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London's Pacific Rim: East Asian Emplacements of the British Capital

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London's Pacific Rim:

East Asian Emplacements of the British Capital

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

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in English

by

Jacqueline Jean Barrios

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

London's Pacific Rim:

East Asian Emplacements of the British Capital

by

Jacqueline Jean Barrios

Doctor of Philosophy in English

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Jonathan H. Grossman, Co-Chair

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"London's Pacific Rim" studies transurban imaginaries, geographies connecting London to the Pacific Rim, and vice versa. Conceptualized in contradiction to the opium den, the space typifying Orientalist imaginaries of London in nineteenth-century British literature, my research forges a counterimaginary of London through the capital's intimacies with East Asian people and spaces. Taking the Opium Wars (1839-42, 1856-60) as inciting historical moments, the dissertation studies places impacted by the events leading to and proceeding from this rupture. Thus, specific historical locations are the organizing principle of this dissertation, namely, the East India Company (EIC) China-trade ships, or East Indiamen; Company-contracted housing, or "the Barracks" and riots occurring in proximity to this space; and Shanghai's racecourse. These

locations matter to this project because they attest to both the shaping logics of a colonial environment and the activities of East Asian people laboring and imagining within, around and beyond its regime. “London’s Pacific Rim” links up an imaginary system that is otherwise fragmented in contemporary accounts of the period (confessional autobiography, newspaper reports, visual culture) and in seemingly disparate historiographies (maritime labor, London crowd history, treaty port leisure, to name a few). The dissertation coordinates these references to tell a story of places, working outside a reliance on London literary genres that have come to inform our understanding of the city, from metropolitan journalists’ sketches to the myths of Orientalist tale-tellers. The purpose of this work is therefore an anti-formal fabulation of London Pacific Rim, less interested in abstracting colonizing relations, than in making palpable *locational* content that enables me to theorize specific ways the capital is relational to the empire and its cast of actors, rather than its core.

The dissertation of Jacqueline Jean Barrios is approved.

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2021

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Grace Barrios, Kristina Barrios, Karina Gonzalez and Elizabeth Jean Barrios, an immigrant band of women, who made a world on whatever shores destiny led us to.

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This dissertation is about an impossible place, and I am indebted to my chairs, Jonathan Grossman and Saree Makdisi, who helped me call it into being. I owe Jonathan my deep gratitude for the ways he has held, in thought and care, not only this dissertation, but the worlds within, and behind it. Since his first meeting with me before this journey as a graduate student even began, Jonathan has helped shape the interconnected homes of my intellectual life. To Saree I owe this dissertation's ambitions to see one city in others. Who knew that a mudlark by the Thames might have something to do with the shores of the Pacific Rim? Through his inspiration, I sought to write new geographies of belonging, of London, and elsewhere.

I am thankful to my committee members whose faith in this project safeguarded my commitment, and joy, in completing it. Dana made it possible for me to strike out for new territories for this dissertation, and nurtured the platforms that gave my work new horizons. Jason insisted that I learn to trust myself each and every time I faltered, and his companionship in the details of this dissertation is one of the most precious parts of this work.

I owe so much to the members of UCLA's English Department—whose example I hope to embody as I enter the profession. I especially want to express my gratitude to Michael Cohen, whose insight and clarity directed my work at crucial moments throughout the arc of my doctoral program. I also want to thank the professors whose generosity gave me the freedom to learn and lean on their authority, especially, Carrie Hyde, Eleanor Kaufman, Anahid Nersessian, Chris Mott, Jenny Sharpe, Danny Snelson and Richard Yarborough. I am grateful for Mike Lambert's precision and care throughout the progress to the degree, down to its last moments, and for Jeannette Gilkison, whose kindness makes the department a home. I would like to thank Jami Bartlett and Alexander Gelley at English Department at UC Irvine, who advised my Master's before UCLA—Jami who believed in my capacity to navigate the shifting terrain of the field I would be entering, and Alex, whose influence still rises up in all my most persistent questions. In remembering what came before, I would like to acknowledge what comes next, and express my gratitude for the welcome I have received from the Department of Public and Applied Humanities at the University of Arizona, and express my delight in building a future intellectual home with my colleagues in Tucson.

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This dissertation is about the communities that places make, and reflects its author's emplacement in multiple ones. I am grateful to the faculty of UCLA's Urban Humanities Initiative, especially Todd Presner, Maite Zubiaurre and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, and colleagues and friends, Jonathan Banfill, Cate Carlson, Joshua Nelson, Sai Rojanapirom and Gus Wendel, who set me on some of my greatest adventures. I am indebted to the Dickens Project,

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Which brings me to my South LA world, the students, families, faculty and staff of Foshay Learning Center and the USC Neighborhood Academic Initiative, who stood behind one of their own, and sent this first-generation doctoral candidate to another campus to pursue her terminal degree. How could this even be possible without Kim Thomas-Barrios, Lisa Beebe, Michael Laska, Kate McFadden, Yolanda McCoy, Dr. Lizette Zarate, Vince Womack? I also owe a lasting debt of gratitude to my principals, Yvonne Garrison Edwards and Tracy Triplett Murray, who made it possible for me to complete this dream with both my worlds intact.

As every teacher knows, our work is fulfilled in seeing our students move on and beyond. In my career as a public school teacher, I have been fortunate to those who have returned, for whom this rare community of the book and its newest readers have held a special magic, among them, Dahlia Ballesteros, Mauricio Garcia, Bryan Garcia, Jesus Garcia, Wendy Garcia, Romell McKenzie, Kimberly Mejia, Karen Molina, Juliana Veliz and MaryAnn Villarreal-Gonzalez

London's Pacific Rim is in a sense a way to collapse distances. Thus, this dissertation is about my family scattered around the world, who abide with me no matter how many miles and time zones separate us. It is about my father, Edgardo A. Tinsay, who was the first I saw to express a boundless imagination through a pen. It is about the family who gave me shelter during the storms of my life, Jean and Richard Cone, Eduardo Becerril and Greta Pruitt. It is about the family whose love covers all my worlds, Grace Barrios, Elizabeth Jean Barrios, Kristina Barrios, Karina Gonzalez, Gil Gonzalez, Nobuko Kobayashi.

To inhabit London's Pacific Rim means to dream and labor in impossible conditions, and I thank Kenny Wong, my partner, for dwelling in its manifold spaces with me. Its many fits and starts, its flights and hauntings, its moments of inertia, its terrible hurry, has made for an unsettled and unsettling life these years, and yet, I know no one else who would share with me the burdens of packing one's books and one's ideas while crossing oceans or deserts. If there was someone who might love the kind of unfinished and fluid place this dissertation has made, it would be you.

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Introduction

London's Pacific Rim: East Asian Emplacements of the British Capital

He rises unsteadily from the bed, lays the pipe upon the hearth-stone, draws back the ragged curtain, and looks with repugnance at his three companions. He notices that the woman has opium-smoked herself into a strange likeness of the Chinaman. His form of cheek, eye, and temple, and his colour, are repeated in her. Said Chinaman convulsively wrestles with one of his many Gods or Devils, perhaps, and snarls horribly. The Lascar laughs and dribbles at the mouth. The hostess is still.

-Charles Dickens, *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870)

James Kirby, 53, a police sergeant, and inspector of common lodginghouses, which was in a most filthy and dilapidated condition. In the first room he discovered a Chinaman sleeping in a cupboard or small closet, filled with cobwebs. The wretched creature was without a shirt, and was covered with a few rags. The Chinamen was apparently in a dying state, and had since expired....In the second room he found Aby Callaghan, a poor Irish widow, who said she paid a rent of 1s.6d. per week. In the third room was Abdallah, a Lascar, who said he paid 3s per week. In the same room were two prostitutes, almost in a state of nudity, and a Chinaman squatting on a chair smoking. In the fourth room was Dong Yoke, a Chinaman, who said he paid 2s. 6d. per week for the privilege of sleeping on the bare boards, two Lascars on bedsteads smoking opium, and the

> dead body of a Lascar lying on the floor...In the fifth room....In the kitchen....In answer to Mr. Ingham, Kirby said he caused the dying Chinaman to be removed in a cradle to the workhouse, where he expired.
>
> - *Times* (10 February 1855)[1]

I read the above as a tale of two Londons. In the first, Jasper's staggering from an opium-induced stupor into a snarl of collapsing identities sets into motion a series of racial transmutations that trouble Charles Dickens' unfinished novel, *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870). In unstable formations, the "three companions" divide and recombine—the hostess has "smoked herself into the strange likeness of a Chinaman," while the "said Chinaman" and "Lascar" also abide in the scene, encircled in the reader's mind in "unintelligible" sound. The setting, an opium den, typified Orientalist fears and fascination in the common imaginary of nineteenth century London space.[2] A recurring scene to stage English shenanigans of disguise and debauchery exoticized by smoky diabolical Chinese inscrutability, the opium den is a space that contains and circulates a particularly vexed, and putatively European, fantasy of spatial domination. Within the London opium den, the imperial drive is replicated within close quarters, dramatizing the possibility and nightmare of foreign proximity. The depiction of the den to

[1] This report is also cited by maritime labor historian John Seed in his 2014 essay, "Maritime Labour and Asian Sailors in Nineteenth-Century London" (52).

[2] Canonical examples would be in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *Man With A Twisted Lip* (1891)*: "*Upper Swandam Lane is a vile alley lurking behind the high wharves which line the north side of the river to the east of London Bridge. Between a slop-shop and a gin-shop, approached by a steep flight of steps leading down to a black gap like the mouth of a cave, I found the den of which I was in search…I passed down the steps… I found the latch and made my way into a long, low room, thick and heavy with the brown opium smoke, and terraced with wooden berths, like the forecastle of an emigrant ship" or in Oscar Wilde's *Portrait of Dorian Gray* (1890)*:* "Lying back in the hansom, with his hat pulled over his forehead, Dorian Gray watched with listless eyes the sordid shame of the great city…There were opium dens where one could buy oblivion, dens of horror where the memory of old sins could be destroyed by the madness of sins that were new" (155).

consolidate a quintessential Orientalized space in London will dominate both Victorian literary imagination about the East in the metropole and scholarship examining the imbrication of the two geographies, London, and the monolithic "Far East." But this is not a project about the opium den.

In the second, an 1855 report of an inspection of a Shadwell boarding house staged the *Times* reader's entry into a London space organized in increasingly horrific scenes of encounter with its inhabitants. In this setting, rooms were taxonomized by occupants whose lives were memorialized by a few lines of newsprint, assembling in the reader's mind within compartments that crowded the literal and mental space within which they have been allotted to live. Rendering the occupation of London through rent, the description of space became a description of human condemnation so that spatial and human interiors were uneasily entwined. In the cataloguing tic of the reporter of the *Times*, what is terrible is remarked in between the inexorable count of rooms: in the first, in the second, in the third, in the fourth.

These London spaces matter because they introduce two imaginative possibilities—one that centers the story of English consumption and acquisition of commodity, and the other, that attends to Chinese and Lascar conditions of inhabitation. If the first is a London place of fantasized East Asian alienation, the second, and others like it, are London, or in the case of treaty ports, European imperial, places of East Asian occupation.[3] Even as both are produced by the urban-imperial project, the marginalization of nineteenth-century boarding houses in the

[3] This dissertation's use of the term "East Asia" comes from its interest in studying London connections to Asia that are distinct from, though always related to, its links to India. I use it in this project to refer to China and Chinese persons, primarily. When referring to materials from the period, I maintain terms writers make in referring to Asian populations, including Chinese, Malay, Lascar—the latter being an invented term for Asian seafarers in the East India Company's employ. I do this to indicate the usages of the period, which reflect, as scholars have explained, unstable categories resulting from Britain's imperial activities in the geographic area along the Indian Ocean and beyond.

imaginary testify to the erasures of concrete experiences of labor and colonial rule that this dissertation seeks to study. These locations, like others I examine, are enclaves hosting the mixed lives of British and East Asian populations. London-based temporary housing, treaty ports, and the ships that plied between the two, are locales of this lived proximity where conceptions of London might be tested, stretched and restructured. Instead of the city as centrifugal, projecting ever-outward in reproducing its own analog, or alternatively, the city as a labyrinth of mirrors, replicating itself for its own consumption, this project builds a counterimaginary, where the production of such notions are demystified or complicated by the activities of cross-cultural, transurban populations—from Asian seafarers in the East India Company ships to expatriate settlers in Shanghai, from the London-based managers of the former to the outsized Chinese population surrounding the latter. In doing so, London's Pacific Rim builds a different conceptual topography, a system of precarious territories, porous geographic edges and insecure cultural and racial content, a floating archipelago tethered by relations of power and encounter.[4]

[4] By the term "counterimaginary," I invoke thinkers for whom the representation and perception of cities matter politically, in diagnosing historical shifts in human experience and positing political agency within those shifts. One of the most compelling articulations of this, of course, comes from Walter Benjamin, who uses the nineteenth-century *flaneur's* simultaneous detachment and identification with city crowds to dramatize the ways the urban sensorium is the field for the "residues of a dream world" perceived "in waking," the source of "dialectical thinking [which is] the organ of historical awakening" ("Paris, Capital" 162). What is important for me is not to observe *flaneuring* in texts or to deploy the theory as a means to understand urban space, but rather, to understand the counterimaginary as akin to the worlding vision the *flaneur* enables Benjamin to propose—as Alexander Gelley puts it: "…he is to be understood not so much as a social type but as an agency of reception posited in order to facilitate the analysis of a coordinate system of reality" (249). If Benjamin provides a characterological means to cognize urban inhabitation as the means for historical awakening, Henri Lefebvre provides a structural device for analyzing urban occupation within a nexus of agencies that makers (of space), users and the imagination deploy and proceed from, which he describes in his seminal *Production of Space* (1974). Within this understanding of the interrelated production of space, Edward Soja goes further to name a mediatory field, the "thirdspace" or "the space of representation," the arena for cognizing and realizing alternatives to dominated urban spaces of capital. I emphasize the synthetic operation in Benjaminian and Lefevbrian lines of thought, seeing "readings" of space as *constituting* it for explicitly critical aims.

I. London's Pacific Rim

Neither purely metaphorical nor geographical, London's Pacific Rim is a conjuration of the British metropole from a new archive for this so-called urban center of imperial rule.[5] This archive expands what counts as genres of London representation so I can read beyond the horizon of Victorian literary and artistic production. The dissertation takes the Opium Wars (1839-42, 1856-60) as inciting historical moments, identifying places intimately connected with the ways this historical rupture entangled London with East Asian people and spaces. Historical locations are the organizing principle of this dissertation, namely, the East India Company China-trade ships, or East Indiamen; Company-contracted housing, or "the Barracks" and riots occurring in proximity to this space; and Shanghai's racecourse. These locations matter for me because they attest to both the shaping logics of a colonial environment and the activities of East Asian people laboring and imagining within, around and beyond its regime. Additionally, while I analyze the meanings these locations carry, I also consider my attention on them a counterimaginative work, attuned to traces of what Ghassan Hage calls "accumulations of homeliness," struggles for social being by marginalized others that are also struggles to make material realities in which to be. Deriving from the Bourdiean formulation of "habitus," Hage emphasizes this existential, worlding, dimension of the habitus as a social possession effected in actions of "homing and building," that is, "of striving to build the space where one can be at

[5] In using the term conjuration, I am responding to scholarship that merge narration (sequencing events, focalizing points of view) with critique, especially in Saidiya Hartman's work on the violence of the archive of the enslaved woman in the Atlantic world. She explains her method of "critical fabulation" in her essay *Venus in Two Acts* as a narration of the "cultural history" of the captive through an [advancement of] speculative arguments…and [an exploitation of] the capacities of the subjunctive" (11). I invoke what Hartman calls a "double gesture" in my formation of a London Pacific Rim, "straining at the limits of the archive" of London genres to tell a counter-history of urban space while "enacting the impossibility of [its representation]…precisely through the process of narration" (11).

home in the world. A struggle that is always a never ending one" (87).[6] Thus, I am interested in these places as locations charged with the historical traces of a submerged, even resistant, London habitus.

London's Pacific Rim links up an imaginary system that is otherwise fragmented in accounts, both contemporary and historical—a system I see enunciated in primary sources of the period (confessional autobiography, maritime historical records, newspaper reports, visual culture like paintings and lithographs) and in seemingly disparate historiographies (EIC shipping trade, maritime labor, London urban history, crowd action and popular uprising, leisure culture, treaty port urban geography). London's Pacific Rim works to coordinate these references to tell a story of places, working outside a reliance on London literary genres that have come to inform our understanding of the city, from metropolitan journalists' sketches to quasi-empirical reports and maps, from social reformers' maps and tracts to the myths of Orientalist tale-tellers.[7] Because that archive is detached from the experience of difference, the rehearsal of an occluding dominant worldview haunts its study. The purpose of this work is therefore an anti-formal fabulation of London Pacific Rim, less interested in abstracting colonizing relations, than in making palpable *locational* content that enables me to theorize specific ways the capital is relational to the empire and its cast of actors, rather than its core. The work aims at working out a

[6] To elaborate further, Hage is drawing out ontological implications in Pierre Bourdieu's sense of habitus, which is defined as an embodied accumulation of ways of being with the material means of creating a commensurate reality for those same capacities: "In this sense, the accumulation of being that is generated by the habitus does not only pertain to a technical domain of accumulation of practical efficiency. It also embodies a more existential domain that we can call the accumulation of homeliness" (87).

[7] In addition to my citation of Charles Dickens' *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870) in the epigraph and earlier footnote, I am invoking, among others works: Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and London Poor* (1851), Charles Booth's "Maps Descriptive of London Poverty" in the *Inquiry into Life and Labour in London* (1886-1903), Edwin Chadwick's "Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Laboring Population of Great Britain" (1842).

new cognitive map, in Frederic Jameson's terms, as a model to perceive this relationality.[8] Understanding the city form as mobile, as expanding and contracting at different scales, London thus can never be fully settled, and thus always complicatedly occupied. If the opium den represents an alienated imaginary, cut-off from the conditions of mixed racial life subtending its existence, these places establish a new native understanding of London, with alternate claims to the worlding vision of a colonial-metropolitan urban space.

II. From the Black Atlantic to London's Pacific

In the *Black Atlantic, Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Paul Gilroy identifies the ship as the primary chronotope of his project, invoking Mikhail Bakhtin's term[9] for literature's

[8] In formulating the cognitive map, Frederic Jameson takes up urban theorist Kevin Lynch's work positing the "imageability" of the city. For Lynch, imageability matters as a means of ameliorative legibility, where "urban alienation is directly proportional to the mental unmappability of local cityscapes" (353). For Jameson, Lynch's formulation about the urban is basis of his account of the cognitive map: "Lynch's conception of city experience—the dialectic between the here and now of immediate perception and the imaginative or imaginary sense of the city as an absent totality—presents something like a spatial analogue of Althusser's great formulation of ideology itself, as 'the Imaginary representation of the subject's relationship to his or her Real conditions of existence'" (353). Jameson's point is that the cognitive map operates as a pedagogical structure, an "ideology" that "attempts to span or coordinate, to map, by means of conscious and unconscious representations" the "gap between phenomenological perception and a reality that transcends all individual thinking or experience" (353), For Jameson, works of art, in the production of figures or "representations," contribute to these cognitive maps of space that mirror the development of capital itself, from a grid-like model that images the nineteenth-century metropolis as effected by the rise of market capital, to the ironic experience of space caused by the unmanageable geographies of capitalism's second, imperial stage. In my formulation of the counterimaginary as cognitive mapping, I similarly go beyond the Lynchian end-point of coherence or legibility, rather, a counterimaginary proposes a cognitive map as a spatial structure for redress in historical world-making. By conceiving London's Pacific Rim, in other words, I not only scavenge for historical fragments, but see such work projecting a metonymic space that contains the historic and interpretive relations such an archive makes visible and possible.

[9] In "Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel" Mikhail Bakhtin offers the term "chronotope" to describe means by which literature "[assimilates] real historical time and space" (84). Chronotopes transform the content of history as it enters what Bakhtin calls the "representational field" of narrative (252), from which the formation of genres can proceed (1), identifying three in particular to gloss: the "alien world in adventure-time"—constitutive of romance (89); the "adventure novel of everyday life" (111) recognizable in the "chronotope of the road" (121) which "fuses the course of an individual's life (at its major turning points) with his actual spatial course…that is, with his wanderings (120); and the "biographical novel" (130) which appeals to the "real-life chronotope [of] the public square (the agora)" where, the "self-consciousness of an individual and his life was first laid bare and shaped" (131). Bakhtin returns to the figure of incarnation to express the meaning-making function of chronotopes: "Time becomes, in effect, palpable and visible; the chronotope makes narrative events concrete, makes them take on flesh, causes blood to flow in their veins. An event can be communicated, it becomes information, one can give precise data on the place and time of its occurrence. But the event does not become a figure. It is precisely the chronotope

"[assimilations] of real historical time and space" (84) in activating the ship's historic resonances of hybridity, movement and exchange in theorizing cultural studies beyond the nation:

> [Ships] were mobile elements that stood for the shifting spaces in between the fixed places that they connected…They were [also] something more—a means to conduct political dissent and possibly a distinct mode of cultural production…As it were, getting on board promises a means to reconceptualize the orthodox relationship between modernity and what passes for its prehistory. It provides a different sense of where modernity might itself be thought to begin in the constitutive relationships with outsiders that both found and temper a self-conscious sense of western civilization. (16-17)

I am inspired by the "venturesome spirit" by which Gilroy argues for the "the impact [of this] outernational, transcultural reconceptualization" (17), likewise invoking the ship, and a particular one, for my investigation, the ship of the East India Company China-trade, crewed in increasing numbers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by Chinese seafarers, among other Asian sailors. For me, this ship launches the work of London's Pacific Rim, as a mobile microcosm of London's East Asian colonial aspirations, a vessel managing the circuitry of the city's transoceanic identity.

In undertaking this oceanic voyage beyond the Atlantic, my project names the Pacific Rim as a destination and origin, both foreshadowing and contending with the predominantly 20th

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that provides the ground essential for the showing forth, the representability of events. And this is so thanks precisely to the special increase in density and concreteness of time markers—the time of human life, of historical time—that occurs within well-delineated spatial areas" (250). I understand Gilroy's rendering of the ship as "chronotope" to designate both the literary and artistic materials he interprets, and his own analysis, as a fused "representation field" where we apprehend Black cultural and political history "[taking] on flesh" within the overarching narrative of modernity.

century formation of the term, and its fraught genealogy in the intersecting discourses of colonialism and the rise of transnational global capitalism. Theorist and critic Christopher Connery explains that while "the origin of the term is geological, referring to the rim of volcanic and tectonic activity around the Pacific Ocean-the Bering Strait, Japan, China, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Coasts of North and South America" (32), its conceptual history, what he calls the "Pacific Rim Discourse," emerges within the post-Cold War destabilization of Western global hegemony, the "anxious mythology of an era during which that fundamental characterization of the hegemon's view of its other—Orientalism-loses some of its utility…" (34). Importantly, Connery frames the rise of Pacific Rim Discourse in light of his understanding of Orientalism's static geographic imaginary of difference:

> Orientalism presumes an othering that is articulated in terms of categorical asymmetry: the Western hegemonic national or imperial power counterpoised to its colony….When these sub- or extranational categories disappear….the world knows only one category: the nation-state. At this horizon of the nation-state, the transnational imaginary can only become more abstract, more mythological, less analyzable in the strictly hegemonic terms on which Orientalism depends. (34)

Thus, in Connery's analysis, the need to '[theorize] capitalism's teleological promise" (45) led to a series of models that reflect a distributed and multinational hegemony of global space, with the "Pacific" as capital's "Last Ocean" (41) and the "Rim" as "a perfect image for a centeredness with no central power" (34). Further glossing "rim," Connery writes:

> A rim is thin. It is stable but precarious. One can fall off a rim. A rim is a horizon: the horizon of capital, of history, of space and time. It is a topology for the "suppression of distance" said to be characteristic of our times. (41)

In sum, Connery's gloss on "Pacific Rim" names the fears and dreams of capital, as it seeks to preserve itself within shifting geographies of power and rule. My project's use of the term however seeks to challenge the notion of the Pacific Rim as the space hosting, or staging, the future of capital's performances, by tracing its history within another capital, a geographic one that is—London as an urban center organizing and mutating the formation of global imperial space. Taking up by Connery's injunction to "historicize [the Pacific Rim]," "to question its conceptual categories" (Connery 56),[10] I reach further back for a distinct spatio-temporal scale,

[10] Scholarship on the various terms linked to the term "Pacific Rim" track the historical evolution of the terms in light of colonial and global capital's investments in them, or as Arif Dirlik puts it, "*whose* Pacific—and when" (15). In his essay, "The Asia-Pacific Idea: Reality and Representation in the Invention of a Regional Structure" (1998) Dirlik approaches these questions, distinguishing between "area…to refer to the Pacific as a physical geographic entity" and "region for the constructs of human activity, whether material or ideological" (33). Dirlik especially cautions against the ways the "geographical bias" in most formulations of such terms, critiquing the "tendency to view the region as a geographical given, a physically delineated stage, as it were, upon which human beings play out their various activities" (17). He begins by revealing the "contradictions" (17) in terms in use, i.e. with Pacific Basin or Region: "The terms Pacific Region or Pacific Basin" as problematically advancing a "comprehensiveness and an egalitarian inclusiveness" (18) , whereas Pacific Rim "is unsatisfactory because it focuses too exclusively on the edges of the region, leaving out the picture that is inside, which historically played an important part in the formation of the region. One recent discussion of the Pacific goes so far as to deliberately exclude the islands" (19)! A fundamental problem behind this geographic bent, as Dirlik contends, is its erasure of the "series of suppressions, marginalization, and, in the case of one human group, total extinction ([I am referring to the Tasmanians who did not survive the modern transformation of the area)" (20). The essay explores instead terms that index the processes that shaped the region, namely, "Asian Pacific," and his own coinage of "EuroAmerican" Pacific, with "the former [referring] not just to the region's location but, more important, to its human constitution; the latter [referring] to an-other human component of the region…and also to its invention as a regional structure." Dirlik especially calls attention to the ways "EuroAmerican activity, in giving the region its form, also shaped consciousness of it": "Historical literature recognizes this in the depiction of the successive phases of Pacific history as a "Spanish lake" (during the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, when Spain, largely through the intermediation of its colonies in the Americas, dominated the Pacific); an "English lake" (during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries); and, finally, an "American lake" (from the late nineteenth into the twentieth century)" (20). Dirlik names the economic and political agencies of Asia as preceded by "resistance to EuroAmerican activity rather than active participation in the region's structuring" (27), something that Japan's growth as a power in the region would destabilize (27). Thus, these historical "Pacifics" are imbricated and co-constitutive, nuancing the sense of the region as "decentered" (24), or more precisely, that the region "took shape through the interaction of alternative centers with their contradictory demands"(25). Christopher Connery's essay, "Pacific Rim Discourse: The US Global Imaginary in the Late Cold War Years" (1994) discusses the formation of a "Pacific Rim Discourse" as the latest formation in the "psycho-geography of capital itself," "the prescriptive cognitive mapping performed by capital's institutions in the service of the global imaginary" (31). Specifically, Connery focuses on the rise of "Pacific Rim Discourse" as "an imagining of U.S. multinational capitalism in an era when the 'socialist' bloc still existed, and it is the socialist bloc that is the principle discursive and strategic Other" (32). Thus for Connelly, "Pacific Rim Discourse" appropriately names the hopes and fears of capital, as it both seeks to preserve and detach itself from geographic conceptualizations of power and rule. Given capital's drive for the "currency" of "pure newness," Connery maintain that the Pacific Rim Discourse continues to "have residual life" even as it "[mutates]" further into a new formulation of the "global rim" (56). Connelly warns that the "failure to historicize it, and a failure to question its conceptual categories, can allow it

namely, London in the late eighteenth- and nineteenth- centuries. London's Pacific Rim glimpses its future while also challenging it, working against the colonial and global capitalist abstractions of the region through an excavation of "transurban" locales, where in my case, today's transnational movements can be marked within a historic register of local formations where collective cross-cultural life might be perceived and studied. My project's discoveries working at this scale suggests that the myths summoned by this discourse of the Pacific Rim are confounded by the work of attending to historical and contextual specificities, something that attention to the activities within locales enable us to perceive.

Thus, the subject of my first chapter, the ship, becomes not only a vessel for imperial domination, but also a transurban space of East Asian exploitation, suffering and dispossession that underwrites London's transoceanic ambitions. Veering away from what this chronotope afforded Gilroy—that is the historic and thematic resonances of the ship as a figure hybridity, movement and exchange, I begin with an understanding of it as a space of stasis and enclosure, a machine that homogenizes space through its movement across oceans, then reproducing its logic on land, in enclaves and ports that received and recycled people and goods. In my dissertation, the ship augurs two other locations of cross-cultural dwelling both historically and figurally, on both edges of the oceanic medium: housing for Asian, especially Chinese, seafarers in London's East End, and the treaty port, the spaces of foreign (primarily European and American) settlement, particularly in Chinese sovereign territory. Like the ship, these locations are places

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to threaten even the most counter-hegemonic and oppositional projects" (56). Connery refers in part here to "the rewriting of Atlantic history, as in the work of Marcus Rediker and Paul Gilroy…as a valuable re-creation of a working-class Atlantic, or an Atlantic of the African Diaspora, that contests the Atlantic of Western imperialism" (56). Connery ends with this provocation however: "perhaps there is a danger in working within the dominant conceptual category of the ocean, given that it is capital's favored myth-element. We should likewise be wary of constructing an oppositional Pacific Rim, seeing in its "dynamism" a new challenge to U.S. and Euro-pean hegemony. Such challenges might, indeed, be taking place, across national boundaries and in the Pacific region. But let resistance write its own geography" (56).

where regimes of colonial occupation, exploitation and extraction were entangled with the intimacies of inhabitation and daily life. Together these locations comprise an as yet unimagined London with submerged and mutable boundaries in East Asian territory and life.

III. Scholarship Framing Britain's China

Scholarship linking Britain to East Asia has done much to teach us about the traces of the Orientalist gaze, elaborating the ways appropriations and distortions of the East have enabled the making of the West. Elizabeth Chang's *Britain's Chinese Eye* (2010) for example, studies representations of Chinese-ness in the British imaginary, citing instances in the Victorian archive where such citations are clues to the formation of Western visual aesthetic. Chang turns to keywords from "garden" to the "display case/den" as tropes in her archive for Chinese objects that afforded particular ways of "seeing" to the Western eye. Chang's work is most helpful to me when she attends to space, in her diagnosis of the opium den, for example, as the logical end-point for a logic of visuality that begins first with the impulse to encase foreignness within the object of the display case. Yet I depart from Chang's method of mining British representations of Chinese artifacts to make Western-ness legible, first by choosing location over the commodity as the node for cross-cultural contact, and secondly directing my inquiry away from the evolution of the Anglo subject's perceptual life and capacities.

In seeking to work against reproducing hegemonic epistemologies, current nineteenth-century scholars have turned away from the imaginative productions of and for the "center." Ross G. Forman's *China and the Victorian Imagination* (2013), for example, draws attention to the work coming from the imperial contact zone beyond the metropole and also beyond the colonies in India, Africa and the Caribbean. In his turn to China, and to British works of China

produced outside of London, Forman's project intervenes in Orientalism studies in two ways that are significant for my project. Firstly, he attends to literary production from the margins of the colonial sphere, especially treaty ports, using local spaces to offset an overreliance on metropolitan literary productions and imaginings of the colonial relationship. This locational impulse is important for me in diagnosing the ways geographies matter in framing and producing multiple forms of East-West imaginaries. Another key aspect of Forman's work important for my project is his expressed desire to direct attention away from opium. Marshalling the wealth of primary materials from the period, Forman contends that "opium is not necessarily the central concern of British writers about China" (17). I do not, however, position my project as muting the significance of opium, and the opium den in London in the nineteenth-century world. Rather, I expose the impoverishment and elision such a focus inflicts in the imagination of urban space. I also relocate my attention outside English literary imagination by turning to spaces that hosted the worlding impulses and relationalities I am interested in examining in my project.

In fact, the global turn in nineteenth-century studies have opened up alternatives to these uni-directional flows of inquiry. For example, Nan Da's *Intransitive Encounter: Sino-US Literature and the Limits of Exchange* (2018) reformulates understandings of cross-cultural contact through what she calls a "hermeneutics of intransitivity," critiquing the prevailing need for transnational exchange to have "impact," register "trauma" or be "long-lasting" in order to matter (10-11). The work questions the urge to read hybridity or mutuality in conceptions of cultural exchange, proposing instead an attunement to "minimalist," even failed, forms of contact between cultures (33). Da's work suggestively allows for observations and theorizations of contact in places where such encounters might barely register, a strategy that makes the "indifference of transmission" between cultures available for interpretation (24).

In many ways, the varieties of closeness that global nineteenth-century studies propose can be seen to derive from the "political economy of intimacy" that Lisa Lowe's influential *Intimacies of Four Continents* examines in her magisterial study of the ways "intimacy is produced, distributed and possessed" (19). In showing imperialism as "braided" with the histories of slavery, settler colonialism and the importation of colonial labor (38), Lowe connects the formation of the Western liberal subject to these intimacies or "close connections" between "global geographies of vast distances" (19). Lowe links the production of private experiences of intimacy arrogated by free European whites to global intimacies she traces in the histories of oppressed people (28). Lowe's use of the word intimacy as a "heuristic" (17) "unsettles the meaning of intimacy as the privileged sign of liberal interiority…by situating this more familiar meaning in relation to the global processes and colonial connections that are the conditions of its production" (18). Invoking Raymond Williams here, she guides her reader to apprehend the multi-scalar connections between this "'dominant' notion of intimacy as the possession of the individual" with the geographies where "'residual' and 'emergent' forms of intimacies on which that dominance depends" (18) can be observed.[11]

I join scholars working in this tradition of elaborating geographic relationality in nineteenth-century studies by articulating a more specific, and delimited, urban dimension of colonial exchange and encounter. What might a counter-hegemonic and international reading of London space look like? How can new archives, or new ways of reading old ones, remake a

[11] To clarify further, Lowe means to distinguish her work from an analysis of the "sphere" of intimacy (17), instead, critiquing the "dominant" understanding of intimacy in her project's attention to how that "possession" came to be through the "residual intimacies of colonialism and slavery," by which she means the "settler practices and the afterlife of slavery…that continue beyond declarations of independence and emancipation" (19). Additionally, she calls attention to the "emergent 'intimacies of four continents' forged out of [those same] residual practices," by which she means "the "political, sexual, and intellectual connections and relations among slaves, peoples of indigenous descent, and colonized laborers" (19).

London imaginary so laden with Eurocentric ways of knowing? How does attention to locations of everyday, even generic, living, produce understandings that counter reified models of colonial knowledge?

My project is indebted to scholars that have mapped out a trajectory for the kinds of questions I am asking, for example, Saree Makdisi's reassessment of London and English space in *Making England Western: Occidentalism, Race, and Imperial Culture* (2013). In urbanizing the "Orient" in the metropole itself, Makdisi's work destabilizes London space as culturally and racially monolithic—following the clue of the "city arab," for instance, Makdisi makes use of London archives to re-site the instability of Westernness in British space itself. Ian Baucom's *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and Locations of Identity* (1999) similarly turns to location to reveal the profound ways place and identity imbricate. In his project, Baucom examines the passage of the British Nationality Act of 1981 to expose the tenuousness of notions of belonging in ostensibly "English" spaces. Baucom asserts that by moving to a "genealogical," and therefore, racial, ideology of identity, from nine centuries of a territorial one (the *ius soli* or "law of the soil") (7-14), the Act heralds the failure of these English "locales" to function as auratic "lieux de memoire" that would "testify to the nation's essential continuity over time" (5). My dissertation takes up these suggestive geographical understandings from Makdisi and Baucom to map out a London counterimaginary, one whose properties can be summed up below (see table 1):

Table 1. London's Pacific Rim's Conceptual Framework

imaginary	counterimaginary
essentializing	entangling
reproducing dominance	producing difference

common knowledge	idiosyncratic, haunted
Eurocentric	local, global, heterotopic
den, labyrinth	enclave, dwelling
space of expansion,	space of enclosure,
vitality, mobility	internment, stasis
East Asian alienations	East Asian intimacies

IV. How this Study Proceeds

Ship: Thomas De Quincey and the China-trade East Indiaman

The first chapter of my project, "London Bound: Ships, Space and the Transurban Imaginary" looks to the space of the East India Company China-trade ship, or East Indiaman, manned by Asian, especially Chinese, maritime workers, and adjacent locales like docks and lodging houses, to attest to the presence of London's first Pacific Rim subjects. The chapter traces the "maritime form" or the mobile enclosure, in the production of real and imagined Sino-British spaces, beginning with a rereading of Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1824, 1856) as a maritime biography of London. In this section, I reveal this canonical text is freighted with references to nautical inhabitation and navigation, and I show how opium occupies a subordinate coordinate to that nautical structure, specifically as enabling the writer's perceptual containment of the spatial sublime of metropolitan space. The chapter contextualizes this imaginative work with London's maritime biography, a narrative of the production of the literal maritime form of the East India Company's China-trade ships. I show how these ships came into being by abstracting metropolitan time and space onto seas, for example, in their transformation into London real estate by the "doctrine of the hereditary

bottom," an ascription of rights of possession for any particular ship to managing owners, or "husbands." Ships, and the trade interests they symbolized, carved up the shores of the Thames into an infrastructural zone of imperial power, while also enabling control of Chinese shores with extraterritorial counterparts. Meanwhile, their transport of East Asian maritime labor turned them into vectors of London's transoceanic counterimaginary.

Housing: East India Company-contracted housing, "The Barracks" and the Scene of Chinese Riots

The second chapter, "Chinese Riot in London: Reporting Away East Asian Occupation of the British Metropole" examines East Asian occupation of the city through readings of newspaper reports of "affrays" incited by Chinese and Lascar sailors in the city even as the East India Company increasingly rationalized the management of their daily life through the construction of military-style boarding houses or barracks. I examine how the reporting of these public disturbances in urban space both evinces and disrupts a discursive structure that disappears the political significance of scenes of urban disorder by Chinese persons in London. As the reports blur the perceptual mechanisms for seeing unruly occupants of the city, I scavenge descriptions of sailors' self-arming in the text as indications of weaponized foreign counter-occupation of British domestic urban space.

Treaty Port: Shanghai's Racecourse

The third chapter, "Shanghai's London: A British Racecourse and the Extraterritorial Imaginary" analyzes the logics of treaty port space through the formation and evolution of the Shanghai racecourse. Treaty ports, emergent Pacific Rim urban geographies in the aftermath of

Opium War, are the so-called frontiers of European, and British specifically, incursions on Chinese territories. Beginning with a lithograph of the Shanghai racecourse from the *Dianshizai huabao* (1884-1898), literally the "Illustrated News of the Dianshizhai Lithographic Studio" or Dianshizai Pictorial for short—a British-owned, Chinese-language periodical published in Shanghai, the chapter explores how the Shanghai racecourse mutated a London-based leisure form to produce an extraterritorial enclosure on Chinese sovereign soil. This chapter surveys racecourse historiography in London and Shanghai and commentary on William Powell Frith's seminal London-based racecourse painting, *Derby Day* (1858), alongside a reading of "race reports" from Shanghai's English-language periodical, *North China Herald,* to show how imperialism recoded the function of the urban leisure crowd.

V. Scavenging Geographies

> Here we have a man whose job it is to gather the day's refuse in the capital. Everything that the big city has thrown away, everything it has lost, everything it has scorned, everything it has crushed underfoot he catalogues and collects. He collates the annals of intemperance, the capharnaum of waste. He sorts things out and selects judiciously; he collects, like a miser guarding a treasure, refuse which will assume the shape of useful or gratifying objects between the jaws of the goddess of Industry.
>
> -Charles Baudelaire, quoted by Walter Benjamin, "The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire" (1938)

> So how is this user perceived? As a fairly repulsive character who soils whatever is sold to him new and fresh, who breaks, who causes wear, who fortunately fulfills the function of making the replacement of a thing inevitable, who successfully carries out the process of obsolescence.
>
> -Henri Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution* (1970)

While the Benjaminian city figure often invoked in urban scholarship has been the *flaneur*, the urban wanderer whose detached musings emblematize the dreamlike state of modern metropolitan life, London's Pacific Rim has been indebted instead to the figure of the scavenger, who is based on Benjamin's glosses throughout his work of Baudelaire's ragpicker, the subject of Baudelaire's poem "Les Vin des chiffoniers," and the prose description I quote above.

The chapters above have been inspired by the method illumined by Baudelaire and Benjamin's ragpicker, that is, to work in the wake of London's seemingly inexorable progression in this period, "obliged to come to a halt every few moments" (48) on historical locales where observation and analysis can accumulate the evidence of a different British capital. They are stories of what Lefebvre has called concrete spaces, in his *Urban Revolution* (1970): "the space of habiting: gestures and paths, bodies and memory, symbols and meaning…contradictions and conflicts between desires and need" (182).

In light of the daunting material that constitutes the representation and study of London, the studies of locations in these chapters work at the scale of Lefebvre's user: "those who inhabit", the ones "most directly involved…affected by projects…influenced by strategies" (181), the ones, who in fact, "could and should 'dwell poetically'" (181).[12] While Lefebvre ends

[12] Here, Lefebvre is quoting Friederich Hölderlin's poem (181).

with an analysis of the structural reasons behind the "passivity" and "silence" of users (188), my chapters have sought to register the historical noise of their occupation and transformations of urban space.

In this sense, inspired as it is by the city, this project aspires to the sympathy the city itself evokes, as it does for Benjamin's ragpicker: "At the proper time, he was able to sympathize with those who were shaking the foundations of this society. The ragpicker was not alone in his dream" (8).

