of Captain Benjamin Hodges. Photo by Dennis Helmar © Peabody Essex Museum.

desire for global knowledge. Awareness of the global artifacts was widespread throughout the town; even those who did not venture into the East India Marine Society's museum saw the "curiosities" as they were carried throughout the streets of the city on the days of the society's annual meeting or they read descriptions of them in the newspapers. Ownership of objects from the South Seas, India, China, Indonesia, and other places signified possession of specialized knowledge, which was associated with elite status. So was the wearing of imported silks and cashmere shawls and the use of ivory fans and elaborate sets of Chinese porcelains, especially if they were personalized with monograms that reinforced their direct connections. Thus global artifacts contributed to and reinforced social hierarchies. And as physical embodiments of the new American international trade, global artifacts also symbolized America's new place in international commerce.

Notes

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1. William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts*. 4 vols. (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1962), quotation from entry for January 4, 1804, 3:68. A palanquin is a seat carried on poles borne on the shoulders of servants; American and European traders in India frequently commented on its use by elites in India for transportation.

2. There are few modern histories of Salem; a good summary is National Park Service, *Maritime Salem in the Age of Sail* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1987). See also Dane Anthony Morrison and Nancy Lusignan Schultz, eds., *Salem: Place, Myth, Memory* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004); James Duncan Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937); *Salem and the Indies: The Story of the Great Commercial Era of the City* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947); and *Pepper and Pirates. Adventures in the Sumatra Pepper Trade of Salem* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949).

3. Some of these organizations still exist, such as the Boston Marine Society (founded 1742), the Marine Society of the City of New York (founded 1770), the Portland Marine Society (founded 1796), and the Salem Marine Society (founded 1766, distinct from the East India Marine Society in Salem).

4. The most thorough and synthetic history of the East India Marine Society is Walter Muir Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem: A Sesquicentennial History* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1949). More recent interpretive articles include Daniel Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America: Early Exhibitions at the Salem East India Marine Society," in the online *Journal for Maritime Research* (May 2002), www.jmr.nmm.ac.uk; and James M. Lindgren, "'That Every Mariner May Possess a History of the World': A Cabinet for the East India Marine Society of Salem." *New England Quarterly* 68 (June 1995): 179–205. doi:10.2307/366255.

5. Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," makes this point.

6. This is the wording from the 1808 by-laws, which were reprinted in the museum's 1821 and 1831 catalogues. The 1799 by-laws simply state that the society may collect or accept donations of "Books, Papers, Charts, Curiosities, and other such things." Original documents are in the papers of the East India Marine Society (MH-88), Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum. Reprint of 1799 document in Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society*, 177–81.

7. The founding captains asked Bentley for his comments on their written articles of incorporation in August 1799; Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, entry for August 26, 1799, 2:316.

8. On the origins of the pepper trade with Sumatra see Phillips, *Salem and the Indies*, 92–100, and Phillips, *Pepper and Pirates*. Phillips credits Carnes with inspiring the East India Marine Society cabinet, but he did not return until October 1799, a few months after the society had been conceptualized.

9. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society*, 34.
10. Bentley, *Diary*, entry for October 21, 1799, 2:321.
11. Bentley, *Diary*, entry for May 31, 1790, 174–75.
12. David R. Bringham, *Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale's Museum and Its Audience* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), esp. 35, 36, 57–58, 113 on Linnaeus. See also Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co, 1980), esp. 15, 67, 106, 162 on Linnaeus, and 16–17, 36–37, 90, 206 on the influence of Comte de Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*.
13. Whitfield J. Bell Jr., "The Cabinet of the American Philosophical Society" in *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Five Episodes in the Evolution of American Museums* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967), 1–34. The American Philosophical Society (APS) was founded in 1742, suspended, and then revived in 1769. Bell comments that in the early years of the APS museum, objects were "merely accumulated; they were not collected." On Bentley's theology see J. Rixey Ruffin, *A Paradise of Reason: William Bentley and Enlightenment Christianity in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
14. Bentley, *Diary*, entry for August 13, 1801, 2:382.
15. At first, there seems to have been no attempt at arrangement. After 1837 the museum was arranged by function—for example, all cooking utensils, or hats, or weapons, placed together, no matter their country of origin. This organization effectively erased, in the public domain, the specific geographic specialties that the sea captains had worked so hard to attain. It romanticized exotica rather than educated about culture.
16. Bentley, *Diary*, entry for June 5, 1790, 1:175.
17. Carl L. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade* (Wappingers' Falls, NY: Antique Book Collectors' Club, 1991), 307–18.
18. Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America."
19. The 1804 toasts are reprinted in Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society*, 18–19.
20. The 1809 toasts are transcribed from the original document in the East India Marine Society papers (MH-88). A recent book that emphasizes the issue of federal-period free trade in the development of the American economy is James Fichter, *So Great a Proffit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-America Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).
21. Jessica Lanier, "The Post-Revolutionary Ceramics Trade in Salem, Massachusetts, 1783–1812" (M.A. thesis, Bard Graduate Center, 2004), 104–105; Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785–1882* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 18, 22–30.
22. Susan Bean and Mary Louise Pratt use this term. See Bean, *Yankee India* (Salem MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2001); and Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).
23. Bean, *Yankee India*, 72, 74.
24. *Ibid.*, 71–72. William Mavor, *Historical Account of the Most Celebrated Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries, from the Time of Columbus to the Present Period*, 25 vols. (London: Printed for E. Newbery, 1796–1801).
25. The Peabody Essex Museum formerly attributed this work to Spoilum, the most celebrated Cantonese portrait painter of the turn of the nineteenth century, perhaps following the discussion in Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*, 52–53. The canvas, treatment of facial features, shading of the head, and light penumbra on the right side of the head suggest Spoilum, but certain details, such as the Indian pattern on the rug and the fact that Spoilum rarely painted full-length studies, raise questions about the Chinese attribution.
26. Dean T. Lahikainen, *Samuel McIntire: Carving an American Style* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2007), 83–85, 102.
27. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*, 320.
28. Lahikainen, *Samuel McIntire*, 83–85, 102.