

中文版在第 13-17 頁

上海扶輪人卡爾·克勞---中國通的老師傅

Shanghai Rotarian Carl Crow---A Tough Old Chinese Hand

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Carl Crow was one of the 37 charter members of Shanghai Rotary Club (上海扶輪社) in 1919 (*Classification: Advertising*), and was active throughout the years until the Imperial Japan's aggression and captured Shanghai in 1937. One of the Rotary projects that contributed much by Crow was the nation-wide propaganda in 1926 on "Preventing Smallpox for Children". Crow through his advertising agency furnished hundreds of bill-posters and other assistance. This was reported in the September 1926 Issue of *《The Rotarian》* magazine, Page 42.

Crow's achievements in his 25 years in China were legion and in many cases long lasting -- establishing one of the longest running English-language newspapers on the China coast; deeply influencing Shanghai's advertising and marketing culture as well as writing several best-selling books on China of the 20th Century---but when he arrived in Shanghai in the summer of 1911 fresh off the boat from America he was just another Griffin---that wonderful term which has slipped from usage now but was then widely used to describe a recent arrival to China, a 'newbie' in the current parlance. And like all China Griffins he could but wonder at the strange land he had pitched up in.

Herbert Carl Crow (1883–1945), (though nobody ever called him Herbert and he hated the name) was born in rural Highland, Perry County, Missouri, United States. After apprenticing as a printer the lure of journalist life called and he enrolled in the newly established Missouri University School of Journalism. A combination of financial penury and a thick streak of entrepreneurialism meant he sat in the classroom for a grand total of 12 hours before setting out to seek his fortune. Reporting stints with the *《Columbia-Missouri Herald》* and on the *《Fort Worth Star-Telegram》*'s crime beat followed before a summons to the International Settlement

of Shanghai (上海公共租界) and a job (associate city editor covering diplomatic affairs) on a newly formed, American-run newspaper---the 《China Press》 (大陸報) (see image on Page 5).

Carl Crow couldn't have picked a better time to arrive in Shanghai. His ship docked in the small trading enclave on the Huangpu River (黃浦江) in August 1911. Crow found Shanghai hot, humid, fascinating but lacking in hard news of global importance. Two months later the 28-year-old U.S. journalist was covering the uprising that would bring down the Ch'ing Empire (大清國). All that changed following the nationalist revolution of 1911 and Crow, barely three months in China, found himself in the center of one of the great stories of the first half of the century as the 267-year old Ch'ing Dynasty passed into history and the Nationalist Republic of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen (孫中山) took control of China. For the next few years, Crow was to follow the rise of Dr. Sun, the power struggles that bedeviled China, the rise of warlords and the impact of the First World War on China as Japan first bared her teeth menacingly towards Peking (*Beijing*) (北京). It was an era of hope and heartbreak. Crow looked on as the Manchu's grip on power failed, ushering in an age of warlords, bandits and provincial powerbrokers with Imperial Japan waiting in the wings, making increasingly arrogant land-grabs.

Crow swiftly became known among expats in Shanghai as pro-Chinese. He neither ignored the millions of people who surrounded the 31 sq.km of foreign settlement nor despised them. Crow was to become a knowledgeable observer of developments, interviewing Dr. Sun during his brief presidency, then later spending time with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek (蔣介石) and his bewitching, scheming wife, Soong Mei-Ling (宋美齡).

Two years later in 1913 Crow published 《The Travelers' Handbook for China》, a reliable guide to the country. The First World War (1914-1918) was also the catalyst for Crow's entrepreneurial inclinations. The post-war economic boom in Shanghai encouraged him to establish in 1918 Carl Crow Inc.---China's first and largest western style advertising agency and the business that was to make him rich and respected member of Shanghai's foreign community. Carl Crow Inc. was a business, but for Crow it often appears to have been a way to indulge his hobbies as an amateur anthropologist and sociologist of Chinese manners and culture (and, by the way of which, foreign manners and cultures on the China coast too). This deeper understanding of China meant that Crow not only came to influence Chinese advertising through promoting the blending of Chinese and Western styles into the images of attractive modern Shanghai women (see images on Page 11) that were so successful in selling a host of consumer goods to the Chinese, but also led him to become involved in a host of escapades from helping rescue hostage from a warlord in Shantung (*Shandong*) (山東) and witnessing most of the epoch shaping events in China of the period from the May Fourth Movement (五四運動) of 1919 to the so-called First Shanghai War (一·二八事變) in 1932. Many of these eyewitness accounts and experiences are recalled in his book 《Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom》 (洋鬼子在中國) (1940).