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Chapter One

London Bound: Ships, Space and the Transurban Imaginary

> Material vessels always leave some trace.
>
> -Mary Poovey, *British India and East Indiamen* (2004)

> She despised Chinamen from the depths of her heart, but having consented to rent them her rooms, she had to go through the proper procedures. At last, when she'd finished getting ready, she went and seated herself quietly in the drawing room, taking out a copy of De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* to read, so that when her Chinese guests arrived, she'd have a suitable topic of conversation ready.
>
> -Lao-She, *Mr. Ma and Son* (1929)

I. Introduction

In the above scene, Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater,* first published in 1824 and revised in 1856, is presented as the sourcebook for British Sinophobia in a London-based novel by Lao-She. A leading Chinese novelist of the twentieth century, Lao-She's satirical novel *Mr. Ma and Son* (1929) harkens back to the time he spent in the British capital from 1924-9. Lao-She stages the reading of *Confessions* at the heart of his novel's own London East-West encounter in order to relocate that meeting in another literary space. Here, the De Quincey allusion is not only a comment about how the work serves as template (and prop) for Mrs. Wedderburn's "despis[ing of] Chinamen from the depths of her heart"—it is also Lao-She's

pre-emptive signal to us about his awareness of *Confessions* as an origin-text for anti-Chinese animus in the metropole. The scene of a London host and Chinese guests—Mr. Ma and son—in perhaps repeating the earlier one between De Quincey and a Malay seafarer who arrives so abruptly at doorstep in the *Confessions,* is already a kind of revision.[13] This chapter begins with a twentieth-century reference to De Quincey in a text by an expatriate Chinese author in order to pursue an alternative starting point for what I am calling a London Pacific Rim imaginary. I too turn to De Quincey, to start this chapter's exploration of nineteenth-century London's transoceanic imbrication with the Pacific Rim as evident in an analysis of the conceptual and material qualities of the ship.

From the Black Atlantic to London's Pacific

In the *Black Atlantic, Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Paul Gilroy formulates the notion of the Black Atlantic to understand the intermixture of Black and European cultures, critiquing national boundaries for both studying culture and proposing forms of resistance, since aspiring for the nation implicates such endeavors with essentializing understandings of race. The Black Atlantic is a counter form—a "rhizomorphic, fractal, transcultural and international formation"—for understanding Black expression as modernity's counterculture (4). His work importantly repositions geographic coordinates around his objects of study to critique the limitations national borders have imposed on cultural studies. Gilroy's work informs my project's contestation of a geographically stable London as the pre-eminent European modern

[13] While I will discuss the scene later, here is a description of that (in)famous visitation from De Quincey's perspective: "And a more striking picture there could not be imagined than the beautiful English face of the girl, and its exquisite fairness, together with her erect and independent attitude, contrasted with the sallow and bilious skin of the Malay, enameled or veneered with mahogany by marine air, his small, fierce, restless eyes, thin lips, slavish gestures and adorations." (*Confessions* 74).

space of metropolitan life. As the ship gives Gilroy a way to re-conceptualize modernity itself by foregrounding Black mobilities, the ship for me is a form to re-conceptualize London—from conceptions of the city as a center of European Atlantic metropolitan power to a contested space entangled with the East Asian Pacific so-called periphery. In this chapter, I argue that the ship is a London transurban space, extending the logics of imperial enclosure onto the seas, thus becoming the form to produce and contain the vast content of London power and desire. The ship, as an expression of the city's link to the East, is often displaced by 19th century urban cultural production about opium, best exemplified in the afterlife of De Quincey's *Confessions* in metropolitan literature's obsession with opium dens.[14] Yet as I will argue, the work reveals opium's main aesthetic function in appropriating a maritime form, which I define as both a literary structure fabricated in language, as well as a spatial phenomenon, expressed concretely in space and time. Opium organizes De Quincey's sense of London's sublime, a literary maneuver commensurate with a concrete counterpart in the ship's own specific historical context in the period. The invocation of the maritime form in this text to manage the city is neither arbitrary nor secondary but derives from the city's project of producing oceanic rule.

This is why I revisit Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions*—a text that has done much work to activate fears and desires for the East—and propose to read it instead as an autobiographical geography of London, with opium activating the maritime form to resolve the work's repeated expressions of London's incoherence. Opium's ship-work, hinted at in the trope of self-contained, mobile enclosures I trace in the text, will manage and contain the content of De Quincey's overwhelming recollections of city inhabitation. This internal organization is a

[14] See Charles Dickens's *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1872), Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890) and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's "Man With the Twisted Lip" (1891).

projection of another maritime biography of London, one that I assemble from histories of the East India Company (EIC) and its China-trade ships; accounts of London's first Chinatown in the East End and its relation to the geopolitical formation of treaty ports through the Opium Wars; and histories of Chinese and Lascar maritime labor in the period. I do this to show how the literary maritime form in the *Confessions* is embedded within the interlocking financial, technological and social production of the concrete maritime form of EIC China-trade ships. As these ships transport London time and space out to sea as maritime real estate, they reshape landed territories on both ends of its transoceanic voyage. I reread one maritime urban biography as warrant for assembling another, disenchanting us from the pains and pleasures of opium to construct the transoceanic form of London's territorial story.

II. De Quincey and the Autobiographical Geography of the *Confessions*

> Be that as it may, now it was that upon the rocking waters of the ocean the human face began to reveal itself; the sea appeared paved with innumerable faces, upturned to the heavens faces, imploring, wrathful, despairing; faces that surged upwards by thousands, by myriads, by generations: infinite was my agitation; my mind tossed, as it seemed, upon the billowy ocean, and weltered upon the weltering waves.
>
> -Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of an Opium Eater* (1856)

The anchor of the geographic universe of the *Confessions*[15] is London, chthonic, magnetic, vast. De Quincey scholars interested in the memoir's link to the geographies of the

[15] In this chapter, I use the 1857 expanded version of the *Confessions of an Opium Eater* in David Masson's *Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey* (1889-90).

empire examine what Sanjay Krishnan calls the "work of opium" (204), studying the relation between opium and the palpable horror of the East immanent throughout the *Confessions* and the body of De Quincey writing, either as a type of inoculation against oriental infection, for example, in John Barrell's influential *The Infection of Thomas De Quincey* (1991), or as a placeholder for fraught economic relations of equivalence and exchange, as in Sanjay Krishnan's "Opium and Empire: The Transports of Thomas De Quincey" (2006).[16] In this section, I argue for a reading of opium less as vector of Orientalized fear, or as a doubled form of narcotic and commodity (Krishnan 205), but instead as a vessel, invested with the affordances of that form as enclosure and transport.

Opium enables a literary maritime inhabitation and navigation of London space in the *Confessions*. Represented as an overwhelming universe animated with De Quincey's past, its incoherence stages evocations of mobile, self-sufficient enclosures, i.e., ships, or at least, ship-like spaces in the narrative, through which the author navigates a sublime world with opium empowering his maritime-poetic work. I will begin my reading by showing the narrative system where London emerges as totalizing problem, whose terror emerges from a foundational memory

[16] John Barrel's *The Infection of the Thomas De Quincey* (1991) explains the recurring fear of the oriental across disparate writings of De Quincey via three related "synchronic forms" (22) that evoke the horror of the East as private psychic trauma and political imperial guilt. The first is an "imaginary geography of this /that/other" (13) that enables De Quincey to resolve the antagonism between the self and its more proximate other through the invention of a third term, i.e., the invocation of oriental imagery to render London city crowds sympathetic in comparison. The second related idea is the figure of inoculation, whereby the infection of the other is warded off by the consumption of its diminished form: "the fear projected on to the East kept threatening to return….against these that De Quincey inoculates himself, taking something of the East into himself (16). The last structuring device is "the myth of childhood" (20), which sets up a chain of "compulsive returnings" (24) in De Quincey's writings to the scene of "primal and private terror" (20) at the death of his sister. Departing from this psychological reading, Sanjay Krishnan's "Opium and Empire: The Transports of Thomas De Quincey" (2006) takes up De Quincey's cue in reading the *Confessions "*not as an autobiography but as a story of the 'marvelous agency' of opium" (204). Krishnan explains that opium's "divided unity" (204) as both narcotic and commodity (205) creates contrastive impulses in the opium-eater, "[pushing] the self toward the terrors and possibilities opened up by difference" in the former or driving the production of "[homogeneity] through mechanisms of discipline and 'exchange'" in the latter (205). My chapter's study of De Quincey's *Confessions* applies insights from these authors' analysis of opium use and British imperialism, but departs from their respective trajectories by studying the work primarily as a maritime psychogeography of London.

of the Whispering Gallery in St. Paul's Cathedral. Then, I track the ways survival within this urban sublime is signaled in literal and imaginative enclosures, marked in various locales, the house in Greek Street, Soho, for example, or key locations in Oxford Street, or appeals to his later residence in Grasmere cottage. De Quincey repeatedly works at "getting his bearings" in the city, a procedure that culminates in the final, explicit rendering of ship-space in the *Confessions*, De Quincey's heroic urban-maritime fantasy with opium as key metropolitan navigator and co-pilot.

London Address

The *Confessions* is shot through with a narrative anxiety about its London's address, so to speak. In the 1857 revision of the *Confessions*, De Quincey returns again and again to invocations of the metropole, not only as causal environment for his addiction, but as cohering structure for its aesthetics:

> What was it that did in reality make me an opium-eater? That affection which finally drove me into the *habitual* use of opium?… Yet whence derived? Caused by what? Caused, as I might truly plead, by youthful distresses in London…. (*Confessions* 231)
>
> ….I trace the origin of my conformed opium-eating to a necessity growing out of my early sufferings in the streets of London. Because…the re-agency of these London sufferings did in after years *enforce* the use of opium. (233)
>
> Otherwise, these Confessions would break into two disconnected sections….And the two sections would have no link whatever to connect them, except the slight

> one of having both happened to the same person. But a little attention will show the strictness of the inter-connexion…. (413)
>
> … this dream-scenery, drew their outlines and materials— their great lights and shadows—from those profound revelations which had been ploughed so deeply into the heart, from those encaustic records which in the mighty furnaces of London life had been burned into the undying memory by the fierce action of misery…. (413)

London operates at multiple levels of the story, inscribing itself on De Quincey's body as the "twitching[s].... about the region of [his] stomach" (355), the "boyish sufferings…pressing upon an organ peculiarly weak in [his] bodily system" (412), and acknowledged as source material, the "great lights and shadows" (413) for his opium dreams. London is cited to stand in for an absent link among life events comprehended by the *Confessions*. To invoke London in this way calls attention to the impulse in the work to come into expression through the troping of space. These appeals to the city betray an anxiety, as abiding as addiction and bodily pain, for narrative coherence, geographically conceived.

This, in some ways, is paradoxical, given multiple instances London-as-content overwhelms the diegetic world, for example, in the narrative bloat around De Quincey's entry into London proper, as ever more melodramatic foreshadowings and figurations[17] delay the action and distend the prose with increasingly dire presentiments of doom. A primary example is

[17] Before his entry into London, De Quincey will have invoked London multiple times: "at intervals I heard—in how different a key!—the raving, the everlasting uproar, of that dreadful metropolis which at every step was coming nearer" (344); "But now rose London—sole, dark, infinite—brooding over the whole capacities of my heart" (346); "as I turned inwards to the echoing chambers, or outwards to the wild, wild night, I saw London expanding her visionary gates to receive me, like some dreadful mouth of Acheron…Thou also, Whispering Gallery!…. For once again I was preparing to utter an irrevocable word, to enter upon one of those fatally tortuous paths of which the windings can never be unlinked" (347).

the description of, and subsequent flashbacks to, a fifteen-year-old De Quincey at the Whispering Gallery at St. Paul. Remembered as he is about to run away from Manchester Grammar School,[18] he describes himself frozen by the "death-like revelation" and "hateful remembrance" of this particularly spatial memory :

> At the earlier end of the gallery had stood my friend, breathing in the softest of whispers…At the further end, after running along the walls of the gallery, that solemn truth reached me as a deafening menace in tempestuous uproars. And now…when I dreamed ominously with open eyes in my Manchester study, once again that London menace broke angrily upon me as out of a thick cloud with redoubled strength; a voice, too late for warning, seemed audibly to say, "Once leave this house , and a Rubicon is placed between thee and all possibility of return….Even now thy conscience speaks against it in sullen whispers; but at the other end of thy long life-gallery that same conscience will speak to thee in volleying thunders." (297)

De Quincey will go on to co-opt London's oracular properties, an acoustic phenomena produced by a bit of the city's architecture, by repeatedly referring to this space as we shall see shortly. In the above, London's "menace" is its power of space and time—De Quincey is suffocated by life's totality abruptly, and summarily delivered. The text performs what it describes, echoing the action of the gallery in its own pages: for example, happening upon a pastoral market scene later, De Quincey cheerfully remarks: "all my gloom and despondency

[18] Interestingly, De Quincey tells us that the lack of leisure time for exercise from the school's schedule contributes to the mental agitation driving him to run away: "Here then stood arrayed the whole machinery of mischief in good working order; and through six months or more, allowing for one short respite of four weeks, this machinery had been operating with effect. Mr. Lawson, to begin, had (without meaning it, or so much as perceiving it) barred up all avenues from morning to night…." (274).

were already retiring to the rear; and, as I left…, I said to myself, 'All places, it seems, are not Whispering Galleries'" (300), or, upon being reproached by his mother, intones, "Here now…reverberating from the sounding-board within my awakened conscience, one of those many self-reproaches so dimly masked…by the secret thought under the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral about its dread Whispering Gallery" (313). The architectural logic of the Gallery's horror will continue to matter, as we shall see, as an example of how opium turns to built-space to reconstitute the subject's moral and emotional life.

In the meantime, De Quincey re-encounters London's sublimity in his first poverty-stricken residence in the city. An analeptic pull works throughout this section to register an inexorable London whose dissonant proportions appall—large mansions tenanted by rats, main thoroughfares where all and none meet:

> However, in common with the rats, I sat rent free … on that single occasion, I had as large a choice of rooms… in a London mansion- viz., as I am now at liberty to add, at the north-west corner of Greek Street, being the house on that side the street nearest to Soho Square – as I could possibly desire. (358)
>
> …Doubtless we must have been sometimes in search of each other, at the very same moment, through the mighty labyrinths of London; perhaps even within a few feet of each other—a barrier no wider, in a London street, often amounting in the end to a separation for eternity! (375)

In these two examples of his stay in the city, De Quincey perceives London as a scalar problem. For example, in the first description, the excess of interiors of the virtually abandoned mansion he house-sits only amplifies his vagrancy, while human proximities created by London streets ("within a few feet") in the second produce insurmountable distances ("separation for eternity!").

These spaces (Greek Street house in the former, Oxford Street in the latter) capture the hostilities of London. De Quincey is adrift, cast outside his own class in the city. In response, we read how De Quincey turns to encircling himself within the Greek Street house:

> We lay upon the floor, with a bundle of law-papers for a pillow, but with no other covering than a large horseman's cloak; afterwards, however, we discovered in a garret an old sofa-cover, a small piece of rug, and some fragments of other articles, which added a little to our comfort… all [rooms], from the attics to the cellars, were at our service. "The world was all before us," and we pitched our tent for the night in any spot we might fancy…. (355)

In the above, scavenged materials create a domestic enclosure ("bundle of law-papers for a pillow," "an old sofa-cover" "small piece of rug" etc.) and a simultaneous expansion of territory: "all [other rooms] were at our service" and "the world was all before us." This formal work repeats in a later scene where De Quincey navigates Oxford street:

> …Soon after six o'clock, on a dark winter evening, I set off, accompanied by Ann, towards Piccadilly; for it was my intention to go down as far as the turn to Salt Hill and Slough on the Bath or Bristol mail. Our course lay through a part of the town which has now totally disappeared, so that I can no longer retrace its ancient boundaries—having been replaced by Regent Street and its adjacencies. Swallow Street is all that I remember of the names superseded by this large revolutionary usurpation. Having time enough before us, however, we bore away to the left, until we came into Golden Square. There, near the corner of Sherrard Street, we sat down, not wishing to part in the tumult and blaze of Piccadilly. I had told Ann of my plans some time before…on the fifth night from that, and every night after

> wards, she should wait for me, at six o'clock , near the bottom of Great Titchfield Street; which had formerly been our customary haven of rendezvous, to prevent our missing each other in the great Mediterranean of Oxford Street. (368)

This particular section of *Confessions* is cluttered with London locales (I count eight) to suggest in fact the in-rushing of recollection and data about Oxford Street as a "great Mediterranean." This moment maps London and human companionship onto oceanic signifiers, fluctuating and mutable. Thus, the search for a missing name among a commensurate list of also irrelevant proper nouns:

> She had either never told me, or… I had forgotten, her surname. It is a general practice, indeed, with girls of humble rank in her unhappy condition, not…to style themselves Miss Douglas, Miss Montague, &c., but simply by their Christian names, Mary, Jane, Frances, &c. Her surname, as the surest means of tracing her, I ought now to have inquired…. (368)

The failure to locate Ann, a key tic in the story repertoire of the *Confessions* (evoked for example in De Quincey's search for other missing characters—the Greek Street orphan girl, the opium druggist at the Pantheon), is one instance of the city's resistance, like oceans, to precise and immutable cartographies. It is at this moment in the memoir that De Quincey inserts a future space, Grasmere cottage, the site of his "confirmed (no longer an intermitting) opium [use]" (398):

> …Oftentimes, on moonlight nights, during my first mournful abode in London, my consolation was…to gaze from Oxford Street up every avenue in succession which pierces north wards through the heart of Marylebone…for that, said I,

> travelling with my eyes up the long vistas…—"that is the road to the north, and, therefore, to Grasmere…." (376)
>
> Meantime I am again in London, and again I pace the terraces of Oxford Street by night; and oftentimes—when I am oppressed by anxieties… [remembering] that I am separated from thee by three hundred miles and the length of three dreary months…I think that, though blind indeed, and scattered to the winds of late, the promptings of my heart… may be justified if read in another meaning; and, if I could allow myself to descend again to the impotent wishes of childhood, I should again say to myself, as I look to the north, "Oh, that I had the wings of a dove!"(378)

In this palimpsestic evening flânerie of Oxford Street, De Quincey writes in not one, but two, imagined sightings of Grasmere cottage by the repeated searching gaze "northward." Oxford Street's particular melancholia is consoled, De Quincey suggests, by these invisible lines to Grasmere cottage, evoking either the memory of his boyish affection to reach Wordsworth in 1802 or the comforts of wife and family in 1821, now "three hundred miles" and "three dreary months away."

In all these examples, De Quincey persistently marks out London geographies with mental projections of enclosure and accompanying acts of orientation to shape his vertiginous, vulnerable experiences of the city into legible recollections.

Maritime Confessions

At this point, I would like to take a moment to point out occasions where De Quincey invokes ship-spaces (even planetary ones) in explicit, but as I would describe it, bounded terms,

in order to present a secondary archive to the more immanent and networked dynamic I am developing so far, a sampling of which I include below:

> Meantime alternately I sailed upon the high-priced and the low-priced tack. (334)
>
> I took a fierce resolution to sacrifice my weekly allowance, to slip my anchor, and to throw myself in desperation upon London. (388)
>
> This is the doctrine of the true church on the subject of opium: of which church I acknowledge myself to be the Pope (consequently infallible), and self-appointed *legate a latere* to all degrees of latitude and longitude. (384)
>
> At any rate, he who summons me to send out a large freight of self-denial and mortification upon any cruising voyage of moral improvement must make it clear to my understanding that the concern is a hopeful one…This being fully understood between us, we shall in future sail before the wind. (400-1)
>
> In six or eight months more… I fleeted back into the same opium lull. To and fro, up and down, did I tilt upon those mountainous seas, for year after year. "See-saw, like Margery Daw, that sold her bed and lay on straw." Even so did I…see-saw for year after year, out and in, of maneuvers the most intricate…round my great central sun of opium. Sometimes I ran perilously close into my perihelion; sometimes I…wheeled off into a vast cometary aphelion…. (418)
>
> It is recorded of Lord Nelson that, even after the Nile and Copenhagen, he still paid the penalty, on the first days of resuming his naval life… - viz . sea-sickness. And this happens to a considerable proportion of sailors : they do not recover their sea-legs till some days after getting afloat. (420)

> I had the power, if I could raise myself to will it; and yet again had not the power, for the weight of twenty Atlantics was upon me, or the oppression of inexpiable guilt. (446)

The figures above are momentary at-hand metaphors or bits of local rhetoric which do not immerse the reader in the interrelated geographies of De Quincey's urban past. As such, these do not bear out the kind of metonymic referentiality central to the internal structure I see the *Confessions* as mounting so far, where descriptions De Quincey's negotiations of a real London, and as we shall see later, the instrumentation of opium, lean into, and are pressurized by crafting, commandeering and inhabiting the formal properties of ship, or ship-like space. Instead, references to seafaring and seas in the above work differently by detaching the sense of the maritime from city-space. This is why the description of wandering London *while* on opium analyzed next is important in comparison.

To proceed to it, the main description of habituated London opium use I will discuss now is narrated in the introduction, through a section that mimics the premeditation with which De Quincey went about his use of the drug:

> This pleasure [taking opium] I have said, was to be had only on a Saturday night. What, then, was Saturday night to me more than any other night? I had no labours that I rested from; no wages to receive; what needed I to care for Saturday night…?… Now, Saturday night is the season for the chief regular and periodic return of rest to the poor…in this point the most hostile sects unite, and acknowledge a common link of brotherhood.... For the sake, therefore, of witnessing, upon as large a scale as possible, a spectacle with which my sympathy was so entire, I used often, on Saturday nights, after I had taken opium, to wander

> forth, without much regarding the direction or the distance, to all the markets, and other parts of London, whither the poor resort on a Saturday night for laying out their wages…. (392)

In the above, an identification with (Christian) waged labor frames an extended maritime metaphor to come.[19] A Saturday night London is an environment where the hostilities of capital-dominated space are assuaged momentarily, even ritualistically, where a "common link of brotherhood" promises to repair the ruthlessness of London space. The possibility to cathect with London laborers' daily life, through opium, transforms the space—now desirable because discoverable, expansive because navigable:

> Some of these rambles led me to great distances; for an opium-eater is too happy to observe the motion of time. And sometimes, in my attempts to steer homewards, upon nautical principles, by fixing my eye on the pole-star, and seeking ambitiously for a north-west passage, instead of circumnavigating all the capes and headlands I had doubled in my outward voyage, I came suddenly upon such knotty problems of alleys, alleys without soundings, such enigmatical entries, and such sphinx's riddles of streets without obvious outlets or thoroughfares, as must baffle the audacity of porters, and confound the intellects of hackney coachmen. I could almost have believed, at times, that I must be the first discoverer of some of these *terræ incognitae* and doubted whether they had yet been laid down in the modern charts of London. Positively, in one line of communication to the south of Holborn

[19] Barrell comments on this point as a particularly vexed class identification masking De Quincey's antipathy for the urban masses: "[De Quincey's pleasure is not at all to pretend to be one of them it is to pretend to be like them, fundamentally the same, but different in all that really concern one's sense of identity and self-esteem" (2).

> for foot passengers (known, I doubt not, to many of my London readers), the road lay through a man's kitchen; and, as it was a small kitchen, you needed to steer cautiously, or else you might run foul of the dripping-pan. (394)

Krishnan has studied the passage above to call attention, in part, to the ways references to international maritime routes signify the work's pre-occupation with opium's global commodity form.[20] In my reading, I focus on the ways De Quincey is acting out an opium-aesthetic theory earlier described, and now expressed in what he experiences—shaping content, in this case, the city, through a cognitive form, in this case the ship. I quote De Quincey's explanation below, which is offered within a description of the other favored Saturday-night opium haunt, Grassini-sessions at the opera:

> ….It is by the reaction of the mind upon the notices of the ear (the matter coming by the senses, the form from the mind) that the pleasure is constructed…Now opium, by greatly increasing the activity of the mind, generally increases, of necessity, that particular mode of its activity by which we are able to construct out of the raw material….an elaborate intellectual pleasure. (391)

[20] For Krishnan, the scene evokes London's imperial connections to Asia primarily as a precursor for the later scene between the De Quincey and Malay (210). He reads nautical references in this passage as indexing the ways trade renders London space incoherent, which I suggest proceeds primarily from an accumulation of biographical encounters with city-space itself. Krishnan tells us that London is defamiliarized mainly as a space of "new institutions [which] emblematize new territories that need to be husbanded for profit," as well as a "labyrinthine proliferation of complex new institutions and legislation" (208), and thus, "[in] the disorientation felt by ordinary Londoners from a city transformed by imperial trade, one sees a curious parallel in the explorer who seeks a way home from Asia, presumably laden with Chinese tea and silk gained in exchange for opium produced in British India" (210). This shared disorientation, the payoff of this metaphor for Krishnan, matters in confirming the ways the figural journey of "opium-eater turned opium-trader…[who] sails home through the Malay Archipelago" (211) will come to foreshadow "the gift of opium to the Malay elsewhere in the text" (211). In my argument, I read opium here as primarily crafting a subjective enclosure to contain De Quincey's experience of London space, and the upcoming encounter with the Malay as a reference to the ways a literal maritime intrudes on the magical one cast by opium.

In the above, the work's own theory about its aesthetic production, not coincidentally framed as an acoustic-poesis, sets up the maritime meditation he writes in later. In fact, the work has rehearsed this action of transfiguring the "matter of senses" by the formal intervention of the mind primarily in fashioning spaces, as I have been showing. In fabricating self-contained, self-sufficient worlds to inhabit an inhospitable metropolis, the work stages the culmination of opium's labor in constructing an apotheosis of such an enclosure—the ever-evolving, assemblage of technology, warfare and trade represented by ship, the symbol of British dominance of space.

And what has been wrought out of the material of London space in this sense is arguably the elaboration, a nesting together, of multiple proto-formations of ship-like space: a scavenged domestic tent, the landmarks of a busy street, even a cottage perched among mountains, embowered in pastoral scenery, hundreds of miles away. Each envelops the subject in varied expressions of the ship's world—its intimate, social and elemental experiences calling forth complementary capacities that produce the gratification of care, perception and self-sufficiency, made all the sharper by being environed in an estranging, alien medium. The elicitation of the ship imperializes domestic space ("circumnavigating all the capes and headlands," the "modern Charts of London") and domesticates the imperial: "you needed to steer cautiously, or else you might run foul of the dripping pan."[21] The intellectual pleasure here is wholly bound up with the competencies and affordances of ship space—that is, to master "great distances," to "observe the motion of time," to be the "first discoverer" of "*terrae incognitae.*" Unlike a Whispering

[21] Krishnan similarly glosses this as a "double and contradictory image [of] London…as point of transit and terminus, at once wild and domesticated: it is both the heterogeneous, undeveloped empty spaces from which raw materials are extracted and the unseen boardrooms for a homogeneous reckoning of profit and power" (209). In my reading, I also read its domestic references, but as indexing instead the feelings of home-like space.

Gallery's entombment in recapturing even the least registrable of agencies, the ship endlessly reactivates the will wither it would go: the error of "seeking ambitiously for a northwest passage" is transmuted into intrepid traversals of "alleys without soundings" and "sphinx's riddles of streets," with such confusions serving as precursors in the end to the self-forgetful bliss of nautical-metropolitan conquest.

Thus, the ship enables a remove from the consequences of land-bound care. At the conclusion of the section on the pleasures of opium, De Quincey projects a vantage point where the "multiform scene" of city (in this case, Liverpool) and "multitudinous" sea might be totalized in one "circular prospect":

> …When I have been seated at an open window, from which I could overlook the sea at a mile below me, and could at the same time command a view of some great town standing on a different radius of my circular prospect, but at nearly the same distance….Obliquely to the left lay the many-languaged town of Liverpool; obliquely to the right, the multitudinous sea…. The town of Liverpool represented the earth, with its sorrows and its graves left behind, yet not out of sight, nor wholly forgotten. The ocean, in everlasting but gentle agitation, yet brooded over by dove-like calm, might not unfitly typify the mind, and the mood which then swayed it…Here…[was] tranquility that seemed no product of inertia, but as if resulting from mighty and equal antagonisms; infinite activities, infinite repose. (395)

Such a prospect holds irreconcilable qualities of the space, where, as De Quincey remarks, "antagonisms" are both activated and resolved by simultaneous preoccupation. What matters here is that opium does not simply produce this experience, but rather, in a work obsessed by

spatial extensions and constraints on subjectivity, mobilizes a consummate form that synthesizes metropole and the maritime:

> O just and righteous opium! that to the chancery of dreams summonest, for the triumphs of despairing innocence, false witnesses, and confoundest perjury, and dost reverse the sentences of unrighteous judges;—thou buildest upon the bosom of darkness, out of the fantastic imagery of the brain, cities and temples…. (395)

At section's end, opium's power, which, as the sentence above shows, culminates in its space-shaping, city-building powers, is called to "confound" and "reverse" the "perjury" and "sentences of unrighteous judges," the (loud) oratory register of the apostrophe suggestively countering London's whispers. Opium, in some ways, gives De Quincey a way to imagine city-making as the means to overmaster histories immanent in space. If London is a site to remind De Quincey of error and lost companions, itself a type of "bosom of darkness," it is also the foundational material waiting for opium's transformative powers.

Grasmere Ship

> Let there be a cottage, standing in a valley, eighteen miles from any town; no spacious valley, but about two miles long by three-quarters-of-a-mile in average width….Let it, however, not be spring, nor summer, nor autumn; but winter, in its sternest shape. This is a most important point in the science of happiness….Surely everybody is aware of the divine pleasures which attend a winter fireside-candles at four o'clock, warm hearth-rugs, tea, a fair tea-maker, shutters closed, curtains flowing in ample draperies on the floor, whilst the wind and rain are raging

> audibly without…I can put up even with rain , provided that it rains cats and dogs, or, as sailors say, "great guns and marline spikes".... (408)

If London represents the deep psychic geography of the *Confession*, Grasmere cottage, on loan from William Wordsworth, represents its projected rural other. In this last section on the maritime formal work of opium in the autobiography, I read the ways the drug re-constructs the formal features of ship space through the "material" of Grasmere cottage. The description is a series of God-like instructions to formless space itself, or perhaps, a cottage fabricator (later, De Quincey addresses a painter), with opium manifesting, as I will suggest, ocean architectonics even in, or especially upon, a terrestrial world. De Quincey is insistent that what matters for him is less the cottage's picturesque pastoral but the cottage as bulwark against extremely bad weather—later in the prose a large section of epicurean ruminations on winter weather ("a thick wall of dark nights" from "November to January, with Christmas Eve being the meridian line") (408) summarily buries cursory mentions of rose and jasmine. I argue that the cottage furnishes the pleasure of foiling the elements through habitation within a type of landlocked, domesticated ship. De Quincey's opium habit enables him to possess an aesthetic captaincy of Grasmere (ship), all wants secured, all instrumentation within arm's reach:

> Paint me, then, a room seventeen feet by twelve, and not more than seven and a-half feet high... As to the opium…you may paint it, if you choose….paint the real receptacle, which was not of gold, but of glass….Into this you may put a quart of ruby coloured laudanum; that, and a book of German metaphysics placed by its side… (410)

In light of the earlier scene of opium-use, this one at least invites comparison to the pleasures of satisfying navigations and geographic translocations, a pleasure emanating from the managed

contiguity of various spaces of the *Confessions'* geographies, as in earlier, "one circular prospect." De Quincey importantly marks the Grasmere's connection to *both* London and the maritime in scenes of its two most significant visitors, the Malay and the ever-lost Ann, which I will here discuss in sequence.

> One day a Malay knocked at my door. What business a Malay could have to transact amongst the recesses of English mountains is not my business to conjecture; but possibly he was on his road to a seaport…. A more striking picture there could not be imagined than the beautiful English face of the girl, and its exquisite bloom…contrasted with the sallow and bilious skin of the Malay, veneered with mahogany tints by climate and marine air…. Half-hidden by the ferocious-looking Malay, was a little child from a neighboring cottage, who had crept in after him, and was now in the act of reverting its head and gazing upwards at the turban and the fiery eyes beneath it, whilst with one hand he caught at the dress of the lovely girl for protection. (404)

Importantly for this chapter is that the Malay, as the figure for the maritime, is specifically Southeast Asian, and a seafarer. The Malay's intrusion in Grasmere introduces him as a peripatetic at a scale to rival De Quincey,[22] his literal status as a global seafarer subsuming all wanderings real and surreal endeavored so far and subsequently by De Quincey himself. I extend Krishnan's interpretation of the Malay's referential link to the East India trade to a focus on his link to ships, reading in De Quincey's famous gift of opium to assuage the Malay's 40-mile walk

[22]When De Quincey introduces the Malay, he showcases his knowledge of walking routes to and from seaports and London: "What business a Malay could have to transact amongst the recesses of English mountains is not my business to conjecture ; but possibly he was on his road toa seaport—viz.,Whitehaven, Workington, &c.— about forty miles distant" (402).

to London the means by which the *Confessions* connects directly to the labor economies of shipping:

> On his departure, I presented him, *inter alia*, with a piece of opium. To him, as a native of the East, I could have no doubt that opium was not less familiar than his daily bread; and the expression of his face convinced me that it was. Nevertheless, I was struck with some little consternation when I saw him suddenly raise his hand to his mouth, and bolt the whole, divided into three pieces, at one mouthful. The quantity was enough to kill some half-dozen dragoon.

The provocative opium ingestion, and the Malay's appearance in later parts of the *Confession,* has been importantly read by Krishnan as a figure of difference disrupting forms of equivalence authorized by commodity exchange. In Krishnan's reading, the gift of opium to the Malay and De Quincey's later invocation of the figure in his "oriental" dreams suggests that opium scrambles equivalencies, as represented by the Malay's unforeseen reaction to his gift. In my reading, I would like to suggest that the scene is crucial in introducing a key actor, that is, the maritime laborer, and actual user of London-East Asian ship space, in the entangled imaginary I have set up so far between De Quincey, London, and an opium-aided maritime. He is a frontier resident of the world produced by these signifiers. The moment is a reversal of the enchanted London-maritime scene earlier; here we have an eminently factual sailor traversing English soil in contrast to De Quincey's fantasy as a waged laborer sailing imaginary London seas. De Quincey and reader are dumbfounded alike when the Malay "suddenly [raises] his hand to his mouth, and [bolts] the whole" of the opium, a moment that startles by the act's absolute disregard of parts and wholes, proportions and measures ("whole," "divided," "three") through a singularly complete and irreversible consumption ("one mouthful"). In a sense the swallowing

up of opium is a type of mutiny of the poetic work so far—apparatus of ship, cargo and captain is swallowed up by the inimical figure of the Asian seafarer.

The Malay will return later as a diabolic Virgil for De Quincey's nightmarish descent into an Orientalized domain, a space qualified by some of the key tropes already suggested: architecture—"early stage of the malady, the splendours of my dreams were indeed chiefly architectural; and I beheld such pomp of cities and palaces as never yet was beheld by the waking eye…." (439); the maritime—"…to my architecture succeeded dreams of lakes and silvery expanses of water…" (441); and, with the introduction of the Malay, that maritime's extension into Asia—"…the Malay has been a fearful enemy for months. Every night, through his means, I have been transported into Asiatic scenery…." (442). In the last account, the menagerie of forms De Quincey dreams up is a moment where a bit of originating London past bolts free, i.e., a Whispering Gallery returned: "Over every form, and threat, and punishment, and dim sightless incarceration, brooded a killing sense of eternity and infinity" (443). Unlike the consolation of an opium-induced ship conciliating him to circumambient space, this is a bad trip brought upon by the Malay's intrusion, shaping the space into something very much like the dreadful incarceration of a spherical chamber.

Yet opium provides a resolution, as we ask with De Quincey, "what had become of Ann?" (374):

> I turned, as if to open my garden gate, and immediately I saw upon the left a scene far different; but which yet the power of dreams had reconciled into harmony. The scene was an oriental one; and there also it was Easter Sunday…And at a vast distance were visible, as a stain upon the horizon, the domes and cupolas of a great city….And not a bow-shot from me… Ann! She

> fixed her eyes upon me earnestly ; and I said to her at length, "So, then, I have found you at last"….Suddenly her countenance grew dim...in a moment all had vanished; thick darkness came on; and in the twinkling of an eye I was far away from mountains, and by lamp-light in London, walking again with Ann—just as we had walked, when both children, eighteen years before, along the endless terraces of Oxford Street. (446)

She arrives in the wake of the Malay to recast a formal coherence: "the scene was an oriental one: and there also it was Easter Sunday." She resurrects the enclosure, en-vesseling the cognitive geographies of the *Confessions* to the city, at reverie's end: "in a twinkling of an eye…and by lamp-light in London, walking again…the endless terraces of Oxford Street." As a closing parenthesis to the Malay's visitation, Ann's arrival at Grasmere signals the essential corollary of expansion, that is of course, the structure of homecoming. What opium ultimately enables is not just, it seems, outward voyages, but safe returns of London-bound ones as well.

III. Ships and London's Maritime Autobiography

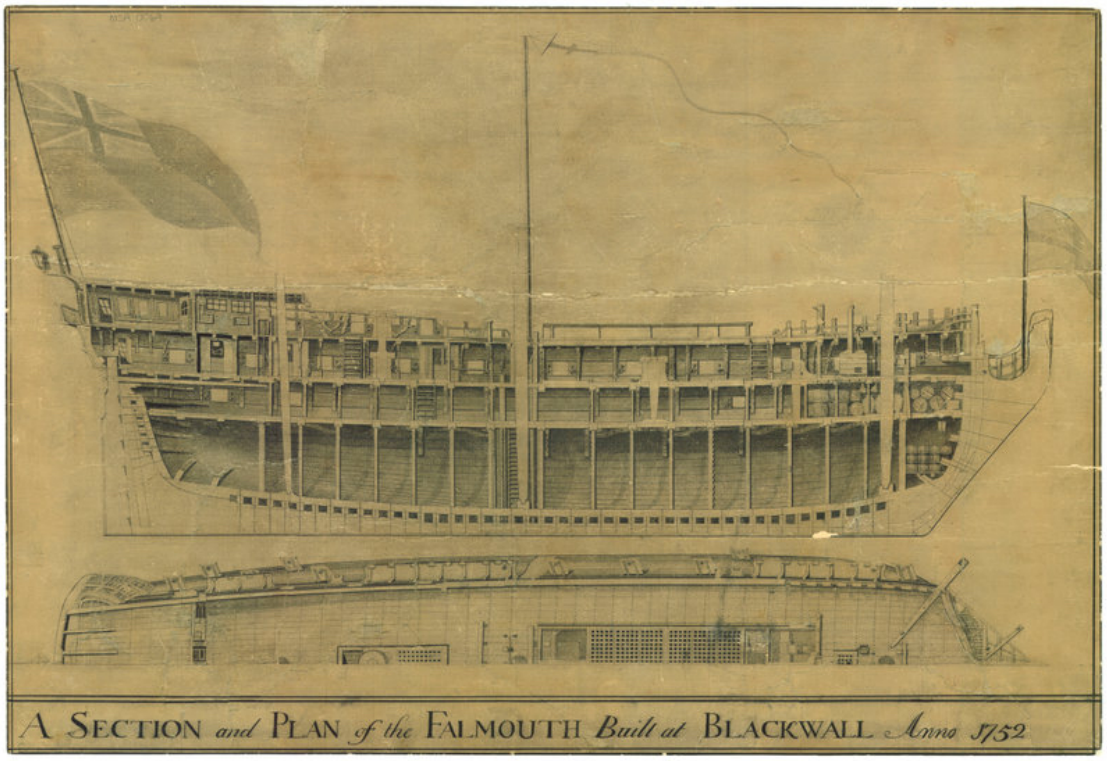

Fig. 1 "A plan showing the inboard profile with details, and half plan of the upper deck and fittings of the Blackwall built merchant ship Falmouth-1752" (*National Maritime Museum)*

The geographic poetics of the *Confessions* demonstrates how opium enables the production of an internal maritime to contain the sublimity of the metropole. Producing cartographies that enable extensible and dimensional journeys, the trope of the ship, with opium as activating agent, transforms London and its corollary spaces into an aquatic theater for rehearsing fantasies of trans-oceanic navigation and rule. The interrelation of tropes (London, opium, the maritime) evokes an immanent ship space, laying out, through iterations and adumbrations in the text, a system of signifiers that allow the reader to imagine recurring collapses of geography while simultaneously charting a circumnavigational passage through them.

In this second part of the chapter, I assemble another maritime biography of London that provides the material counterpart for De Quincey's maritime form. To do this, I synthesize information from histories about the East India Company, especially its China-trade ships and the formation of treaty ports through warfare—the ship here as an extension of what Peter Linebaugh and Markus Rediker calls the "maritime state," along with histories of London's first Chinatown in the East End and of Chinese and Lascar maritime labor—the ship in this case as setting for globalized labor. Reading De Quincey's London maritime form matters because it enables an indexical opportunity to read against the Orientalist grain by studying London's life of trade and imperial aspirations via the form the work already suggests—the ship, and I would argue, the specific ship of the EIC China-trade East Indiaman. As the largest vessels built in EIC history (over 1000 tons) and chartered for their longest voyages (approximately 8 months), these objects are consummate achievements of London's transoceanic trade (MacGregor 171, Sutton 94). We might imagine De Quincey as part of a world witnessing the phenomena of these ships transporting London time and space out to sea as maritime real estate, while reshaping landed territories of London and China, through the formation of early Chinese settlements in the East End in the former, and treaty ports in the latter. From here, I suggest that the studies of Asian maritime labor historians allow us to consider how Chinese and Lascar seafarers in fact concretize the space abstracted by financial and technological management. Taken together, De Quincey and London's maritime biographies give us the structure of the maritime form to read beyond opium for the story of British oceanic hegemony.

In this section, I will first explore how De Quincey's opium-aided agency parallels the main ship building agent of London and the imperium at the time, the state-sponsored, "king-making" multi-century mercantile and territorial enterprise that is the East India Company itself.

To do this, I turn to general historical surveys of the Company and its shipping, David MacGregor's *Merchant Sailing Ships, 1775-1815* (1980), Jean Sutton's *Lords of the East* (1981) and Philip Lawson's *The East India Company* (1993), as well as more specific investigations about the Company, for example, H.V. Bowen's essay on the role of metropolitan influence and Andrew S. Cook's essay on EIC navigational routes to Asia.[23] From these historians, I track the political, economic and technological conditions of possibility for transoceanic traversals of the period. I show how East Indiamen's ship-space emerges out of a complex creation of systems, in particular political, financial and epistemological, that tether oceans to London, and vice versa.

Then, I assemble a narrative of the ship's "return" to demystify the narrative of London's maritime expansion, applying insight from multiple histories to center an imaginary of ship-space as a setting for Asian maritime labor, both at sea and on land. My archive for this section consists of general histories, of Sino-British relations, Klaus Mühlhahn's *Making China Modern* (2019), and London space, Jerry White's *A Great and Monstrous Thing: London in the Eighteenth Century* (2013). I also invoke Peter Linebaugh and Markus Rediker's important work on the contested formation of the imperial maritime state in *The Many Headed Hydra* (2000).

[23] This section's study of how the EIC ship extends London-time and produces new London-property is based on the following histories: Jean Sutton's *Lords of the East* (1981), which draws from a vast range of archival material to provide a comprehensive history of various aspects of EIC shipping, provides chapters on the owners of the vessels to the voyage itself; David MacGregor's *Merchant Sailing Ships, 1815-1850* (1980), a concise and illustrated overview of major types of merchant ships; Philip Lawson's *The East India Company* (1993), which surveys the historiography of the company in illuminating the company's co-constitutive role alongside the state. Additionally, this section draws from H.V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln and Nigel Rigby's *The Worlds of the East India Company* (2002), a collection of essays elaborating new zones of imperial contact inaugurated by the company: "The models of empire that are generally more persuasive now are ones of interaction, of exchange, of local difference rather than centralized uniformly, of micro-narratives contradicting the stately progression of the grand sweep…" (xvi). This chapter's ideas about how ships are tied to London are indebted to two essays in the collection: H.V. Bowen's "'No Longer Mere Traders': Continuities and Change in the Metropolitan Development of the East India Company, 1600-1834," which explains the ways the EIC survives through a tension between innovation and conservative practices that are importantly centered in London space; and Andrew S. Cook's "Establishing Sea Routes to India and China: Stages in the Development of Hydrographical Knowledge," on the consolidation of knowledge about navigating transoceanic routes between Europe and the East. My chapter draws these sources into relation with De Quincey's invocation of the maritime in managing his experiences of the city.

These works provide a broad historical and theoretical framing for specific histories I bring into my arguments, of London's East End, for example, Brad Beaven's "From Jolly Sailor to Proletarian Jack: The Remaking of Sailortown and the Merchant Seafarer in Victorian London" (2015), and of Asian, specifically Chinese, maritime labor and London settlement: Gregor Benton and Edmund Terence Gomez's, *The Chinese in Britain 1800-Present* (2008); John T. Grider's essay, "'I espied a Chinaman': Chinese Sailors and the Fracturing of the Nineteenth Century Pacific Maritime Labour Force" (2010); Michael Quinlan's essay, "Precarious and hazardous work: the health and safety of merchant seamen 1815–1935" (2013); James W. Frey's essay, "Lascars, the Thames Police Court and the Old Bailey: crime on the high seas and the London courts, 1852–8" (2014); John Seed's essay, "Maritime Labour and Asian Sailors in Nineteenth-Century London" (2014) and Iona Man-Cheong's essay, "'Asiatic' sailors and the East India Company: racialization and labor practices, 1803–15" (2014).[24] Through this

[24] This section's presentation about the ship as expressive of London maritime, specifically Asian, labor, draws from the work of maritime labor historians who importantly document the specific exploitations rendered unto the seafaring class of the period and the multiple ways they resisted. Peter Linebaugh and Markus Rediker's *The Many Headed Hydra* "looks from below" (6) to uncover, as its subtitle tells us, "the hidden history of the revolutionary Atlantic." The chapter, "Hydrarchy: Sailors, Pirates, and the Maritime State," presents the history of the rule of the oceans as a battle among hydrarchies, that of imperialism, or the "maritime state," the multinational collective of maritime labor, or the "motley crew" (153), and the heterotopic rule of the pirate ship as a hydrarchy "turned upside down" (162). Linebaugh and Rediker name the ship as the site of production "that united all [forms of exploitation of labor: plantation, petty production, putting out system] in the sphere of circulation" (149), as well importantly, the site of early global labor organization (151). Michael Quinlan's essay, "Precarious and hazardous work: the health and safety of merchant seamen 1815–1935" (2013) documents the exploitative conditions of seafaring, and the means by which sailors could be disciplined to perform it, through legal and penal systems that produced temporal and spatial effects of precarity and incarceration. James T. Frey's essay, "Lascars, the Thames Police Court and the Old Bailey: crime on the high seas and the London courts, 1852–8" (2014) turns to the archive of 1850 court cases where "Lascar crews…prosecuted European officers and seamen for crimes committed at sea" (197). Through an analysis of the ways sailors appropriated the city's legal apparatus, Frey shows how London space enables an exercise of political agency otherwise denied seafarers aboard ships. John T. Grider's essay, "'I espied a Chinaman': Chinese Sailors and the Fracturing of the Nineteenth Century Pacific Maritime Labour Force" (2010) analyzes the ways the increase of Chinese sailors "[fractured]…the Atlantic maritime labor community," (467), revealing internal anxieties about the status of the seafarer within an environment that witnessed different forms of maritime exploitation. Grider cites the emergence of coolie-labor transport, and the construction of the Chinese sailor as a more "pliable" laborer (468), as reasons for the antipathy towards the Chinese, thereby increasing racial segmentation of the labor market. John Seed's "Maritime Labour and Asian Sailors in Nineteenth-Century London" (2014) surveys the experiences of Asian seamen in London, from the ways their recruitment supplemented the maritime labor pool, how the Navigation Laws led to their temporary settlement in London and the ways poor

latter set of historical surveys and arguments especially, I propose that if London launches itself onto the multitudinous seas via the spaces of the ship, Asian seafarers, Chinese sailors among them, represent a refractory counter-maritime, challenging London's transoceanic rule by landing the laborers' ship-space in the metropole itself.

London Lords of the East

The spectacular story of the English seizing oceanic hegemony from Portugal and Spain, after a failed discovery of the Northwest passage in the centuries preceding, boasts glorified plot points and personages, the defeat of the Armada, for example, or the circumnavigations of Sirs Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish) (Lawson 2). Essential in this view is that "here at last was a…people in accord, dismissing the uncertainties of the previous age…thrusting England into the European and, through this, world trading structures" (Lawson 9). In fact, as EIC historian Philip Lawson explains, what should be noted is the established revision of such a view, writing that while "Elizabethan England was undoubtedly a place of change….[the] benefits of trade expansion had more to do with luck and happenstance than deliberate planning [on the part of the state]" (9). In the key factors Lawson cites as motivating the consolidation of state power, one is central to my chapter, namely the unprecedented economic and political rise of London:

housing conditions and riots drew attention to their plight in city-space: "I…emphasize here the experience of these seamen, reading this material against the grain to see how, though powerless and impoverished, they were never the passive victims of their lords and masters" (55). Iona Man-Cheong's "'Asiatic' sailors and the East India Company: racialization and labor practices, 1803–15" (2014) refines previous scholarship on Asian maritime labor by explaining the genesis and uses of contemporary racial categories referring to this heterogeneous labor pool. Man-Cheong argues that this racial discourse derives from the need to manage increasing numbers of Asian seafarers in the city, itself a situation arising from the demand for their labor caused by the Napoleonic wars and changes in the enforcement of the Navigation Laws. My chapter synthesizes these histories to illustrate the content of East Asian emplacement in London's imaginary made apprehensible by understanding the city's maritime biography.

> The spectacular growth of London as a great port and financial centre…had a profound impact on England's ability to raise the money and ships required for long high-risk voyages to the East. London's growth also provided a huge market for exotic products brought in from abroad, and, in turn, the town served as a distribution centre for the domestic markets already developing in response to the advent of agricultural reform and population growth….Trade and profit on the sea-routes to the East represented a new frontier of economic opportunity, and with the growth of the City's financial and commercial power came the confidence to exploit it. (10)

In the above, the importance of EIC's London address to its ships is a matter of financing and markets, as essential to the construction of what historian Jean Sutton has called "Lords of the East" as timber and iron. The London-based EIC, and the ships it built and sailed, are both interconnected machines that achieve survival within their respective durations of commercial viability and voyage, twinned projects essential to global dominance. Both Company and the East Indiamen could only manifest a maritime destiny by systems that increasingly centralize and mobilize the political, economic and epistemological authorities of London, which I will discuss next in the ways this is registered both temporally and spatially.

The Hand of Time

In his account of the ways the metropole mattered to the longevity of the EIC, historian H. Bowen explains that the "continuity thesis" historians invoke lies behind contemporary and even modern understandings of the reasons for the Company's stability throughout its history: its inception in funding voyages to the East and the early shift into joint-stock ventures, state-

supported growth in the 17th century, reforms, military and colonial rule in the 18th, decline and subsequent loss of the monopolies in the 19th century (20). Bowen explains that in justifying the durability of the EIC, its commentators rely on the comparison of EIC governance to the English constitution as an animating metaphor (22). He writes:

> Its institutional strength had been considerably reinforced by a strict adherence to the routine and rhythm that had long driven its internal practices and systems. In the words of one contemporary, "Regularity and order were the soul of business; and they are the more necessary in an establishment like the East India Company, so multifarious and complex in its arrangements." Long-established systems had been refined over the years in such a way as to draw from one director, Sir Joseph Cotton, a comparison with the development of the British constitution. Cotton, when defending the Company's shipping system…declared that "Innovations in an established system are at all times dangerous," and he commended the Company for its attitude to modification and reform by writing that "Like the constitution of our country, it [the shipping system] had been improved by the hand of time, and abuses corrected as they arose." (Bowen 22)

As Bowen suggests, "…this whiggish view of the Company's past…helped to ensure that it could appear that the Company had made an almost seamless transition from one phase of its development to another," which was important in preserving the economic, political and scientific interests that the Company constellates in its formation (22). This comparison to the Constitution suggests further, one can imagine, how the EIC's institutional form possesses something like its custom-created dimension, self-renewing, open to interpretation and revision. As Bowen sees it, the comparison to the state-making function of the Constitution, apart from

indicating the well-known link between the Company and the state, refers to the EIC's institutional cohesion and malleability throughout time. This is produced, in Bowen's account, by the stability of a metropolitan bureaucracy, for example the EIC annual calendar:

> The Company moved… to an institutional rhythm determined by adherence to a timetable structured around annual elections, half-yearly dividend declarations, quarterly meetings of stockholders, and weekly meetings of directors, Similarly, commercial transactions were conducted according to dates fixed by the need to assemble cargoes, dispatch ships, and sell goods at particular ties of the year, and these varied hardly at all over time. (Bowen 30)

Bowen calls attention to the EIC's reliance on regulation and routine as he aptly describes, "an institutional rhythm" structured by divisible units of time (annual, half-yearly, quarterly etc.). What I see are the ways this rhythm, through its cyclic nature, inscribes a London-based temporality, which I will call here London-time. Structured to maximize and manage commercial activity in metropolitan space, the logics of London-time matters in forming the ship itself, as we see here in Andrew Cook's history of the EIC's voyages East:

> The character of investment in the EIC, from individual voyage investment and accounting to a permanent rolling joint-stock paying dividends on the whole of the Company's current operations. This reinforced the need to maintain a yearly pattern of voyages visiting the same eastern ports…where permanent agents or factors were increasingly established to maintain the inflow to the factory of local goods for export. The need to repeat voyage patterns year after year, and to make predictable visits to a series of ports, necessitated a formal knowledge of currents, coastlines and directions for sailing to them. (Cook 121)

In the above, Cook frames his account of the ways the EIC eventually produces reliable charts and pilot book for the most complex and lengthy maritime voyage ventured in the period, the route from London to the China seas, an intricate passage along multiple coasts and straits, timed to catch (or avoid) currents and monsoons, secured by tricky sightings of key landfalls in three oceans (Sutton 28-9, Cook 123-6). Cook offers an overarching history of the ways hydrography ultimately codifies the ephemeral and scattered bodies of navigational knowledge into documents, paradoxically, by the end of the Company's charter. What is important to me in the observation above is the ways London-time becomes aligned to ship-time—with sailing patterns increasingly fettered to the financial timetables of the metropole. As Cook shows, the ship's own conditions of possibility intertwine with the multi-agentic financial structure of the joint-stock company to produce coincident temporalities, where the time needed to both mature and pay-out revenues are bound to the duration and incidence of voyages.

And of course, in addition, the ship mediates London-time with the fitful planetary clock of the ocean itself:

> The schedule laid down for the ships was geared to the monsoon in the Eastern Seas. Outward bound ships had to be round the Cape to catch the full force of the south-west monsoon between April and September, homebound ships returning with the north-east monsoon between November and March…. Eight months were allowed by the charter party for arrival at an Eastern port….(Sutton 28-9)

In this example, Sutton shows us that ships can be seen to carry London-time as a part of its cargo, an eight-month duration allowable by charter in line with external macro-patterns like the weather. As she explains, the ship's charter made provisions to minimize even more

contingences through provisions for demurrage, or fines for delay, as way to constrain the ship's timeline to the London-based aims:

> Demurrage…rose from about £12 a day at the beginning of the eighteenth century to around £20 in the last few decades…..[Ship owner] Samuel Braund's instructions to Captain Oliver of the Grantham began with the words "You are to use your utmost Endeavor for a quick Passage," after stressing the necessity for not stopping at any port the ship was not consigned to, and insisting that the reasons for any such stops should be written down and countersigned….."The Owners will charge you with the Demurrage that they shall loose by such Detention, Or if you put into any Port after you are dispatched you shall be answerable for the time so lost and if by such detention you loose your Passage round the Cape you shall be answerable….(Sutton 27)

In this account of demurrage by Sutton, the language in the ships' charters underscore the precise ways London-timekeeping puts ships through their paces, with administrative procedures (how, for example, stops should be written down and countersigned) and penalties shoring up its authority beyond London's landed territory.

These are necessary, as Cook will demonstrate, because oceanic time, indefinable in agency and planetary in scale, overwhelms such temporal discipline:

> Our timekeeper has stopt three times, but Mudge's watch going very well, and, a regular register has been kept of all the watches, it was set a-going, and an account kept of the Times it had stood. The Timekeeper gave us the land a little more than 1° to the westward of its true situation, which is very near considering the length of our passage from England. Our lunar observations were about 1/2°

> too far East, but we had no sights for some days before we made the land. (Cook 125)

Cook introduces the above letter from EIC hydrographer Alexander Dalrymple, describing the fitful performance of multiple watches and even the ship timekeeper, to show the multiple temporalities, each idiosyncratic and imperfect, vessels carry, despite the efforts to keep "account" and maintain a "regular register" of its performances. As Cook notes:

> A timekeeper was only a machine for carrying local time through a voyage: it was only as good as its maker, and it could stop. Pocket watches served on board ship from local noon to local noon, but a timekeeper had to be reliable over months- and consequently had to be checked by lunar observations. The reputation of the timekeeper had not yet been established: for reliability reasons three or more were later carried, but it was accepted that too firm a reliance "relaxed the vigilance which the known uncertainty of dead reckoning kept perpetually alive." (Cook 127)

Cook explains that dead reckoning, the estimation of the position of the ship against last known sightings, or other navigational procedures, for example, the principle of the "latitude, lead, lookout," are necessary protocols because while at sea, the ship is a world unto itself, with time and position, we can imagine, as secrets of its own to reiteratively discover and keep. Cook's point is that "reliance" on the timekeeper, here representative of London-time, is in fact potentially anathema to survival, where, as the nautical formulation above puts it, "a known uncertainty…[keeps one] perpetually alive," suggesting strikingly to me at least, the importance of a kind of oceanic unpunctuality to London-time.

Fig. 2 “China Sea” (Horsburgh, *Library of Congress)*

That being said, London institutions and inventions enable ships to succeed as vectors of London-time, and also, as I will argue in this section, as London-property, abstracting ships by making them divisible and modular by a set of technological and financial instruments. In this way London manages the contingencies of ceaselessly mobile oceans. Take for example Cook’s

explanation here of the fundamental difference between land and sea charts in revealing the urgency for systematic hydrographical study:

> A land map shows the position of places to which the observer can relate, at will, by processes of measurement. At sea, particularly out of sight of land, he places himself beyond any observable relationship with known points in an inherently hostile medium in which he is carried at rates and in direction which he can estimate but cannot accurately measure. (Cook 120)

Cook stresses here the instabilities in the representability of sea-space itself. As Cook points out, the waters constitute an "inherently hostile medium" not only to the observers' life, but to his sense of place and time. One can imagine sea charts as paradoxical media—instead of bestowing the means to locate and emplace their users, they introduce a set of unstable, ever-shifting relations that users must continually conjecture and test—a map, that, in this way, rehearses the same affects of estrangement and exposure endemic to the referent it indexes. The point that Cook's work stresses for me ultimately is that the ocean is a medium of incessant, inescapable risk. Environed by such a medium, the important thing to realize regarding's London's relationship to this risk is to examine, as we shall see next, how such risk configures the ship as a form of real estate. As historian Jean Sutton will illuminate, risk necessitates a form of ownership that exceeds any one particular individual, which will thus mobilize London's financial and political infrastructure to materialize such property into being.

Sutton tells us that owners are "leading City merchants, with interests in the foremost commercial concerns of the day, and men of influence in the country's affairs," with "the most striking feature of the lists of owners of Company ships [being] the repetition of names comprising…[such a] small interrelated circle" (20). She shows us that this concentration of

power works to counterbalance the fragmentation of ownership necessary to distribute the cost and risk of ships as property:

> Shares in the India shipping…were in multiples of 1/4….The shares could be paid outright, or in installments….By the early decades of the nineteenth century, the cost of 1/16 share had passed the £2000 mark….Of course, even though each of the part-owners contributed only a fraction of the cost, several hundred pounds were at stake. The owner protected himself by spreading his risks and by insurance….Although insurance was available and was much facilitated by the opening of Lloyd's Coffee House…it was not always reliable and rates shot up at the slightest hint of war. (Sutton 19)

Sutton's description here of the system of shares and the means for further mitigating risk by spreading them out across multiple ships, and from here protecting them with insurance, are, as I have mentioned, the means to abstract the space of the ship. We can imagine that producing this homogeneity is the project that unifies the differential mercantile and political interests of London. Yet, as we shall see, the abstraction of property resulting from this assembly of composite possession could not practically manage the complex process of building and freighting the ships, as Sutton recounts. She explains that the shipping industry generates a figure to manage the entangled relations of ownership in the personhood of the managing owner, or the ship's "husband":

> With the loss of control over the company's shipping affairs of the clique of…'committees'…, the management of the ships passed into the hands of men who were always referred to in the world of India shipping as 'ship's husbands,' and by the company officially as 'managing owners.' The husbands were the

> princes of the India shipping world….their faces as familiar on 'Change and at Lloyd's as in the Jerusalem Coffee House…the hub of the East India shipping business during the eighteenth century. (Sutton 22)

The description of the husbands above suggests their importance in socializing the ship-making endeavor in the centers of London power. The husbands' circulation in such locales are necessary to both concretize capital and to redistribute its benefits. And, as Sutton explains, the husband's power derives from a material referent, the distinct form of property rights known as the "doctrine of the hereditary bottom" (29):

> What the husbands possessed, in addition to their experience of the Eastern Seas was a 'bottom'- not simply a ship, but all future ships to replace that ship….Bottoms were acquired generally from husbands who died or retired….There was no question of the owners selecting the husband to manage their ships, since without him there was no ship to manage. (Sutton 22)

Strangely enough, we might imagine the ship's status for literally coming into being as a fictional extension of London-property. The husband's power not only derives from the experience of inhabiting ships at sea, as Sutton explains, but from his rights to what I would describe as a peculiarly London-based enclosure of (sur)real estate, through what will become a purely immaterial and synecdochic form of possession:

> Originally it was possibly intended that new ships should be built with any sound timbers from the bottoms of the old ones, but this practice declined. However, the name 'hereditary bottom' remained, and an owner claimed the right to build a new ship on the 'bottom' of the old one….(MacGregor 172)

In the above discussion about the provenance of the term, we can imagine a useful image of the ships as a type of doubled real estate, the literal form of the "bottom" fixing and perpetuating maritime property unto terrestrial conditions, preserving the means of ownership for such a risk-laden, ever-deteriorating space:

> One of the chief reasons for this development was the need for the company to retain its experienced commanders in those early days when few had experience of the Eastern Seas and the company's trade. The company encouraged the owners of ships worn out or lost to build another ship for the commander. This custom of building in the room of worn out ships must have been fairly generally accepted. (Sutton 29)

As Sutton recounts, controlling the number of bottoms, by retiring or lapsing them, or instituting new ones, allow the husbands, the representatives of the shipping interest, to control the shipping market: the amount of tonnage that would even be available any season, which ships would be tendered to the Company, how much to set for freight (30-32). Not coincidentally, Sutton invokes the constitution as an analogy to describe the ways the EIC designed the architecture of its institutions:

> The enviable position enjoyed by the owners of the India shipping rested on two pillars which had developed through custom like the British constitution, and like any part of that constitution, an Act of Parliament was eventually required to regulate them. One of these pillars was the customary right of employment for life of any ship taken up by the company; the other, the right to replace any ship worn out or lost in the company's service. (Sutton 30)

This custom, I have been trying to show, is a process that renders the boundaries of the ship coextensive with the terrestrial world of London mercantile, political and technological institutions. Thus, to summarize, ship-space comes into being as stable, ownable property through such "pillars" affixing them, no matter where they might be in the expansive maritime world, to their metropolitan foundations.

London-Bound

> Assuming the sea worthiness of his vessel, and fair weather, the 'safest' part of any voyage is the period when the mariner is headed away from land to open ocean, and…the most hazardous time is when he tries to approach land again…
>
> -Andrew Cook, *Establishing the Sea Routes to India and China* (2002)

In this last section, I turn to the ways maritime labor historians understand such a production of ship-space as regime for the exploitation of global labor. I read their accounts as way to concretize the abstraction of ship-space, which exerts a counter-pressure on an imaginary of London itself. If East Indiamen were London's emissaries at sea, their power epitomized by reaching and transmuting Chinese littoral zones through the creation of treaty ports, then London's earliest Chinatown, and the space of maritime labor, expresses a counter-voyage for British shores.

Huabu, Chinaport

It might not be a commonplace to know that London's present-day Chinatown is hardly the site of the first Chinese settlement in the British capital. This Chinatown, centered on Gerrard Street, is currently bordered by Covent Garden to the east and Soho to the north, and according to Benton and Gomez, "at the top of the British hierarchy of Chinese places, a status signaled by its name, *wohng sing* ('imperial city") (181). As Benton and Gomez recount, this commercialized Chinatown of restaurants and tourism signage looks eastward however for its earlier self, to London's ports, where East Indiamen would depart for and return from their transoceanic routes (Benton and Gomez 180)[25]

For one thing, that return disorders London's edges. London historian Jerry White tells us that by the end of the eighteenth century, the twenty-one legal quays on the north side of the Thames are inadequate to handle the ships that jam the Thames, often sinking under their own weight unable to unload their cargoes (167-171): "In the upper pool, moorings for [smaller] ships were 'frequently' occupied by [larger ones], some in water so shallow that they 'sat down upon their Anchors at ebb tide'" (171). Thus, the building of the docks in response to this congestion, in increasingly larger structures corresponding to longer routes, becomes an infrastructural feat managing trade's return to London (White, 168-9). In contrast, Brad Beaven recounts the changing nature of space as a "sailortown," in his essay about the rise of the infamous reputation of the East End's thoroughfare, Ratcliffe Highway. The "otherness" (162) of the environment that the Highway represents stems from the East End's historical roots as a seafaring community,

[25] Benton and Gomez tell us that British Chinatowns "began to crumble in the interwar years, as a result of the shipping slump, slum clearance, and the Blitz, followed by the postwar demolition of Chinese streets and buildings on Merseyside and in London. The move from Limehouse to Gerrard Street in London…marked the end of an era and weakened the tie between the two immigrant waves in the first and second halves of the century. Subsequently, the British Chinatown nearly everywhere lost its residential character and became commercial, emblematic, and a place for Chinese days-out" (180).

where a “microeconomy of boarding houses, public houses, brothels, sail-makers, and general marine trades” cropped up in and among the infrastructural colonization of the river (Beaven 163). He quotes this description by Walter Besant, contemporary commentator, to underscore his point:

> Its riverside is cut up with docks; in and about among the houses and the streets around the docks rise forests of masts; there is no seaport in the country, not even Portsmouth, which is charged and laden with the atmosphere of ocean and the suggestion of things far off as this port of London and its riverside. (Besant, qtd. in Beaven, 162)

Thus, the source of its fame and infamy, is, as Beaven calls it, London ports’ “fusion [of] urban and maritime” (162).

Benton and Gomez tell us that within this striated East London, the earliest Chinese arrivals “insisted on using the term *huabu* or Chinaport” to describe their place of inhabitation (26):

> Although their settlements were shrunken replicas of the Chinatowns in other parts of the world, the Chinese in Britain insisted on using the term *Huabu* (‘Chinaport’, a standard Cantonese word for Chinatown) to describe them. The same basic taxonomy was retained even after the spread of Chinese settlement to the smaller towns in the second half of the twentieth century (26)

Benton and Gomez explain that the homogeneity of the Chinese seafaring community (25) and its status as primarily urban (64) limited its growth in comparison to the larger, denser settlements of other Chinese in other geographies of the diaspora, in the US and Australia, for example (25). They write that “the Chinese streets of London started as inert outgrowths from

the chief Chinese activity, seafaring….The prospect they faced was not boundless demand and lengthening horizons but how to scrape by in a hostile or indifferent environment, in the world's most industrialized country…." (26). Benton and Gomez thus describe London's "Chinatown" as a "Chinatown in miniature" (25).

To this point, Benton and Gomez argue that the prevailing conception of Chinatown (a designation they tell us "is of American origin, first reported in 1857") (179), that "Chinatown copies structures that rural sojourners export to urban China," should be revised as it is "neat and architectonically elegant but deceptive….Chinatowns are no pre-programmed propensity, like spider-webbing, but the product of complex interactions with host societies. They arise where there is a felt need, where space obtains, and where Chinese occupational patterns permit concentrated residence" (178-9). They read beyond this "translation thesis" (177), that is, "conceiving Chinatown as an extension of homeland practices" (178), and go further to say that London's

> Chinaport suggests a world of seafarers, but the settlement stabilized only by turning its back on the sea. At first, the quayside community was highly mobile and formed little more than a pool of labor. In time, however, Chinese entrepreneurs arrived, and some seafarers deserted or were laid off, giving rise to a more settled group…Yet as life ashore became more agreeable and the Chinaports swelled into real communities, more quit the sea. (26)

Benton and Gomez importantly relay the internal dynamic between the desire to "[stabilize] by turning its back on the sea" and the "insistent" conceptualization of the space as a "port." I find this dynamic suggestive of London's Chinatown's material and social connection to the ship, as a type of mirror, as the extension of its regime, or perhaps, as an inexorable and total terminus

for Asian seafarers in the period. I see China-"port" instead of town, as interlacing appropriately with the impact of the ship on London's East End territory, in its infrastructural transformation, its historic marginalization as a multi-ethnic "sailortown," and within this, the specific conditions shaping the experience of Asian maritime labor in London. Thus, as historian John Seed tells us, the Chinese or Lascar sailor is "not a migrant but a sojourner….His stay in London [is] temporary and circumscribed. Ships, the open sea, ports [are] his sphere…" (37). Thus, "port" better expresses the transient arrangements for housing and life over "town" to perpetually call to mind the ways labor conditions produce impermanent "settlers," the seafaring laborers whose unaccounted presence grows uncontained in the city.

Maritime labor historian Iona Man-Cheong shows us that these rising numbers are a result of the impact of the Napoleonic Wars (1803-15) on EIC recruitment policies (167). Man-Cheong explains that to maintain EIC monopolies, protectionist Navigation Laws from the 17th century onward rule that ships entering London, to be rated British, have to be crewed by British seamen at a ratio of 3:1, a rule that war and impressment disrupts (169):

> The mandate that three-quarters of the crew be British, and that this proportion be maintained throughout the voyage, had been an effort to protect and develop the nation's mercantile shipping industry. During wartime this stricture was by necessity relaxed and provision made for more non- British sailors to replace those conscripted into the Royal Navy. The wartime provision reversed the ratio so that there could be three Asiatics for every English sailor, or failing that, at least one English sailor for every 20 tons of ship.

To cope with this shortage, Man-Cheong tells us that "captains…increasingly [hire] Asiatic crews in expectation of losses to conscription" (169). Additionally, Man-Cheong

writes that “private British merchant ships were now allowed to sail west of the Cape of Good Hope directly to Britain” (169), “country ships” whose use of and access to Asian maritime labor “resulted in an unprecedentedly large back-up pool of Asiatic reserve maritime labor in Britain” (169). This was because, as she explains:

> While allowing more Asiatic crew to go to England [via a range of changes in recruitment policy] the authorities still stipulated that ships follow the Navigation Laws and not allow them to return as working crew on outward-bound ships back to their home ports. Instead, the law mandated they were to be returned as passengers (171)

Man-Cheong importantly synthesizes the ways Company labor recruitment created this stranded transient class in London. As she writes: “This increase challenged existing organizational resources and practices, raising a number of questions. How and where should these men be housed? Could they be accommodated in the existing housing system, or should a new one be devised?” (172). In fact, the EIC would become responsible for providing housing in the interim and transporting the sailors back (173). I take up Man-Cheong’s analysis of the space of temporary housing for these sailors, especially in the form of the EIC military-style barracks, in my next chapter.

For now, it is important to note the relation between the unplanned Chinaport, and the desire of the British to create, multiply, open China-“ports” in the Pacific Rim. For as historians of the Opium Wars tell us, even as Chinese sailors and goods found passage in ships across the seas, British products did not enjoy this same free movement into Chinese markets. To explore this point further, I turn to China historian Klaus Mühlhahn’s revision of the common understanding of China’s protectionism in this period:

> …The frequent observation…that the Chinese government rejected foreign traders and blocked trade with Europe on its shores is a major misinterpretation…the court sough to permit trade, but in a controlled and managed fashion. Controlling trade was necessary because of piracy, or to be more precise, smuggling. (87-88)

Mühlhahn describes the establishing of the "Canton system" in the 1760s, with European trade routed primarily through the port of Guangzhou [Canton] as "[motivated by]… concrete issues of security, practicality, and fiscal considerations," a system that will go on to satisfy all parties, British and Chinese merchants, and the Qing government as well: "for many decades, this well-functioning system [benefits] both sides, the Chinese and the Europeans" (90). This equilibrium will be upset of course by the commodity of opium, a situation caused, as Mühlhahn argues, by motives and conditions on both sides of the ocean (90-1). On the British side was the bottleneck of trade at Guangzhou (90), resentment at unilateral Chinese control of the port (90), and an overwhelming demand for Chinese goods of tea, silk and porcelain unmatched by Chinese demand for British commodities (91). This last point was probably most famously foreshadowed by the decidedly lukewarm response of the Qing Emperor to the gifts of the Macartney mission in 1792: "Surveying the wide world, I have but one aim in view, namely, to maintain a perfect governance and to fulfill the duties of the state; strange and costly objects do not interest me" (90).

On the Chinese side, Mühlhahn tells us, the traditional practice of using opium is destabilized when the EIC, acquiring the monopoly on the production and trade of opium in India, increased the drug's importation in Guangzhou to remedy the trade disparity described above (91). He writes:

> Greater opium supplies spurred increases in demand and usage throughout China, in spite of repeated prohibitions by the Chinese government and officials. The British worked hard to expand the trade. They bribed officials, worked with smugglers to deliver the opium into China's interior, and distributed free samples of the drug. (91)

Mühlhahn recounts that these actions gained power, in fact, because of an internal crisis in Qing authority: "Qing authorities could not compete with… powerful secret societies and opium-distributing syndicates….As the opium prohibition failed, the lack of enforcement revealed deep seated problems of the institutional structure of the empire such as overextension and crippling executive inefficiency" (93). Mühlhahn explains that this led to the desire to affect a "self-confident and forceful" approach to foreign interference, which culminated in the appointment of "one of [the Court's] most capable officials, Lin Zexu," whose "most important objective was to stop foreign supplies and force foreign merchants to sign pledges of good conduct, agreeing never to trade in opium and to be punished if found in violation" (93). Such anti-foreign aggression, of course, brought the nations into war (93), and the key outcome of British victories in this war (1839-42) and the next (1856-60), was the expansion of maritime hegemony in the region through the opening of the multiple treaty ports, after the signing of the two treaties (Nanjing 1842, Tianjin 1858) (Muhlhahn 94, 100-101).

To summarize, Mühlhahn's account of the political conditions operational in the landed territories of China itself, and British actions within it, embeds the "work of opium" in broader conflicts of sovereignty and governance between the two states. The newly opened treaty ports in China, when taken in relation to Benton and Gomez and Man-Cheong's account of imperialism's

un-accounted-for China-port in London, matters for restoring the flow of labor to the tale of London's circulation across the seas.

The Pacific Rim Lower Deck

> The depth in the hold was to be 14ft 2in and, as it was important to have as much room in the hold as possible, emphasis was laid on keeping the rise of the floor towards the bow and stern to a minimum, and the flat of the floor, which was to be 22ft 4in wide, carried well forward and aft. This characteristic feature of the ships…was often criticized. Mr. Millet, a director….complained that the "extreme breadth of their floors…is carried so far aft, that they have rudders given them like a west country barge, and when the sea strikes the rudder in a gale of wind, the helm is not only held with difficulty, but the seamen are frequently thrown round the wheel."
>
> -Jean Sutton, *Lords of the East* (1981)

In this last section, I turn to maritime labor historians who show us how the mobile, transoceanic East Indiamen, built for shipping cargo in voyages across an alien element, could only be designed to be manned in carceral and inhuman conditions in order to advance its mercantile program. I bring their work in relation to the literary and imperial exploitation of the maritime I have so far surveyed in this chapter. In doing so, I show that a London counterimaginary is at last indicated, where the maritime form brings into view the practices that work to delimit life and survival for Chinese and Lascar labor within them.

Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker's seminal work on 17th and 18th century "hydrarchies," or the rule of the maritime state, tells us that the ship is "the means of organizing the exploitation of labor…that united all of the others in the sphere of circulation" (149). To their point, I add that as a space of hydarchical design, the ship moves our attention away from the consumer-commodity relations foregrounded by the opium den to relations where the struggles between capital and labor are enunciated instead:

> The ship, whose milieu of action made it not universal and *sui generis*, provided a setting in which large numbers of workers cooperated on complex and synchronized tasks, under slavish, hierarchical discipline in which human will was subordinated to mechanical equipment, all for a money wage. (Linebaugh 149)

Linebaugh and Rediker explain that "the work, cooperation, and discipline of the ship made it a prototype of the factory. Indeed, the very term *factory* evolved etymologically from *factor,* 'a trading representative' and specifically one associated with West Africa, where factories were originally located" (149). Maritime labor history, they write, is one of "a fitful but protracted war among rulers…and sailors over the value and purposes of maritime labor" (149). In other words, they argue that ship space is the theater of class warfare, where the ruling class coheres at last all means for territorial dominion to consolidate oceanic rule, by enacting forms of violence below decks and at close quarters.

In describing the ways ship-discipline produces precarity, maritime historian Michael Quinlan explains that seafarers "signed 'articles'" which are "highly structured and regulated employment contracts" that bound them to a service that he describes as "a succession of temporary contracts" that protracted their indenture (282). Seafarers under these articles

experienced the ship in voyages of indeterminate duration, as these agreements "set the task, not, duration [of the voyages] which might take anything from a few days or weeks in the case of coastal shipping or a number of years for a global trade voyage" (Quinlan 282). The imperial hydrarchy wielded its authority further by preventing discharge, withholding rights of transfer, refusing shore leave, meting out long prison sentences for desertion, or abandoning sailors to a destitution and penury that made power everywhere legible and palpable (Quinlan 285). James Frey goes further to say that ship governance exploited the disjuncture between land and sea to discipline the crew: "Ships' officers, as a rule, never revealed a ship's location to its crew, and without timepieces or calendars many sailors lost track of time, experiencing day after day of monotonous work and seemingly endless seascapes" (205). Taken together, these historians show us the ways ship-space was a maritime prison made infinitely extensible, where voyage duration, punishments and finally, the contingency of the ocean itself, englobed the labor needed to activate its motion.

Within this regime, Iona Man-Cheong shows us how Chinese and Lascar sailors were subject to even more specific exploitations—with unequal payment schedules and segregated systems of management leading to the invention of racial meanings that in fact ship-spaces facilitate and operationalize. To understand this, Man-Cheong focuses in on the Chinese seafarer as an important case in that his experience of the ship depends on an exceptionally mutable classificatory system with designations, i.e., Chinese, Lascar or Asiatic, are deployed promiscuously, especially as it might benefit those managing them (168-9). She explains that the EIC's invented category of "Asiatic" worked by lumping disparate communities of sailors recruited from multiple ports:

> "Asiatic sailors," as the East India Company generically designated them in the written records, actually included a motley mixture of ethnicities including Portuguese Goans, South Asians, South-East Asians (sometimes called "Malays," but encompassing the wide range of peoples in the area), Vietnamese, Chinese from South-East Asia and from the South China provinces of Guangzhou (Canton) and Fujian (Fukien), and Arabs. (169)

She argues that the term paradoxically signals an awareness of the heterogeneity among the Asian laborers in their employ while simultaneously denying or instrumentalizing difference (168). In this way, she explains, the company would be able to "exploit cultural and ethnic differences to [their] own advantage, bringing the colonial divide-and-rule strategy home to the metropole" (168). When useful, Company managers touted Chinese virtues of sobriety and "cleanliness" in comparison to the mutinous and disreputable Lascars (Man-Cheong 174-5). John Grider offers another instance later in the period where racial categories inflected Chinese sailors' experience. He tells us that antipathy towards the Chinese actually intensified once the Chinese coolie trade began following the ending of the slave trade (470). As Grider discusses, the expansion of recruitment of Chinese migrant labor by the opening of treaty ports, and their increasing presence on ships, disrupted solidarities within the maritime laboring community (468). The coolie trade, in replacing the slave trade, caused seafarers to liken Chinese sailors to the human cargo they now saw in the holds of ships travelling to the West Indies and Australia (470). Grider explains that at this point, the Chinese sailor would be severed from the community, isolated despite the shared struggle for sailors to maintain their dignity in a dehumanizing regime (478). I see that both of these examples, from Man-Cheong and Grider,

emphasize the arbitrariness of racial designations and the power structures needed to construct them.

This matters, as Man-Cheong will go on to show us, because the ship's regime will be remapped onto London space, to systematize the housing of the stranded sailors in military style barracks that will reflect the "rationalizing trend the state [would] adopt for the management and surveillance of the 'lower orders' in general" (174). She writes:

> The living conditions – with corridors described as "yards and avenues" and fumigated rooms washed down by lime – clearly offered little human comfort and warmth, especially when over thirty men were crammed into each room, *organized by ship*…The combination of larger numbers of men…of mixed cultural backgrounds…increased whatever tensions months of living in the cramped quarters of a ship could produce. (174-emphasis mine)

Man-Cheong's quotation and commentary aids this chapter's work in calling to mind the ways London's Pacific Rim doubles city and ship, haunting this form of imaginative and imperial conquest with the remembered urban content of exploited Asian labor.

Whispering Galleries

In this chapter's study of London's maritime form in two contexts, I diagnose the ways both De Quincey and the EIC shared an authorial, literary and imperial, investment in oceanic rule as an urban project, to totalize, manage or capitalize on the city's consolidation of human relations, resources and trade in the era. In reading De Quincey's *Confessions*, as less a text about the psychological contamination of the European consciousness by Oriental foreignness, then as a work participating in the metropolitan production of a transoceanic imperium, I show

the pressure and sources of the maritime form in London's identity and growth in the period. To make over city space into the maritime enabled logics of movement, expansion, rule and domination, a point we see in both De Quincey and the history of the Company's China-trade. Both understood authority, as warranted, legitimated, conditioned and environed, by the power to take hold of the seas. Both evoked the maritime form not only to map a global geography onto urban space, but to write a vision of the city into being. In liquidating London itself, the city becomes medium for exploitative production—of self-authorship , on one hand, and of oceanic hegemony on the other.

Yet the materials I study also show distributed authorities that the city also hosts, for London is everywhere a whispering gallery—consolidating histories, arrangements and experiences that are in tension with the writing of its most exalted expressions as the heart of the empire. One discovery at least of this reading of the city's maritime form is that the Asian maritime laborers' activities matter in producing another city, a London's Pacific Rim, a spatial imaginary that stretches the metropole to register the concrete experience of Pacific Rim seafarers in the transoceanic world their labor help produce. For, as De Quincey's Malay heralds, this seafarer is a permanent visitor in the metropolitan dream to possess all the seas freely and without dread. The ship bears the history of his racialized laboring class, with their incomplete disembarkations continually confessing to troubled London homecomings.