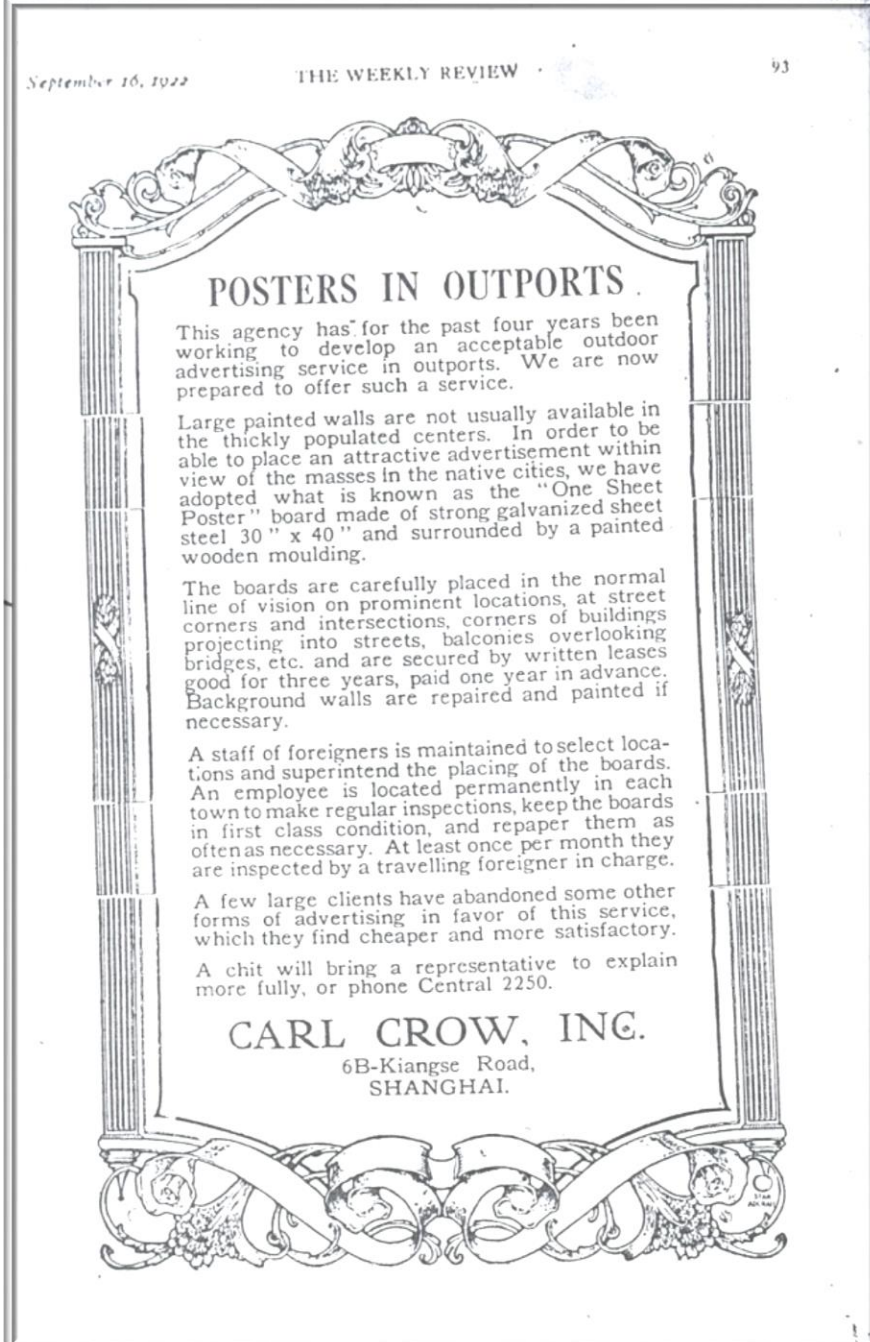
In the turbulent years, his success allowed Crow to spend time on China watching. It was the era in which Shanghai, a gangster-ridden city in the 1930s, made its reputation as the Paris of Asia or the Whore of the Far East; each title was equally apt.

He also did stints as an emergency police sergeant, gentleman farmer, go-between for the American government, and propagandist. As his career progressed, so did the fortunes of

Shanghai. The city transformed itself from a dull colonial backwater when Crow arrived, to the thriving and ruthless cosmopolitan metropolis of the 1930s when Crow wrote his pioneering book – 《Four Hundred Million Customers》 (四萬萬顧客) -- that encouraged a flood of businesses into the China market in an intriguing foreshadowing of today's boom.

This Ad is from 1922 and highlights Crow's poster business outside Shanghai – Crow had the largest billboard Ad network in China and made good money of the business. Crow's personal archive is housed at the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missouri, U.S.A.

September 16, 1922 THE WEEKLY REVIEW 93



POSTERS IN OUTPORTS.

This agency has for the past four years been working to develop an acceptable outdoor advertising service in outports. We are now prepared to offer such a service.

Large painted walls are not usually available in the thickly populated centers. In order to be able to place an attractive advertisement within view of the masses in the native cities, we have adopted what is known as the "One Sheet Poster" board made of strong galvanized sheet steel 30" x 40" and surrounded by a painted wooden moulding.

The boards are carefully placed in the normal line of vision on prominent locations, at street corners and intersections, corners of buildings projecting into streets, balconies overlooking bridges, etc. and are secured by written leases good for three years, paid one year in advance. Background walls are repaired and painted if necessary.

A staff of foreigners is maintained to select locations and superintend the placing of the boards. An employee is located permanently in each town to make regular inspections, keep the boards in first class condition, and repaper them as often as necessary. At least once per month they are inspected by a travelling foreigner in charge.

A few large clients have abandoned some other forms of advertising in favor of this service, which they find cheaper and more satisfactory.

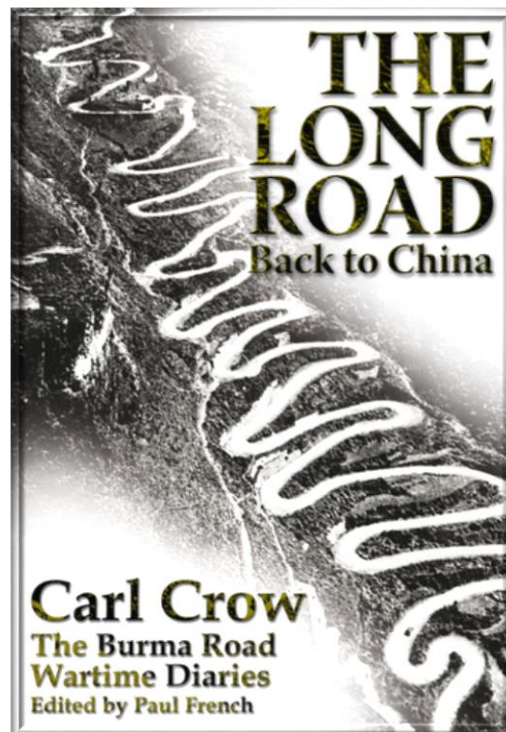
A chit will bring a representative to explain more fully, or phone Central 2250.

CARL CROW, INC.
6B-Kiangse Road,
SHANGHAI.

By 1937, Imperial Japan came into the open and the long and savage attack on China began. It was the Battle of Shanghai (淞滬會戰), the ingression of the Second Sino-Japanese War which ended Crow's China coast sojourn. In Shanghai, 350,000 Chinese fled, thousands of expatriates lining up at the docks to board a hastily improvised evacuation fleet. It was the low point of Crow's life. In August 1937 following Black Saturday and the bombing of Shanghai, Crow had been forced to leave not as a successful businessman returning home on a conquering hero but as a refugee with one suitcase and an overcoat. He had had to leave most of his money, his possessions, his business and his property to an uncertain fate in Shanghai. Arriving back in America, he claimed that for the first time he knew real poverty. His answer to this predicament was to throw himself into his writing and in the following years published several books including his classic account of the misfortunes of foreign business in China, 《*Four Hundred Million Customers*》. *Foreign Devils* published in 1940 as part of his attempt to stay afloat financially as it became increasingly apparent that he would not be able to return to Shanghai and would never see his home and his business again.