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Chapter Two

Chinese Riot in London: Reporting Away East Asian Occupation of the British Metropole

> They resorted to gardens, and pulled down the palisades to convert into weapons; took away the paling before several houses, and then, not being abundantly supplied, they stopped a cart laden with household furniture…and a four-post bedstead was actually made weapons of, and found on the field of battle….The…Chinese… did not seem to understand that an Englishman's house was his castle; for wherever the poor hunted Lascar ran, he was followed by his ferocious enemy, dragged into the street, and beat without mercy, notwithstanding the entreaties of the householders.
>
> -"Affray," *Times* (7 October 1806)

The telling details in this report of an "affray" between Chinese and Lascar sailors of the East Indiaman *Skelton Castle* in East London are decidedly domestic. The image of weaponized garden palings and the final staging of a four-post bedstead in Angel Gardens, "an open square" located in London's East End, impart the incident's apparent absurdity—the topsy turvy inversion of private and public space stands out against the more familiar Orientalizing reporting of, for instance, the "terrific…shrieks and howlings" of the Chinese sailors. In this melee, a momentary invasion on British soil is imagined, an Englishman's castle overrun, illegible Chinese fury mildly lampooned by the vision of foreigners colliding pell-mell unto sacred English space.

A discussion of the above event forms a key part of maritime labor historian Iona Man-Cheong's important intervention in Asian maritime labor historiography accounting for the growing "political and social visibility in the Britain's metropole" of Asian seafarers in the era (167). Especially provocative is Man-Cheong's examination of this riot in light of the ways cross-racial alliances mentioned later in the report work against a growing racialized discourse of management and discipline, enacted by new systems of mass-housing for the sailors in the city, abetted by metropolitan commentators like the reporter of the above.[26] Man-Cheong's reading of this racialized uprising at the heart of the imperial metropole importantly culminates her argument about the ways East India Company (EIC) labor and housing practices turned to racial categories to manage the increasing numbers of Asian seafarers in this city. This chapter returns to the scene of this riot, to the document of the London riot report itself, exploring it as an instance of a genre that I study to understand how such an event might shape understandings of London space. I apply Man-Cheong's linking of this incident to changing urban housing conditions for Asian seafarers within a larger archive and historiography of London unrest,

[26] This particular riot, which I am calling the "Angel Gardens" riot, has been cited by multiple historians of Asian seafarers in the metropole, including in Michael H. Fisher's *Counterflows to Colonialism* (2006) (160), John Seed's "Maritime Labour and Asian Sailors in Nineteenth-Century London" (2014) (46) and Yu Po-Ching's "Chinese Seamen in London and St. Helena in the Early Nineteenth Century" (2015) (289). Man-Cheong provides the first explicit close reading of the report in her essay, "'Asiatic' sailors and the East India Company: racialization and labor practices, 1803–15" (2014). Man-Cheong's essay explains the rise of "political and social visibility in the Britain's metropole" of Asian seafarers through an analysis of historical factors that contributed to their presence in the city. In my chapter, I expand on Man-Cheong's work on the political and social history of Chinese sailors in the city by thinking through the problem of the riot's relative absence, and others like it, within the historiography of London popular disturbances. This chapter takes up her insight about this riot in light of changing housing conditions, and studies a broader archive of Chinese and London riot reports in the period to show how accounts of Chinese metropolitan unrest matter within the genre's work in forging political belonging to the city. While Man-Cheong locates the riot's primary political meaning in evincing cross-ethnic alliances that cut against East India Company (EIC) rule: "[The Chinese] also prevailed upon several Arabs to join them"; "Things having arrived at so alarming a pitch, a few sailors and Irish laborers assembled for the purpose of interfering in favor of the Lascars" (*Times* 7 October 1806), I read this riot and others like them as inchoate contestations of injured property rights through which Chinese sailors might inscribe themselves into the political geography of the city.

studying how reports of urban unrest constructs the city's political geography, and how Chinese and Lascar sailors might be emplaced within that narrative.

The prevailing teleology as laid out by historians and scholars of urban unrest is this—popular uprisings evolve from incoherent pre-industrial disturbances to organized movements rationalized by growing "stable social-ideological content" in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as historian George Rudé puts it in his seminal work, *The Crowd in History 1730-1848* (1964) (234).[27] As Rudé has set out, the British working-class burnings and lootings in the

[27] This chapter is guided by studies of British and London crowds and unrest in its interpretation of early Chinese disturbances in the East End in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I draw especially from the following authors: George Rudé's *Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848* (1964, first publication) which studies popular uprising in the period, tracing a teleology in movements from both British and French contexts. Rudé qualifies the pre-industrial crowd before the 1840s as both distinct from, and continuous with, future political movements, concluding that "a rich variety of motives and beliefs through which economic issues and appeals to customary rights exist side by side with new concepts of man's place in society and search for the millennium" (233). The essential shift in popular crowd actions after 1840, Rudé maintains, is that "once the new and essentially forward-looking ideas of the 'rights of man' and 'popular sovereignty' had gripped the popular imagination, riots and disturbances tended to acquire a new dimension and to assume a stable social-ideological content that they had lacked before" (234). E.P. Thompson extends this in "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century" (1971, first publication) in *Customs in Common* (1993), challenging the "crass economic reductionism [that obliterates] the complexities of motive, behavior, and function" (187) of riots in the era. Instead, he establishes the formulation of the "moral economy of the crowd," a collective motivation for uprisings explained as a "notion of legitimation [whereby] the men and women in the crowd were informed by the belief that they were defying traditional rights or customs; and, in general, that they were supported by the wider consensus of the community" (188). Thompson importantly recovers a signifying pattern in the food riots in the era to register their importance as a collective social response to a rising political economy ruled by the free market. John Stevenson's *Popular Disturbances in England 1700-1832* (1992) provides a comprehensive chronological survey of "disturbances" in the era, beginning with an overview of definitions that draw from legal and contemporary usages, as well as from scholarship about them in history and the social sciences. His chronological and thematic survey draws from a vast archive of primary sources (Home Office records, diaries, court records, newspapers, to name a few), and ends with a synthesized conclusion cautioning against any one methodology or theorization about crowd action, explaining that the "relationship between deprivation and the incidence of disturbances is by no means simple and the reactions of the authorities play a considerable part in determining the nature and scale of what occurs" (308). He also suggests that "much eighteenth-century protests was ultimately deferential" (320), that "what remains striking is less how often crowds turned to indiscriminate damage than how often they refrained from doing so" (320), proposing that "…cultural factors, as well as realism, conditioned the development of a society in which protests and grievances could be articulated short of a revolutionary insurrection. In that sense, the English 'mob' tamed itself, at least as much as it was tamed by government or its agents" (330). Ian Baucom's *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity* (1999), plots the "construction of spaces of instability in the geographies of Englishness," namely "Gothic architecture, the Victorian Terminus in Bombay, the Anglo-Indian Mutiny pilgrimage, the cricket field and the country house, zone of urban riot," locales that Baucom argues "housed the disciplinary projects of imperialism *and* the imperial destabilizations and re-formations of English identity" (4). His last chapter "The Riot of Englishness: Migrancy, Nomadism, and the Redemption of the Nation" studies the "zone of urban riot" through a reading of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*. Baucom importantly focuses here on the migrant urban riot as "[managing]

Gordon and Captain Swing Riots of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century incipiently foreshadow the sense of popular sovereignty expressed in later movements of the period. This trajectory derives from what Rudé has called "a constantly recurring theme in popular ideology…that of the Englishman's 'birthright' or 'liberties'…. [the] belief that Englishmen were 'freeborn' and not 'slaves'" (Rudé 229). This line of thinking is taken up by social historian E.P. Thompson in "The Moral Economy of the Crowd" (1971), where he writes, "almost every eighteenth-century crowd [possessed] some legitimizing notion….the belief that they were defending traditional rights or customs; and, in general, that they were supported by the wider consensus of the community" (188). John Plotz's essay, "Crowd Power: Chartism, Carlyle, and the Victorian Public Sphere" (2000) extends this in delineating the ways the imminent Chartist crowds of the nineteenth century will achieve the collective power to speak and be heard in the public sphere. Left out of this teleology, of the crowd's evolution from invoking the tradition of

not merely to vandalize but to reorganize England's spaces of belonging, to introduce newness to the world" (195). I extend his reading of such a process in twentieth-century fiction in my interpretation of the ways riot reports of early disturbances by Chinese seafarers in the city both differ from and foreshadow this political work. John Plotz's essay "Crowd Power: Chartism, Carlyle, and the Victorian Public Sphere" (2000) reads both Chartist leaders and Thomas Carlyle as offering competing interpretations of the crowd—a conflict tied to contrasting claims for how crowd action should be interpreted in the public sphere. In this way, Plotz locates Chartist action within the shifting rules of the public realm—where "crowd-borne form(s) of signification" altered grounds of political debate (88), laying the argument that Chartist crowds were meant to be speech acts whereby "what is visible in the streets...is only a representative tranche of what lies beyond: the threat is not so many thousand massed bodies, but so many millions of potential voters here signified corporeally" (88). This chapter explores the means by which disturbances by Asian seafarers in the metropole do not fit clearly into this trajectory for urban collective uprising in the period. John Barrel's *Spirit of Despotism, Invasions of Privacy* (2006) studies the ways deep-seated anxieties about dissolving political boundaries in the period shape the organization and experience of cultural spaces: "The subject of this book is not so much the repression of the reform movement or of the arguments for democratic government as the cultural effects of that repression, the atmosphere of suspicion it created…in particular the invasion of private space it appeared to promote and the sense that everything had suddenly been or could suddenly become politicized" (6). His chapter, "Charing Cross and the City," shows how this dynamic was inscribed in city space especially by a series of public disturbances that traverse the central location of Charing Cross. Barrell reads these events as rehearsals of an oft-feared invasion of the ordered space of the ruling class, the West End, by the undefined mob of the East End. He explains that this "atmosphere of suspicion" (4) rendered an already indeterminate city space especially troubling to contain and define. This chapter explores how the archive of minor affrays of Asian seafarers in the metropole extends Barrell's analysis of city disturbances beyond a primarily European political dynamic.

English "customary rights" to organizing publicly legible demonstrations of political will, are the actors of this 1806 "affray" staged by foreign maritime laborers on British soil.

Inspired by Man-Cheong's reading of the riot, I see the absence of this event and others smaller scale uprising of Asian sailors from the established historiography of London uprisings as resulting from a series of erasures endemic to the reporting of incidents themselves. In obvious ways, the events exist and are extinguished in their first record—they are reported away, erased in their narration. In this chapter, I develop a context and a method for expanding Man-Cheong's recuperation of Angels Garden Riot.[28] This chapter focuses on a series of these riots as early, barely registering, manifestations of proto-migrant violence within a broader context of contemporary representations of urban disorder in the period. I show how formal features within

[28] This chapter's analysis of riots and housing conditions of East Asian sailors in the city is indebted to the work of historians who have documented the multiple dimensions of Asian seafaring in the city. In addition to Iona Man-Cheong's essay which I cite earlier, this chapter is guided by information from Michael H. Fisher's *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain 1600-1857* (2008). Fisher importantly provides a chronological survey of what he terms the "counterflows" of Indian migration to Britain, as opposed to the "mainstream...movement of Britons outwards" comprehended by the story of British colonialism (1). While Fisher's research focuses on India, the importance of the East India Company (EIC), as a "major unit of analysis" (6) in his study renders his research an important resource for historians of Asian maritime laborers in the Company's employ in the era, and thus for my chapter as well. As he puts it, British "cultural identifications of 'the East,' 'the East Indies,' and 'India'…all shifted inconsistently" and that because of the era's "initial vague knowledge of these areas and peoples, Britons often conflated everyone eastward from the South African Cape to the Philippines as 'Indians,' 'Orientalists' or 'Asiatics'" (5). Within these blurred distinctions, the fact that "British authorities and public opinion generally regarded the Company…as accountable for 'Indians', variously defined" (6) positions the Company archives as an important starting point for information about the multi-ethnic seafaring communities in its charge. Fisher's chapters, "Indian Seamen and the Company" and "Crossing Identity Boundaries" in particular, provides one of the most comprehensive resources on the urban experiences of Asian sailors in the city, including instances of unrest as well as their daily life within Company-contracted housing. In addition to Man-Cheong and Fisher, I draw from information in two works: John Seed's essay, "Maritime Labour and Asian Sailors in Nineteenth-Century London" (2014), which studies the experiences of Asian seamen in London as an "episode in a bigger story of a notable 'transnational contact zone'-the London docks" (56), providing a granular account of how sailors negotiated their employment, management and housing in the city, as well as Yu Po-Ching's essay, "Chinese Seamen in London and St. Helena in the Early Nineteenth Century (2015), which studies the experiences of Chinese seafarers in two ports, finding that different opportunities for landed employment distinguished the experiences of sailors in these two locales. This chapter's focus on Chinese sailors narrows its attention on citations of reports by historians where Chinese seafarers were specifically mentioned, especially incidents from the following primary sources: *Morning Post* 13 August 1801, *Times* 3 September 1801, 7 October 1806, *Times* 30 September 1813, *Morning Chronicle* 30 September 1813, *Hampshire Chronicle* 4 October 1813, *Morning Chronicle* 2 November 1813, *Cambridge* 22 November 1816, *Trewman's Exeter* 21 November 1816.

riot reports work to stabilize the disordering of public space through urban narratives of political belonging, cohering templates that are challenged when rioting East Asian Londoners take center stage. In effecting a rhetorical decontextualization of Chinese sailors, the reports preclude political import from such moments of violent collective action on the streets, a maneuver this chapter hopes to reverse.

I begin by setting up a context for the Chinese affrays with comparative readings of three reports of other riots at varying scales, locales and familiarity within London urban histories, to understand how reporting differently manages the import of public displays of violence. In analyzing formal features across these reports, I track the relationship between reporting urban disorder and the story of London's political geography. That is, I show how the reports reinscribe legible power relations in urban space, even as they describe events that are ostensibly about disturbing them. In the course of doing so, I show how they deploy strategies that work to miss the sense of Chinese as political actors, London agitators whose collective disturbances matter as claims to power within the city. For example, tropes of enumeration and articulations of causation disappear these unruly activities in urban space by transforming them from rioting Londoners into countable wards of the East India Company or foreign ethnic groupings. Yet, taking up actions of the Chinese rioters in the epigraph as my inspiration, I work against such erasures by scavenging for at-hand material in the reports for "weapons," indexical signs for reading the ways subaltern political formation might be registered in the city, expressed in these cases as a collectivized aggressive will to live. Instead of a strange irruption of a former shipboard inter-ethnic conflict, I read this affray, and other moments of public disorder by East Asian persons on London streets, as demonstrating precisely what the report denies: the Chinese sailor's utter knowledge of the ways an Englishman's house is his "castle," through the record of

the weapons they wielded as foreign laborers signaling their political occupation of British domestic urban space.

I. Interpreting Urban Unrest

In Ian Baucom's *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity* (1999), the scene of migrant urban riot is the last locale in his work on the "spaces of instability in the geographies of Englishness," geographies where forces of imperialism are observed to derange notions of national identity. Importantly for me, Baucom identifies the migrant urban riot as a counter-locale in his last chapter, "The Riot of Englishness: Migrancy, Nomadism, and the Redemption of the Nation" (1999). He begins by reviewing existing theories for popular uprising, identifying a binary in lines of thinking about crowd action. That is, Baucom posits that one can either interpret riots as crowds defending a sense of their injured historical "customary rights," as George Rudé and E.P. Thompson indicate—or one can understand them as "construction(s) of newness," irruptions of non-meaning and pure affect, or redemptory "performances," as Brian Massumi and Homi Bhabha illuminate.[29] Both readings of riot, as

[29] In reviewing readings of urban riot, Baucom diagnoses a tension between the retrospective line of thinking deriving from Rudé and Thompson, where riots are "legitimized" by a common consensus of rights and traditions enshrined in the past, and the line of thinking open to riots as irruptions, instead, of meaning and history altogether, as pure "construction[s] of newness" (193). The latter is suggested, Baucom explains, by seeing riots as "affect-event[s]" (194), invoking Gilles Deleuze's translator, Brian Massumi, to explain thus: "In Massumi's account, newness names not only a break from the prison house of meaning but a flight from that economy of expectation which houses events within structures. Because the new is not merely the emergence of the unexpected, but that which we cannot expect to reemerge, it gestures neither to the future nor to the past" (193). Baucom qualifies this reading, "[supplementing this] nomadological hermeneutic of rioting," to propose how "the urban riot manages not merely to vandalize but to reorganize England's spaces of belonging" (195). He turns to Homi Bhabha to nuance the affective form of newness, drawing from Bhabha's ideas about riots as "[elements] of that 'contemporary within culture' with which the custodians of the state are so uncomfortable," which Bhabha names as the "performative…Bhabha's collective name for the contemporary, the emergent, and the time of migration" (198). Baucom synthesizes the competing registers in these theories of riot by providing a reading of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* and the scene of urban migrant riot represented in the work. Baucom shows that the migrant, who brings cultural multiplicity to the nation, is the vector for the "newness" signified by the event of the riot, "[who recollects] an additional body of local knowledges, an additional series, indeed a global series, of cultural vernaculars" (200). In this way, the urban migrant riot imagines an infusion of newness to traditions of belonging, or

either historically referential or radically unforeseen, matter to Baucom in his chapter's main reading of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*. Baucom figures Rushdie's representation of the migrant urban rioter, as resolving the tension between these lines of thought, as both redeemer of traditional Englishness and herald of a "migrant politics of emplacement" (213), whose disorderly presence on city streets signals how occupations of space are merged into acts of civic belonging. While Baucom importantly highlights the particular significance of cross-cultural popular unrest as part of his project's analysis of transformations wrought by imperialism on British identity, he follows an interpretive history of reading London riots alongside a tradition for making crowd action carry political, particularly English, legibility. For reports of Chinese riots in late eighteenth- early nineteenth- century, however, the failures to carry this content, I argue, form a key part of the political story they can tell.

In this sense, I explore something akin to Gayatri Spivak's guidance about attending to what texts refuse to say, or cannot say: "a task," as she puts it, "of measuring silences whether acknowledged or unacknowledged" (286). Spivak's point is that while speaking for oppressed others replicates the epistemic violence of colonialism itself, attending to imperialism's enunciations in its evacuations and transparencies enables the production of anti-colonial knowledge. Thus, I acknowledge the voicelessness of the Chinese sailor as much as the unacknowledged voice of power within reports about them. By focusing on temporary assemblies of violent Chinese bodies, I consider the paradox of reading for insurgency in the archive of counterinsurgency as Ranajit Guha lays out in his historical analysis of peasant uprising in India:

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as Baucom would phrase it per John Ruskin, an "engrafted sublimity" imparted by England's migrant people and cultures (217).

> In all this literature, known to the profession as "primary sources," one can see the official mind struggling to comprehend these apparently unanticipated phenomena by means of analogy, that is, to say it after Saussure, by an "awareness and understanding of a relation between forms." Just as one learns the use of a new language by feeling one's way from the known elements to the unknown, comparing and contrasting unfamiliar sounds and meanings with familiar ones, so did the early administrators try to make sense of a peasant revolt in terms of what made it similar to or different from other incidents of the same kind. (2)

I am interested in this type of oblique reading, turning to reports of "affrays" to observe "the official mind struggling to comprehend." To show the strain and wearing thin of this discourse, and the colonial logic that the reporting effort reveals, is the point of my analysis. Attention to this process surfaces neither a redemptory nor historic-referential account of subaltern uprisings, or in my case, "affrays." Instead, the reports' opacities and dead-ends become the means by which one tracks how imperialism narrates away the political-historical actions of colonial subjects while providing a record of that history in doing so.

II. Public Disorder, Revolution & the West and the East (End)

Fig. 1. "Promis'd Horrors of the French Invasion, or Forcible reasons for negotiating a regicide peace" by James Gillray, 1796 (*British Museum*)

The archive of London disturbances between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the historical context in which these London Chinese affrays transpire, reveal a recurring interplay between city places, bodies and reorganizations of meaning in reports occasioned by these ruptures of order in city space. John Stevenson, historian of popular uprising in the period, cautions against meta-narratives about urban unrest, as analyses inevitably reveal blended motives and unpredictable distinctions within any set of incidents (305). After all, as Stevenson documents, the context in which they occur is volatile: the Napoleonic Wars, food shortages, agitation on the part of the London Corresponding Society (the leading radical

organization) for parliamentary reform intermingled macro-events and aims with smaller scale motives in fomenting a climate of urban protest. Stevenson tells us that the most common type of riots in London in the period of 1790-1821 are political (60), followed by brawls, typically among sailors in the East End (40), and anti-recruitment riots: small, dispersed yet intense attacks on establishments soliciting labor for the armed forces (36). Yet these classifications are provisional. An anti-government animus in a city parade in support of a radical figurehead might likewise incite the spontaneous crowd assemblies staged to succor escaping crimp-victims; a rioter hurling stones at bakers' window or an unseen provocateur firing a shot at the King's carriage could be said to share the same sense of aggrieved customary rights. In understanding riots as doing important cultural work in constructing the city imaginary, this chapter tracks a different trajectory from prevailing studies of riots that diagnose the political claims alongside the trajectory I describe above. Instead, it begins by analyzing how connotations of body and place in reports of urban riot creates a system for reading beyond them, thus creating a basis for understanding how Chinese riots structured a way for recognizing their lives in London as a conduit for seeing the city's interconnectedness with the Pacific Rim.

One model is already extant for reading beyond the city in this period, especially in interpretations of urban disorder. Paris in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth- centuries looms large in London's consciousness, troubling even the city's self-conception, as social historian and literary critic John Barrell writes, "When early 1793 Britain found itself yet again at war with France, this uncertainty [about its size] was fed by the continuing British anxiety about the size, the wealth, the military potential of its oldest, its 'natural' enemy. Was London more or less populous than Paris?" (25). One might conjecture that urban populations also preoccupied the imaginary because, as Stevenson writes,

> …following the outbreak of the French Revolution, London was faced not only with the consequences of urban growth, but also with the impact of popular radicalism. The threat of simultaneous insurrection in the capital, the manufacturing districts, and Ireland in support of a French invasion was one to haunt the worst nightmares of government. (Stevenson 205)

In light of the pervasive political instability caused by tottering European monarchies, both Barrell and Stevenson propose that London riots hide the specter of a potentially revolutionary situation imported from the radicalized urban world of Paris (Stevenson 1[30],173, 205; Barrell 2-4; 29-30; Plotz 97[31]). As Stevenson explicitly puts it, the "French Revolution "[gave] the traditions of eighteenth-century mob activity…a new dimension by the rise of popular radicalism and the threat of revolutionary ideology being imported from France" (Stevenson173).

Barrell's *Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (2006) explores this situation in light of what he calls a larger "mist of suspicion…[that] permeated the monarchies of Europe which felt themselves threatened…by the democratic movements that developed…and the new kind of threat they posed to *anciens régimes*: not mere regime-change, one 'royal' family forcing out another, but total revolution in the name of human rights and republican government" (2). In Barrell's analysis, this anxiety is expressed in the division of the city's

[30] Stevenson writes to this effect: "Historians of modern Britain have always had some interest on the questions of popular protest and public order if only for their bearing on the topic of the *revolution manquée,* why and how Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries escaped a revolutionary upheaval similar to those experienced on the continent" (1).

[31] Plotz cites and interprets Thomas Carlyle setting himself up as interpreter of Chartist crowds: "On one side lies the passionate, writhing, 'deep dumb inarticulate' English crowd itself, an embodiment of Truth. On the other side, the enemy: 'These Chartisms, Radicalisms, Reform Bill, Tithe Bill, and infinite other discrepancy, and acrid argument and jargon that there is yet to be, are our French Revolution'" (181).

"political geography" (18), registered in terms of invasion, of private spaces by State surveillance and spies, on one hand, or the nation by France, on the other. The importation of a foreign city to manage anxieties of urban violence, Barrell shows, is literalized in James Gillray's "Promis'd Horrors of the French Invasion" (see fig. 1) (29-30). In the painting, Paris animates a nightmarish St. James Street—French republican army soldiers and British Jacobins advance onto the viewer, signifiers of revolutionary violence re-inscribed onto the built environment itself—a guillotine on a club balcony, bayonets on the streets, the Palace aflame. Yet, as Barrel writes, "Gillray's 'Promis'd Horrors' is so powerful an image not simply because of what it fantasizes…as an imminent possible future, but because of memories it conjures up of the very recent past: memories of invasions by the alien London poor of the purlieus of the civilized rich" (30). Barrell suggests that the image represents the fear of domestic urban invasions, brazen incursions by the rabble onto the space of ruling classes, the West End of London. Barrell's insight here, about the imaginary of London visualized in Gillray, usefully suggests how foreign spaces are imported to understand or even use domestic unrest—how instances of radical-led extra-parliamentary agitation in the 1790s for example, or smaller spur-of-the-moment anti-recruitment demonstrations outside crimp-houses, can be made to cohere when seen as events discharging Jacobin energies in the city, and consequently justifying the monarchical repression of that energy. Thus, thinking London with Paris in mind becomes the means to understand the larger forces behind the politicization of urban space itself.

Within this framework, Barrell and Stevenson identify key events of uprising in the city whose reports I examine further in this next section. As model texts of public displays of violence, these reports lay a foundation for this chapter's goal of reframing London's landscape of popular unrest in the period against a wider geographical backdrop than Paris alone. I re-

examine them primarily to see how reporters construct rhetorical positions for describing recurring actors in scenes of urban violence: bodies of victims (the recipient of the reporters' sympathies), the bodies of rioters (violent, wielding weapons, manifesting physical destruction), and descriptions of space itself. Beginning with how violence on the most important "body," the sacred person of the King, is narrated, I move to reports about violence incited around some of the least important bodies of the city, the victims of recruitment, and for me bands of sailors, returning to the Chinese sailor, wielding knife and axe in the riverside districts of the East End as an end point. I examine the ways the reporting of violence both follow and exceed predictable patterns of victimization and villainy of person and place, with reports of Chinese affrays, as overlooked accounts of urban unrest, exposing the limitations of such structures of seeing and cohering London's political geography in the period.

III. A Tale of Three (Other) Riots

The West End and the King's Coach Riot of 1795

One of the most famous incidents of public violence of the era was the attack on the King's coach in the West End of the city on October 29, 1795,[32] with Barrell calling it "the most horrific plebeian invasion of the West End" (45). Stevenson tells us that the event was preceded a few days before by a public meeting called by the London Corresponding Society, where an "'Address to the Nation and Remonstrance to the King'…demanding reform of parliament, dismissal of ministers and a 'SPEEDY PEACE' had been approved" (215). On the day of the

[32] Stevenson writes of the riot in light of the agitation spurred by the London Corresponding Society's opposition to the war in France as "one of the most famous incidents of the decade" (216). Barrell analyzes the event in light of a larger trope of "invasion" he tracks in his chapter: "a direct attack on the ceremonial by which the sovereign power performed its sovereignty… almost…a metonymic dismembering of the king himself" (46).

attack on the King's coach, Stevenson recounts that approximately 150,000 to 200,000 "assembled for the state opening of Parliament" (215). That crowd would go on to assail the King's coach at various points in his route to and from Westminster, from the palace through St. James's park (Stevenson 215-7). In the reporting of the event, the *Morning Chronicle* writer described that "the usual "bursts of affection with which his Majesty was wont to be saluted by his people...were drowned by deep groans, hisses, and incessant vociferations" (*MC* 30 October 1795). The *Times* counted the projectiles, telling us that "several stones and other articles were thrown, nine of which… reached the King's carriage, of which two of the thick plate-glass panels are broken" (*Times* 30 October 1795). The *Gentleman's Magazine* heightened the sense of the peril to the King, writing that upon returning to the palace, the King "went into his private coach, to go from St. James's to the Queen's house, in the midst of the wildest commotion of the multitude, thereby exposing himself, almost without guards, to their fury; and then it was that his Majesty's person was most imminently in danger" (*GM* 965). Not only that, but the writer also described how the empty state coach was subsequently attacked by "a stout fellow with a bludgeon, [which] completed the demolition of the only glass of which a single particle remained, and was proceeding to destroy the carved wood when one of the King's Footmen, with more spirit than prudence, interposed….(*GM* 965).[33]

The *Gentleman's Magazine* writer especially emphasized the extensibility of the King's body in space, signaling his mobility in connecting the spaces of government and rule ("In Palace Yard, a stone was thrown" (965), "from St. James to the Queen's house" (965), "the

[33] As Barrell also notes, *Times* adds this telling detail: "The fragments of the glasses were picked up by boys and sold for from sixpence to a shilling each. Some of the fragments of the back window, being about an inch thick, were sold for half a crown" (Barrell 46, *MC* 30 September 1795).

avenues to Westminster Hall were very prudently closed" (966), remarking repeatedly on the imminent harm to his person by the references to the force displayed at gates, doors and windows: "one miscreant, in green coat, endeavored to open the door" (965), "the crowd then flocked to Storey's gate" (966), "a party were preparing to force open the great gate" (966). The reporter especially highlighted a concern over physical boundaries, for example in this observation of a rather minute instance of permeability:

> At the time the glass of the coach was barked, he [the King] said to Lord Westmoreland—'That's a shot;' and, instead of leaning back in the carriage, or striving to avoid the assassin, he pointed to the round hole in the pane, and examined it. (*GM* 965)

The *Gentleman's Magazine* writer's rhetorical flourish in foregrounding the King's "cool magnanimity" in light of the ever-present "[imminent] danger" to "his Majesty's most sacred person" throws into relief the King's claim to inviolability, expressed in his manner, and owed to his body and the spaces in which he moves (965). Despite the attack on the King, his self-possession in the moment has an active counterpart by the coordinated action of all the various troops, guards, horse-leaders mentioned who come into play in the King's defense. Such coolness at the center of the storm turned aside the various projectile bodies of the riot, from a supposed "bullet" to a stray "oyster shell," from the "bludgeon" of the "stout fellow" who "completed the demolition of the glass of which a single particle remained," to the mal-intentions of "ill-looking fellows" or the "16-17 ruffians" mentioned in the report (965). In fact, the twinned sanctity of the King's body and space manifests immediately, as Barrell and Stevenson recount. Reprisals were swift and sweeping, effected in the immediate passage of the Two Bills on Treasonable and Seditious Practices (also known as the "Gagging Acts"), that

specifically aimed to break the ostensible masterminds of the unrest, the radical leaders of the London Correspondence Society (Barrell 46, Stevenson 216). The Two Acts severely restricted political gatherings, and, as Barrell shows, contributed to a charged political environment where pub and coffee house, lecture hall and public square would be commandeered into a regime of surveillance and suppressed dissent.

Charing Cross and the George Howe Incident of 1794

As we see, the reports' rhetorical work in presenting the event's choreography of space and body helped secure the political meaning of the riot in the West End. Barrell reads the attack on the King's coach as culminating the earlier, smaller scale "skirmishes on the border" (34) of the West End, the anti-crimp riots at Charing Cross, to which we shall turn to now.

Barrell reads Charing Cross, the scene of these events, as a fraught "center" in the city imaginary, an intersection corralling and redirecting energies that can so alarmingly erupt, as in the attack on the King's coach:

> Charing Cross was the true centre of London, the threshold of the West End, the great crossing-place where met the territory of the government, of the court, of the polite commerce of the Strand, of the disorderly populace, and of the military. It became the focus of the social and geographical divisions between rich and poor, aristocratic and vulgar, government and governed, and the magnet for the conflicts they generated. (33-34)

Charing Cross, Barrell explains, is the node for popular animus because "radical triumphs…all start in or pass through Charing Cross" (33) and, importantly, Charing Cross is the origin point

for the spate of anti-crimp house riots that erupted around the city the year preceding the attack on the King's coach.

Stevenson tells us that as the war against France had intensified the hunt for able-bodied men, London's population density made the city a prime spot for naval press gangs and army-recruiting parties to centralize their efforts, for operators to run "rendezvous houses," establishments "where volunteers could sign on, and where pressed men could be secured before being put on board ship," or for "crimp houses" to ensnare naive or impoverished targets (208). He explains further:

> The crimps made their money out of the bounty offered to recruits in wartime or the advance wages of the sailor. Men who were short of money would surrender themselves into the hand of the crimps in order to pay off their creditors; sailors would often be induced by crimps operation from an alehouse to run up expenses on credit…. (209)

Stevenson recounts that while outrage at the war with France is not widespread, it is nonetheless exacerbated by accounts of such corrupt practices (209). Barrell calls attention to this in his reading of a particularly dramatic incident:

> On Friday, 15 August, a young man named George Howe appeared on the roof of another crimping house, one of a row of six which all but divided Johnson's Court from Angel Court, all owned by a Mrs. Hanna, all connected with each other by "secret avenues." He stood there, frozen in fear as the crimps approached him, then "threw himself from the tiles, and was dashed to pieces on the flags of the court." His dying sigh must have run in blood down the walls of the Duke of Northumberland's palace. (42)

Barrell memorializes this dramatic rooftop action in his account of the ways Charing Cross became a fraught theater (raised stage and all) for concentrating the cultural contestation at work in the capital (37). Barrell explains that in a milieu where "the representation and reputation of Charing Cross was as much subject to conflict and division as everything else in London in the 1790s" (37), the crimp houses, the locale in which they sit, and the riots that originated there, formed a nexus of meaning that marked the space with the troubling sense of permeability to incursions from the city's dodgier side.

To revisit the report of the event itself, I especially note the ways the *Morning Chronicle* reporter casted Mrs. Hana (as exemplar proprietress of such "harpies' dens") and her fellow crimp-house operators as prime villains in the scene:

> …The most notorious scoundrels dressed up as ensigns, captains and majors are the inmates of this lady. Their chief decoys are girls tricked up for the purpose, who watch for proper objects, which are particularly persons intoxicated….(*MC* 18 August 1794)
>
> …The noise of his keepers approaching him; there he stood some time in apparent great agony…his savage pursuers coming near him (*MC* 18 August 1794)

Multiple details in this report and the next about the "scoundrels" and "savage pursuers" balloon their personalities in the readers' mind, a style the reporter in a subsequent follow-up report will take up. Mrs. Hana is thrown into relief by a memorable invective: "D—n the fellow, take him upstairs and strip him," she is quoted as saying, to which the reporter makes an aside: "considering the turbulent temper and abusive tongue of the woman, this would have been considered by the other recruits as a mild manner of directing the Sergeant to help any one of them to take off his clothes" (*MC* 22 August 1794).

In this way the reporters re-organize the actors of this city disturbance. They do not vilify the rioters, they are no longer the "ruffians" and "miscreants" attacking the King, instead the reporters become mediators for, rather than prosecutors of, the mob:

> …The mob dispersed at Mr. Sheridan's request dispersed…giving him and Mr. Grey three cheers, and declaring that while there were gentlemen who would see justice done to the poor, they should not want to right themselves…. (*MC* 18 August 1794)
>
> …We can only say that the only way to prevent mobbing is to shew a readiness to investigate and punish such atrocities as rouse human nature beyond patience…. (*MC* 18 August 1794)
>
> …The police justices should recollect that let who will appoint them, they are paid with the money of the people, and therefore ought to be its protectors…. (*MC* 18 August 1794)

And then, a few days later:

> Without this (full prosecution of crimps) it is to be feared, that although the indignation of the populace may be suppressed for a time by military patrols, it will break out again with greater violence. *(MC* 22 August 1794)

In the above, one reporter represented the mob as high-spirited ("giving…three cheers") yet tractable ("dispersed at Mr. Sheridan's request"), ultimately transmitting their collective self-perception ("while there were gentlemen who would see justice done to the poor, they should not want to right themselves"). The reporter even inserted critique of the authorities, urging them to "investigate and punish such atrocities as rouse human nature beyond patience," to remember that they "are paid with the money of the people." The second reporter darkly intoned, oracle-

like, that "although the indignation of the populace may be suppressed….it will break out again with greater violence."

The reporters were invested, in other words, in demonstrating that they had the pulse of the populace. The reporter above for example, concludes the article with at-hand evidence supporting the warning: "the events now passing too clearly warrant this supposition," then a rapid addenda of said events: "the mob attacked the Recruiting offices in Holborn, Shoe-lane, Brick-lane, Long-lane, Smithfields, Barbican, Golden-lane, Moorfields, Whitechapel-green and Clerkenwell," that "...several shots were fired from the house in Holborn," and finally that "the military were sent for, and the Riot Act read; but as the mob found themselves interrupted in one place, they went another" *(MC* 22 August 1794).

A final point to note is the ways the report images the central body around whom the crowd rallies, George Howe himself, who the *Morning Chronicle* reporter described thus:

> The body…though shockingly disfigured by blood and bruises is that of a handsome young man; evidently by the fairness and neatness of the hands and person, one in the better situation of life. His shirt was of very fine linen and marked G.H: he has silk stockings, and his hair was powdered, though apparently just cropped. *(MC* 18 August 1794)

Though the later reports will tell the reader that the "deceased...was afflicted with the most violent species of insanity" *(MC* 22 August 1794), for the moment, the description marked Howe as the city's own, handsome and fair. Arguably, Howe is the analog figure, for the "cool [magnanimous]" King. The details of dress and grooming are quick metonyms of gentility and high hopes untimely dashed. The reporter rendered Howe's body as legibly English, borne out by the its defense of the crowd's righteousness earlier

in dealing with Hana and company. Howe, like the King, is the stabilizing hero around whom chaotic irruptions of violence might encircle.

The East End and Riverside Brawls

Yet what of the other category of disturbances that are not legibly about the preservation of magnanimously royal or handsomely heroic English bodies? I now move beyond Barrell's political geography of the city, to the London beyond Charing Cross, to even more fragmentary disturbances at the city's riverine edges.

Stevenson tells us that brawls, "a high percentage of which occurred between groups of sailors in the riverside district," constituted the second largest, and also distinctively metropolitan, type of disturbances in the city (314). Yet the cast and milieu of these disturbances render them challenging to place within traditional political movements of the time. Unlike disturbances that might fall under paranoia about encroaching radicalism or resistance to corrupt recruiting practices, these events derive their particular alterity from the East End itself. Disconnected from movements for parliamentary reform or anti-war animus, these brawls do not clearly present a beleaguered body or space, instead, their actors are unstably defined, placeholders for ever-changing insider or outside dynamics endemic not only to the city, but especially to riverside districts, globalized worlds unto themselves.

Urban historian John Marriott tells us that the East End, as a mythic counterpoint to the politically and culturally dominant West End, came into being through the work of cultural commentators in the eighteenth century, whose observations about the "two" halves of London actually obscured the real causes of the divide—westward migration by East End aristocrats seeking out fashionable addresses in the West End (63-4):

> ... It was from this moment that East London was represented and accepted by respectable opinion as a site of poverty and danger in contrast to the gentility, wealth and glamour of the West End.…These myths sprang from a profound ignorance of East London, heightened by the eighteenth-century exodus of local elites. (63-4)

Thus, Marriott argues, the perception of the West End as refuge and sanctuary for the ruling classes was cultivated discursively in reiterated contrasts between the dilapidated alleys and buildings of the East End with the broad avenues and squares of new suburbs north and west of the city (63). Left out of the story of this divided urban imaginary, Marriott explains, is the continued centrality of East End manufacturing, mercantile and shipping trades to London's wealth and power (3). Marriott demarcates the "'inner ring' of East London [as including] Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, St George's-in-the-East, Wapping, Shadwell, Ratcliffe, and the western portions of Mile End" (5). These areas, which comprise that part of London east of the Tower and beyond the City walls, gave rise to industries and trades that drove the growth of London's wealth, power and global cosmopolitan identity in the first place (3-5). Marriott explains that the district's relative independence from City governance and riverine access allowed trades like silk, manufacturing, shipping to thrive, which then drew migrant laborers whose religious and cultural differences primed the perception of the space as a haven, or alternatively, an enclave, for classes of the poor, the transient and the foreign (3-4, 51-52).

This binaristic organization of London will enable the continuing marginalization of the city's maritime districts in the prevailing imaginary, contributing to the challenges in reading East End disturbances within the dominant cultural traffic about London's political identity. In a sense, unlike Charing Cross, the "secret avenues" of the East End characterizes the entire district.

Historian Brad Beaven's more specific study of the space as a "sailortown" maintains that the waterside districts of Wapping and Shadwell, Limehouse and Poplar, became known by a more peculiar type of geographic otherness: a twinned indeterminacy of urbanization and the sea (162). Beaven sees this doubling down of spatial uncertainties especially in the maritime nature of Ratcliffe Highway, a main thoroughfare targeted by disembarking seamen. Ratcliffe Highway (which is, incidentally either the setting of, or in close proximity to the riverside brawls I will cover next), became vilified, Beaven explains, not only because of fears about the foreignness of these sailors but also because the Highway, and the East End as whole, was "a metaphor for wider [Victorian] anxieties of industrial and urban change" (160).

Infamous events would intensify attitudes about the space. In 1811, the Ratcliffe Highway murders, brutal killings of two households (a linen draper's and a public-house), would channel the xenophobia of the city and nation onto the locale. In her overview of the events, L. Radzinowicz recounts that a letter was sent to investigating officials declaring foreigners as likely suspects in the crimes, with the letter writer "strongly [urging] that a statement about the murders and a proclamation by the Regent should be translated into Portuguese, 'Oriental,' and other foreign languages and put up in public-houses, shops and on vessels in the Thames" (43). The murders are in fact memorialized in Thomas De Quincey's 1827 satirical essay, "Murder, Considered as One of the Fine Arts," which goes further to describe the Highway as a locus of illegible foreignness:

> Ratcliffe Highway is a public thoroughfare in a most chaotic quarter of eastern or nautical London….it was a most dangerous quarter. Every third man at the least might be set down as a foreigner. Lascars, Chinese, Moors, Negroes, were met at every step. And apart from the manifold ruffianism, shrouded impenetrably under

> the mixed hats and turbans of men whose past was untraceable to any European eye, it is well known that the navy…is the sure receptacle of all the murderers and ruffians whose crimes have given them a motive for withdrawing themselves for a season from the public eye. (De Quincey 76)

Here, De Quincey capitalized on the shared connotations of the Highway, "eastern," "nautical" and "foreigner," characterizing both the searching "European eye" and the interconvertible and anonymous seafarers and foreigners who thwarted that gaze. Taken together, these developments shaped Ratcliffe Highway and its environs into the city's polar counterpoint to the West End. Against the city's seat of government and citadels of culture is counterposed an expansive district of incoherence at a scale superseding a Charing Cross riddled by crimp-houses.

The spatial signatures of the East End are discernible in this *Times* account of a brawl among sailors in the East End that took place in 1806, the same year of the Chinese riot with which I began this chapter:

> A desperate affray took place between a number of Irish laborers and some American seamen (belonging to the ships in the London Docks) in the Broadway adjoining the Docks. (*Times* 10 June 1806)

Here, the actors' non-British nationalities unmoor the scene from the riots in the West End and Charing Cross. In this one, "the quarrel originated between an American and an Irishman, respecting a woman of the town," with "the Americans, who were numerous, assembled in body for their own protection [not attempting] to commit or provoke any break of the peace." Both companies of sailors, as tethered to the sea, complicate our reading of the directionality of the reporter's sympathy. How might each group be perceived in relation to properly English bodies and English spaces? To contend with this situation, I suggest that the reporter constructed a

stable position to comment on the scene, asserting his own Englishness vis-a-vis the foreignness of both groups, by co-opting the adjudicating presence of the Magistrate to do so:

> Before the American seamen were suffered to depart the Fourth, one of the Magistrates called their attention to a few words he had to say….The Americans were in this instance the injured parties, and justice should be done them. He was happy to say, that from all that appeared, the Americans had conducted themselves in this unpleasant affair, with prudence and discretion; and any violence manifested by them was only in their own defense. He concluded by exhorting them in all future occasions to act with prudence and due forbearance, and they would be sure to meet the same respect and protection from the laws as British subjects. (*Times* 10 June 1806)

Before this, the reporter had made quick work of Irish culpability:

> Their [the Americans] forbearance, however, only tended to render the Irish men more furious, and they shewed every disposition to commence an immediate attack…. (*Times* 10 June 1806)
>
> This was taken by the sons of St. Patrick for a challenge to a trial of skill with the shillelagh, and they instantly made a ferocious attack on the Americans, who defended themselves stoutly, but were defeated in the end…. (*Times* 10 June 1806)
>
> The success of the Irish made them quite outrageous; after the result of the battle was known, reinforcements were constantly arriving, who enlisted under the banners of Murdoch Sullivan, the reputed leader. They hoisted their hats on their

> weapons and vociferated loudly, “Liberty and Vinegar Hill forever!” (*Times* 10 June 1806)

Here, I suggest that the reporter contrived a rhetorical position to place the sailors in stable positions with language that exonerated one and marginalized the other. As we have seen, reports manipulate environment, rioters and a victimized body or bodies to reinscribe legible narratives about the city’s political geography. If foreign violence was distinct from the violence of the London miscreant or ruffian, or the righteous mob outside recruiting offices, the villain-victim dynamic can nonetheless be preserved, with “Irish...aggressors” as the culpable outsiders, and Americans as proto-Englishmen. Yet such a status was as tenuous as everything in the East End must be:

> He reminded them of a riot which took place some time ago, in the neighborhood of Wapping, in which some American seamen were the principal actors. On that occasion the Americans were found culpable and punished accordingly. He did not mean to say that any of those present were concerned, but he wished to impress upon their minds that the laws of this country were equally administered to persons of all nations. (*Times* 10 June 1806)

I suggest that as all bodies participating in riverside brawls were either foreign or virtually so, their “impressibility” becomes a sympathetic quality, marking differential proximities to “equality” with the English themselves. In this sense, the report works out the familiar logic for sorting violent bodies in relation to a rubric of culpability, maintaining, even here in the hinterlands of the East End, familiar patterns and recognizable heroes.

IV. East of East-End[34]: Reading Chinese Riots in London

In the above section, I complemented interpretations of urban unrest in the period with a formal analysis of reports to show how riotous action shored up or tested analyses of political belonging in London space. Even as geographies of riotous events shifted, reports about them domesticate vectors of that disorder by rehearsing recurring interpretative moves for condemning or defending unruly actors of urban space. In the next section, I analyze how the decontextualized status of Chinese rioters complicate the application of such hermeneutics. Their status as East Asian foreigners on London soil set up conditions for reporting that engender inconsequentiality to their agitation within the city, something that this chapter seeks to mitigate. I read these Chinese riots as a key archive for an alternative, London Pacific Rim political geography, as historical signatures of their agitation for power in the city. I do this by first describing how such difficulties for recognition are produced. These difficulties are both generated, and exposed by, the apparatus of reporting. The reports' depoliticization of violence, I will show, arise from occluding the ways sailors were detached from property relations that twin physical occupation of urban space to political membership within it. Without a way to perceive such actions as tactics for achieving political belonging, the reports thus miss, or report away, the record of their violent struggle for power in London space.

[34] In his book about Thomas De Quincey, *The Infection of Thomas De Quincey,* Barrell offers a similar formulation to describe the "imaginary geography" (13) in De Quincey's writings as a telescoping projection of the East: "De Quincey inoculates himself, taking something of the East into himself, and projecting whatever he could not acknowledge as his out into a farther East, an East *beyond* the East" (16).

An Archive of Affrays

The fragmentary archive of Chinese riots in the city presents a first difficulty for interpreting Chinese unrest in London. Maritime labor historians of the period have documented the story of the earliest Asian riots in the metropole, especially Michael H. Fisher, in his *Counterflows to Colonialism* (2004)*,* Iona Man-Cheong in "'Asiatic' sailors and the East India Company: racialization and labor practices, 1803–15" (2014), John Seed in "Maritime Labour and Asian Sailors in Nineteenth-Century London" (2014) and Yu Po-Ching in "Chinese Seamen in London and St. Helena in the Early Nineteenth Century" (2015).[35] These histories highlight these disturbances as a distinct feature of Chinese and Lascar experiences in London before the advent of the Opium Wars (1839-42; 1856-60) that contributed to the Company's very public struggle to manage the laborers: "Directors spent much time trying to control Lascars, and defend themselves against various political and public allegations concerning these men" (Fisher146); "The biggest problem for [the contractor] and his staff, however, was the often violent antagonisms among Lascar and Chinese and Arab and Malay individuals" (Seed 46). As I mentioned earlier, Iona Man-Cheong has explicitly read the violence of the Angel Gardens riot for its political and social import. In this section, I hope to explore this set of relatively unknown and sporadic events as a genre unto itself, in light of a broader context of London riot historiography.

Before I begin my analysis, I provide a summary here of incidents where Chinese sailors were explicitly mentioned as participants. The earliest mention is in Fisher's citation of an event when "armed Indian and Chinese seaman fought a "'desperate affray' with swords, knives, and

[35] In this section, I read a broader rhetorical pattern in the reports of the riots these historians cite. I also draw from their information about the lived experiences of Asian sailors in Company-contracted housing to theorize the political work these reports accomplish.

bludgeons at Stepney" in 1785 (146). Seed tells us that in 1801, the *Morning Post* reported the arrest of Lascars and Chinese sailors with "one of them…committed to prison, and the rest liberated, on a premise that they should be immediately removed from their present residence to a ship in the river" (Seed 41, *MP* 13 August 1801). A month later, the *Times* reported that a "serious fray took place on Tuesday evening, in Kingsland-road, between some Chinese, when one of them, called Agui, received a violent blow on his head with a hatchet" (Seed 41, *Times* 3 September 1801).[36] In 1806, the *Times* reported what I am calling the Angel Gardens riot, which all historians cite. The event was noteworthy in this historiography arguably because of its especially detailed and lengthy coverage. It reported however as a mere two paragraphs in *Morning Chronicle*, now a "fracas of a very serious nature" (*MC* 7 October 1806). After a gap of a few years, Fisher mentions that in July of 1813, "Irish 'lumpers' fought street battles against Chinese seamen unloading their ships in July 1813" (162). Later in that year, in September, the *Times* and the *Chronicle* both printed a report about another disturbance, this time transpiring within the newly erected East India Company barracks (Fisher 162, Seed 47, *Times* 30 September 1813, *MC* 30 September 1813). A regional press also reported on this event (*Hampshire Chronicle* 4 October 1813), with the *Morning Chronicle* following up two months later with a report about the trial of suspected ringleaders, where "the principal novelty in the case consisted in the mode of swearing the witnesses, which was by lighting up a fire of sandal wood, lighting two wax candles with some emblematical characters inscribed on them..." (*MC* 2 November 1813). Then, according to Fisher, "the next season, another fight erupted between

[36] Interestingly, another trope in the reports are descriptions of improvised legal rituals: "The Magistrate was reduced to the necessity of adopting the custom in use in China of swearing witnesses. He caused a saucer to be given to each of them which they dashed to pieces, calling God to dash them to pieces in a similar way if they spoke anything but the truth" (*Times* 3 September 1801).

Chinese and Lascars" (162). After a gap of two years, Po-Ching mentions events in 1816, where regional papers reported that "the neighborhood of Ratcliffe Highway was thrown in great alarm on Thursday the 14th inst. by one of those riots which so frequently occur among the Chinese seamen, occupying the East India Company's barracks" (Po-Ching 291, *Cambridge* 22 November 1816, *Trewman's Exeter* 21 November 1816). Neither of the metropolitan dailies, *Times* and *Morning Chronicle*, contain an account of this particular riot in 1816.

This episodic coverage and recovery of Asian, and in particular, Chinese, life in London present enough facts to register, if not document, the rebelliousness with which Chinese sailors occupied metropolitan space. The patchiness of the archive revealed the nature of its presence, as spasmodic disturbances in the urban imaginary, a resistance expressed not only in irruptions, but in the disappearance of reportable action in between. In this relay of administrative bodies, metropolitan dailies and regional presses, an unpredictable intermittence is also its frequency, not only in the sense of a rate of repeated uprisings, but also as type of oscillatory signature for tuning into transmittable signals of dissent.

The challenge of assigning importance to early Asian unrest in the city also derives, I suggest, from the shifting terms to describe them, with "affray" used in the earlier reports or even, "fracas of a very serious nature" (1785, 1801, 1806) to "riots" in the later ones (1813, 1816). In the same way that intermittence indicates a type of temporality of insurgence, shifting labels point to the unstable process for adjudicating lawfulness of public assemblies, a process that these reports both participated in and influenced. Stevenson explains how terms for unlawful assembly codify offenses according to severity—with the most extreme being treason or "levying war against the King" (6). According to Stevenson, the common law designations of "unlawful assembly, rout, riot and affray" were all extant since the 17th century, having in

common number (three or more); the presence of intent or "joint design"; and the display of violence—defined as that which "[gives] any person of reasonable courage and firmness fear of a breach of peace" (6). The distinctions between these terms come down to intention—with the "rout" ("obsolete…by the eighteenth century") defined as "'moving towards' an execution of the common purpose" as opposed to "riots," the most common of offenses, where "three persons or more …assemble together of their own authority, with an intent mutually to assist one another against anyone who shall pose them in the execution of an enterprise of a private nature" (6). In contrast to these, the "affray was regarded from at least the 16th century as lying in the 'accidental' nature of the quarrel or fight" (6). Thus, we can see the term's usefulness in managing anxieties about sussing out singular intentions from a collective body: "the distinction between an affray and a riot rested on whether there was evidence of mutual intent, while the objective of the participants played a crucial role in determining whether treasonable actions had taken place" (8).

Yet as might be clear in the newspaper reports I outline above, these fine legal calibrations do not always transfer to the press. Again, Stevenson: "The term [affray] was in common use in eighteenth-century newspapers and periodicals to denote a disturbance, but with little regard to the precise legal meaning" (10). I see this flimsier usage demonstrating how legal codifications in fact generate an important flexibility for terminologies for urban unrest. In applying this to the reports above, I suggest that when denoting an action an "affray," a reporter partakes both of specificity of its legal definition and the generalizability of its adjacency to dangerous public offenses. Because the term "affray" already encompasses ambiguity, the intractable question of the intentions of an "impulsive" and "spontaneous" crowd activity can be bracketed. In this sense, "affray" is especially useful in the discursive history of representing

urban unrest, small-scale brawls in particular, its stretchiness transferring to the later more popular word, "riot." Affrays are accidents of atomized or incompletely cohering design, an "affray" and affray-like events float freely, detached from referents of common cause or grievance, of temporal surety, of a collectivized origin or explicit address. In its aptness for circulation, the use of the "affray" in the earlier reports, and also in reports about Chinese riots, benefits from, and contributes to a system of naming events of innocuous indeterminacy. Whatever these events are, they are not quite riots, and certainly not acts of treason. Under this capacious sign, the display of violence in the amassing of Chinese bodies is glimpsed through a lens both precise and indistinct, its purposefulness contained in categorizable ambivalence.

The Chinese Riot in London

As I have been laying out, reports of Chinese and Lascar riots in the city sit amid a larger archive of reports and scholarship that understand the political work of urban unrest in the city, and the fact of their absence as a category in traditional historiographies about London's popular uprising, I suggest now, might be explained by formal features within the reports themselves. How do conventions within the reports generate and launch the itinerary for evacuating Chinese unrest of political import in London even as they write them into the record?

Given the significance of number in the legal taxonomy of unlawful assemblies, it is not surprising to see numbers manifesting in riot reports in general: there were "16 or 17 ruffians" who attacked the King's coach *(GM* 195), "about forty" rioters were apprehended in the Irish-American brawl (*Times* 10 June 1806). Still, the tic of enumeration in reports about disorderly Chinese bodies in the press is especially ubiquitous in contrast to other available terms the other reporters used: "the desperate mob" *(AR* 195) "an immense crowd collected in St. James's park"

(*AR* 195), "a number of the Irish laborers" (*Times* 10 June 1806). In contrast, the Chinese and Lascars were introduced directly by figures: "about twenty-five Chinese ran out of their apartments.... the Lascars returned…where they assembled to the number of about 150….they amounted in all, to about 300…" (*Times* October 7 1806); "In King David's Fort there were about 500 Chinese in barracks belonging to the East India Company" (*MC* 30 September 1813); there "were indicted…about 300 of their countrymen, at present resident in the building at Ratcliffe highway erected for their accommodation" (*MC* 2 November 1813); "about a hundred of the friends of the party attacked" (*Cambridge* 22 November 1816). Significantly perhaps, the accumulation of numbers reflects the reports partaking in strategies of enumeration within a broader system of imperial management, a point Arjun Appadurai studies in his chapter "Number in the Colonial Imagination" in his book *Modernity At Large* (1996). Working in the British-Indian context, Appadurai analyzes the imperialist logics inaugurated by the British-administered census in India, showing how numbers worked to "unyoke" persons and land from their social-cultural relations, holding and transferring a glut of information about colonized peoples among the dispersed agents of the colonial state, inscribing in those relays "new kinds of self by [these] officially enforced labeling activities" (125)[37]. In this sense, one can see how quick estimates of Asian persons in the reports linked up with this larger enumerative strategy Appadurai outlines. As London-based examples of an accounting-response recognizable in imperialistic bureaucracies abroad, these numbers concretized and managed the growing presence of Chinese and Lascars in the city. For as Man-Cheong tells us, numbers of incoming Asian sailors in London rise from 538 in 1806 to 1336 by 1813 (170), an increase that parallels the increasing numbers housed or detained in the East India Company barracks, "'sometimes

[37] This is Appadurai's clarification of Ian Hacking's term, "dynamic nominalism" (125).

[upwards of] 1600 at Quarters'" (174), constructed for these sailors. Reading the body-counts of Chinese sailors in the reports in relation to these numbers suggest anxieties about multiplying encounters and proximities of Londoners with East Asian people.

In fact, the charged nature arising from increased cross-cultural contact can be read in the ways the reports pair what Appadurai has called "numeric glosses"[38] with specific names of supervisory persons, from Abraham Gole, the EIC barracks contractor, to "Mr. Markham, the magistrate of Shadwell-Office" (*Trewman's Exeter* 21 November 1816) or "John Clare, a watchman of the bounds where the house in which the Chinese live is situated" (*MC* 2 November 1813). I see the contrasts here between proper names and number evoking the structuring relations of urban cross-cultural social life—surveyor and the surveilled, the warden and the imprisoned, the counter and the counted—while also introducing a burgeoning strategy of managing racial difference, as Fisher and Man-Cheong study. One can imagine the names of managerial supervisors as establishing a specific type of relationship to otherness, bearing out a distinct kind of exclusion than the othering of city Jacobins, corrupt crimp house managers or rebellious Irish sailors, by representing the always present mediation of East Asian foreign daily life in the city. These managers formulate an otherness that encloses and estranges Chinese from even the East End hoi-polloi—suggesting that while similar forms of unrest might transpire across the city, these particular ones were always tethered to supervisory conditions that attend their occupation of urban space.

[38] Appadurai formulates this term: "Numerical glosses constituted a kind of metalanguage for colonial bureaucratic discourse within which more exotic understandings could be packaged, at a time when enumerating populations and controlling and reforming society had come together in Europe. These numerical glosses that appear as accompanying data for discursive descriptions and recommendations are best regarded as a normalizing frame for the stranger dis-cursive realities that the verbal portions of many colonial texts needed to construct" (126).

Another distinct feature of these reports are examples where the prose appears to strain to explain (and embellish) causes of violence within the trope of internecine conflict. Both Fisher and Man-Cheong have called attention to the ways such a pattern should be complicated in light of multiple sources and formations of tensions and solidarities within the Asian seafaring class. Man-Cheong especially reads the invocation of inter-ethnic conflict in the Angel Gardens riot as foreshadowing systems of racialized management in the barracks system which I will discuss in the next section. I hone in here now on reporters' specific representation of another internecine conflict that interestingly developed over time:

> Abraham Gola [sic], superintendent of natives of India, stated that in a place called King David's Fort there were about 500 Chinese in barracks belonging to the East India Company. Of these there are two sects, one called the Chinies and the other Chin Choo….The Chinese overcame the Chin-Choo by superiority of numbers….A Chinies being at play with a Chin Choo, they quarreled about 1s. 6d. which one had lost and refused to play. They renewed the contest on a subsequent day with knives. Too Lugar, a Chin-Choo (in the London Hospital) began the affray by calling to his sect to come and fight the Chinese, when a general battle ensued. (*MC* 30 September 1813)

In the 1813 event, the reporter described an unpaid gambling debt of 1s 6d as the ground zero of violence, then went on to elaborate that the underlying causes were sectarian differences between the supposed "Chenies" and "Chin-Chaos," a point an 1816 account further developed, now elaborated as a mixture of religious and "national" habits:

> It appears that the quarrel arose in consequence of some religious differences. A part of those men who are employed by the East India Company to navigate their

> ships to this country, adhere most strictly to their religious tenets and national habits, whilst others who are less scrupulous upon those points, become renegadoes, and enjoy themselves as inclination or passion may suggest. These latter are regarded by the former with great contempt, and in consequence, strong feelings of enmity subsist between them. On Thursday evening this feeling was manifested by some of the Ching Chow's or renegadoes assailing one of the true believers as he was making purchases in Ratcliffe Highway, with stones and other missiles. (*Trewman's Exeter* 21 November 1816, *Cambridge Journal* 21 November 1816)

By grounding local actions to unstable foreign source material, the reporters created expectations that capitalized on what I see as an energizing Orientalist contagion, so that the daily life of sailors (gambling, and in 1816, “making purchases at Ratcliffe Highway”) gains a dimension that paradoxically also defuses their presence as inhabitants of city space. The invocation of internecine difference cultivates interest while conveniently masking power relations, as Man-Cheong has pointed out in her reading of the 1806 riot:

> ...Authorities created a narrative of ethnic conflict while the sailors themselves enacted their own interpretation of ethnic alliances. To an important extent the sailors' interpretation challenged the narrative of difference and hierarchy the various authorities were promoting (175).

In this instance I review, the purported story of the Chenies (also spelled Chinies) versus Chin-Chaos (Chin-choos, Ching-chows) multiplied in the press in many ways, an explanatory thread that exacerbates the alien nature of the grievances. The 1816 reporters

even devise another term, a Hispanicized label of "renegadoes" who the reporter suggests "are less scrupulous…and enjoy themselves as inclination or passion may suggest."

Reporters and commentators continued to obsess about disentangling the differences between the Chine or Chenies versus the Chin-Choos, Chin-Chaos or Ching-chows, each mention becoming as an occasion for ever-more particular ethnographic self-clarifications as Yu Po-Ching tells us: an 1830 *Edinburgh Annual Register* writer explained that Ching Chows "referred to a district of Fokien province (291), while the *Parliamentary Review and Family Magazine* declared that the "Tsewen Choo (Chin Choo) [was] a trading place of considerable importance… in the neighborhood of Amoy" (Po-Ching 291). Po-Ching hypothesizes that based on extant information about Fujian and Cantonese rivalries in the era, the "Chenies" were likely from "Zhang Lin, a famous seaport in northern Guangzhou" (291).

Yet what is important to note, I suggest, is that this hermeneutic drive for correct ethnology bracketed Chinese sailors as participants in the political life of the city. If numbers reiterated an imaginary of imperial management, terms for ethnic differentiation signaled their status as objects of curiosity.[39] Both these moves untethered the events from the structural forces that circumscribed the daily life of the foreign subaltern sailor, from the ways they take part in forming London's cultural and political history.

Journalistic prose about Chinese affrays in London do not evoke Paris, nor even the othered space of East End in which they occur, but instead affect an imaginative and contextual

[39]This is in keeping with Appadurai's analysis of the colonial imagination: "My general argument is that exoticization and enumeration were complicated strands of a single colonial project" (114). Appadurai derives this line of thought from Edward Said: "[in discussing] the various ways the discourse of Orientalism created a vista of exoticism, strangeness, and difference, [Said] says that 'rhetorically speaking, Orientalism is absolutely anatomical and enumerative; to use its vocabulary is to engage in the particularizing and dividing of things Oriental into manageable parts'" (114). Appadurai glosses this saying, "the modern colonial state brings together the exoticizing vision of Orientalism with the familiarizing discourse of statistics. In the process, the body of the colonial subject is made simultaneously strange and docile" (133).

structure that relocates urban tensions to the Pacific, exotifying the sailors through naming elusive locales, or anatomizing them in London as countable masses in Gole's depot, Shadwell or Ratcliffe Highway. This is the means by which, as Ranajit Guha has explains, the official discourse imagines the subaltern as outside history, in this case, by rendering him unlocatable within the political geography of London itself. The discursive effects of these reports work to produce meaning for insurgent action in order to suppress it: "Causality was harnessed thus to counterinsurgency and the sense of history converted into an element of administrative concern" (Guha 3). Enumerative references and internecine differences both explain disturbances away yet also play a role in revealing the ways procedures of globalized imperial governance produce urban unrest in domestic space. In employing these tropes—a rhetorical habit of enumeration and the insistence on Lascar and Chinese enmity, or internecine Chinese animosity—the reports inscribe a problematic ungovernability unto the sailors, concealing the ways colonial and metropolitan governance structure problematic relations to space. As Man-Cheong writes,

> While the rationalization of management practices drove material conditions of overcrowding that could easily channel into ethnic conflict, [the affray] between Lascar and Chinese exemplifies how the deliberate exploitation of ethnically determined management methods created the very conflict authorities claimed was natural to different ethnicities. (175)

As Man-Cheong illuminates, state sponsored, and company-managed ships and housing are the conditions of possibility for the "affrays" to emerge and proliferate, settings whose content frame the affrays more fully as effectual micro-power struggles between Chinese and Lascar sailors and the state, and for me, marking their belonging to the city. Absent this framing,

the reports' formal tropes of number and causation explain away these locales of struggle, inventing an Othered outside where their violence can be safely attributed.

To work against their expulsion from London's political geography, I turn now to the facts of public violence in these reports to do otherwise. In the next section, I consider one other trope in these reports: extensive descriptions and narrations about Chinese weaponry, which I suggest signal the willful, even insurgent, re-appropriation of public space as territories for East Asian political belonging in the city.

What Weapons Say

Accounts of weapons themselves, how they were procured and deployed, and what they looked like, point most tellingly to what actual Asian sailors in the metropolis actually did—that is, perhaps obviously, they armed themselves:

> He [Abraham Gole] found [the Chinese and Lascars] in a state of open hostility, fighting one with another, with knives and implements of various descriptions. He immediately directed the gates to be shut to prevent the offenders escaping, when he sent and procured the assistance of several; police officers, on seeing whom approach, the contest in some measure subsided. Some of them were on the roof of the barracks throwing tiles on those below. The officers immediately proceeded to disarm them of their weapons which by this time they attempted to conceal. On searching their chests and hammocks, all their knives were taken away. One man, since dead, had his bowels ripped open; seven were carried to the London Hospital severely wounded, two of which are since dead. (*MC,* 30 September 1813)

In the above, the plot of rioting is closely intertwined with the plot of acquiring and concealing weapons. The phrase, "implements of various descriptions," interestingly names a lack of recognition that reveals a new feature of these reports, the estrangement of the reporter himself from the scene he was witnessing. The searching of the sailors' private possessions for weapons is another detail distinguishing these reports from others I have covered so far, a detail that speaks to the distinct supervisory conditions that produced and went on to police armed Chinese bodies.

When weapons were mentioned in other large-scale riots, reporters differently qualified the crowd's menacing intentions by situating the violence within a political framework.[40] To take another example from another important London uprising, the Gordon Riots of 1780, bludgeons and cutlasses gain meaning because of the presence of political targets:

> Others thought an adjournment at such a time would be more injurious to the dignity of the house than any other measure they could take; but what was to be done? Bludgeons terrified some and bayonets alarmed others; but it was the general opinion of the house to adjourn till tomorrow. (*MP* 7 June 1780)
>
> The mob of some thousands of whom were armed with poleaxes, cutlasses, bludgeons &c. now attacked several of the Peers, on their way to the house, whom they roughly treated, particularly Lord Sandwich, whose chariot they broke, and who was obliged to return to the Admiralty, having his face much cut with the broken glass. (*MP* 7June 1780)

[40] Rudé clarifies that violence in rioting pre-industrial crowds, from the rural unrest of Luddites and Captain Swing rioters to the urban unrest of the Gordon Riots of 1780, should be understood under the rubric of "natural justice," which does not authorize harm against persons, but sanctions instead actions like the burning of property, destruction of machinery, thievery and threats to the ruling class. The intention to display violence by destroying property was primary, Rudé explains, but not injuring persons (238).

The reporters narrated the mob's use of weapons here in relation to representatives of the state: they were tools for violence against Peers and "particularly Lord Sandwich." The violence coded by these weapons cohered the rioters via their opposition to officials, en route to spaces of law- and state-making.

In this sense, description of weaponry in the Chinese riot reports were more akin to the sailor's brawl I reviewed earlier, where weaponry signified the otherness of the rioters themselves:

> ...the Irishman, having got the worst of it, went away, and returned in the course of an hour (about five o'clock), with a strong reinforcement of his countrymen, armed with broom-sticks; bludgeons, pokers and various other sorts of weapons, which they brandished in the air, and, with violent imprecations, dared the Yankees, as they termed them, to the fight. (*Times* 10 June 1806)
>
> This was taken by the sons of St. Patrick for a challenge to a trial of skill with the shillelagh, and they instantly made a ferocious attack on the Americans, who defended themselves stoutly, but were defeated in the end. (*Times* 10 June 1806)

While the report marked the savagery of the foreign "Irish" via additional connotative signs of national difference—"sons of Patrick" or "the shillelagh"—it also provided legible contextual content:

> The success of the Irish made them quite outrageous; after the result of the battle was known, reinforcements were constantly arriving, who enlisted under the banners of Murdoch Sullivan, the reputed leader. They hoisted their hats on their weapons and vociferated loudly, "Liberty and Vinegar Hill forever!" (*Times* 10 June 1806)

Yet weapons brandished by Chinese sailors did not reference any at-hand social-political content. In a sense, they were wielded by actors displaced by and from the larger narrative of the nation state and imperial power, a dislocation that affixed distinct opacities on the display of their violence in the city. When Abraham Gole first acted to physically contain the outbreak of armed conflict within the depot, he performed a physical analogue to the journalistic cordoning-off of foreign sailors' violence from political import. What remained in both moves was a restructuring of the event into a scene of administrative breakdown (and repair) rather than an incipient moment of insurgency (and its erasure). The bloodiness indicated by "roof tiles" and "knives" indexed internecine vengefulness and uncivil savagery that did not ramify in the public discourse where fears of radicalism, struggles for independence or the claims of "free-born" Englishmen were being elaborated or forming. In all the other reports, redeeming qualifications held out hope for the rioting others' inclusion into the body politic: in the Gordon Riots report I quote above, the reporter denounced the "mob" in terms of rejection of the "the laws, and constitution of *their* country…[and appeals to] reason, justice and humanity," (*MP* 7 June 1780)[41] while in the report of the Irish-American sailor's brawl, the magistrate enjoined the Americans to modify their behavior so as "to meet the same respect and protection from the laws as British subjects." (*Times* 10 June 1806). For the Chinese, no such appeals to a shared framework of political life are conceived.

The reports' references to weapons wielded in public disturbance by the Chinese sailors disrupt contextual fabrications and elisions within reports of East Asian urban unrest. The

[41] The reporter wrote, "Mr. Burke made a very animated speech upon the alarming and dangerous proceedings of the populace. He was extremely severe against those who were capable of misleading the people to such violent outrages against the laws, and constitution of their country, as well as against reason, justice, and humanity" (*MP* 7 June 1780).

reports' distinct obsession with Chinese weaponry's scary materiality matter, not only in making the events narratable, but in marking them as key props in showing emergent political power, a point to which I will return. Unlike the sketchy details of Chinese sailors' origins that quarantined their stories to a peripheral geographic elsewhere, the plots and descriptions of their weapons introduced feelings of local peril which the report took up, for example, in this extended exposition of their origins:

> The witness was informed that a cutler on Tower-hill was employed by them to make instruments. He found his name to be Crammer, who acknowledged that he had recently sold to them to two sets of large knives, and received an order for a further supply, which his workmen were then executing. Witness[42] saw them; large knives with wooden handles, the blade about the size of a common cutlass; Mr. Crammer promised not to deliver them. (*Times* 30 September 1813, *MC,* 30 September 1813)

The storying of weapons here is accomplished by a network of characters that interacted in ways estimated crowd numbers and Asian sects cannot, discrete actions by actors which a micro-plot draws into necessary relation, a London cutler addressed by a metropolitan daily reporter as a panoptic "witness." In the meantime, the weapons between them "metonymically skid"[43] to reference the Chinese sailors, attaching their collective premeditation, improvisatory armament, and heightened responsiveness, to the scene and the unfolding drama of the event. The weapons,

[42] Here the reporter does not name a particular witness.

[43] The term "metonymic skid" comes from Roland Barthes's description of how meaning accumulates in the prose through a chain of signifiers: "Thus begins a process of nomination which is the essence of the reader's activity: to read is to struggle to name, to subject the sentences of the text to a semantic transformation….The connotator refers not so much to a name as to a synonymic complex whose common nucleus we sense even while the discourse is leading us toward other possibilities, toward other related signifieds: thus reading is absorbed in a kind of metonymic skid, each synonym adding to its neighbor some new trait, some new departure" (92).

I suggest, attest to an aggressive self-defense, especially given that a "second order" had already arrived, alarming "Witness" enough, it is implied, to intervene in their delivery.

When the 1813 riot returned to the *Chronicle's* attention in November, a description of the weapons themselves constituted the bulk of the reporting of the afterlife of the event:

> A very serious riot, and one attended, in several instances, with fatal consequences, had broken out, and continued for a number of days among the natives of China resident in this country which all the authority of those entrusted with the charge of them was unequal to restrain, until a number of them were cut and wounded in a dreadful manner by the tremendous weapons, which they were accustomed to use, and also by a sort of instrument which they fix, by means of a swivel, to their fingers, and with the other end, which is armed with small sharp pikes, wound and lacerate the faces of their antagonists. (*MC* 2 November 1813)

The description of these weapons here illuminates difficulties in representing what are, in effect, foreign objects, and calls attention to how the reports strained to manufacture content. Increasing specificity about the protean properties of a multi-part mysterious "instrument" or allusions to "swivels" and "pikes" attempt to familiarize an otherwise amorphous thing. Ultimately this disjointed description transforms the weapon into an unsettling Frankenstein-like object, confounding and disturbing the visualization process by ending with the wounds such weapons could cause.

In the 1816 report, modifications about weaponry again marked how description breaks an otherwise even catalog of recognizable objects:

> An alarm being immediately spread, about a hundred of the friends of the party attacked issued from the barracks, armed with boarding pikes, short swords, and

> other weapons, and bearing on their arms large shields, ingeniously constructed from the covers of hampers and other basket-work….(*Cambridge* 22 November 1816)

Here the armory was emptied, with pike and short sword accompanied by "ingeniously constructed" shields made from inoffensive baskets. In the scene, the reporter wrote into the view the Chinese sailors' flight from militarized domesticity by their militarizing of domestic material itself. The reporter's catalog and description Orientalized the present danger of the armed sailors as other. Yet, paradoxically in doing so, the presented details also announced the loudest evidence of their ability to show force and effect will in space.

These journalistic accounts of armaments encumber the prose, but in doing so, center the ways weapons are unique artifacts charged with local and transcultural meaning as weapons anthropologist Andy Mills has illuminated in his study of the "typological materiality" of offensive weapons.[44] Weapons, for Mills, accumulate generalizable meanings of aggression, predation or status because they launch an indexical itinerary of meaning-making within societies. He cites Charles Peirce's taxonomy of signs for whom "'indexical signs' have causal or indicative relationships with the things they signify—smoke [as] an indexical sign of fire, or a footprint of the foot that made it" (144). Mills explains that Peirce's definition of the index is important in understanding how cultural meanings of weapons inhere closely in their self-evident materiality, a materiality that is haunted by violence that has, or could happen, to someone:

> The axe that fells a tree is a tool, while the axe that fells an animal is a weapon; the presence of a sentient victim distinguishes weapons from other tools. Every

[44] Mills' essay explains that "relations of symmetry" (134) exist among "sentient weapons" (133) in historically separate contexts, for example, in his comparative analysis of such diverse arms as a medieval Irish "burning spear" (137) to a nineteenth century Malaysian *kris*.

> weapon is therefore an indexical sign for its wound-causing purpose and (as surely as a key implies a lock) is surrounded by vacant positions of victim at all times, obliging us to identify who and where those potential victims are (or were). (144)

The presence of arms activates this sequence of interpretation, which in turn contributes to the menacing power of possessing weapons. They are, as Mills describes, "biographically 'sticky' objects… [possessing] a causal bridge across space-time to [violent] events…[investing them] with a uniquely affective semiotic load" (143). For Mills, this closely entangled and continually activated relation between object and signification thus enable substantial "semiotic loads" (143) to be transacted in disconnected occasions, not only in the ways they are wielded in combat, for example, but in static, but no less powerful, actions of acquiring, concealing or being described as possessing them.

In this way, references to weapons can say more palpably perhaps that life in and around these barracks, built adjacent to Ratcliffe Highway, in the East End of the city, was dangerous, and dangerous differently, for Chinese sailors. Urban imperial spaces of racial management unevenly distributed survival, and Chinese sailors' obvious and demonstrable self-armament suggests his consciousness of violence as all-pervasive in the geopolitical workings of empire of which he is a part. Arms implied an understanding that space is occupiable only by the consent of, or momentary wresting away of, power. References to weapons can also be read as the revelatory blind spots of reporting, where clumsy investment in documenting what was witnessed actually bears witness, perhaps, to what reports do not or cannot, document—willful, self-protective acts replete with value of self and life, vigilant and hostile to present arrangements of habitation and work that imperialism devises.

This actively antagonistic Chinese sailor counters the trope of him as an unproductive opium-addled loiterer paralyzed in endless and un-agentic waiting in the East End. In stressing this acquisition of arms, one reverses the assumption of Chinese (and Lascar) sailors' capitulation to the catastrophe of their plight, an impression most insistently signified by reports of body counts of foreign sailors found dead by neglect or starvation:

> …Of their being, whether well or ill, alike necessitated to lie on bare and damp floors in this country, without covering, and even during the winter season, when six, eight, and ten, night after night, have been found dead…. (*Times*, 9 December 1814)
>
> …a considerable number...have been left to wander about the streets...and even exposed to death, as in the recent instances of a West Indian or an African, who was one morning found dead in one of the streets at Poplar…. (*Times*, 9 December 1814)
>
> …the instance of John Dennis...after wandering about for weeks....at last dropped and lay speechless…where he was seen four days afterwards...lying in his own filth on the bare floor…as though dead, and who eventually fell a sacrifice to hunger and nakedness. (*Times*, 9 December 1814)

The above is taken from the memorandum published in the *Times* by the Society for the Protection of Asiatic Sailors, one of the first groups organized to aid foreign sailors. Their enumerations of the class's victimhood run counter to the reports of active violence in descriptions of weapons. Couched in terms of redress and aid, the memorandum nonetheless betrays a violence of its own, in the disturbing sense of an imperialist gaze masked as a type of

distorted documentary witness, where brutality is enacted in the ensconced privilege to repetitively mark, discover, or happen upon, metropolitan death.

This is why accounts of weapons matter. In reading them obliquely, via Mr. Crammer's promise to not deliver the rest of the knives, for example, or via the detail of the belated search and removal of "all the knives" from "sailor's chests and hammocks" (*MC* 30 September 1813, *Times* 30 September 1813), the reports no longer become grist for the mill for either taking down or praising the East India Company for their bureaucracy. Instead, we can read the ways these sailors saw the space in which they live, their literal places of rest and the domestic spaces of London itself, as territories for the defense and assertion of life. When the 1806 Angel Gardens rioters' "armories [were] emptied, they were obliged to forage for arms," turning to the very adjacent material of the London homes to do so. The report's astonishment at their resorting "to gardens" and "household furniture" registered the "official mind struggling" to assimilate what the sailors already daily lived—the always deadly proposition of being domiciled in imperialized space as a foreign colonized body.

> Four Lascars, however had a narrow escape, as we understand they had cords around their necks, and were just about to be turned off from a bedstead, when they were rescued by a party of seamen. (*Times* 7 October 1806)

The Angel Gardens riot reporter let the reader glimpse the horrific misuse of the bedstead, an animated object-participant in the narrative, which he endowed at the end with the charge of the macabre. That the public hanging was barely averted only intensified the lingering dread that manifested in its almost coming to pass, an uncanny sense that violence might always repose in bedstead, hammock and barren barrack floor.

Descriptions of weaponry make such recognitions possible because of their Frankensteinian figurality. By this I mean they are a multipart vehicle for a variety of tenors: they point outward towards historical processes and their individual possessors, and inward, to an excess of materiality as metonymic and anthropomorphic objects. They are metonyms of that "intention" so problematically sought out by the apparatus of legal taxonomies, obscured by bureaucratic muteness of number or Orientalist over-writing. They are anthropomorphic in their biographic figuration, expanding the temporal lines of indexicality by harkening back to deeds done, and proleptically casting forward to deeds to come. Against the dead-end of their appearance in newsprint, the materiality of knife, shield or four-post-bed presents something akin to what Bruno Latour calls the "delegation" of signification, wherein objects uniquely change the form of expression itself, becoming the durable "stand-ins" for absent enunciators (189).[45] Exceeding even their mediation into print, these weapons possessed by the sailors "enabled, afforded, authorized" (Latour 182) the enduring expression of otherwise short-lived and long gone enunciations of rage and tumult.

While these reports model a way for misreading public disturbances of Chinese sailors in London, their armed presence nevertheless stands out in sharp relief, attesting, I argue, to a sense of collective grievance against the arrangements of life, work and survival that attach to their occupation of city space. In this final section, I reinsert these weapons into the spatial-material context documented by historians of Asian presence in the city, expanding on their work to show how the deployment of violence can understood as responses to the disordering of sailors' own

[45] I invoke Bruno Latour's "A Collective of Humans and Nonhumans" in his *Pandora's Hope* here in part because of his use of a weapon to illustrate his point about intertwined agencies between human and non-human, in his case, the gun as it is conceptualized in the conflicting slogans, "Guns kill people" vs. "Guns don't kill people; *people* kill people" (176). In anatomizing the entangled agencies represented in gun and human in gun-control debates, Latour explains the ways the coupling of object and its user, as two distinct actors, engender a sequence of various mediations that directly transform the goals, composition and meanings of any particular action (176-180).

property relations in city space. I draw especially in this last section from their study of East India Company's contracting of housing to show how their accounts of the domestic affairs of Chinese seafarers in the city can be read further as a series of maneuvers effecting (and resisting) dispossession.