Crow's China odyssey was not at an end. He returned to Chungking (*Chongqing*) (重慶) in 1939, entering China via the Burma Road from Rangoon to Kunming (昆明). He drank whisky with future premier Zhou Enlai (周恩來), he worked for U.S. intelligence and he wrote passionately pro-China books before spending his final years in the United States. He wrote a diary of this time which has been edited by Shanghai-based English writer Paul French, and published in 2009 as 《*The Long Road Back to China: The Burma Road Wartime Diaries*》.

Carl Crow died of cancer in Lenox Hill Hospital, Manhattan, New York City, U.S.A., in June 1945, not long before the fall of the Japanese Empire.





《大陸報》差不多每週都報導有關上海扶輪社活動的新聞和通告。

上海圖書館徐家匯藏書樓歷史文獻中心收藏了一整套原版《大陸報》，歡迎讀者瀏覽。

《The China Press》— A complete set of the original papers is available for readers at the Historical Collection Center of the Shanghai Library located at The Bibliotheca Zi-Ka-Wei, No. 1555 Huaihai Zhong Lu, Shanghai.

This paper provided almost every week news lines about Shanghai Rotary Club's activities.

The Newspaper Editor

Crow was also the founding editor of *《The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury》* in 1929 which was an American-owned English language newspaper in Shanghai, China, published by the Post-Mercury Company. The newspaper represented the point of view of Shanghai's American business community. The newspaper offices were located across from the Shanghai International Settlement. *《LIFE》* reported that the magazine was "old and respected". Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, author of *《Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations》* and the *《Recognition Controversy, 1949-1950》*, said that the newspaper was "conservative". The paper had a Chinese edition, *Ta Mei Wan Pao 《大美晚报》*. Crow worked for the newspaper for a period and left, with Cornelius V. Starr replacing him as the manager of the paper. Starr believed that Crow was not a good choice for a longer term manager but had been a good choice as the founder of the newspaper.



Front page of *《The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury》* (27 September 1938)

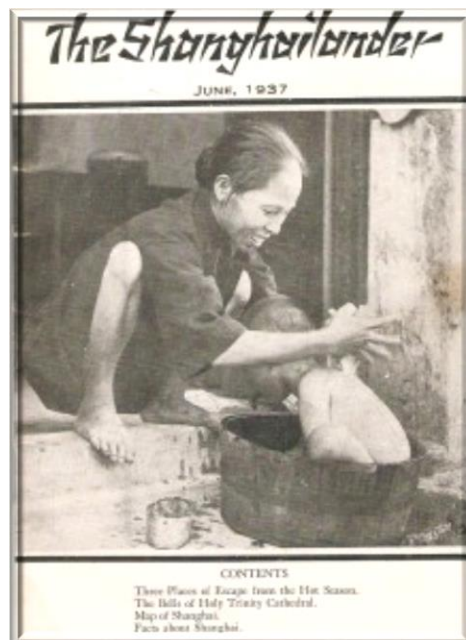
The Shanghailanders

The word “Shanghailanders” was used to for the foreigners living in Old Shanghai. The Shanghailanders were the foreigners that had already spent more than a year.

Just like many of the English magazines in today’s Shanghai, 《*The Shanghaider*》 was a monthly guide to Shanghai, “A monthly magazine devoted to interpreting Shanghai and China to visitors---and residents”. It was published by Carl Crow Inc. The first issue publication started in January 1932. The June 1937 Issue might be the last as the attack on Shanghai by the Imperial Japan’s army from August 1937 and the fierce Battle of Shanghai that followed saw many foreign residents start fleeing away, including Crow and his second wife Helen.

The magazine content was very similar to today’s equivalents including a feature article, business directory, facts about Shanghai and a center-fold street map of the city center. The last page was devoted to “Places to see in China”, listing Soochow, Hangchow, Nanking and Peking. The only unusual part was the almanac, listing events related to Shanghai that happened on the same day years before as the genre was gone out of fashion long ago.

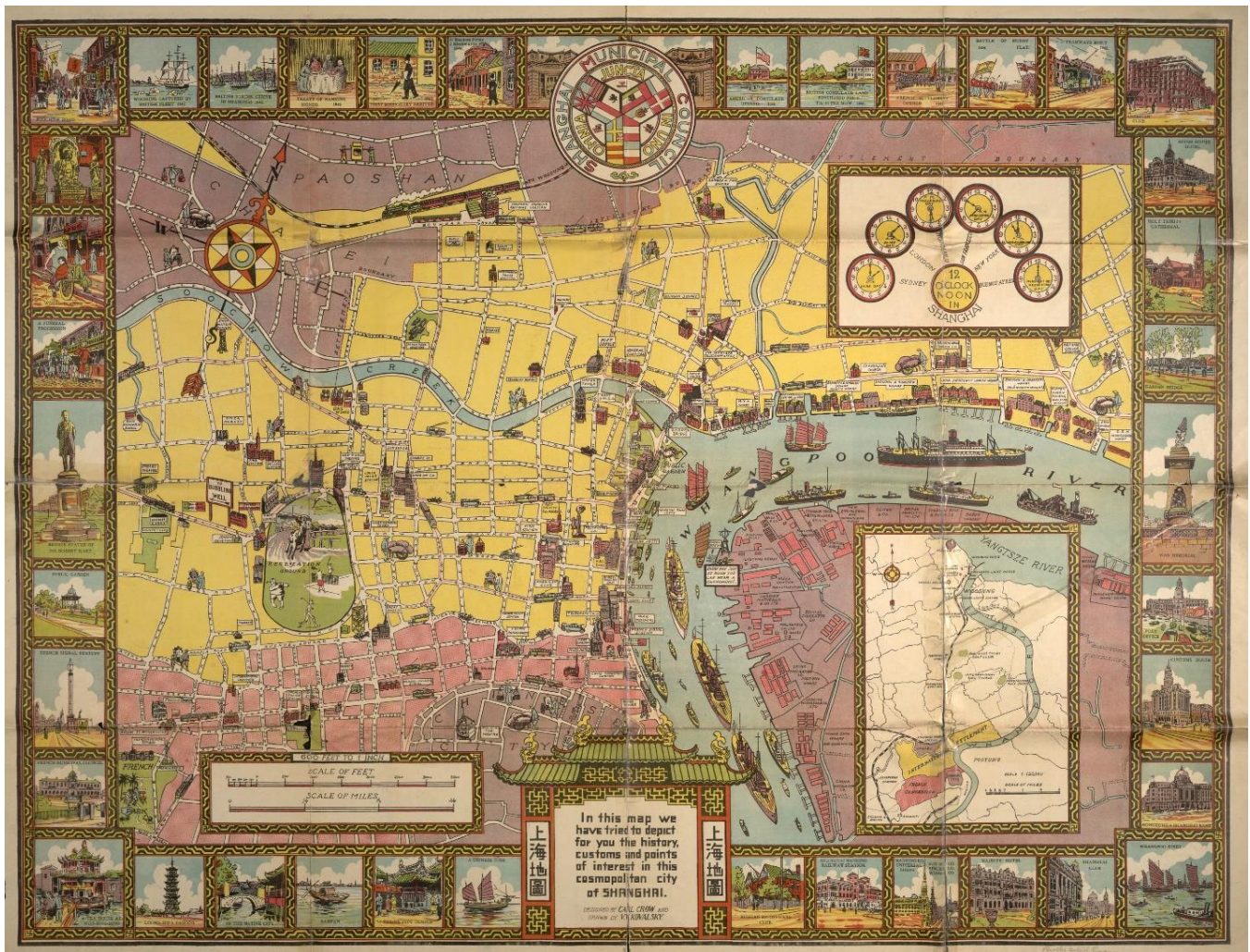
The magazine was surely a good support for selling Carl Crow’s books as the full back cover as an advertising for 《*400 Million Customers*》, his most famous book. Just like today about half of the magazine is advertising, for the international and famous local brands including famous hotels of the time, Astor House and Palace Hotel (now Swatch Art Peace Hotel) from the HongKong & Shanghai Hotel Company (today’s owner of Peninsula Hotel in Hong Kong), Broadway Mansions Hotel and Park Hotel. Entertainment places like the Canidrome (逸園跑狗場) (the flower market between Maoming Lu 茂名路 and Shaanxi Lu 陝西路) and the Hai-Alai at the auditorium on corner of Avenue Joffre (霞飛路) (today Huai Hai Lu 淮海路) and Avenue du Roi Albert (亞爾培路) (today Shaanxi Nan Lu 陝西南路). Alcohol were also advertised such as 《*Ewo Beer*》 and 《*White Horse Whisky*》, both brands of Jardine, Matheson & Co., Ltd., as well as 《*Martell Brandy*》 and 《*Sandeman Port*》, distributed by Gande, Price & Co., Ltd.



The 1935 Map of Shanghai Designed by Carl Crow

In 1935, the Shanghai Municipal Council (上海公共租界工部局) published a map for visitors to the city, and they commissioned Crow to produce. This 1935 historical map of Shanghai International Settlement (上海公共租界) was designed by Crow who was a ceaseless promoter of China in general, and of Shanghai in particular. The map illustrates his vision of a “cosmopolitan” city where the American, French, British, and Chinese cultures mixed.

Since its forcible opening in the middle of the 19th century, Shanghai, a “treaty port” designated for Chinese-Western trade, had been host to self-governing foreign settlements. The Shanghai Municipal Council, composed of representatives from these settlements, published this map, and the vignettes ranging around the borders of the map illustrate a poly-cultural history, juxtaposing portraits of a tea house and Long Hwa Pagoda with images of the French signal station and a buttoned-down statue of British diplomat Sir Robert Hart.

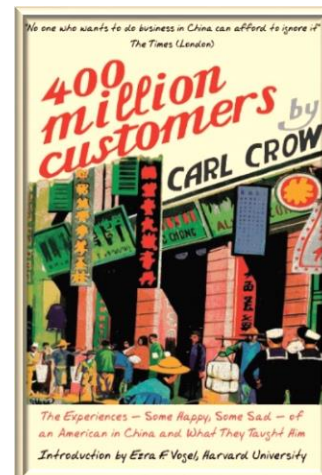
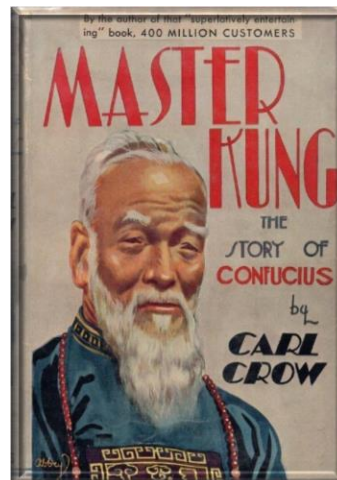
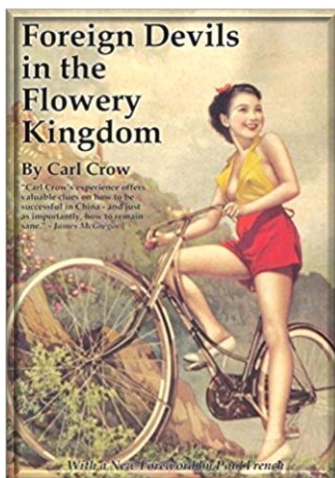