V. An Englishman's House is His Castle

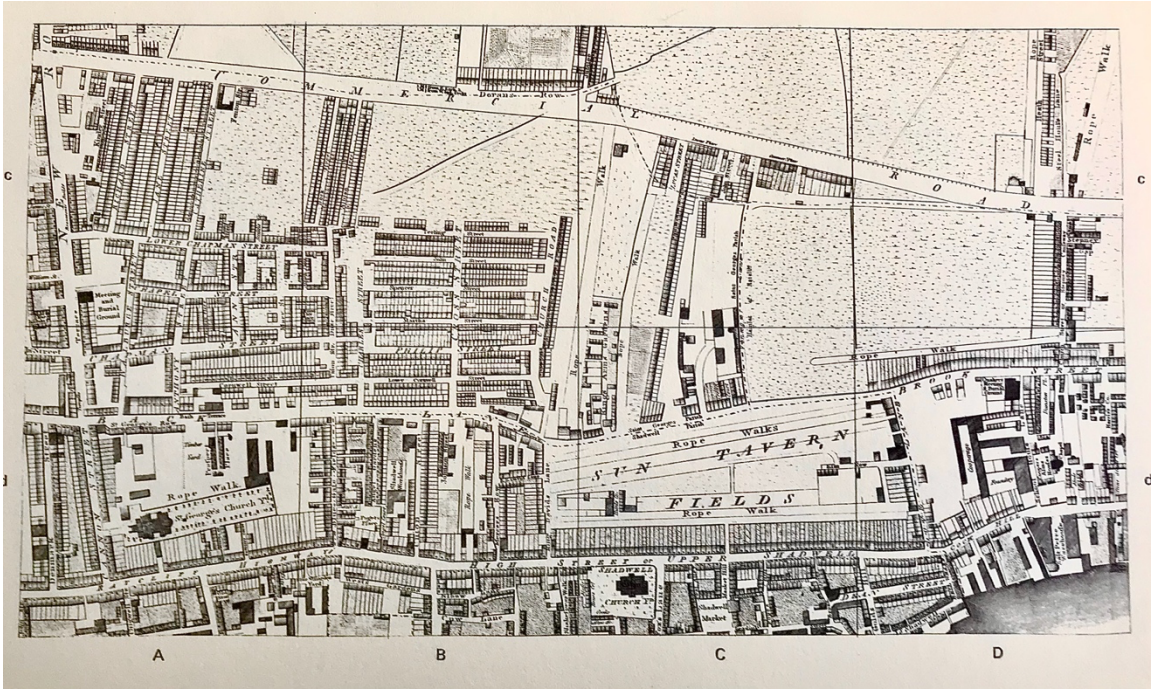

Fig. 2. Shadwell district, from the 1813 *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster* by Richard Horwood (Horwood 17)

Angel Gardens, pictured above in the third edition of Richard Horwood's 1813 map of London (see fig. 2), seems an incongruous location for English castles. A narrow square, in between Commercial Road and Ratcliffe Highway, the space is hardly evocative of English domesticity rendered up by the aphorism, "Englishman's home is his castle." In her re-examination of nineteenth-century London domesticity in *Apartment Stories* (1999), Sharon

Marcus discusses this saying as coding the idealization of housing as politically meaningful property. Marcus tells us that London's housing landscape should be understood in fact by the aphorism's failure to materialize as a reality for most nineteenth-century London dwellers. The bulk of the city's land, Marcus recounts, was held by a few freeholders, making the right to "absolute, fixed and permanent" possession unavailable, in essence, to a majority of Londoners. She shows that in this contradictory situation, the unrealized ideal of the house took on a powerful absent presence—an imagined spatial nexus for notions of property, freedom and Englishness. She explains how this imaginary drove discourses decrying the ways multiple-occupancy lodging houses blighted the city, with legal reformers calling for the abolishment of leasehold systems, or architecture commentators touting values that residential design should enshrine, as in English architect William White does here:

> A system which gives to each family not only the superficial area of a plot of land and also the whole cube of space above it, reaching, were it possible, to the nearest heaven must be the right system. Anyone… will freely admit advantages of a system that grants to the head of the household that partly poetical license of breathing his native air on his own household. (84)

In the above, Marcus quotes White's praise of Parisian housing as paradoxically affecting English values—privacy, autonomy, individuality—principles destroyed by the London practice of subdividing single-family residences into popular forms of multiple-occupancy lodging houses. Marcus comments on White to explain how private space, expressed across vertical and horizontal planes, expresses a particular form of membership to the nation, writing:

> Because that cube of space also linked the family's male "head of household" to the stuff of the nation by granting him unobstructed access to "native air," that

> empty space simultaneously defined his membership in the nation and demarcated his separation from the other members of that nation. White articulated here what we will see to be a persistent topos: England as a nation whose collective identity consisted in the secure isolation of its members from one another (84).

Marcus's point is suggestive to me of the ways the Englishman's home might be an analog to the free-born Englishman, un-subjugated, in this case, because he is sheltered by his own roof and enveloped by the air of liberty—the home a literal conduit to the nation itself.

Marcus recounts that the sentiment, that an Englishman's home is his castle, has its genesis in the 17th century, where it shifted in meaning from describing an "enjoyment of political liberties (keeping authorities out)" to its nineteenth century usage connoting an "engrossment in an impregnable space (keeping themselves in)" (91)**.** She shows how the persistence of its invocation, in multiple discourses across the centuries, points to the saying's meaningfulness in linking urban domestic spaces with a feudal past, coding the castle's temporality (as the "persistence of the past" or the "timelessness…[of] ideologies") onto the spaces of the home. In this sense then, it is no longer surprising at least, that the aphorism was invoked in reporting incursions by non-English sailors upon English residences in Angel Gardens. The startling spectacle of the sailors rioting on English soil was alarming because of its adjacency to English home accompanied by the material destruction of English houses themselves. More importantly for me is the manner in which the "double possessive" (93) of the saying, as Marcus has formulated, calls to mind the reverse state of unremitting dispossession embodied by the sailors' situation in London.

Locke, Property & Political Belonging

A closer examination of the sailors' deprivation discloses a political geography of the East of East End where relentless exclusion is intermingled with constant management. Within an already marginalized urban maritime zone, where various classes vied for work, survival and political recognition, historians show how Chinese sailors uneasily navigated a terrain of both callous negligence and hyper-supervision of daily life. This terrain is the unstable ground from which, I argue, Chinese sailors could make claims for political belonging. A brief review of John Locke thoughts on property and political power in the *Second Treatise* is salient here:

> …Because no *Political Society* can be, nor subsist, without having in itself the Power to preserve the Property, and in order thereunto, punish the Offences of all those of that Society; there, and there only is *Political Society*, where everyone of the members hath quitted this natural power, resign'd it up into the hands of the Community in all cases that exclude him not from appealing for Protection to the Law established by it. (324)

In the above, Locke demarcates the space, i.e., "there, and there only," of political society as the space where rights to property are stabilized by a common relinquishment of individuals' rights to defend them. Later expressed in Max Weber's formulation as the state's "monopoly on legitimate violence," political power is manifest in space by various geographies of force.[46] Weber shows that even while state violence might not take direct form, it is nonetheless ever

[46] In "The Profession and Vocation of Politics" Weber writes, "In the last analysis the modern state can only be defined sociologically in terms of a specific *means* which is peculiar to the state, as it is to all other political associations, namely physical violence" (310). He elaborates further, "….A state is that human community which (successfully) lays claim to the *monopoly of legitimate physical violence* within a certain territory, this 'territory' being another of the defining characteristics of the state….the right to use physical violence is attributed to any and all other associations or individuals only to the extent that the *state* for its part permits this to happen. The state is held to be the sole source of the 'right' to use violence" (311).

operative, exercised continually and comprehensively in the state's organization and regulation of life, its punishment of crimes against the life and property of its citizens.

To return to Locke, the sense of being outside political geography is thus also mapped onto this intimate link between property and violence:

> …. It is easie to discern, who are, and who are not, in *Political Society* together. Those who are united into one Body, and have a common establish'd Law and Judicature to appeal to, with Authority to decide Controversies between them, and punish Offenders, *are in Civil Society* one with another: but those who have no such common Appeal, I mean on Earth, are still in the state of Nature, each being, where there is no other, Judge for himself, and Executioner…. (324)

In Locke's estimation, outsideness is in fact to be "Judge for [oneself], and Executioner," to entitle oneself to preserve and protect life and property through a rogue form of violence. In this way, irruptions of London-Chinese urban disorder can be made legible as events in a story about the East of East End as a space of anti-imperial politics. As Chinese rioters were both adrift and enclosed in an environment of imperial force, they were both hemmed in and excluded by that force. Thus, even the dispossession of meager gambling winnings can be seen as demonstrating, or even activating, the experience of invisibility, or non-inclusion within civil society. In this sense, self-armament shows their comprehension, even contestation of, forms of political domination to which they are asked to submit, to resist being absolutely ruled by a common law that nevertheless excludes them from common appeal.[47]

[47] This both foreshadows and is distinct from the structure of civic participation Baucom interprets in his reading of urban riot in Rushdie's novel: "The collective outrage [of the crowd] bespeaks not only anger before an act of police violence but a desire of those black Britons who take to the street to protest…that they be recognized before the law as legitimate inhabitants of the national community, that they be invested with the juridical protections attaching to English civic identity, that their bodies be granted the rights of inviolability which are the privileges of the English body when in the custody of the English state. The riot, in this reading, emerges as an expression of a migrant

The Barracks &the Geography of Dispossession

Such exclusion from political power is ultimately what can make the Chinese sailors' unruly occupation of London space politically legible. I now turn to how historians in fact show us, how barracks space, as state-sponsored housing for the Chinese and Lascars, reveals the story of exploitative labor conditions, imperial expansion and growing discourses of racial difference. Such conditions, I suggest, work to detach Chinese and Lascar sailors' property rights from their residence on London soil.

Historians tells us that upon arrival in London, Chinese and Lascar seafarers proved a burden to the Company, who were legally liable for their welfare while having no economic incentive to do so. They document how the representation of these sailors as gambling, loitering and vicious both produced, and were produced by, the Company's struggle to provide homes for their unwanted wards in London space. Fisher explains that in wanting to maintain their charter while simultaneously limiting responsibilities proceeding from it, the Company devised various instruments and bureaucracies to pursue their aims (Fisher 203-211). In the East End, this meant primarily contracting out the care of Chinese and Lascar sailors to overseers and medical supervisors, most notably in the establishment of the barracks in Shadwell, built and administered by Abraham Gole (Fisher 150-162).

Also known as "Gole's depot," these barracks were the final and most systematized form of housing the Company supported. Established in 1802, Gole ran the depot till 1819, passing management onto his son (also Abraham) who would run the place till the end of the Company's

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politics of emplacement, as an insistence that black Britons must be recognized to occupy spaces within the islands towns and cities and a legitimate place within the geography of citizenship" (213). In my reading, riots signify instead an expression of legitimate violence re-appropriated from the state to defend property rights.

charter in 1834 (Fisher 151). Man-Cheong in particular studies how mass-housing "military-style barracks" concentrated the sailors in "mixed housing [that] … imposed a level of mass care that, even if not absolutely brutal, mitigated systematically against whatever humanity localized conditions allowed" (174). She argues that the built form of the barracks represented an important shift in the Company's practice of assigning care to independent contractors who ran small scale boarding houses, to a more disciplinary approach of systematic mass-housing. To cite an example in Fisher:

> A tall compound wall surrounded the depot separating the seamen within from the surrounding neighborhood. A locking gate enabled Gole's staff to exercise some control over entry and egress…At times when fights erupted within the depot, Gole ordered the gates closed to prevent it from spreading into the surrounding community. Every night at 11 (the legal public house closing time) Gole sent his men to collect [the sailors]. He then locked the compound gate, excluding the rest (158).

Fisher recounts that thereafter, the gates would only open after hours if police demanded that Gole admit any Asian sailors they themselves picked up during their rounds (158). We can imagine here that belonging to the barracks simultaneously meant not belonging to the city itself, a point to which I will return.

Historians also recount that Gole's provisions of food and clothing, while enabling the seafarers' survival, also ensured their dependence. Fisher explains that from a managerial standpoint, these provisions only mattered as the means to create profit for Gole, whose interests were in suppressing expenditures from the fixed amount per capita he received (1 shilling 6 pence for board, lodging and 2 pounds of tobacco per man) (153). Also, Fisher tells us that these

provisions were clearly not to be the property of the seafarers themselves, instead, they were to be an extension of specifically sustaining life in the barracks (153-4). This is made clear for example when Gole attempted to negotiate for more funds from Parliament:

> As prices rose, he requested increases in this rate for example repeatedly in June 1813. The directors responded by rhetorically asking how much was paid by the government for each prisoner of war: less than half what Gole received. Consequently, by comparing the treatment of Lascars to war prisoners, they justified their rejection of his requests. Gole therefore apparently reduced the quality of food he provided. (Fisher 153)

One can imagine that in rhetorically linking the seafarers to prisoners of war, the state proposes a hypothetical equivalence between the sailors and prisoners of war, which not only, as Fisher explains, "justified their rejection of [Gole's] requests" (153), but also importantly detaches Asian seafarers in their eyes from full rights to life, freedom and property. Provisions of food and clothing in this sense expresses the state's biopolitical power, augmented by the ways Asian sailors could not access alternative sources of income in the city. For example, pursuing dockside work that might have been suitable resulted in resentments, even riots, by London laborers (Fisher 155, 163).[48] This utter lack of economic liberty in turn produced the tropes of idleness, vagrancy and unproductivity that would become familiar in cultural discourses about them as a class:

> It was thought a good measure to reduce the likelihood of riots if the Chinese sailors had something to do while they stayed in London. Docker proposed that if

[48] Fisher writes: "With no duties (or wages) during their months in London, Asian seamen took jobs that threatened local workers at a time of great economic hardship in Britain. Irish 'lumpers' (stevedores) fought street battles against Chinese seamen unloading their ships in July 1813 and against Indian Lascars in August" (163).

> any method could be devised to employ Asian seamen….it would be very beneficial to their behavior and constitution….he reiterated that the 'idle, inactive, debauched lives the men lead immediately on coming on shore 'had proved deadly'. He therefore built a rope-works at the depot that would keep them productively active. This experiment in make-work failed since the [the sailors] showed no interest in it without pay; Docker also concluded they had proved constitutionally inadequate for ropemaking. (Fisher 155)

We can perhaps surmise also that offering work without pay (and its unsurprising refusal) constitutes a bizarrely logical spatial program for laborers residing in a place cut off for months from the space-time of his work. As a holding tank for temporarily unproductive labor, barracks structured forms of alienation for their inhabitants—separating Chinese and Lascar sailors from the city, from productivity, from control over personhood. This suggests to me why the seafarers' common infractions in the barracks were in effect, recurring attempts to acquire property—for example Fisher recounts that barracks managers accused sailors of "immediately [pawning]" the very "salable commodities" of bedding and clothing (154) or, in the case of the Chinese, a preference to indulge in gambling (Fisher 173).

Historians also document how in addition to seafarers' movement of property off barracks, sailors often left the premises outright. Seed recounts that the sailors took advantage of loose enforcement of the depot's boundaries and sought domestic arrangements elsewhere:

> With a handful of English staff there was a little control over the actions of hundreds of seamen, free to come and go as he chose during daylight hours, bored and idle for weeks on end…the men were "expected to return at a particular hour," but there was no power to make them do so….They were also free to sleep

> elsewhere on any night they chose. And sometimes they did. When the chimneys collapsed in the middle of the night on top of two houses in Rosemary Lane in Wapping—houses that were let out as rooms for seamen "and a great number of women of the town"—a number of Lascars and other foreign seamen were among the dead and injured. (Seed 46)

As Fisher comments, this attitude is less a sign of the Company's respect for seafarers' autonomy, than the barracks contractors' confidence in the unappealing alternatives of vagrancy elsewhere: "The directors rather relied on the shelter's food, clothing, and camaraderie to attract and hold Lascars" (153). Still, as Seed's example shows, sailors did in fact pursue the alternatives—patronizing brothels, taking up residence in more informal lodgings, or joining the vagrant populations of the East End.

Given the ways the barracks worked to deprive the Chinese sailors of liberty and property while maintaining bare life, the sailors' claims to civil society were thus rendered extremely ambiguous. As Fisher documents, Parliament, the Company and the contractors engaged in intractable debates over their governance. In addition, historians tell us that internal figures of authority, like the native leaders of the crews (*serangs),* also disciplined the sailors within the depot. Taken together, I suggest that these agents drew legitimacy for their rule by invoking power relations endemic to the ship:

> The Shadwell depot was in some respects, a space outside of the jurisdiction of British law. Though physically in London, these Asian seamen were still, in the eyes of the EI Company and its agents, on board ship and in effect, excluded from the protection of the laws of England (Seed 45).

To this point, Fisher recounts how the interior world of the depot reflected life aboard the ships, with sailors from the same ship grouped to occupy the same room or formed into cooking and dining crews (159). He adds that contractors were actually keen to disavow close authority over the sailors:

> [Gole] maintained that the *serangs* should be allowed to continue to discipline the Lascars since this was the only source of order and security extant within the depot, where British law could not and should not run. (Fisher 166)

This was, as Fisher explains, because contractors sought to displace blame leveled at their management by growing criticism from social and evangelical reformers:

> He [Docker, the contracting surgeon] asserted that these reformers mainly threatened the necessary authority of *serangs*, not that of the Company, Gole, or himself. He maintained that the *serangs* should be allowed to continue to discipline the Lascars since this was the only source of order and security extant within the depot, where British law could nor and should not run. 165

While the *serang*-system applies as a specific form of governance for Lascar sailors, the example shows how the depot maintained its status as "outside" London.[49] By abandoning the sailors to

[49] As part of Man-Cheong's larger argument about how racialization strategies were used to control mixed Asian crews, she provides context for the *serang*-system in distinguishing between Lascar and Chinese hiring practices: "As …Fisher's research has documented, Lascar sailors recruited by a recruiter (*ghat serang*) from South Asian and other ports were always hired on to the ship as a 'labor gang'….Chinese, by contrast, were hired on as individuals.…Increasingly from the 1810s there were two Chinese boatswains who would supervise the men on board ship but, unlike the authority of the Lascar serangs, not on land, as the pay books make clear. Chinese individuals could sign their names or merely make a cross to show they had received wages, while the Lascar *serang* continued his authority on land by collecting and distributing the men's wages, and disciplining his men…By the later 1810s it was not unusual for the Chinese increasingly to be listed as a block of names under a single entry, with the terms being the same for them all as the Lascars were, suggesting that they too were moving towards being treated more like a Lascar labor gang" (170). Man-Cheong argues however that "while such differences in hiring conditions might or might not have had an impact on relations between the two groups when both served together on any ship, the treatment by ships' officers of mixed Lascar and Chinese crews could exacerbate any incipient ethnic suspicions" (170). In some ways, this is another expression of the practice of disavowing or masking governance in managing foreign sailors in the Company's employ.

their own devices whenever possible, the Company extended ways the barracks could, when convenient, signify a non-English space by both empowering and Orientalizing their mode of governance.

For as Fisher explains, the Company was eager to limit their responsibilities. The barracks were not just spatial projections of EIC ships on London, but, as Fisher shows us, a geographic metonym for the territories under the Company's charter:

> Parliament specified the range of people for whom the Company was legally responsible and also excluded those people from the category British…. In 1814, Parliament specifically named its directors as 'trustees for the *Asiatic* sailors, *Lascars* and Natives' from all territories covered in its charter. (Fisher 203)

Fisher explains that this ballooned the barracks' liability, for as the Company solicitor would reiterate:

> … [The] charter covered all lands from South Africa east to the Pacific…[thus] they would have to accept legal responsibility in Britain for 'natives' of all those places….Gole [was directed] to accept financial liability for "all Black Men, navigating ships from India, whether natives of India or not," if they were in distress. (Fisher 203)

As Fisher recounts, as the main location for state-sponsored housing for "all people of Colour" in "distress" (205) in the city, the barracks would embroil Parliament, the Company and the contractors in debates over adjudicating identity of who belonged to the space and who did not, with the Company resorting to ever-more systematic instruments for categorizing persons in order to both constrict its London-based liability and "purify" its upper ranks of foreign employees (202-211). Thus, the Company conserved and liberalized the category of Britishness

when convenient. Fisher illustrates this point with multiple examples, two of which I will cite here:

> Two…Africans were expelled from Gole's depot, on the grounds that they came to Britain…as British sailors (204)
>
> …No person whether a Native of Asia, the West Indies, America, or Africa, shall be eligible for employment (in the Civil, Military, Marine Service of the Company), whose color should appear exceptionable….(Fisher 205)

In the first, Fisher explains "the directors hoped to pass onto other bodies the financial burden for some of the indigent people assigned to it by Parliament" (204) by restricting admission to the barracks, later requiring claimants to "apply to their recently created Lascar Committee," who would subject each claimant to "visual and oral examinations" (205-6). In the second example, Fisher explains "…they also continued to determine whom they wanted to exclude from Company employment as officials or officers, based on visual and biological criteria" (205).

Thus, if it could reduce liability, the Company and their agents disavowed their own authority. When the barracks came under attack by evangelical social reformers as I mentioned above, the Company wrote to Parliament that their interference threatened the ecosystem of rule particular to the space:

> Evils…arise out of the impossibility in this free country of confining those persons within the prescribed limits…of preventing their intercourse with the dregs of society…and we are compelled to notice that insubordination of late much increased by the injudicious though well-meant interference of the Society for the Protection of Asiatic Sailors. (Fisher 169)

In this example, I highlight that the Company importantly names the problem of governance as the "impossibility" of ruling unfree subjects within the "free" space of England. Freedom, in this sense, is the block to the kind of governance the Company imagined as appropriate to Chinese sailors in London.

Bringing Down the House

In mapping locations of struggle unmarked by the prevailing political geography of London, this chapter shows how Chinese affrays dramatize unstable relations that connect space to property rights and political belonging in the city. Nested within the larger spatial complex of an othered East End, these locales of specifically East Asian urban violence are inextricable from the spatial politics structuring boarding houses, ships, and the host of interstitial micro-zones of unregulated inhabitation for Asian sailors: brothels, gambling dens, licensed and unlicensed lodging-houses, the opium den. Despite being on British soil, the network of spaces, with the barracks as exemplar, reproduced the labor of sailors while simultaneously stripping away their claim to property, privacy, autonomy. In the case of the barracks, the exchange for provisions of food, clothing and shelter, the state, through its agents, exacted a systematic construction of utter dependence. It did so by making destitution the ground for habitation—an impoverishment engendered by Company rule, maintained by the postponement or deprivation of wages and prohibitions from employment, made degrading by the daily imposition of a bureaucratized life. At bottom, this type of privation alienated the Chinese and other Asian sailors from the polis, an operative violation of their right to have, accumulate or sell or spend, untethering their occupation of city space from the type of possessive selfhood that is the zero degree for political recognition.

Thus, sailors continually resorted to tactics to recognize these ongoing refusals of belonging. In this sense, procuring arms, hiding them, then wielding them in riotous activity, onto streets and the sacred domestic spaces of the Englishman's castle, constitute a repertoire of disruptive actions directly related to being managed by and simultaneously denied claim to political power. For what the barracks instituted were systems for evacuating political claim itself. They were the means to clear the sailors off the political map by producing a structure where they could occupy London space without the means to practice ownership within it.

In one sense, the Chinese affrays are reverse performances of such arrangements, visiting the dispossessive violence of the barracks unto the English castle itself, by inscribing their own dissolved privacies upon English homes. In another sense, these affrays can be seen also, or instead, as self-assemblies of incipient authority. In this way, the Chinese sailors did more than mark a space outside the city's political geography, but instead made visible alternate political formations on temporary territory—a riotous state unto themselves.

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Chapter Three

Shanghai's London: A British Racecourse and the Extraterritorial Imaginary

Fig. 1 "Horse Racing" (*Dianshizhai huabao*)

Caption Translation: Westerners organize Spring and Autumn racing carnivals, each of three days duration. They offer a large sum of money as a prize, which the fastest horse wins. The course is circled by three concentric fences. During the race, the jockeys wear clothes of satin, and the horses have reins of gold. They all enter the enclosure and hold their horses' reins side by side. When the red flag comes down, they all set off flying like the wind. On the edge of the course stands a pavilion, which the Westerners mount to observe the race. People on all sides applaud the winner. To the jockeys, this is the great joy of their lives. The Chinese

> onlookers who surround the place like a wall do not care who wins and who loses, but their excitement is even greater than that of the jockeys. ("Shanghai's Lens on the New(s) II)[50]

Within the first volume issues of *Dianshizai huabao* (1884), literally the "Illustrated News of the Dianshizhai Lithographic Studio" or *Dianshizai Pictorial* for short—a British-owned, Chinese-language periodical published in Shanghai from 1884-1895—is a lithographed illustration by a Chinese graphic artist of the Shanghai racecourse. There are two jockeys riding off to the left (off the page), the ostensible objects of a racecourse's collective gaze. They take a moment to pick out. A European couple on a carriage to the right are a mobile island unto themselves, a type of ship in the sea of Chinese spectators massed in the foreground. There is another spectating crowd, an un-illustrated Western body—for which carriage and pair constitute a synecdochic assemblage. This referent manifests as text instead:

> On the edge of the course stands a pavilion, which the Westerners mount to observe the race.

We are left to imagine what they look like beyond the pale of the field. In the meantime, the illustration orients us to press against the fence at image's edge, perhaps jostled by the rickshaws and courtesans and Chinese spectators who buzz with energy described thus:

> The Chinese onlookers who surround the place like a wall do not care who wins and who loses, but their excitement is even greater than that of the jockeys.

[50] The image is part of the visual gallery, "Shanghai's Lens on the New(s) II," with images courtesy of the Yale Visual Resources. The gallery is housed within the *MIT Visualizing Cultures* project and is introduced by Peter C. Perdue. The caption for this image is translated by Paul Vierthaler and revised by Peter C. Perdue.

It is arguable that this "wall" forms what is most striking in the image—that is simply, space. Space, emptied, centered, iterated visually, as if the illustrator has thrown a thrown a pebble onto our field (of vision), imaged in concentric circles radiating outward until it forms a rim with crowd and page.

As historians have argued, the Shanghai racecourse above marks an ostensible Western space, both in these first pages of the *Dianshizhai*, and within the treaty port itself.[51] In this way, it is also a circle within a circle, a space expressive of the uncanny enclosures wrought by "extraterritoriality," the legal extension of a foreign sovereignty within another state's borders, where enactments of external jurisdiction dissolve the coherence between a state's political edges with its geographic ones. By drawing together multiple histories of this locale within treaty port space, I explore how the *Dianshizhai's* image cues a reading of the racecourse as a quintessential site where extraterritoriality repurposes metropolitan leisure and sociality in one city, London, to contain the bizarre spatial politics of another, Shanghai. By offering a transurban reading of the racecourse form, I show how the extraordinariness of occupation can in fact be traced in the production of what I see as an extraterritorial ordinary.

British racecourses, historians tell us, evolved from sites of aristocratic patronage, staging grounds for the "sport of Kings" (Walton 488), where paternalistic relations shore up the

[51] This chapter's focus on this locale is indebted to the *MIT Visualizing Cultures* project for first introducing me to this image, from the units on the *Dianshizai Pictorial*, "Shanghai's Len's on the New(s) I" by Jeffrey Wasserstrom and Rebecca Nedostup and the accompanying visual gallery of images and translated captions of issues from the first year of publication in1884, introduced by Peter C. Perdue, entitled "Shanghai's Len's on the New(s) 2." In addition, two specific histories of the Shanghai racecourse have already established the importance of place for the history of the city and imperial relations: Xiong Yuezhi's *From Racecourse to People's Park and People's Square* (2011) and Ning Jennifer Chang's *To See and Be Seen: Horse Racing in Shanghai 1848-1945* (2016). My chapter's argument extends their work by bringing their essays in relation to a wider historiography of Shanghai racecourse history, British racing and London space, along with a literary and visual analysis of racecourse representations across these two spaces.

carnivalesque of rural sociality.[52] Its centrality in the British imaginary as an "ancient, authorized and national sport" (*Morning Chronicle,* 29 July 1809, qtd. in *Horse Racing* 2) endures in its transformation as places of commercialized leisure that increasingly organized codes for enabling, controlling and studying social mixture as racing historian Wray Vamplew and Mike Huggins tell us. They show us the reasons why Londoners in the period gather in racecourses as sites for consuming and managing that mixture, the city's signature trait. As the city produces and concentrates increasingly mixed classes and diverse regional and cultural populations, they argue, the racecourse functions as a temporary world to manage that change. While they show that social, technological and economic forces centralize the city's exemplary human variety onto its public spaces, art historians of the era, Mary Cowling in particular, show us that the crowd becomes London's key aesthetic and epistemological resource, supplying its inhabitants, commentators and artists with the means and procedures to apprehend what I propose is the city's heterogeneous unknowability. Leisure historians argue that racecourses, as the largest spectator sport of the era, offer a counterpoint to the destabilizing vision of riot and mob rule, (*Flat Racing* 2). In this way, they can be imagined to work in the same way as aesthetic representations of them, most notably in one of the most famous paintings of the era, William Powell Frith's *Derby Day* (1858), for example, in recapturing and transmuting the city's energies into an apprehensible magnetism of a dynamic, metropolitan sociality. In bringing social, economic and aesthetic histories together, I stress how the nineteenth-century monetizes and

[52] To develop the British, and in particular, London context for racing in the period, this chapter synthesizes the findings in two primary histories: Wray Vamplew's *The Turf: A Social and Economic History of Horse Racing* (1976) and Mike Huggins's *Flat Racing and British Society, 1790-1914: A Social and Economic History* (2000) *Horse Racing and British Society in the Long Eighteenth Century* (2018). My chapter's argument extends their findings primarily about the growing importance and class heterogeneity of the racecourse crowds as key to the survival of the sport into the period by contrasting their findings with what I see as the homogenizing function of the leisure form in Shanghai.

aesthecizes this pleasure in collective heterogeneity through curated and temporary display. I emphasize how historians show us that racecourses matter for London because they create opportunities to enact manageable, bounded departures from the city, where a new set of temporary ludic rules paradoxically stabilize relations of difference activated by urbanization and industrialization.

Yet what would a racecourse look like when metropolitan departures are protracted, even permanent? If racecourses provide the city crowd with this provisional, always available and (increasingly) affordable trips outward (literal and epistemological), the Shanghai racecourse appropriates this leisure form to enclose and homogenize treaty port space.[53] Instead of London, ringed by a monetized and curated pastoral of racecourses, this is a simulacrum[54] of London's

[53] This chapter's understanding of extraterritorial space synthesizes analyses from Victorian literary studies, literary criticism, and architectural theory. Ross Forman has importantly expanded Victorian scholarship on Sino-British relations by examining literature beyond the metropole and from treaty ports themselves in his book *China and the Victorian Imagination* (2013). Of particular note are his chapters on the significance of treaty ports and treaty port fiction, which aid his book's project to "[pluralize] imperialisms and to demonstrate how British versions of these imperialisms were tempered by an exchange with the geographical space called 'China' and the people identified with that space" (5). I focus Forman's conceptualization of "empires entwined" on a specific relation between the city and the Shanghai locale. Matthew Hart's book, *Extraterritorial: A Political Geography of Contemporary Fiction* (2020) examines the ways twenty-first century fiction represents, and is shaped by, the political geography of extraterritoriality, which he argues is in fact intimately related to expressions of state power: "any crack or gradation in a state's political geography gets misrepresented as a crisis in its very being or purpose," when in fact, "state sovereignty helps produce international and transnational relations" (Hart, "Introduction"). Hart usefully conceptualizes extraterritoriality as conferring "open" and "closed" qualities or "values" to space and persons. Hart's description of extraterritoriality is salient here: "Extraterritoriality is not one thing. It is a set of practices through which states govern populations by punching holes in their own political plastic, by stretching out into spaces formally governed by others, or by pooling and sharing jurisdictions and competencies" (Hart, "Introduction"). My chapter applies Hart's description of these extraterritorial qualities from a fictional archive onto a specific locale. Curator Anselm Franke and architects Eyal and Ines Weizman theorizes the evolving form of extraterritoriality in their essay which heads an edited issue of *Archis*, an architectural theory magazine, an essay also serving as an introduction to an exhibition project. They describe both the historic and present day forms of this "geography of extraterritoriality, from city-states and Catholic churches in the "political landscape of feudalism" in pre-1648 Treaty of Westphalia (118), to the form's "[exportation to] the margins of European geography, thus extending its frontiers" in the 19th century through the formation of treaty ports (118). Franke et. al. argue that these "figures of extraterritoriality" continue to "haunt the current political order" through such examples as humanitarian zones, military camps or Special Enterprise Zones "for the financial exploitation of advancing nations by advanced ones" (119). My chapter draws especially from their capacious figuration of extraterritoriality across time and space as "islands…externally alienated and internally homogenized extraterritorial enclaves, spaces of political void or strategic implants—lying outside the jurisdiction that physically surrounds them" (117).

[54] I am invoking Jean Baudrillard's term for the postmodern decay of referentiality between sign and reality: "...the whole system becomes weightless; it is no longer anything but a gigantic simulacrum: not unreal, but a simulacrum,

leisure, ringed by China itself. The extraterritorial racecourse both supports the project of foreign occupation while contending with a pre-existing and evolving Chinese urbanism actively forging its own synchronous forms of cosmopolitan modernity. In this environment, Shanghai racecourse managers and users recognize the colonial uses of a legible leisure form, and instrumentalize it to produce colonial territory. Key to this endeavor is extracting the rhetoric and practices of commonplace metropolitanism in one site in order to suppress material facts underlying the violence of extraterritorial inhabitation in other. Colonial users of the space deploy normalizing tendencies of leisure to sanitize military conquest and highly visible encroachments of sovereign territory. Because violence shapes everyday relations, the everyday, with leisure as its most easeful expression, necessarily becomes its most charged frontier.

In this chapter I begin by synthesizing the work of British racing historians who contextualize development of British racecourses as they relate especially to the management and representation of the quintessential leisure form enjoyed by London crowds. With this background, I pull together discussions of a seminal artwork, William Powell Frith's *Derby Day*, extending art historians' commentaries about the ways it emblematizes an important aesthetic representation of this reality. I then review historians of Shanghai and the Shanghai racecourse specifically, identifying tropes within the historiography that I see as operational themes in the racecourse's rhetorical and material conditions of possibility.

I assemble this context to clarify my study of specific imaginative procedures British users of the space deploy to produce a cohesive social whole in extraterritorial space, by reading of a set of racing reports published in the treaty port newspaper, the *North China Herald* in the

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never again exchanging for what is real, but exchanging in itself, in an uninterrupted circuit without reference or circumference" (173).

second half of the 19th century. I argue that these racing reports constitute a microgenre expressing the tones (mundane, allusive, ironic) of a politically useful treaty port quotidian, where operations of racial consolidation and colonial obliviousness are rehearsed in the banality of everyday leisure. Through these reports, I show how the racecourse in this environment fabricates a "climate" of predictability to overshadow the charge of conquest immanent in the political and cultural environment, something I contend is surprisingly registered in the invariable variety of weather reports.

In my final section, I counterpose this reading of the atmospherics of enclosure with accounts of the locale's primary activating crowd, the dynamic Chinese rim surrounding the racecourse. Inspired by the *Dianshizhai* print and commentaries about it, I bring in additional historians' analysis of Chinese participation in the racecourse to extend my argument so far about the racecourse, how forms of Chinese urbanism overtake the colonizing logics producing the space. I bring historians' account of Chinese sociality to animate our understanding of the lithograph's crowd in order to show how Chinese inhabitant-spectators revise, speculate and ultimately mount a counter-colonization of its form.

I. The Sport of Kings

> My hoarse-sounding Horn Invites thee to the Chace, the Sport of Kings, Image of War, without its Guilt.
>
> -William Somerville, *Chace,* 1735 (*OED,* "sport of kings")

The history of the phrase, "the sport of kings" is telling—with the earliest entry (1688, "And, for the sport of Kings, encrease/The number of the dead") uncannily suggestive about the ways leisure disguises warfare (*OED*). Coming down to us now as term denoting hunting, and more commonly, horse-racing, the phrase's semantic provenance highlights this chapter's goal of tracing an inter-signifying relationship between British racecourses and one of its destinies: that is, a site aiding colonial expansion as an extraterritorial form.

Geographer R.W. Tomlinson tell us that royal patronage literally and culturally underwrites the geography of racecourses in Britain. He explains that the main British courses were primarily founded by the Crown—with Newmarket (James I), Epsom (Charles II) and Ascot (James I) hosting the leading meetings or Royal Plate races (230). After the Crown, the landed gentry and aristocracy, who had both estate and funds to do so, establish additional prizes and racecourses (Tomlinson 230).

Wray Vamplew, in writing one of the earlier comprehensive accounts of racing, focuses on the story of its commercialization, with a beginning allusion to William IV's begrudging affirmation of the sport, despite his boredom with it:

> I consider this to be a national sport—the manly and noble sport of a free people, and I deeply feel the pride of being able to encourage these pastimes, so intimately connected with the habits and feelings of this free country….we are here to enjoy these liberties and sports which I will, with my utmost power, ever protect and foster, and, in so doing, here lose sight of the welfare and enjoyment of every class of my people, from the higher to the lowest. (Vamplew 17)

Vamplew tells us that this paternalism imbues the class heterogeneity of pre-industrial, mostly local races, whose patronage by elite classes make them "a high point of the social calendar for

the bulk of the local populace, who, starved of organized public entertainment, came determined to enjoy *their* meeting" (Vamplew 18). Seen as a local holiday, racing days are not only linked with gambling, he writes, but are "intimately associated with local holidays: traveling shows, gaming booths, beer tents, cock fights, boxing and wrestling matches, open-air dancing… [which all contributes] to a full day out" (Vamplew 18). Patronage of this leisure form ensures that "the basic ingredient of the day should be free" (Vamplew 19).

Racing historians like Vamplew structure their analysis to explain why racing survives the rise of middle-class respectability, when other forms of rural and working-class leisure become casualties, a line of argument indebted to E.P. Thompson's arguments about working class leisure culture in the *Making of the English Working Class* (*Flat Racing* 4). Vamplew argues that racing survives because it shifts its focus, "becoming as much a part of the economic as the social scene, an industry as well as a sport" (Vamplew 48). He stresses the ways commercial viability became the sport's raison d'être via the rise of railways, the development of the enclosed racecourse and importantly, the consolidation of working-class patronage. An important insight I draw from Vamplew is that these developments make newly visible, and become newly dependent on, the urban crowd. Take his description of the innovation of the railway excursion:

> Despite the long walk to the course from Kingston, there was a huge response; so large as to catch the company unawares and with only one train left to go there were still about 5,000 potential spectators milling around Nine Elms station. When it became apparent that their hopes of a day at the races had been dashed the crowd stormed the station; gates were lifted off their hinges, windows were broken, and eventually mounted police had to be called to disperse the mob and

> restore order. Undeterred, or perhaps encouraged by the obvious demand, the railway company ran a special excursion to Ascot races only a few weeks later; again, it proved a tremendous attraction. The age of the racing special had begun. (Vamplew 29)

Historian Mike Huggins reassesses this recurring emphasis by historians like Vamplew on the railway as central to racing's flourishing as whole.[55] Yet he does still acknowledge railways as importantly serving the London leisure crowd as well as uniquely expanding and concentrating the felt intensity of racing meetings in places like railway stations. What I find important here is the way railways did not only transport spectators to the racecourse, but seems to transport racecourses themselves, extending the duration of meetings into spaces where groups of metropolitan users feel and register, in advance or in retrospect, what Huggins' has called racing's carnivalesque (*Flat Racing* 5). Take for example another example in Vamplew:

> Railways did much to increase racing's popularity as a spectator sport. Indeed, on the slightest provocation railway companies placarded half London with lists of cheap trains to any country places where races were held, and in every sporting paper at least half a column is dedicated to excursionists who want to go racewards. (38)

[55] Huggins and John Tolson contend that the impact of railways to the popularity of racing is skewed by an overreliance on metropolitan data and observations, as well as what they call an "'attendance fallacy' owing to historians' failure to look at the pre-railway period in sufficient detail" (101). They argue that railways "simply served an existing demand and shifted some traffic off the road on to rail" (100) and should be seen as one factor in a complex of social and economic forces driving the popularity of the sport (100). That said, Huggins does affirm the impact of railways on London leisure culture, which is important given my chapter's focus on the metropole, writing that in fact "London distorts the overall picture," because "its population often preferred days out to holidays away, and used railways as a quicker means of getting to sporting events (99). Additionally, Huggins tells us that "London had a greater concentration of wealthy individuals able to afford to… attend race meetings. The visibility of such people in London railway termini or at suburban stations made them very noticeable to contemporaries… London-based writers tended to overgeneralize from their experience" (99).

While Vamplew is interested here in the ways placards demonstrate the impact of the railways on the racecourse's commercialization, I am interested in how it aids the ways the racecourse's affective repertoire annexes London space. I see stations and sites of advertising creating a type of pre- and post-show for race-meetings, collectivizing a "metropolitan populace who traditionally preferred days out to holidays away from home" (38). Thus, in a sense these locations are appropriations of city space for imagining, anticipating, and remembering the leisure form. Railways also enable a scaling up of this imaginary expansion, as Vamplew tells us, importantly consolidating the sense of the sport as British: "Railways revolutionized racing," Vamplew writes, as "many meetings became nationally rather than locally orientated" (33).

In addition to the railways, Vamplew points to enclosure as an important shift in racecourse development, allowing spaces to generate income for better prizes and facilities. I would like to draw attention here to two London-related examples Vamplew offers in his account on enclosures to highlight an opposite impact the city has on the monetizing of the sport:

> There had been an attempt in 1837 to introduce the enclosed course to London but it had ended in disaster. John Whyte erected a barrier around his Hippodrome circuit in Bayswater near Kensington Gardens, and proposed charging admission…. Worse…were the objections of local ratepayers who determined to destroy the meeting by exploiting a right of way across the course and encouraging the local riffraff to smash down barriers and invade the ground…. not enough spectators were willing to pay…. (27)
>
> In striking contrast to Ascot was a group of metropolitan meetings…. [who] had no intention of offering added [prize] money…. Such rewards did not attract many horses, so the promoters frequently provided their own, and indeed often

> fixed the race, deciding beforehand which horse would win. It was the size of the crowd and not of the field which concerned the organizers: racing to them was a means for selling more beer or taking more bets. On the fringe of London but beyond the pale of respectability, these meetings attracted the worse elements of the metropolis. (36)

In the above, I observe that the frustrated attempts to enclose space within or immediately adjacent to London space suggest that the metropolitan crowd did not always flow easily into the monetizing program of the new racecourse. Clearly the profit motive was not enough of a guarantor of viability, which I will return to shortly. For the moment, these examples matter in demonstrating the volatile agency of London crowds in producing the racecourse's evolution into a popular form of mass leisure. They suggest that the means to both attract and manage the volatility of that crowd is a necessary part of the racecourse's inimitable success as a stable leisure form.