1935年克勞設計的一張上海公共租界街道地圖，展示了主要的地標。

Books Written by Carl Crow

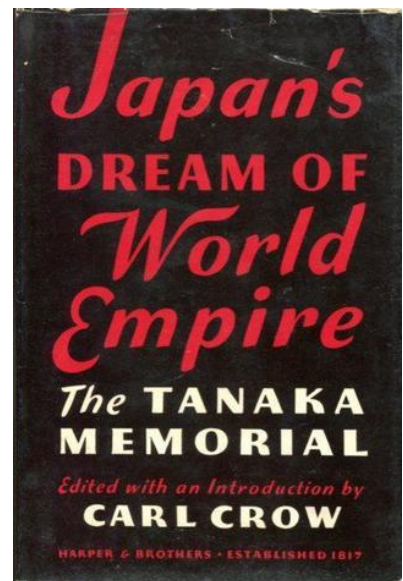
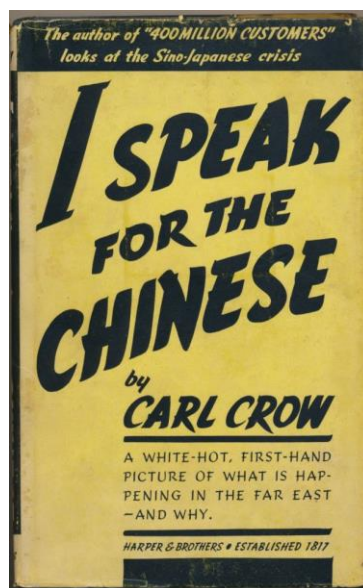
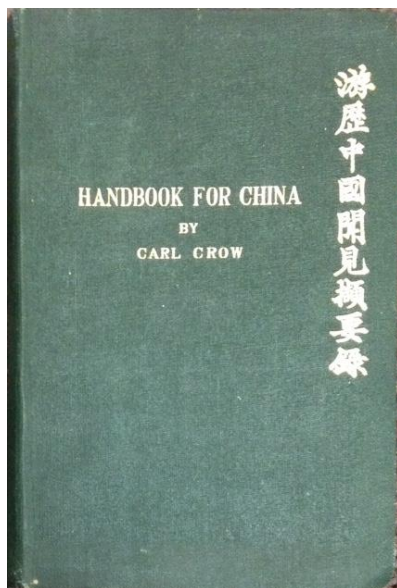
Carl Crow wrote and published his first book in China was in 1913: 《*The Travelers' Handbook for China*》. The next 2 books were published in New York regarding America and the Asian countries: 1914 《*America and the Philippines*》 and; 1916 《*Japan and America: A Contrast*》. The latter one was not written to exaggerate the problems or to alarm Americans. It was the sincere wish of the author that the problems find a peaceful solution and that the ocean which separates Japan from the mainland of America remain Pacific in fact as well as in name. But a solution is not to be found until the problem is stated in definite terms, nor does it aid toward a better understanding of the situation to give the Japanese credit for a sentiment they do not possess, and attribute to them a code of morality which is as strange to them as is hard kart to us.

With A. R. Burt and J. B. Powell, Crow published the bilingual 《*Biographies of Prominent Chinese*》 (中華今代名人傳) (c.1925). In the 1930s and 1940s, Crow wrote 13 books, including the explanation of his Confucianism, 《*Master Kung: The Story of Confucius*》 (1937); the anecdotal 《*The Chinese are Like That*》 (1938), titled *My Friends the Chinese in England*; and his most popular book, 《*400 Million Customers*》 (1937). This book won one of the early “National Book Awards: the Most Original Book of 1937”. This book was a humorous how-to manual for doing business in the Middle Kingdom, merged with what historian Stephen R. MacKinnon calls a “self-deprecating melange of stories” about Crow’s decades in China. Crow opened the first western advertising agency in Shanghai and ran it for 25 years, promoting everything from American lipsticks and moisturizers to French brandy and pharmaceuticals, and nothing was straightforward. Crow's book remains as apt now as when it was written in 1937, and leading business schools recommend it as one of the best accounts of Chinese business culture. Probably the best-selling book on doing business in China ever---and undoubtedly the best ever written---the book is both amusing and informed. 《*400 Million Customers*》 has been reprinted at least twice in the new millennium. Another book worth mentioning is 《*Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*》 (1940). This book recalls Crow’s 25 years in China and the lessons he learned. He was almost unique among foreign commentators in taking the time and effort to understand and appreciate the Chinese and the cultures while also providing vivid portraits of foreign life in Shanghai.

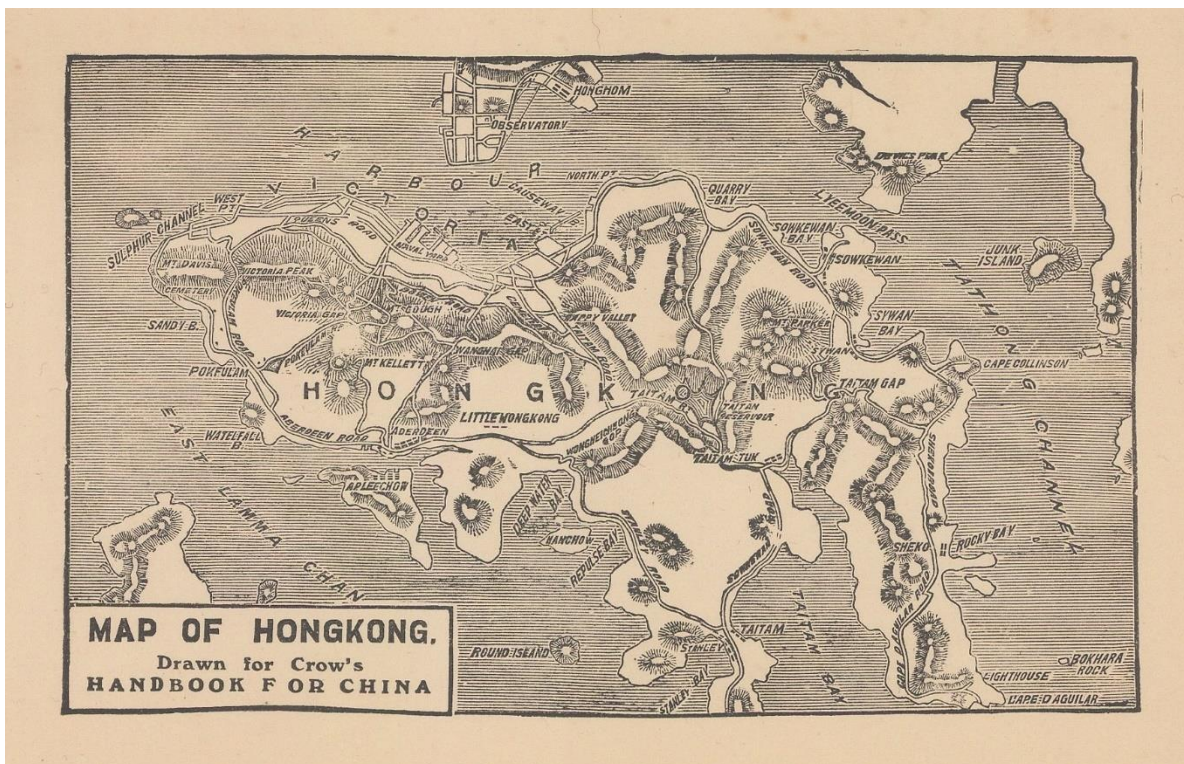
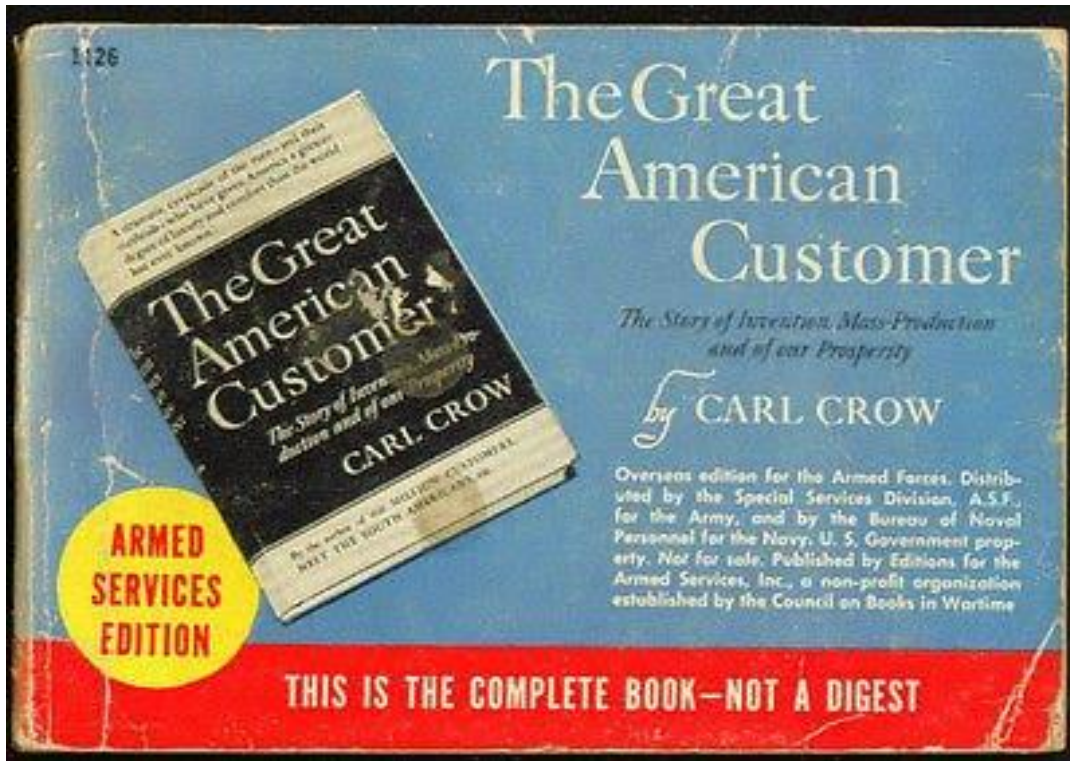


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- 1914 – 《America and the Philippines》 Doubleday Page & Company, Garden City, N.Y.
- 1916 – 《Japan and America: A Contrast》 Robert M McBride & Company, New York
- 1937 – 《I Speak for the Chinese》 Harper & Brothers, New York
- 1937 – 《Four Hundred Million Customers》 Harper & Brothers, New York
- 1938 – 《The Chinese Are Like That》 Harper & Brothers, New York; also published as 《My Friends the Chinese》 Hamish Hamilton, London
- 1939 – 《He Opened the Door of Japan》 Harper & Brothers, New York
- 1940 – 《Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom》 Harper & Brothers, New York
- 1940 – 《Meet the South Americans》 Harper & Brothers, New York
- 1940 – 《Master Kung: The Story of Confucius》 Harper & Brothers, New York
- 1942 – 《Japan's Dream of World Empire: The Tanaka Memorial》 Harper & Brothers, N.Y.
- 1943 – 《The Great American Customer》 , Harper & Brothers, New York
- 1944 – 《China Takes Her Place》 Harper & Brothers, New York
- 1945 – 《The City of Flint Grows Up》 Harper & Brothers, New York
- 2009 – 《The Long Road Back to China: The Burma Road Wartime Diaries》 (written in 1939 but published in 2009)

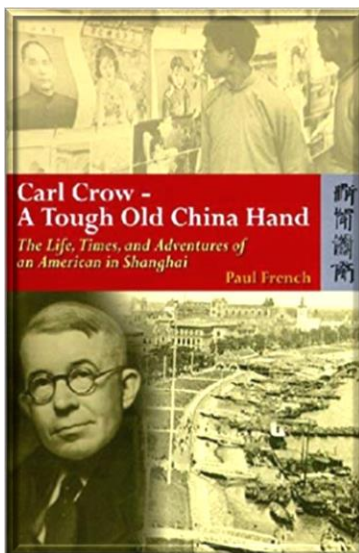






1925年---卡爾·克勞製作的香港地圖
 Map of Hong Kong by Carl Crow, 1925

卡爾·克勞---中國通的老師傅



卡爾·克勞（Carl Crow）（1883-1945）是1919年上海扶輪社（Shanghai Rotary Club）的37名創社社員之一（職業分類：廣告業），多年來一直活躍參加扶輪社服務至到1937年日本侵略中國，上海淪陷。其中一個克勞貢獻很多的扶輪服務項目，是1926年在全國宣傳「為兒童預防天花」運動。克勞充分利用了他的廣告網絡協助上海扶輪社，豎立看板和廣發數以百計的宣傳海報。在1926年9月號的英文扶輪雜誌《The Rotarian》第42頁，報導了這項服務。

克勞在二十世紀三十年代的上灘，是個響噹噹的名字。他是一個創業成功的廣告大亨，開創了用旗袍女郎形象推銷商品的先河；他也是一個高度多產的記者和作家，為西方瞭解中國提供了獨家視角；他還是一個熱情活躍的社會活動家。他的故事始於上海，也在這座城市變成傳奇。

從上海伸來的橄欖枝

卡爾·克勞全名是「赫伯特·卡爾·克勞」（Herbert Carl Crow），1883年9月26日出生於美國密蘇里州佩里縣海蘭鎮（Highland, Perry County, Missouri），父親是一名鄉村教師。