This is in keeping with Vamplew's argument that one of the most significant reasons racecourses succeed, beyond railways and enclosures, is the ways they consolidate working-class support:

> …If race committees did not innovate, they frequently disappeared…...previously most race committees had put the owner before the spectator but now, even if this attitude still prevailed, it became impossible to serve the owner's needs without also considering those of the crowd. By offering the spectator, especially the working man, the kind of racing he preferred—in particular sprints, handicaps, and two-year-old events—the enclosed courses tempted him to pay for his pleasure. (47)

This appeal to the working man is, as Vamplew tells us, situated within a growing expansion of commercialized popular recreation that cater to the masses, like specialist music halls, seaside holidays, gate-money soccer, in the latter part of the century. An important insight Wray offers in this regard is this:

> Working-class support had never been necessary to racing, but once it began to be actively solicited by course executives then both the structure and character of the sport changed. Even the major open courses…found it necessary…to alter their programs and keep step in the quick march of the day, lest they too should fain to take their place in the rear of the companies. (48)

Ultimately, Vamplew's focus on the impact of commercialization and working-class leisure habits registers the ways the space's popularity is linked to its function in managing, and perhaps diffusing, the growing importance and power of a working-class crowd.

Historian Mike Huggins builds on this point in his more recent social history of the space and sport, responding to the turn in leisure historiography's focus on continuities rather than breaks in the social meanings of sporting and leisure. Huggins joins recent historians in complicating the class-conflict analytic that stresses how middle-class mores antagonized peasant and working-class recreational forms. Thus, Huggins revises Vamplew's focus on working-class support by showing how racing cultivates middle-class participation in what he calls the "cross-class support" of racing:

> The classes invested cultural capital in racing in different ways, and participation in racing often depended on the subtle negotiation of class differences. At a racecourse the top and the bottom of the social hierarchy shared a similar experience and experiences a certain vicarious pleasure in traveling up and down

> the social ladder for the day. Race meetings provided a space for social play, where mobility was possible. (*Flat Racing* 2)

As I mentioned, the central aim in Huggins's work is to revise the monolithic sense of middle-class ideology. He argues that the middle-classes do shape and participate significantly in the "social play" and "mobility" of race meetings:

> The cross-class support for racing…suggest that the "respectable" group may have triumphed in ideological terms but was far less successful in reality in British society. Within the sport itself vertical ties of common interest often bound competing groups…. Not all leisure forms were a focus for class conflict…Not all popular leisure activities were respectable…Favorite pursuits might also include drunkenness, whoring or gambling, and these may well have been attractive to wider groups than just urban working men, just as racing certainly was. (*Flat Racing* 11)

Huggins explains that these "vertical ties," primarily around betting, complement the "shared sense right across the classes (and sexes) that racing was part of the common-sense reality of every life" (*Flat Racing* 2). Thus, as he states, "attempted prohibition and attacks by moral reformers or ideological defenses of the sport were both largely irrelevant, since racing was a part of the cultural fabric of all class groups" (*Flat Racing* 2). To make his case, Huggins shows us that racing culture holds specific attractions for the middle-class:

> For many of the urban middle class there may have been some self-interest involved, through commercial gains brought by the races…. many found the excitement of the course or of betting a worthwhile experience, and the MPs, councillors, aldermen and magistrates all attended meetings. (*Flat Racing* 5)

Thus, we learn from Huggins that the space cultivates multiple forms of middle-class participation, so that "by [century's end], [the middle-class] dominated racehorse ownership…. the grandstands sheltered them at the meetings; they acted as bookmakers or backers of horses…. [and] dominated the ranks of racing officials" (*Flat Racing* 12). Both Vamplew and Huggins taken together indicate the ways the leisure form survives because of its ability to blend middle-class self-interest with working-class pleasures, class identification with cross-class camaraderie.

Another key point to highlight from Huggins is that the pleasure from this heterogeneity comes less from the complete dissolution of class boundaries than from deploying procedures to contain them,[56] with "processions and ceremonial features [helped to] confirm the established order" (*Flat Racing* 13). Added to this, "informal social zoning created order from disorder, while the grandstands provided shelter, food and a privileged view" (*Flat Racing* 13). Huggins also cites betting, unique to racing, as importantly consolidating cross-cultural affinities (*Flat Racing* 12). Huggins explains that in addition to spectatorship, betting is "unashamedly populist" (*Flat Racing* 12) in promoting opportunities for autonomy and self-organization and giving users of the space opportunities for local control over activities like bookmaking while encouraging gossip and talk:

> …Being individualistic, the turf was…characterized by shifting allegiances which were not necessarily those of class. Class distinctions were much looser on the

[56] Apart from these internal regulatory proceedings, Vamplew describes both the Jockey Club and acts of Parliament as forms of racecourse discipline. As a case in point, Vamplew describes that the profit motive of "metropolitan meetings organized by local publicans and bookmakers" led to these meetings "[attracting the] worse elements of the metropolis" (36). Vamplew contends that the chaotic nature of these meetings can be blamed on "the railways [that] brought ruffianism to many courses….[so that] rioting and hooliganism [became] accepted features" (36). He goes on to say that these "'suburban saturnalia' were little more than schemes of fraud, robbery, and mob rule," and that "eventually Parliamentary legislation was used to put them down" (36).

> turf, even though participants were well aware of them and would often observe them scrupulously in other contexts. Betters or owners might temporarily work together to ensure that a horse won (or lost), and might well need the assistance of trainers, commission agents or jockeys and might even socialize with them, while trying to outdo other such constellations of racing power….it was based on vertical ties but with a major difference, being founded not on permanent ones of deference but of shifting ones of common interest. (*Flat Racing* 15)

Thus, Huggins clarifies that "vertical ties" in fact worked in dynamic tension with specific conditions that the racecourse brought together, the vertical segmentation momentarily and continually relaxed and reconstituted through the cyclical seasonality of race meetings.

To summarize, racing historians stress that racing uniquely evolves as a leisure form, surviving the various social and economic pressures of the era, because it both appropriates and provides a staging ground for the multiplicitous agencies of the urban crowd. The racecourse hosts the metropolitan classes stripped of the menace of the mob, as Huggins points out:

> Only a few months after the Peterloo massacre in Manchester (1819), when the magistracy had been in fear of riot and revolution, some hundred thousand people gathered on the moor for the races with no reports of violence or sedition. (*Flat Racing* 2)

As historians stress, an amalgamation of commercial tactics, cross-class programming and cultural signification works to draw and contain crowds into an everywhere-evident feat of managed public collectivity. The racecourse organizes economic and social instruments for funneling and transmuting the heterogeneity of the urban crowd into a cohesive, transitory and repeatable leisure form. It is this heterogeneity that renders the racecourse a key inspirational

space for Victorian artists who work to produce aesthetic and epistemological forms that register and extend the place's management of difference.

The Picture of the Age

Fig. 2 "Derby Day" William Powell Frith (1858)

> Some people go as far as to say, "It is the picture of the age" and no mean judge are they.
>
> -William Powell Frith[57]

The emblematic image to illuminate this point is William Powell Frith's famous racecourse panorama*, Derby Day,* one of the "most exhaustive crowd studies of the era" (*Artist* 462) depicting in impressive detail London crowds on their annual holiday pilgrimage to Epsom Downs. On that "Bacchanalian occasion on which respectable Victorians, even ladies, got drunk

[57] Mary Cowling quotes William Powell Frith here: "…so Frith wrote to his sister shortly after the opening of the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1858, where his *Derby Day* was creating a sensation" (462).

and misbehave," London descended on the racecourse with "even Parliament [closing] down to join the festivities (*Frith* 59). Art historian Mary Cowling tells us that the *Illustrated London News* called the event 'the most astonishing, the most varied…and the most glorious spectacle that ever was or can ever be, under any circumstances, visible to mortal eyes," and as such, provides Frith with material to practice the art of physiognomy, that is, the now debunked science of reading human faces as "indices of character" (*Frith* 59).

Cowling argues that the painting importantly interlaces Victorian anthropological aims with artistic ones. The city's crowds, as Cowling reminds us, were as much an object for anthropological fascination as distant lands, exemplified for example in the social investigations of Henry Mayhew or the poverty maps of Charles Booth. She cites John Ruskin here as case in point, who "[dismisses] 'the measuring of savage crania' as unfruitful compared with the interest which the metropolitan population provided," or Mayhew who spoke of wanderings around London as a "peculiar geographical excursion through the multiform regions of the globe" (*Artist* 464).

Cowling's essay focuses on fascination with the notion of the human "type" through popular quasi-scientism of phrenology and physiognomy as the interest that links Victorian anthropology with art. She stresses the ways these schools of thought cast the city not only as a platform for human variety but also its organic source. Take for example her explanation of the "type" of the "gent" (featured in Frith's painting):

> The little gent, in real life, was recognized as a new type of city dweller, generated by the modern commercialism of London…[providing] living proof for the idea that town conditions stimulated a greater diversity of human types than rural or more primitive areas were capable of producing, the very type whom

> Charles Kingsley singled out as, most distinctly, "a creature of the city, as all city influences bear at once on him more than on any other class…." (*Artist* 468)

Cowling shows the city's organicity as fecund and unstable, evinced in theories about city dwellers who embody those qualities:

> As late as 1900 a leading anthropologist, discussing the effects of London life on the male population, claimed that children of the third generation of London dwellers habitually become nervous and 'excitable, and possess psychological tendencies unlike those characteristic of the typical Anglo-Saxon race…[attributing] these new characteristics to the development of "highly specialized brain cells deficient in organic stability," which he ascribed to "the effect of the constant noise and bustle and other conditions which surround them in the homes of their childhood." *(Artist* 468)

Art and anthropology thereby collaborate to produce taxonomic systems to organize and curate this urban heterogeneity through identifying and elaborating types, abstractions of persons that "[concentrate] on the strongly marked features, or essential forms…and…[ignore] half-shades and deviations" (*Artist* 465). Cowling shows how the fabrication of types are aided by the development of phrenology and physiognomy as "sciences" that exploit the city as their most accessible field of study:

> Physiognomy could be practiced wherever human life offered itself, and nowhere better than amongst the crowds of Britain's own cities…. the city crowd was expected to supply not only a greater social and occupational variety than the populace elsewhere, but the greatest possible physiognomical variety. (*Artist* 463)

Not only that, Cowling points out that the temporal rupture of the age fuels interest in such taxonomizing responses:

> The social, anthropological application of physiognomy had an especial attraction for an industrial age, so much aware of the variety and contrasts of its city populations; so alert to individual human differences, so intensely class conscious; and when the crowd was presented in art, all those interests could be supplied much more satisfactorily than by the living crowd, which, while embodying all the necessary materials, must yet remain comparatively disorganized and lacking in the kind of clarity which art could bring to it (*Artist* 467)

As Cowling suggests, paintings of the crowd like *Derby Day* enact a secondary procedure to taxonomy on such miscellany, that is, the painting organizes and clarifies variety even further to support a pedagogy for apprehending and enjoying the city. Cowling argues that part of Frith's success is his activation of this system of typological identification and adjudication:

> In the *Derby Day*…Frith could provide an unequalled cross-section of representative types chosen from the London crowd and, appealing to his public with all the resources of one steeped in the popular viewpoint, he was able to ensure that the great majority of his types would not be misinterpreted. (*Artist* 467)

In fact, to accomplish the painting's vision of documenting and displaying the variety of types within the urban crowd, Frith not only works from a sketch of the fair, but assembled a cast of characters to fill the space, "[commissioning] the photographer Robert Howlett to 'photograph…from the roof of a cab as many queer groups of figures as he could,'" while hiring

models to pose—all to achieve, paradoxically, as critics would say, a rather "static" racecourse. Instead of the sporting event, the painting centers a transplanted and collectible London crowd of tricksters, acrobats, courtesans, fops, frozen in three main tableaus set in a suburban space of recreation, the race itself fading in the background (Fowle).

> The painting's story as a translocated spectacle includes itself:
>
> Few paintings have ever earned such universal acclaim. It was recognized as a unique historical record of a significant social event, and a protective rail [at the Royal Academy was] set up to control the spectators…. *Derby Day* toured provinces and visited Europe before moving on to the United States and Australia. As late as 1922, it remained… "the most popular…[and] the most unaffectedly enjoyed picture in the collection. (*Frith* 62)

I add that this absorption complements the ways the racecourse might be imagined to transform the threat of the crowd into its opposite, a static, stabilized pleasure to return to again and again, in the same way racing meetings corral the city populace into linked containers of collective mutual self-regard. This echo of the spectatorship of the racecourses recapitulates the scene with the uncanny doubling effect, a crowd producing its other, both equally engrossed. In fact, Cowling writes that "…it was claimed to be a good hour's work even to skim the *Derby Day*," where "critics and audiences "[work]" within [a] system of shared expectation concerning the specific appearance of the individual and social types of his own day" (*Artist* 462). The artist's genius was to reproduce the mechanism, the type, that "the public would recognize instantly" (*Artist* 462), creating the "epitome" through "careful selection" where "the crowd, as a whole, could be shaped and organized in art in a way impossible to hope for in life (*Artist* 467).

I see that in fact, the painting extended the logics of the racecourse as form for orchestrating varieties of closeness to difference, for redistributing the collectivizing animus into atomized, individualized actors captivated in fulfilling a distinct pleasure afforded, actualized and secured by a ticket, and if one was lucky enough, by the added chancy thrill of a successful bet. In a sense, I see racecourses as enabling Londoners the pleasure of not only recognizing types, but by sliding in and out of relations between and among types, a form that Frith's painting extends by both capturing and launching the racecourse crowd outside the magnetism of its visual field.[58]

Thus, Frith's painting offers a strategy that marshals the resources of leisure, social science and aesthetic production to hold in abeyance the threat of urban crowds. I extend Cowling to say it does so through cultivating a subjective position invested with a host of strategies for identifying, sorting, and assembling and also, enacting, difference. Such a subjective position is transformed when the racecourse is deployed in colonial spaces, as this next section will relay, because of an obvious difference. With the threat of difference externalized, the leisure form's capacity to manage and receive a variegated crowd is reoriented toward homogenizing a dislocated expatriate community. In other words, if racecourses manage the difference within London, for the Shanghai racecourse, the difference to be managed, of course, is without.

[58] Here I am invoking Catherine Gallagher's analysis of the complex desire of negated identification activated in as readers of fictional characters of the realist novel. Gallagher describes fictional characters' status between social "type" and particular "instance" as "[not only creating] a sense of the reader's material 'reality' as ontologically plentiful by helping us re-envision our embodied immanence through the condition of its possible absence, but also allows us to experience an uncanny desire to be that which we already are" (361). While Cowling suggests that understanding Victorian viewers' knowledge of types activates the pleasure of consuming paintings like *Derby Day*, I speculate that the idiosyncratic emplacements of Frith's figures in the racecourse setting behave more like as "visual" proto-characters in a closed system of a fictional world, with the viewer as both omniscient narrator *and* reader.

III. Shanghai's England

There are two things an Englishman must have—a king and a racecourse.

-Mary Ninde Gamewell, *Gateway to China* (1916)

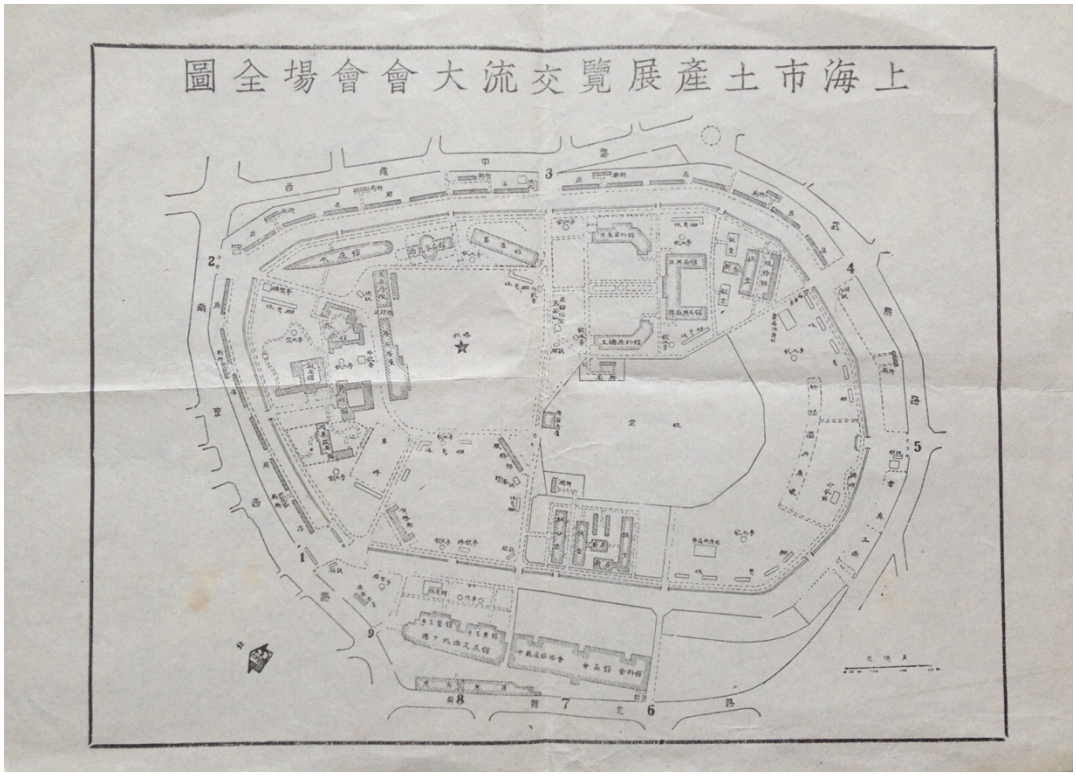

Fig. 3 "Map of an exhibition that took place in 1951 at the Shanghai racecourse (*Virtual Shanghai*).

Mary Gamewell's quotation above of an unnamed typological Britisher in her 1916 Shanghai history, deploys a light syllepsis, yoking an Englishman's deference from crown to sport in a rhetorical move that mixes playful subjectivity with political subjecthood. Arguably, in this rendering, the king is somewhat deflated. How did such a trajectory for the "sport of kings" develop?

To piece together a comprehensive picture of the racecourse from its inception (the earliest record of races held in Shanghai is in 1848) to this century, I have identified key tropes in the representation of the racecourse in the historiography, tracking the evolution of the themes across accounts by narrators from shifting historical positions. The first group are earlier British-authored histories of Shanghai's "founding" and evolution: John W. Maclellan's *Story of Shanghai* (1889), the Shanghai Jubilee report (1893), Mary Nine Gamewell's *Gateway to China* (1916). The second group are 20th century accounts of Shanghai generally, also British authored, including James V. Davidson's *Yellow Creek: The Story of Shanghai* (1962), and Chinese racecourses, specifically, Austin Coates's *China Races,* which was commissioned in 1984 by the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club. I round out these accounts with information from current treaty port historians including Donna Brunero's essay about tropes within treaty port visual culture (2018), Yu Chen's essay on legal land conveyancing systems (2018) and Christian Henriot's scholarship on gravesites and cemeteries in Shanghai space (2007, 2019).

My last set are contemporary histories dedicated directly to the space of the Shanghai racecourse by urban historians whose work importantly draw from Chinese-language archives, Xiong Yuezhi's *From racecourse to People's Park and People's Square* (2011) and Ning Jennifer Chang's *To See and Be Seen: Horse Racing in Shanghai 1848-1945* (2016). Yuezhi's essay documents the "the ever-changing symbolic significance of the racecourse" over a longer trajectory than my focus in this chapter (mid to late 19th century), from its inception to the racecourse's destiny as People's Park under the aegis of the Chinese Communist Party. Yuezhi narrates the evolution of the meanings of the space especially for its Chinese users, mainly from a place of leisure to "a diabolic symbol of a multitude of evils," namely as a signifier of gambling, British racism and imperialism (490). Framing his essay in light of how its Chinese

users imagine and commandeer its evolution in the 20th century, the 1930s through the 1950s primarily, Yuezhi shows how the space's history creates the conditions that drive an anti-imperial and nationalistic "ideological continuity" in later efforts to recuperate the space for nationalistic purposes (490). Chang's work draws attention to the historic parallel between treaty ports and racecourses, diagnosing the distinct ways forms of spectacle and visuality shape this European leisure form, not only into a key ingredient for Shanghai's urbanization, but also into a representation of treaty ports as a whole. Importantly, Chang argues that given the leisure form's association with foreignness, the Shanghai racecourse is a site of cultural translation, showcasing the ways "a foreign activity from a different culture was indigenized through a new interpretation" (92). As the most direct analyses of the Shanghai racecourse, these essays by Yuezhi and Chang put the Shanghai racecourse on the map as a locale fraught with cross-cultural tensions given its status as the city's most central and prominent public space.

Fig. 4 "Plan of the English Settlement at Shanghae" from 1866 (*Virtual Shanghai*)

Before proceeding any further, I would like to frame my forthcoming examination of this assembled historiography with a general historical background of treaty port space. Treaty ports were created in the aftermath of the Opium War through the signing of the "unequal treaties," with Shanghai established by the first, the Treaty of Nanjing (1842). Frontiers of European, and British specifically, incursions in Chinese territory, the settlements materialize the Qing government's capitulation to Western military powers. Beginning with the opening of five ports (Guangzhou [Canton], Amoy [Xiamen] Fuzhou [Foochow], Ningbo [Ningpo] and Shanghai), the treaty further directs allowances for foreign residence and the development of the territory in order to etch Western trade and cultural interests onto Chinese sovereign land. While the walled city of Shanghai, located where the Huangpu meets the Yangzi, has already served as a center for commerce and shipping before this time, with a quarter of million residents occupying a developed urban space, the notion of Shanghai's beginnings as a muddy outpost before its status as a treaty port nevertheless takes hold with its first "[promulgation] by Shanghailanders (as Britons and Americans who set up residence…came to be known)" (*Global Shanghai* 2-3). This "Fishing Village Myth" is now acknowledged by historians to have been mainly a tale told to secure Shanghailanders' self-conceptualization as intrepid founders of the global city Shanghai would become (*Global Shanghai* 3). Still, the building of the concessions (British, American and French) mark a paradigmatic shift in the history of Shanghai's literal expansion (demographic, geographic, cultural) and significance: "[in the hundred years following the settlement's founding], the word 'Shanghai' would go from being one that conjured up few distinctive connotations in either the Chinese or international imagination to one that was among the most widely recognized place names on earth…" (*Global Shanghai* 3).

A King and a Racecourse

While multiple Shanghai locales (the Bund, the Customs House, the British concession as a "model" settlement unto itself) embody degrees of this metonymic relation to British space, historians see the racecourse, and the meetings held within them, as striking for the scale in which they trafficked in referentiality, not only to Britain, but to the growing network of treaty-port spaces emerging in the Pacific Rim region. As Chang writes, "regardless of the size or scale of these cities, wherever there were foreigners taking up residence, there was always the obligatory racecourse nearby. It could be described as a tangible representation of treaty port culture" (92). This observation has a provenance in early Shanghailander commentary about the treaty port, who naturalize the construction not only of the racecourse, but its co-extensiveness with Britishness. This is something I trace for example in the early "Jubilee" retrospection commissioned by the settlement:

> Wherever throughout the world outside their own country a few Englishmen are gathered together, there are instituted Racing, Cricket, and Rowing Clubs …. the Race Club is perhaps the most prominent one and the members can boast of a Course and Grandstand which many a more important city than Shanghai would be proud to possess. …. (*Jubilee,* 16)
>
> The first formation of a Race Club over 40 years ago illustrates the saying that "wherever two or three Britishers are gathered together, there you will find sport," and with this object they have, assisted by other nationalities, utilized the Mongolian pony, and I believe, had ponies not been procurable they would have raised the native buffalo. (*Jubilee,* 19)

The above pieces from the Shanghai Jubilee report of 1893 not only comment on the importance of sports and sporting infrastructure in marking a stable British collectivity, but also create the flexible spatio-referential structure for imagining its importance to settlement planning—"wherever throughout the world" or "wherever two or three Britishers are gathered"[59] a racecourse might be found. "Wherever" is usefully mobile, modifying acts of urbanizing, as is the case of the hypothetical "more important city" than Shanghai. To be a place desiring a racecourse, even above having one, becomes the essential thing, the cognitive-spatial passport linking treaty port cities to one another, and to London itself. In constructing a type of "taken for grantedness" for both the racecourse and racing, the *Jubilee* sentiments reveal the empty forms of the racecourse and Britishness, that is, hollowed out and fungible vehicles available for what Chang highlights as the "cultural translation" process, where "a foreign activity from a different culture was indigenized through a new interpretation" (92). One can imagine that this translation proceeds from shared formal affordances between Britishness and racecourses, a kind of modularity revealed by the exigencies of displacement: "had ponies not been procurable they would have raised the native buffalo."

Almost a century later, Austin Coates iterates this earlier sentiment with an even more emphatic appeal to givenness:

> This being a British settlement, *it goes without saying* the plan made provision for a recreation ground surrounded by a riding track. This was next to the site for a church, later to become a Cathedral. (Coates 22-emphasis mine)

[59] Arguably also biblical allusion: "For where two or three are gathered together in My name, I am there in the midst of them" (*New King James Bible*, Matthew. 8.20). The witticism here lies in flexibly borrowing an axiomatic referent for a trivial sentiment.

Coates' prose here deploys the rhetorical aside, "it goes without saying," to do away with any explanations at all for the workings of colonial place-making. We can imagine that this small history of "appeals to givenness" across time reveals a pattern for understating the racecourse's Britishness to actually do the opposite, to turn the space into so eminently a representation of coloniality by rendering that relation natural and self-evident.

A Briton's Horse, or, a Horse's Briton

Another key trope of note in the historiography involves the distinctive display of Britishness in treaty port through the combined figure of horse and rider. Horses embody the Briton in treaty port space—his daily life, his leisure and his distinction from Chinese bodies who surround him. In her account of tropes in later Shanghai visual culture, Donna Romero observes that illustrations and diaries of Shanghailanders "[give] an impression of riding as a sport... that set foreign and local apart," with "the pleasure of traversing the coast or countryside via pony…often related….," and "[Ponies as] a sought after and much discussed aspect of life on the China coast" (34-36). Brunero quotes one recollection for example:

> I loved riding in the early mornings … I generally rode out at six, when I went off night duty, and came back at nine. Riding was a very inexpensive hobby, the mafoo (groom) receiving sixteen shillings a month on which he kept the pony and himself. (Brunero, 34).

In the above, the British expatriate's love of riding comes from its new affordability, the pleasure of affecting an elite lifestyle made possible because of extraterritoriality. The ability to go hunting for leisure, for example, normally associated with the British upper classes, became, as historian Catherine Ladds explains "a sign of social mobility that wouldn't have been otherwise

enjoyed" (qtd. in Brunero, 36). Also, “sports such as the paper chase or shooting also demonstrated a mastery of the local landscape” (Brunero, 58). Thus, riding permitted the displacement of an aristocratic relation to British land, transplanting the manorial imaginary that underwrites the formation of the British metropole in the first place, as Raymond Williams lays out for us in his seminal work *Country and the City*.[60] Interestingly, this tells us that while British racecourses survive and become popular in the period by cultivating cross-class unities, its imperial version capitalizes instead on re-invoking class hierarchies in foreign space.

With this basic signification at play for horse and rider, that is, signifying difference (from the Chinese) and affectation (of aristocratic Britons), riding and racing also go on to cohere the predominantly masculine exterritorial body. Given the gender imbalance of early settlers, the race course is understood to manage, organize and redirect the energies of the “2000 young men, who were herded into the narrow space of the concessions and, moreover, were of different nationalities from fighting, drinking, gambling, or becoming infatuated with local girls,” as Chang recounts, with “elders of the concessions [encouraging] them to take part in sports so as to exhaust their energy and redirect their attention, thus maintaining the wellbeing of body and mind” (94). In this sense, unlike its British counterpart, the racecourse’s feature of promoting a particularly middle-class sense of hygiene and exercise create an inter-embodiment of horse, rider, and treaty port community distinct from the multi-class commercialized holidays accessed by rail back home. In this sense, Shanghai races uniquely imbricate spectacle, sport and

[60] Raymond William’s *Country and the City* denaturalizes the dichotomy between the urban and the rural, with the pastoral as seat of British virtue and the city as hotbed of vice: “this contrast depends, often, on just the suppression of work in the countryside, and of the property relations through which this work is organized…” (46). The vision of the pastoral is “not a rural but a suburban or dormitory dream. And it is in direct reaction to the internal corruption of the city” (47). I speculate here that just as the notion of the idyllic countryside masks the country’s relation to the city, racecourses, as a kind of imported pastoral form, enable the expatriate community to disavow colonial violence in extraterritorial space.

an idiosyncratic daily life. In describing an account of the first Hack Stakes held in Shanghai in 1878, for example, Coates remarks that "the seven entrants included some of the best ponies, reminding one that these racing ponies were their owner's daily ride. Virtually every Briton in Shanghai owned a horse and rode every day" (28). Yet the program of the space, in choreographing such polymorphic interactions between extraterritorial persons and the horses, also gives rise to analogies that emphasize the expatriate's difference from Britishness, as in this instance of literally naming ponies "griffins":

> Around this this time [1851] someone in Shanghai, evidently someone with experience of India, jokingly called his new pony a griffin, a word used to denote a newcomer to India, or a novice; and the name stuck. The first Griffin's Plate was raised in Shanghai in April 1851. From then on China ponies fresh from the mob and racing for the first time were called griffins. They came to have a special appearance. So beautifully clipped and groom to a high gloss, their manes and tails were often left long, the tail looped up with bright braid, to show their status. (Coates 30)

With the term's earliest known use in 1793 suggesting a comparison between the fantastical creature and untutored expatriates newly arrived in India, "griffins" actually consolidate British difference into a passport for commonality in foreign space, a shared induction via a strange transmutation of heretofore recognizable parts.[61] In transferring the figure to untried horses racing for a prize, the term then can be seen to do two things. On one hand, it trades on the common experience of peculiarity, with each Griffins race

[61] According to the *OED,* griffin denotes a "European newly arrived in India, and unaccustomed to Indian ways and peculiarities; a novice, new-comer, greenhorn" ("griffin n.2."). The earliest entry is in 1793: "Wilks...will...lend you every assistance in forwarding these matters, in which...you must, I presume, be a perfect griffin ("griffin, n.2.").

recalling the disorienting pleasure of being defamiliarized in colonial space. Additionally, this closer, more intimate identification of transplanted Briton with horse activates the shared thrill of a larger imperial conquest, the "sport of kings," which each settler perhaps experiences and rehearses each racing day.

Additionally, the appellation reveals a closer affiliation between Briton and horse, than between British and Chinese persons in the period. Take this account in Coates' later history of races in China about the taming of "China ponies" (horses raced in Shanghai, a distinctive feature of the treaty port):

> The first month with one's China pony was one long tussle, marked by many bruises and some bites. The new ponies were frightened of human beings, especially of Europeans, and the mafoos were frighted of both. One tamed one's pony oneself.… However hard one tries to make a pony move in given direction, it would usually start by going exactly where it wanted, no matter if its head was facing a different way, crashing your leg into a wall in route maybe. If you fell off, the pony was liable to savage you, the terrified mafoo completely useless. Even when nominally tamed, they bolted whenever they liked. Europeans galloping wildly in no special direction, resolutely concentrated only on staying aloft, were a common feature of life in China…Yet these wicked little animals were to prove themselves true racehorses, providing nearly a century of sport as exciting as, and on a scale larger than, anything Asia had ever known. (Coates 25)

While Coates' history of China races is ultimately a celebration of the sport's importation in British colonial spaces, I read against the grain of this purpose in my study of the scene above.

To me, the description images the enduring connection between the European and his horse as a mock-epic struggle between colonizer and animal, with the ultimately tamed pony as representation not only of a thriving racing culture in a foreign land, but also the fashioning of the city in Chinese sovereign territory.[62] I see the portrayal of the farcical mafoo, or Chinese groom, who "is frightened of both," who is "terrified" and "completely useless" working as a future echo of the ways racial difference might have been marked in treaty port space. As a retelling of a Shanghai-relational dynamic, of Shanghailander, mafoo and pony, the scene forces a perception of the mafoo into an oppressed characterological position, antithetical to both European and the China pony. That horse ownership crucially depends on cheap mafoo labor is of course elided. As a memory of the racecourse, the story posits the native Chinese person as external, even superfluous to its scenes.

To summarize, the horse-Shanghailander figure selectively imports divergent features of British racing, its elitist patronage, for example, or its popularity as a modern metropolitan leisure form, to forge an internal coherence for a primarily masculine commercial class transplanted to Chinese space.

[62] Coates does not specifically cite a source for this discussion of the figure of the taming of the China pony and mafoo. Coates writes in his bibliography that "the material for this book has come largely from newspapers published in China, and from personal interviews with people who remembered the China races" (307).

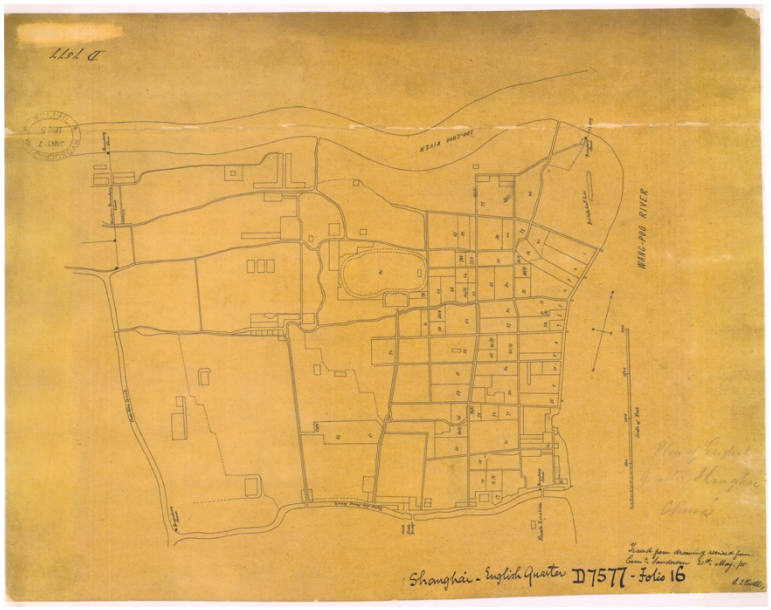

Fig 5. “Shanghai - English Quarter” from 1855 (*Virtual Shanghai)*

Fig. 6 “Shanghai in 1855” in 1928 *(Virtual Shanghai*)

This next section studies the material evolution of the space as a key trope in the historiography of the racecourse, providing an account in a sense of the racecourse's land-based "means of production." Xiong Yuezhi's history of the space, from its inception as colonial symbol to its triumphant nationalist repurposing as the People's Park, argues that its symbolic value is embedded in the racecourse's form as an open urban green space:

> The Shanghai International Settlement had its own organ of state power, the Municipal Council, but it did not have its own central square. It was first located on the periphery of the settlement, and then it moved west as the settlement boundaries expanded in that direction. Later, the racecourse, which was at the centre of the Settlement, became the substitute for the Shanghai Settlement's central square and thus realized part of the function performed by the central squares of European cities. (482)

As we can see in the above, the paradoxical centrality of the space is due to its status as, and in, the periphery. Historians differ in number, with Coates accounting for four iterations, and Yuezhi listing only three (see chart below). The growth of the space parallels the growth of the settlement and its concomitant desire for a larger, more striking site. Of necessity, such a space becomes co-extensive with the western edges of the settlement, thus serving as the frontier of Shanghai's urban growth:

> The Consul's first duty was to have the limits of the settlement defined. He claimed as boundaries "lines of country creek and river, which might, if necessary, be rendered easily defensible." These limits were the river on the East, the Yang-king-pang Creek on the south, the present Peking road, the creek there being known as the Lea-dee-chang, on the North, and what is now Fokien Road

> on the West. *The latter remained the limit of the settlement in that direction until the Taiping came near, and the capture of Soochow, Ningpo another important place flooded Shanghai with refugees. Then the settlement went further west*. Fokien Road, as the Stone or Barrier Road of old times is now called, was intended to have the Defense creek in the West side of it. (MacLellan 14-5; emphasis mine)

In J.W. MacLellan's description above, the laying down of boundary lines for the settlement importantly reveals the western edge as repeatedly running incursions into Chinese territory, with the racecourse as literal placeholder, as we learn in J.W. Davidson's account below, heralded by the now familiar prefatory point about racecourses as first-orders of business:

> As might be expected in a largely British community, one of the first operations was the enclosure of a twelve-acre plot at the western end of Park Lane (later Nanking Road) as a park and recreation ground, with a riding-track round the outside. (Davidson 33)

Yuezhi produced this chart tracking racecourse relocations and expansions based on information from the *Shanghai Real Estate Record* and archival materials from the 1951 Chinese efforts to recover the site (see table 1).

Table 1

Shanghai racecourses

Name	**Years in existence**	**Boundaries (present-day street layout)**	**Area (*mu*)**
First racecourse	1850-54	North of the Nanjing E. Rd, west of Henan Middle Rd,	81.744

		east of Shanxi S. Rd, south of Ningbo Rd	
Second racecourse	1854-62	The loop composed of curved segments of Hubei Rd, Haikou Rd, Beihai Rd, Tibet Middle Rd, Liuhe Road, Liuhe Rd. Zhify Rd, and Zhejiang Middle Rd	171.476
Third racecourse	1862-1951	The boundaries of People's Square and People's Park	530,245

Source: Yuezhi, Xiong. "From Racecourse to People's Park and People's Square: Historical Transformation and Symbolic Significance." *China's urban turn*, special issue of *Urban History*, vol. 38, no. 3, p.477.

In it, we can imagine the fortunes of the racecourse in terms of an urbanization that continually fills, then pushes, the enclosure further and further outward. One can read from this chart a sense that the function of the space—to maintain an open center for recreation and visibility—also rendered it vulnerable to development, occupation and change. Coates marks this expansion in familiar tropes of urbanization, with the first space, purchased from the Chinese owners by the Shanghai Recreation Club, pictured as hosting the first races in a setting decidedly idyllic:

> There is something delightfully rustic about these [early] races. Music was supplied by the birds singing in the woods around the course. One horse bolted in a gallop the way into the countryside. Most enchanting of all are the willows.

> Once around in a distance was known officially as “once around from the willows.” (Coates 28)

Coates goes on to explain that the transformations of the racecourse were brought about by deliberate land speculation (28, 41-2). The land, first funded by shares, then increased in value, supporting the racecourse’s transmutations with the second racecourse purchased by selling the first one, with an addition of 5,000 shares, an expansion that ran into opposition even before it was built:

> Early in March 1851, when an attempt was made to lay out the line of a road to the New Park, two Europeans were assaulted, following which inflammatory placards appeared in Chinese referring to “stinking barbarians, brute beast, tigers and wolves, who having been taught good manners, reason and law, still remain incorrigible. The only thing left for Chinese is to by death utterly exterminate these barbarians rising into our midst and erecting devilish towers [houses of more than one storey], bringing opium and smuggling and desecrating tombs. Now they wish to open a Horse Road and establish a cavalry parade ground. Let each Chinese select a leader, collect guns and ammunition, and on a future day, by understood signal, make a combined descent on the foreigners, put them to death, and distribute their goods as rewards.” (Coates 29)

Coates tell us that while the Chinese administrators in Shanghai (of the Old City) quickly intervened to defuse the tension, in part by identifying the perpetrators of the anti-foreign sentiment as Henghua, from Fukien (as opposed to Shanghainese), the placards identified two particular development-based infractions—raising of “towers” and the “desecration of tombs.” Such transformations of the landscape, especially the latter, will become the last trope I will

discuss, representing obdurate Chinese-ness within extraterritorial space. In the meantime, it is important to note that the beginnings of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64), the widespread and bloody civil uprising against the Qing empire, began at this time. Coates tells us that preparations for the second course intersected with its other purpose in the period, becoming a staging ground for the first military engagement between the settlement community and the Chinese government—the famous Battle of the Muddy Flat (31, 41).

The background for this incursion is this. Davidson tells us that with the settlement becoming increasingly nervous about growing Taiping unrest in the region, settlement leaders directed the construction of the "Defense Creek," defining the settlement's new western perimeter in explicit military terms, a point augmented by the creation of the concessions' first multinational armed force, Shanghai Volunteer Corps (SVC) (49). The situation escalated—in 1853 the Small Swords Society, a faction sympathetic to the Taiping cause, infiltrated the walled city, rendering Shanghai as a whole volatile as conflicting forces began to assemble there:

> As more and more (Qing) Imperial troops concentrated in the Shanghai area…the situation became tense. There were frequent incidents involving foreign residents and Chinese soldiers. The Chinese also started firing practice just beyond the Defense Creek, and stray bullets kept finding their way into the Recreation Ground on the opposite bank. (Davidson 49)

The Qing government camps settled too close to the settlement, leading Rutherford Alcock, then British consul in Shanghai, to issue an order of evacuation in April of 1854, a demand they prepared to enforce by mustering the SVC, along with American allies, to engage the Imperial army:

> At 3:30 p.m. with drums beating and colors flying, the (SVC) column marched up the Maloo (afterwards Nanking Road) and out into the flat fields. It halted at the edge of the Recreation Ground to await Kirhanga's reply…but the ultimatum had been rejected…. This had a depressing effect upon the volunteers…. they were to take part in a real attack on an enemy whose strength was now estimated at twenty to thirty thousand. (Davidson 52)

Davidson describes the military violence of the scene with details we can imagine as calling up the sense of a weirdly whimsical space, a collapse of recreational and imperial worlds—for example, recounting, "[the troops] marched up the race-course towards the grandstand when cannon-balls suddenly began to fall about them" (52). He adds:

> This action…may appear as a trifling and even comic incident when viewed against the massive horror of the Taiping rebellion, but in fact it was of the greatest significance. A handful of foreigners had put to flight over fifty times number of Chinese regulars in defense of their treaty rights, and never again did the Chinese forces dare to encroach upon the Settlement perimeter. Moreover, the Foreign Office, weeks later, once again approved Alcock's initiative. (53)

I contend that behind Davidson's congratulatory tone about British military intrepidity (even at such a provincial scale) is a more fundamental point regarding the ways the racecourse stages performances of an always extant imperial aggression, expressed in warfare at multiple scales, intertwined with semi-colonial governance, gunboat diplomacy and the forms and procedures of extraterritoriality. I see the Battle, as small warfare, importantly securing a local and proximate version of state power. In fact, the grandstand bears witness to this, being worse for wear at Battle's end, as Davidson describes: "loopholes had been made in the walls, gun emplacements

had been constructed and sandbanks pile dup round the doors and windows. The stand was so droughty that ladies did not attend the race meetings" (82).