1911年初，克勞意外地接到密蘇里同鄉湯瑪斯·密勒（Thomas Millard）從上海發來的一封電報。密勒是《紐約先驅論壇報》（New York Herald Tribune）駐遠東記者，他打算在上海公共租界創辦一份稱為《China Press》（大陸報）的英文晨報（圖見第5頁），邀請克勞任職。

克勞對這個邀請猶豫不決，畢竟中國是一個陌生的國家，上海是一個陌生的地方。但他又不甘心放棄這個難得的機會，也許他的人生由此將會徹底改變。最終，他決定去遠東闖蕩一番，1911年6月啟程前往上海。

《大陸報》於1911年8月20日試刊，九天後正式出版。密勒擔任總編輯，報社設於四川路126弄11號。克勞每月的薪水為300美元，正式職務是城市版助理編輯，重點負責報導外交活動新聞。雖然待遇尚好，工作時間是晚上10點到凌晨2點。頭銜聽上去也不錯，但他最初幹的實際上只是夜班編輯的工作，後來負責拼每天的頭版。

密勒創辦《大陸報》的宗旨之一，是促進上海外國人社區與中國人之間的聯繫。因此，自1919年以來，每週都有上海扶輪社的消息。他甚至讓若干中國名人進入報紙董事會，並且致力於在頭版報導中國新聞，就像紐約一些大報在頭版報導美國新聞一樣。在來上海之前，克勞實際上不大關注中國的事情。但來到上海不久，就產生了對中國非常友好的立場。這部分是由於與同樣親中的密勒關係密切，受到密勒的影響，部分是由於與《大陸報》董事伍廷芳、唐紹儀等名人的經常接觸。

重返上海 參與一戰

1912年12月27日，年近30的克勞在上海與蜜德莉·鮑爾斯（Mildred Powers）小姐結婚。在與《大陸報》簽訂的僱用合同到期後，克勞決定不再續約，希望改變一下生活環境。克勞夫婦在婚後立即離開上海，轉道馬尼拉（Manila）前往紐約（New York）渡蜜月。雖然只在中國待了一年多時間，但克勞已完成第一本著作——《游歷中國聞見擷要錄》（The Travelers' Handbook for China）。

1914年7月28日，第一次世界大戰爆發。1917年4月6日，美國對德國宣戰，打破了克勞一家的平靜生活。克勞等待這一刻已經很久，他早就認為，美國應該站在英法等國一邊，反對德國人。他開上自己那輛福特車，前往三藩市（San Francisco）的徵兵站。

克勞很快得到一份重要工作，擔任美國參戰後成立的戰時宣傳組織——公共資訊委員會的遠東代表。他與家人一起返回上海，籌建公共資訊委員會的辦事處。雖然搬過幾次家，但克勞一家在上海的主要住處是康腦脫路（Connaught Road）（今康定路）883號。

在他離開上海的這幾年裡，上海發生了很大變化，他曾任職的《大陸報》已歸中國人所有。1915年，當克勞身在東京時，密勒把《大陸報》賣了，著手創辦將在中國新聞史上留下重要一頁的《密勒氏評論報》（The China Weekly Review）。法租界與公共租界交界處那條發出臭味的洋涇濱已經填平，建成了寬敞的愛多亞路（Avenue Edward VII）（現在的延安東路）。克勞的辦事處，就設在愛多亞路113號。

作為美國政府的官方代表，克勞在上海的美國領事館與北京的美國公使館之間來回奔忙。他的任務是在中國宣傳美國政府的觀點，以及防止中國這個廣闊的美國商品潛在市場，落入日本人之手。克勞在上海成立了中美通訊社，組織人手，每天接收通過美國海軍無線電臺發來的美國新聞。並把新聞譯成中文，基本上無償地提供給各種中文報紙刊登。

1918年11月，第一次世界大戰宣告結束。公共資訊委員會的國內工作，在此前幾個月已縮減，停戰後則完全停止了。1919年8月21日，美國威爾遜總統（President Thomas Woodrow Wilson）簽署第3154號行政命令，正式廢除公共資訊委員會，其國外行動在此前的6月30日正式結束。也許是某個環節出了差錯，沒有人通知克勞，他已不是美國政府的代表。令人失笑的是：

「他從未收到過任何正式通知，也從未被解僱——無論是體面的，還是不體面的，或者是模稜兩可的。他繼續由一個根據法律已不再存在的政府機構，用仍然掌握在手裡的政府資金，給自己發放薪金。」

「性感女郎」廣告背後的美國老闆

1918 年底，卡爾克勞公司 (Carl Crow, Inc.) 在上海正式開張營業。雖然註冊地遠在美國德拉瓦州 (State of Delaware)，但這是在上海開辦的第一家西方廣告公司。隨後多年，卡爾克勞公司的辦公地點設於外灘和四川路之間的仁記路 (Jinkee Road) (今滇池路) 81 號三樓。

幹新聞出身的克勞具有記者的敏銳目光，認為一戰後歐洲的重建將促進上海的經濟繁榮；而經濟繁榮，將為中國並不發達的廣告業提供新的商機。他決定創辦一家廣告公司，而且，正是這家廣告公司使他在中國不僅發了財，更出了名。

由於諸如怡和洋行 (Jardines)、英美煙草 (British American Tobacco)、美孚石油 (Mobil Oil) 等老牌公司的持續投資，也由於許多外國新公司前來上海搶佔市場，一戰後上海經濟出現空前繁榮。因此，克勞的廣告公司開張伊始，就門庭若市，生意興隆。克勞在上海新聞界的人脈關係，很少有人能及。他能從很多老朋友和老同事那兒，拿到優厚的廣告佣金。

善動腦筋的克勞，在當時的上海廣告界開創了不少「第一」。比如，他是第一個在廣告中使用「性感女郎」形象的廣告商。那種身穿旗袍、留著西式短髮的性感少女形象 (圖見第 11 頁)，最早出現在 1920 年他為旁氏雪花膏 (POND'S Cold Cream) 所做的廣告中。許多迷人的年輕女郎，出現在香皂、護膚霜、香煙、汽車的廣告中。