To summarize, these racecourse "rims" are both local, geopolitical and rhetorical. They mark the evolution of the space where material incursions onto Chinese territory serve as the base for a superstructural transformation of a London metropolitan leisure form for extraterritorial life. I see London leisure as thus weaponized to galvanize ever larger expansions of British power expressed in both modes, literal and performative. As Yuezhi shows us, the early signification of the place as the edge of empire will continue to animate the martial nature of the space:

> On 17 November 1893, the council held a ceremony to commemorate the 50-year anniversary of Shanghai's development as a commercial port, and troops paraded at the racecourse. Some years later in September 1900, the German Marshall von Waldersee, who was then supreme commander of the Eight-Nation Alliance …[attended] a parade...[held] in his honour at the racecourse….When World War I ended, the armies of the Allies held a grand celebration….In March 1922, Commander-in-Chief Joffre of the French Forces visited Shanghai during World War I, and it was here that he reviewed a drill of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps…On every American Independence Day…whenever a British queen was crowned…when an important foreign military…personage paid a visit, the Municipal Council held a military parade, and it always held it at the racecourse. (482)

Yuezhi tells us that the Chinese government resumed full governance over the space in 1951 and ordered the construction of People's Park and People's Square. It is the history of foreign

occupation, along with memories of anti-Chinese discrimination[63] and its imaginary as a "den of gambling and money squandering"[64] that at this point was activated and counteracted. These exercises of warfare distinguish the Shanghai racecourse project as distinctly colonial, as working to expand London's territory, instead of containing it, or its crowds, the way it would have done in its British context, as we have seen in the discussion above of Frith's *Derby Day*.

[63] Yuezhi recounts the galling nature of anti-Chinese restrictions by citing the "the regulations of the Municipal Council," which state: "1.This area is under western administration. 2. All westerners may enter for the purpose of recreation except on horse racing days or when entry is prohibited by a sign placed by the western administration. 3. Vehicles are permitted only from Longfei Bridge to the Ball Field Association entrance or to the point where they arrive. 4. No horse of any size is allowed to train here. 5. With the exception of servants of westerners or the associations, no Chinese is permitted to enter. 6. If you wish to use this area, you should first petition the western administrator of the ball field for permission." (481). Yuezhi documents further Chinese discrimination in his article: "The Horse Racing Association accepted foreigners of any nationality with the exception of Chinese. In 1908, the association had 320 official members and roughly 500 other members, not one of whom was Chinese. Chinese were not allowed to purchase admission tickets and watch horse races until 1909 when the Horse Racing Association added an observation platform on the western side of the racetrack. Yet Chinese still were not qualified to become official members…For these reasons, the racecourse has long been regarded as the emblematic site of the colonialists' discrimination against Chinese….Indeed, it is often compared with the 'No Dogs or Chinese Allowed' sign at the Bund Park" (Yuezhi 481-2).

[64] Interestingly, the figuration of the racecourse here suggests that it has become an extraterritorial version of London's Orientalist opium den.

Shanghai Necropolis

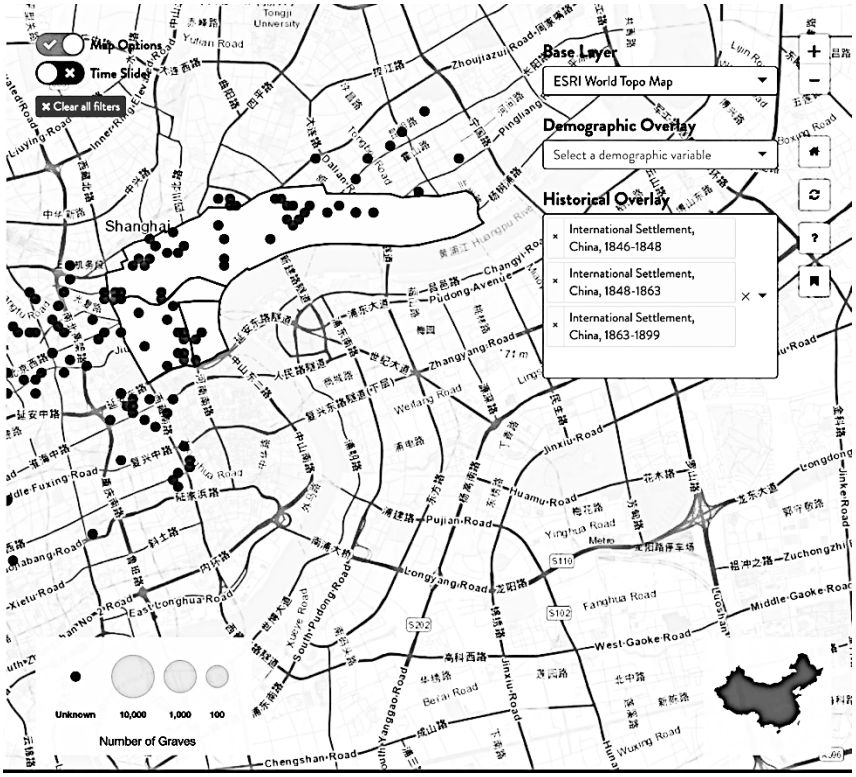

Fig. 7 Visualization of graves in the International Settlement ("When the Dead Go Marching In")

To conclude this section, I draw attention to the ways historians also show how the process of foreign ownership of Chinese land was hardly a frictionless procedure. Urban historian of Shanghai's "deathscape" Christian Henriot writes:

> The reading of Western imperialism seizing Chinese territory with a ready-made blueprint to parcel it out and conquer more land over time – a conventional view in Chinese Marxist historiography and Western studies – certainly requires some revision. ("Colonial Space of Death")

While the treaty makes provisions for the settlement to include places of residence, governance and commerce, Davidson mentions resistance on the part of the Chinese to sell:

> The Settlement area was fortunately sparsely populated, but Chinese who were unwilling to part with title deeds continued to occupy their plots, although no further building by natives was allowed. (Davidson 35)
>
> …New ground was obtained in spite of some official anti-foreign feeling and the unwillingness of the Chinese to part with land…amenities were somewhat impaired by a native village which remained in the middle of the area because it proved impossible to get the inhabitants to sell. (Davidson 41)

In a study of the "rent-in-perpetuity system" deployed in Sino-British land transactions, Yu Chen explains that Shanghai procedures provide the template from which other treaty ports would devise their own rules. Land could not be owned by foreigners, Chen explains, because of the traditional legal doctrine that "all land belonged to the emperor," thus the construction of "rent-in-perpetuity" as a work-around to enable the transfer of land in the treaty ports (187). In her readings of title deeds, mainly in Xiamen, Chen explains that Chinese landowners sought to preserve indigenous customs in these documents, for example, including provisions for adhering to fengshui tenets, or prohibiting the development of cemeteries (Chen 211).

These examples show us that the treaty port is hardly an expansive field for European play and development, with historians repeatedly mentioning cemeteries and gravesites as especially charged features of the landscape:

> The territory chosen lay to the north and west of the Chinese City and for the most part consisted of cultivated fields, dotted here and yonder with a village, and always and everywhere graves, rising in pyramidal grass-grown mounds. (Gamewell 14)

> As usual, the chief difficulty was over the graves, which the purchasers agreed should remain undisturbed. When finally the British were in complete possession of the land, they decided the struggle had been even more severe and nerve-racking than the capture of the City. (Gamewell 15)
>
> On the same afternoon a Mr. Arthur Smith was walking with an unnamed lady on the Recreation Ground when they were set on by four or five soldiers.... Fire was opened by a Royal Marine piquet stationed behind a large gravemound beside the course. (Davidson 49-50)
>
> The problem of visibility was not resolved, however, till 1875, when the whole of the Recreation Ground was leveled, and the numerous gravemounds removed. More and more sports clubs crowded on to this green space. (Davidson 91)

Henriot's essay accompanying the digital mapping project *Chinese Deathscape* explains the ubiquity of these graves, how in fact nineteenth-century Shanghai was "a walled compound surrounded by graves and burial grounds" ("When the Dead"). A fact largely erased by urban transformation and political decisions pre- and post- 1949, he describes funereal practices in the landscape here:

> There were two main types of burial grounds: individual tombs, placed anywhere in the fields, and charity graveyards…. The landscape of death was…complex due to the presence of tens of thousands of unburied coffins (*ting guan bu zang*) all around the city. These two factors—the practice of burial *extra muros* for the urban population and the dense network of villages around Shanghai—produced a very particular geography, almost a topography, of death around the city ("When the Dead")

In fact, Henriot recounts that "the first Western visitors were struck by the multitude of tombs… a column of soldiers that marched from Wusong…reported that 'graves were in every field—mounds of earth, some hollowed into vaults, others with the coffin resting on the top, and covered with matting'" ("When the Dead"). The accompanying maps to Henriot's essay hosted in the site provide striking visualizations of this history, showing grave sites scattered throughout urban space, revealing the complications of the Shanghai racecourse's development, especially given the kinds of large, open spaces of land required by them throughout its metamorphoses (see fig. 6). As the image shows, the land granted to settlements are hardly vacant: "when the British… were allotted a piece of land to establish their respective settlements, they did not find an empty land, a landscape of mud and marshes as the colonial story goes, but a land peppered with village communities and their tombs and graveyards" ("When the Dead"). According the Henriot, "peasants who owned land in the territories earmarked for a foreign settlement could not refuse to sell their land to whoever wanted to acquire it. Yet, careful consideration was given to the issue of tombs and graveyards" ("When the Dead"). He cites land regulations to make this point which I quote below:

> In no case shall the graves of Chinese on land rented by foreigners be removed, without the express sanction of the families to whom they belong, who also, so long as they remain unmoved, must be allowed every facility to visit and sweep them at the established period, but no coffins of Chinese must hereafter be placed within the said limits, or be left above ground. ("When the Dead")

The regulations above and the pattern of challenges to land acquisition I have been tracing so far underscore the ways racecourse space is emplotted within a larger narrative of conflictual land acquisition. This provides an important corrective to the conception of racecourses as given and

naturalized urban spaces of leisure within in treaty ports, or as landmarks of British intrepidity and land speculation. Instead, the history of Shanghai's racecourse reveals the contestation at play in materializing its conditions of possibility in China.

In other words, what this collection of examples shows is that to become a part of the scene of Shanghai, one must work against the encumbrances of the land in order to speculate freely for and about is ever-increasing value. Take this description of the final racecourse by Coates:

> This time [at the construction of the final racecourse], the leaders of the community… realizing that…they had let valuable land go by default, perceived that the land around the fourth course was fit for "desirable residences." Jardine's installed themselves in terrace houses overlooking the course, with their stables nearby, and others followed suit. Across the other side rose the mansion of Henry Morris, who among other things had the controlling interest in the North-China Herald and North China Daily News….This move by leading citizens to occupy prime sites around the course ensured the neighborhood and the course itself of a settled future, giving the Shanghai Racecourse a characteristic unique in the annals of racing in any part of the world, that of being surrounded by the equivalent of Mayfair, with racing stables. (Coates 42)

I read Coates retrospective description of the Shanghai racecourse as a reflection of my larger point, that colonial spatial experiments work in part by adapting and cobbling together specific aspects of London's metropolitan form, i.e., a "Mayfair, with racing stables." Coates' formulation is evocative again in suggesting a likely fantasy of the expatriate commercial class, where London works as a flexible imaginative resource, open to transformation into an enclave

for West End residential living cheek-by-jowl with mass leisure, now re-imagined as an exclusive, and privatized, amenity.

IV. Shanghai's London

In the previous section, I identify tropes in the historiography of British efforts behind the use of a London leisure form in producing colonial space in Chinese territory. In this section, I focus in on the racecourse's program, the architectural term designating the scripts for action, uses and activities within a built environment. Deriving in part from the notion of the program of a theatrical show, the term focuses my analysis on the ways the Shanghai racecourse space meets needs, fulfills desires and solves problems, in particular, the achievement of a cultural and hegemonic style by British, and London (or, at the very least, London-familiar) users of the space. I turn to the coverage of the bi-annual Shanghai Races in the *North China Herald,* the foremost English periodical in the treaty port, and curate an archive of commentary about the place's primary use, to host these races that took place throughout the duration of Shanghai's history as a treaty port, to show how an anxious, self-promoting and self-conscious expatriate racing crowd established a colonial space through a performance of banal complaint, mundane observation and allusive commentary.

Racy Reports[65]

An examination of the *North China Herald* coverage of the races after its inception through the end of the century reveals the way its reports evolved from a brief list: "7th Race-

[65]Taken from the title of a poem from one the reports, "A *Racy* Report, From 'Snuffles' To His Friend A," with these opening lines: "To begin then, the Races went off very well/The Challenge Cup maybe, was rather a sell.…" (*NCH* 3 May 1862).

Native Plate…. Indian and Chinese Riders-Twice Round" plus rules, "Rule 10. Riders to appear in racing costumes….By Order of the Committee" ("Shanghae Races" *NCH* 2 October 1852), to multipage reprints of the happenings of each day's races. They begin to be headed with prefatory remarks written in mock-serious bantering tones, in keeping with the section title for the reports: "Amusements" ("Shanghai Races" *NCH* 5 May 1878). Sometimes, even an occasional poem appears: "A *Racy* Report, From 'Snuffles' to His Friend A," (*NCH* 3 May 1862). As a micro-genre, these *North China Herald* race reports transplanted the airs and manners of a metropolitan leisurely class unto Shanghai space, affecting a modulated camaraderie and knowingness essential for crafting membership to the community itself:

> ….It seemed doubtful if the Stewards in their wisdom would allow the races to take place. It rained heavily and had been doing so all night, making the course more suitable for a sampan than a horse….We cannot but think that the good judgement of these gentlemen was for once astray, as it should not be forgotten that the racedays are our chief, almost our only holidays—the only days in the year when our staid community of elders allows itself a little outdoor amusement. ("Spring Meeting, First Day" *NCH* 9 May 1863)

The report's tone above hails a rather limited set of characters who populate this social world—the Stewards (elders) of the space, horse owners, the jockeys, the settlement hoi-polloi, the ladies. Within this public, historians tell us that the Chinese were ever-present and complicatedly excluded. They were prevented access to the grandstand, and in 1898, banned from entering the enclosure altogether (Chang 100). There were rules preventing Chinese buildings to have windows facing the course, even (Yuezhi 483). Yet, as I will later return to, somehow, they are also compulsively referred to in the reports for their capacity to "muster" as crowds outside the

course ("Spring Meeting, First Day"). Apart from the "mafoos" who sometimes rode as jockeys in the races and thus are admitted entry within the enclosure, a few dignitaries, the Shanghai *Daotai*, magistrate and retinue, could join the Shanghailanders at the grandstand, which the reports noted in amused asides about Chinese earnestness in understanding "British" ways (Coates 121, Chang 96; "Spring Meeting, Fourth Day *NCH* 9 May 1863).[66]

In the passage I quote above, the opening reflection about weather is a trope I would like to focus on in some depth. In discussing the visual spectacle race meetings afforded users of the space, Chang makes mention of the ways weather is marked in relation to the pleasure of wearing and viewing changing fashions, for example, or to spur commentary on either lady-like sensitivities of the female spectators or the presence of the Chinese crowd (Chang 95-96). In the example and more I have located, I turn instead to focus directly on how representations of weather itself suggest the ways reporting the mundane matters in understanding the homogenizing dynamics of the racecourse.

To begin with, in the example above and others, banal content is shot through with gossipy asides, classical allusions, and bad puns:

> Pluvial Deities still in the ascendant, or rather descendant; for it had come down from their watering-pots all night. As if these were exhausted by thirty-six hours drainage, it cleared up towards breakfast time; and numerous were the discussions

[66] I quote the source of this detail in length here: "The Chinese population, also, mustered in crowds at every stand point, where they could get a view of the races: while the Fuhtai, or Governor of the province, was seated in the grand stand surrounded by a numerous retinue of mandarins, and a guard of armed bannermen stood outside the gate. His Excellency seemed to take considerable interest in the different events which were explained to him in Chinese by Mr. Chaloner Alabaster, Interpreter to the British Consulate. We were very much amused to see some of his officials in the weighing room taking note of the mysteries connected with that operation, and doubtless they furnished a graphic report to their master of the barbarian practice of "leading" the *types* of jockeyship who presented themselves on the occasion—which we expect to publish in gridiron and five-barred-gate characters in our next Chinese issue" ("Spring Meeting, Fourth Day" *NCH* 9 May 1863).

over toast and egg as to the prospects of the day. ("Spring Meeting, Second Day" *NCH* 9 May 1863)

However so far as the weather is concerned it was quite cold enough on May-day and its followers to have been the beginning of Spring in this very changeable climate. The only thing that reminded us of…summer was the appearance of "Old Sol" in the heavens, after being "under"—we should rather say "over a cloud," for nearly the whole of last month. April is proverbial for its "smiles and tears;" but our Shanghai Poet, this season, could only sing lugubriously of an abundance of the latter while the former were "few and far between." ("Spring Meeting, Third Day" *NCH* 9 May 1863)

But a keen wind opposed the sun's beams, and on one side of the Stand it was summer while on the other it was something very like winter. Need we say that the Ladies affected the sunny side, and that it was the sunnier for their presence. ("Shanghai Races, First Day" *NCH* 6 November 1873)

Rain fell so continuously for weeks… but during the last fortnight Phoebus conquered Aquarious and the consequent finer weather culminated today in one of the brightest, hottest days we remember….("Shanghai Spring Races, First Day" *NCH* 4 May 1878)

The self-consciously ornamental style shows how chattiness, like the weather, fashions communality through the important narrative maneuver of establishing setting. Weather's banality is perfect source for malleable, circumambient content, and can be seen to inspire the small-talk qualities (iterative, pervasive, middling affects) of the reports. Its subtle and pervasive point is to register the reassuring homogeneity of one's mutual association, establishing a British

sense of place and belonging in an otherwise foreign locale.[67] It could be said that weather, and commentary about it, also provide a way to generate and allude to Shanghai's distinctive literal and social climate:

> The numerous visitors, naval and civil, to our Autumn meeting, had an opportunity of seeing what our 'real Shanghai Autumn weather'… for a more perfect day has never been selected by the Stewards…. ("Shanghai Autumn Races" *NCH* 9 November 1888)

The caprice of the weather aptly mirrors the unpredictable, yet always minor, events inaugurated by attending the races, from which horse will win the race to which fashions will steal the show. I point out that in this sense, reports appropriate the style of weather commentary to discuss the racecourse' social meteorology, so to speak, with repeated references to (usually) wrong predictions made by "prophets" and "oracles" about race outcomes. In this way, we can imagine that shallow commentary federates the community by highlighting the privilege to be trivial, an exclusivity created by access to this traffic in frivolous sociality.

In this sense, bad weather thus signals trouble within the bubble:

> Just before the Griffins'… the heat was intense, and the race was run under a sun that favored the spectators with not less than 140 degrees. Standing was fatiguing and walking well-nigh impossible. Even the Chinese, of whom during the forenoon many thousands had assembled, withdrew before the ardent rays, and did not again venture out; so that the course and its precincts during the afternoon

[67]In *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity,* Ian Baucom provides a counter-example in his reading of weather within the "trope of tropicalization" in Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*. Baucom reads Rushdie as marking an everyday transformation of city space through this trope as an alternative to the scene of revolutionary riot: "For it is finally weather, and not riot, that visits us each day; weather that washes over us, marks us, and translates our corporeal and cultural physiognomies. It is the English weather that Rushdie will translate into the riotous precipitant of the new" (216).

presented a rather bare appearance. ("Shanghai Spring Races, First Day" *NCH* 4 May 1878)

There was an almost absolute calm, so that the smoke from the numerous tall chimneys that show what a manufacturing town Shanghai has become was blowing "every which way" in the capricious airs, and there was just enough haze to mitigate the severity of the sun, without interfering with sight. ("Shanghai Autumn Races, Second Day" *NCH* 7 November 1888)

These two observations of weather actually work against the sense of racecourse' interiority I have been tracking so far. Here, the distinct otherness of Shanghai's urban space as climate intrudes in the prose. These interruptions show how the racecourse is in fact not a perfect simulation of its London counterpart, or perhaps more precisely, of an idealized London racecourse form, situated as it is within local conditions that in fact betray all efforts on the contrary to make it impeccably European. In a sense, smoke and heat (and the rain), i.e., bad weather, become occasions to enact light references to the alterity of the space—the Shanghai-ness of these racing days. Thus, the matter-of-fact starter in the second quote, "Even the Chinese," casually, but importantly, alludes to the overarching climate of estrangement—the omnipresence of China itself.

Figure and Ground

This impression is registered, I observe, in references to Chinese visitors that mostly emphasize their status as a mass, or crowd:

…Attracted an unusual number of foreigners and "Celestial visitants." ("Shanghai Races" *NCH* 19 November 1859)

> A good number of Chinese ventured out to witness the sport; so that the grounds in and outside the enclosure were well occupied in spite of the mud…“ (“Spring Meeting, Second Day” *NCH* 9 May 1863).
>
> The Chinese population, also, mustered in crowds at every stand point, where they could get a view of the races…. (“Spring Meeting, Fourth Day” *NCH* 9 May 1863)
>
> A good number of Chinese ventured out to witness the sport; so that the grounds in and outside the enclosure were well occupied in spite of the mud…. “(“Spring Meeting, Second Day” *NCH* 9 May 1863).
>
> …And though the attendance of Chinese was not quite as large as on Monday early in the day, they came out in full force in the afternoon…. (“Shanghai Autumn Races, Second Day” *NCH* 7 November 1888)
>
> …While the Chinese, up to sunset, were in their usual thousands round the course…. (“Shanghai Autumn Races, First Day” *NCH* 9 November 1888)
>
> There was a large turn-out of native holiday-makers round the course wherever a view was obtainable…. (“Shanghai Spring Races, Spring Meeting, 1900, First Day” *NCH* 4 May 1900)

The Chinese as a crowd-as-background, figured I suggest as a type of weather, distinguishes the Shanghai racecourse space from crowds visualized in comparable settings set in British soil, as we have seen in Frith’s *Derby Day*. In contradistinction to the hyper-curation of London types frozen in technically correct detail, this crowd is coextensive with the overall “ground” of the space (in the perceptual relation of figure-ground, I mean). Their amalgamation as “numbers” and “thousands,” their reliability as spectators, even regimental promptitude (“mustered”), are

essential expressions of the scene's extraterritorial logic. Even as historians and maps show how settlers matter-of-factly reduce Shanghai to the space of the concessions,[68] i.e., European space, foreign occupation of that space depends on the continual production, representation and management of racial borders as well as legal ones. In dismissively announcing the presence of the crowd, the reports exercise a visualization strategy to cope with the reality of being *out*numbered and surrounded. Cursory observations like the following blurrily limn an enclosure of Chinese spectators in order suggest an appropriate buffer zone between British emplacements and Chinese presence:

> Outside, the blue border of Chinese was broad, and dense, while the gathering of carriages was so great in and around the Stand that it is surprising no serious accidents happened. ("Shanghai Races, First Day" *NCH* 6 November 1873)
>
> …The "blue fringe" of Chinese being especially noticeable all around the course…. ("Shanghai Spring Races, Third Day" *NCH* 4 May 1878)

In the above, the consciousness of Chinese spectators as a "blue border" or "blue fringe" is a perceptual move that mimics the cartographic gaze of compartmentalizing space through abstracted lines and edges. By homogenizing Chinese spectators in this way, the

[68] Wasserstrom provides two telling instances where the contestation of Shanghai's "cognitive maps" can be diagnosed. First, the conflict around the Shanghai's "birthday," between the "official endorsement of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)" of the year 1291, "when the place name 'Shanghai' was first used in official documents to refer to an administrative center that stood by the muddy Huangpu River," and Shanghailanders' adopting of 1843, when the treaty port was established. Wasserstrom writes, "To drive their home point, Shanghailanders held a Victorian-style "Jubilee"— complete with parades, speeches, and fireworks…to mark the passage of the city's first fifty years" (*Global Shanghai* 3). The other instance Wasserstrom offers about this insular conception of Shanghai comes to us in his discussion of the year 1875 as a seminal year in Shanghai history, in part because it is the year that "[sees] the publication of the first map showing the Chinese and Western districts of the city as a single entity" (37). Citing Catherine Yeh's essay on Shanghai maps, Wasserstrom writes that the map "broke with [Chinese mapmaking] tradition…by including a careful and accurate representation of the city's foreign-run districts" and also, that "Western maps…both prior to and after 1875 often either ignored Shanghai's Chinese-run areas completely, [showing] only parts of them at the edge of the page, or [showing] them fully but rendered…as lacking in all points of interest" (*Global Shanghai* 39).

implication is that multiplicitous European subjectivities within the enclosure are preserved. In fact, this desire for multiplicity, the essential attribute of London space, and in particular, the London racing crowd, is unsurprisingly invoked:

> We venture to say that the great English National anniversary, immortalized by Frith, never passed off more pleasantly and successfully, than our Autumn meeting…. There was not *quite* so much pending on the issue of each race, perhaps, or such assemblage of rank and fashion to witness; but we have the advantage of our British cousins of the Turf in many respects. Firstly, our Derby-day comes twice a year! Then the excitement it creates is always fresh-hearty-genial; the spirit in which our Races are managed is manly and straight forward, free from spiteful party feeling, and what is better still, from that system of jockeyism which debases a gentleman to the level of a horsedealer, and an ennobling pursuit to that of a gambling transaction. Some of our nags might create a smile at Tattersall's—we say nothing of the Jocks—but surely Shanghai has reason to be proud of a horse, which can run two miles within four seconds of the time accomplished by *Voltiguer* and *Flying Dutchman* in their great match at Doncaster,—as *Cheerful* did on Saturday last carrying three stone more. ("Shanghai Races" *NCH* 19 November 1859)

In the passage above, the reporter imagines Shanghailander spectators by importing Frith himself, whose gaze serves as the vector of London in the report's account of the race. We can imagine that he invokes William Powell Frith "eyes" not to reproduce *Derby Day* in Shanghai, but instead to extract a purer form detached from the smoke and bother of a vexed London world, a "fresh-hearty-genial" and "manly and straightforward" one, a city "free from spiteful

party feeling" and also free of the commercialism of "horse[dealing]" and "gambling [transactions]." This is in fact a London, and London racecourse "ennobled" of bricolage and class panoply.

Thus the writer traffics in the painting's power to organize London crowds to extract a fabricated expatriate one out of its Chinese environment. He borrows Frith's eyes and all the associations accrued to his popularizing vision to produce a simulated London crowd in contradistinction to the Chinese world without:

> The Grand *Stand* presented a gay, yet *moving* spectacle, and Frith might have found ample scope for the exercise of his genius in the eager throng on the steps and round the weighing-room-the varied costumes of the Jockeys—the grave Judge, upon whose decision hung the fate of thousands (of dollars)—the no less Important Starter, with his flag of office, affable but firm—and Oh! For a Leech to transfer to paper with a few magic touches of his pencil, as Leech only can, the bright eyes and blooming faces that graced the balcony! (Shanghai Races" *NCH* 19 November 1859)

Here the reporter moves from invoking Frith to commandeering him altogether, using the subjunctive not only to magnify the metropolitan appetite for panorama unto Shanghai space, but to displace it. While a common reading of the above would suggest that the reporter attempts to Londonize Shanghai, I suggest that an opposite move is at play. The Shanghai racecourse is a space of "ample scope" not only for artistic genius, but for an imperialistic one. Here the reporter appropriates London racecourse dynamics by almost evacuating London altogether. As the prose mimics the painterly ambitions of Frith identifying equivalent types in Shanghai, the energetic descriptors and breathless syntax is interrupted and concluded by a last invocation of John

Leech, London caricaturist. Leech is enjoined to "transfer" the crowd to "paper," a procedure that, in fact, the report has just effected to do. London heterogeneity no longer matters here, nor even London referentiality. Rather, what matters is the extraterritorial subject's insertion in his place, his invention of an *absent* Frith and Leech—"Frith might have found," or "Oh! For a Leech" that lays bare the thrill of not only bearing witness to a Shanghai *Derby Day,* but witnessing it in place of them. I propose that what matters in this verbal re-painting of *Derby Day* are the affects and pleasures of a kind of displaced extraterritorial emplacement, the emotional payoff garnered by the feat of imperial-spatial expansion ventured by the colonial settler class in the first place, to have both Shanghai *and* London within it. In this way, the Shanghai racecourse, amoeba-like, ingests London, a transurban site where expatriate occupants of Shanghai enact the possibility of imaginatively enclosing London itself.

V. Chinese Rim

Yet to return to this chapter's opening image, what of the crowd operating outside this type of metropolitan-cultural cannibalism?

In one of the essays on the *Dianshizhai* materials in the *MIT Visualizing Cultures* project, Jeffrey Wasserstrom frames a discussion of the pictorial by calling into question the Shanghai "city myths"[69] commonly deployed in conceptualizing Shanghai. In it, Wasserstrom reads the

[69] Here, Wasserstrom is invoking Mike Davis's term from his LA work, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* which "limns the powerful 'sunshine' and 'noir' visions of Los Angeles," "[employing the term] 'city myths' to refer to deeply embedded narratives that come to define an urban center and are often used for strategic purposes, from legitimating a set of political relationships to encouraging outsiders to move to or invest in the place" ("Shanghai's Lens on the New(s) I").

racecourse image in particular as complicating what he calls the "China-meets-the-West City Tale":

> The viewer sees Western jockeys on racehorses, a crowd made up of mostly Chinese but some Western spectators, a mix of horse-drawn carriages and palanquins, and the racecourse surrounded by buildings that look Western in style (at the top of the image, below), or Chinese in style (at the bottom). All of this fits a China-meets-the-West reading. Yet, a third key form of transportation is shown at the bottom, left: rickshaws. These were a Japanese import. In Western representations of Shanghai, they could be used to stand for its non-Western aspects, but they were no less an import than the horse-drawn coaches. ("Shanghai Lens on the New(s) I")

Rickshaws are a key example among others in the set of *Dianshizhai* lithographs Wasserstrom marshals to illustrate the pictorial's "East-meets-the-East" qualities, arguing for a cross-Asian cosmopolitanism missed by a focus on a dominating story of East-West contact. Wasserstrom argues that this showcases the *Dianshizhai's* uniqueness as an archive, that despite being British owned, the pictorial's employee pool of Chinese graphic artists and journalists produce a distinctive hybrid representation of Shanghai space, introducing alternative points of departure for identifying cross-cultural influence or revising narratives about the city's global form ("Shanghai Lens on the New(s) I").

To this point, historians of the Shanghai racecourse who are able to draw from Chinese language archives provide a fuller dimension of the vibrance of this liminal space, and Chinese participation in particular. In fact, Chang's essay comments extensively on this particular geographic strip, as part of her larger argument about the importance of spectacle and visuality in

horse-racing for an urbanizing Shanghai: "….the Chinese population used the gray area on the outer circle of the racecourse as a space for wild display and spectating" (105). Drawing in part from Chinese newspapers, she documents how Chinese spectators innovated and differentiated forms of pleasure from the racecourse, despite barriers to their access, explaining that "…in 1878, the peak number of Chinese in attendance reached 20,000….around 10% of the total [Chinese] population….However, [only]… the local Daotai, the county magistrate and the magistrate of the Mixed court…could get invitations to sit on the Grandstand after 1898" (96). Chang explains that despite this block to the Grandstand, Chinese spectators' numbers are strong:

> …After 1898 the majority of Chinese were unable to get in the venue and were merely able to stand outside the racecourse, peering over the trenches that separated them from the track. *Shenbao* described the crowds who gathered on the north and east sides of the Shanghai race-track in the following terms: "There were those wearing the short tunic of the craftsman, others in long scholar's gowns, as well as sons of wealthy families in silk cloth and white-haired elders. Still further, there were old women and young ladies, all treading on each other's toes and stretching their necks to attend and striving for a glimpse [of the action]." (96-97)

As Chang tells us, the crowd on the rim was composed of a cross section of Shanghai Chinese, reflecting the same heterogeneity of the British racecourses previously discussed:

> As for the Chinese, as the foreign institutions closed, any enterprises which had doings with foreigners would also be quiet…Aside from the literati, young men from wealthy families, rich merchants, high officials, craftsmen, and peddlers, the

> attendees also included famous courtesans, young daughters of rich families, and pretty daughters of more humble homes. Even Shanghai's silk-spinning factory women and those who ran their own stores would call their aunts and sisters to take advantage of the horse racing holidays to make merry. (98)

I observe here that this mixed composition importantly marks the ways Chinese participation ushers in what urban theorist Abdoumaliq Simone calls "cityness," the ebullient dynamism of city life that flourishes despite management, a dynamism which is importantly "[the city's] capacity to provoke relations of all kinds":

> Cityness refers to the city as a thing in the making…For all the efforts made to ensure order, accountability, and the transparency of how things work and decisions get made, cityness continues to haunt the city. This is because in the same place and time, another set of conditions, another way of doing things, and another reality have always already been possible-and in an important way, were always already in place. It is precisely this virtual presence of cityness in each and every major and mundane action undertaken to structure urban life that is made peripheral—even if the viability of urban economies, governance, and innovation needs that cityness as an essential resource. (Simone 8)

Thus, I see this Chinese-based heterogeneity as Shanghai's cityness, its "essential resource" that allows us to read the Shanghai racecourse as also the locale of a transurban counterimaginary, one that works by throwing into relief the very social mixtures repressed by the cultural homogenizing logics I have been tracing so far. To this point, Chang interestingly relays how Chinese journalists innovate ways to comment on the spectacle for their own consumption, stressing the ways the sport was "exotic" and "novel" for the Chinese themselves (96-7):

> Most of *Shenbao* 's journalists were not conversant with Western languages and when reporting on the outcome of the race were either unable to give details or often relied on hearsay. Hence, they would distinguish the horses and jockeys by means of color, for example "the victor was the black horse, its rider in red and wearing a black vest," or else "there were many competitors, and it is said that the winner was the American firm Russell & Co., but it is still not yet properly known." With journalists such as this, one can well imagine the level of knowledge available to ordinary spectators. However, this did not hinder the crowd's delight in sightseeing. (97)

Chang shows us that the races became a differentiated Chinese leisure form with Chinese spectators setting up their indigenous systems of information relay to excavate and repurpose the social meanings of racing. Take for example the ways in which Chang describes how the racecourse rim extends existing spaces for cross-gender exchange:

> Within this space, the most attractive aspect was that men were allowed to watch women without restrictions regardless of whether they were decent women or courtesans from Shanghai's brothels. For the many "hungry men" who normally did not have the opportunity to enter theaters or restaurants to gaze upon the grace of the courtesans nor the opportunity to meet the ladies of rich families, this time was tantamount to a godsend. At the outer circle of the racecourse, they would so busy themselves with running back and forth and looking around that they "saw no person on horseback but sighted only the beauties in carriage" (98).

As Chang explains, Chinese spectators participate in producing their own leisure form, an agency distributed across gender lines as well:

> …the highest-ranking prostitutes, known as "changsan" and "yao'er" began to see the races as an excellent opportunity to display new clothing and makeup….The carriages were also carefully chosen, the best being the four-wheeled coach with glass windows. Described as "glass on four sides [of the coach], a line of carriages with charming and beautiful women [inside]," passersby could see within at a glance….Sometimes if they had no client to cover the costs, wealthy courtesans would foot the bill themselves and set out hand in hand with their female friends. (98)

Chang's point here is that "watching the races and watching those watching the races became unified" (99). I extend this by contending that the self-direction displayed by Shanghai courtesans over the space appropriates the racecourse's colonial power to command "the crowd," both literally and figuratively. I see their orchestration of alternate performances, deployed simultaneously as the horse-races themselves, as an important transurban moment where the London racecourse's capacity to generate, subdivide and re-assemble multiple "crowds" in fact becomes a way to collect and conserve political power. Here, I argue, the Shanghai racecourse becomes an extraterritorial space of public leisure that destabilizes lines of possession for its assembled bodies, producing new authorizations for the energies of the crowd.

What Chang's work lets us see more clearly is the ongoing agenda for the space set by its Chinese users, an agenda that will later morph into multiple Chinese futures for the space, as Yuezhi emphasizes in his essay, from hosting Chiang Kai Shek's victory speech at the conclusion of WWII to its renaming as People's Park by the Chinese Community Party (485). The most immediate "future" however is what I would like end on, when, as Chang describes,

Chinese spectators blazed their own trail towards entering the space as full betting participants circa 1919 (101).

Pressured by a growing multinational population, the rise of mass-entertainment like amusement parks, and importantly a growing "group of Chinese 'sportsmen," the Shanghai racecourse succumbed to the pressure to open up the space (Chang 99). According to Chang, this last motivation is especially salient, attesting to the ways this new Chinese "metropolitan elite, who had intimate connections with foreign firms, maritime customs, or missionary schools" were no longer content to be on the sidelines of the sport and thus established their own clubs and courses, the International Race Club (IRC) as the Shanghai exemplar in 1911 (100). Aside from participating in the sport, the founders of the IRC importantly sought "an opportunity for social interaction between Chinese and foreigners and to expand their interpersonal networks, thereby consolidating their newly acquired social and economic statuses within the concessions" (Chang 100). Thus, in a way, the IRC can be seen as the fifth, unplanned racecourse, suggestive of the ways the racecourse manages the flows of empire by morphing into alternate locales of leisure to manage, thwart or collectivize the crowds in each particular geography. In this regard, as Chang shows us, the Shanghai racecourse actually came to seem like a derivative space to the IRC:

> Contrary to SRC's practice, IRC adopted a policy of gate money. All spectators, whether foreign or Chinese, were permitted entry to the racecourse to watch the races so long they bought tickets….That the IRC admitted Chinese spectators made conspicuous the unfairness of the SRC regulations and public opinion began to turn against them. The news coverage in the Chinese newspapers gradually moved from praising the importance Westerners attached to military preparations to satirizing SRC policy, describing the racecourse as a "Pleasure Place for the

> Arrogance of the White Race" that Chinese were not permitted to set foot in. (100-101)

We can imagine here that the IRC is not simply a replication of the Shanghai racecourse, but a revision and re-routing of its logics, using the charge of imperialism extant in the site to reload the rhetoric of anti-coloniality. And, as Chang writes, the IRC succeeded in reversing the directionality of replication:

> After almost ten years of resistance and public pressure, the SRC finally changed its tune in 1919…. The SRC began to advertise in all the major Chinese newspapers for the first time, inviting Chinese to enter the racecourse….The SRC not only admitted Chinese spectators to the enclosure of the racecourse, but it also followed in the footsteps of the IRC….To encourage city residents to attend…[the IRC] held races on Chinese festivals such as Dragon Boat Festival and Mid-Autumn Festival….This schedule was well-suited to the requirements of city residents and from 1919 onward, the SRC began to imitate their practices. (101)

In my view, the above description emphasizes the ways the Shanghai racecourse's Chinese "rim" shorts a London homogenizing circuitry. In a sense, centering the shaping dynamics of the IRC in the story of the Shanghai racecourse suggests the ways extraterritorial conditions recast London's destiny from the metropolitan center of a cosmopolitan world to a rather circumscribed and inconsequential node of parochial concerns, increasingly registrable perhaps in irony and shrill complaint, as in this rather lengthy 1869 example, of which I quote a part:

> Is it to improve the lawn in front of the Stand that a wretched black sheep with a fleece of 3 or 4 years growth on its back has been tethered to the fence during some of the hottest days, without a drop of water, panting and blowing with the

> intense heat of the sun and the accumulation of wool intended by nature as a provision against the icy cold of an inclement mountain clime, pacing back and fro as far as his limited tether would allow, and more than half the time with his leg entangled in the turns of the rope coiled tightly round? This weary prisoner has not improved the lawn within the limited circumference of his tether. The Humane Society can have no agent here, or the cruelty perpetrated on this sheep by leaving all this accumulation of wool, matted and tangled together as it is, and the exposing it to the unsheltered rays of a Shanghai sun, would never have been permitted. As reasonable would it be for its owner to encase himself and his thickest winter suit and then add three or four great coats in the sweltering July weather. ("The Race Course," *NCH* 26 July 1869)

One can hardly resist imagining, at the end of this tirade against the racecourse's temporary closure for the upkeep of grass, that the wretched black sheep at its center is perhaps a more apt figure, than griffin or noble British steed, for the British metropolitan subject upon this Shanghai locale. In this sense, the racecourse abandons such a creature to land and atmosphere. Appropriately enough, real Shanghai weather is indifferent, or, passively hostile, to the self-entangling situation of its extraterritorial emplacement.

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