為了創作這些美女形象，克勞成立了上海主要的商業藝術工作室之一，規模僅次於商務印書館和英美煙草公司的畫房。他聘用過許多知名畫家，包括葉淺予、謝慕連和謝之光。

除了在報紙上投放廣告，克勞的廣告公司設有室外廣告部門。負責在華東地區，尤其是在浙江省各地，豎立巨型看板和張貼街頭廣告。

報業主編憂傷離滬 回歸祖國

1925 年，妻子蜜德莉與克勞離婚，帶走了女兒貝蒂，但他仍選擇留在上海。除了經商，克勞也熱衷於社會活動。除參加上海扶輪社外，他擔任花旗總會 (American Club) 會長多年，並破天荒地提名中國人加入花旗總會。到 30 年代末，雖然英國人的上海總會 (Shanghai Club) 的會員仍清一色全是白人，花旗總會已接受了不少中國會員。

由於卡爾克勞公司生意興隆，財源廣進，克勞覺得有能力參與創辦一份新的報紙。1929 年 4 月，多位美國人在上海創辦英文晚報《Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury》 (圖見第 6 頁)，克勞是其中之一，而主要支持者是有「遠東保險王」之稱的美商友邦保險公司 (American International Assurance) 董事長科尼利厄斯·史帶 (Cornelius Starr)。晚報的宗旨是支持中華民國政府，反對日本軍國主義。報館設於愛多亞路 21 號 (No.21, Avenue Edward VII) (今延安東路、四川南路口)，位於法租界內，面對公共租界。

克勞擔任晚報主編的時間很短，很快他就離開了該報。史帶認為，克勞是創辦報紙的傑出人選，但並不適合於長久經營一份報紙。接著，克勞創辦了一份小型旅行月刊——《*Chekiang Highways*》（浙江公路），報導新建的通向蘇州、杭州、南京、黃山等地的公路。這份雜誌得到主要石油公司的廣告支持，因為他們在這些新建公路的沿線設有加油站。另一方面，克勞又創辦了一份英文月刊《*The Shanghailanders*》（上海指南），致力於向遊客和居民解讀上海的萬事通。該雜誌的內容與今天的非常相似，包括專題文章、商業目錄、關於上海的事實、和市中心的街道地圖。最後一頁專門介紹中國的旅遊景點，列出蘇州、杭州、南京和北京等等。

1935年，上海公共租界工部局需要出版一張供旅客用的城市地圖，遂委託克勞設計。偏巧克勞是中國、特別是上海的熱情積極推銷員，地圖的設計，表現了他對這個城市的「世界主義」觀點——它融會了美國、法國、英國和中國的文化（圖見第8頁）。自19世紀中葉強行開放以來，上海是一個指定用於中西貿易的「條約商埠」。上海英、法、美租界聯合組建獨立的市政機構「上海公共租界工部局」，建立警察武裝、法庭，正式形成一個真正意義上的租界——儼然國中之國。工部局發佈的這張地圖，周邊的小插圖，展示了多元文化的歷史標記——茶館和龍華寶塔、法國人的氣象信號台、和英國外交官哈特爵士的雕像等等，構成一張扣人心弦的旅遊指南。

1935年和1936年對卡爾克勞公司來說都是好年景，直到1937年上半年，形勢看來仍然十分喜人。克勞說：「1937年春天，中國享有四分之一個世紀以來，從未有過的最大限度的和平和繁榮。」

可是，所謂天有不測風雲，日本帝國對上海的大規模進攻摧毀了這種繁榮局面，上海淪陷。對克勞來說，8月14日這個「黑色星期六」不僅意味著是廣告業務的終結，也意味著他在中國長達四分之一個世紀的生活的終結。作為一個歷來公開指責日本侵略意圖的名人，如果他繼續留在上海，他的人身安全很可能處於危險之中。

克勞和新任妻子海倫收拾少量細軟，與其他許多外國人一起，憂傷地搭乘美國大來輪船公司（Robert Dollar & Co.）的「胡佛總統號」（President Hoover）客輪離開上海，轉道馬尼拉前往西雅圖（Seattle）。此後，他再也沒有回到這座他十分熱愛的城市。

克勞夫婦在馬尼拉換乘「麥金利總統號」（President McKinley）客輪，於9月中旬到達西雅圖。克勞在上岸後接受《西雅圖每日時報》（Seattle Daily Times）採訪時，顯得蒼老和疲憊。他告訴記者：「中國將會戰鬥很多年，傷亡嚴重，但最終擊敗日本人。」

一個「前洋鬼子」的思索

沒有了繁忙的廣告業務的打擾，克勞現在可以安下心來整理舊稿，撰寫新書。而且，實際上他是僅僅拿著一件舊大衣和一個手提箱回國的。他畢生掙下的絕大部分財產都留在上海，顯然沒有收回的希望，他必須依靠寫書掙一點養家糊口的錢。

1937年3月，克勞最著名的作品《*Four Hundred Million Customers*》《四萬萬顧客》由紐約哈珀兄弟出版公司（Harper & Brothers）出版。主要講述了20世紀上半葉，克勞在中國從事廣告和商品推銷代理商時的一些經歷和經驗。克勞把四萬萬中國人看作潛在的顧客，同時結合推廣代理的典型案列。生動分析了中國人的性格和社會狀況，以及中國特殊的傳統文化和地域風俗。

他在書中強調，在試圖銷售任何東西之前，請真正瞭解中國市場。他還特別警告說，一定要摒棄那種未經證實的當然想法——即在美國賣得好的東西在中國一定也賣得好。有趣的是，七十多年後，在一個經歷了天翻地覆變化的中國，書中的很多經驗仍然適用。

1940年1月，《*Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*》也是由紐約哈珀兄弟出版公司出版。英文書名原意是「花花國度內的洋鬼子」，夏伯銘翻譯、上海復旦大學出版了中文版《洋鬼子在中國》。在十九世紀中葉，西方列強侵略大清國。清政府與洋人簽訂了喪權辱國的不平等條約，壟斷在大清國的利益，國人就把洋人貶稱為「洋鬼子」。中國通的克勞，也就自嘲反翻譯「洋鬼子」為 *Foreign Devils*。《洋鬼子在中國》敘述的是一百年來外國人在中國的各式各樣的生活。克勞有一個基本判斷，即認為中國人始終是寬宏大量的。他以一種自己所說的「散漫隨意」的方式談論香港和上海如何偶然地成為外國租界；談論簽單的習慣以及熱衷於簽單的人；談論他所認識的保姆和男僕；談論他在中國渡過的二十多年間所遇到的各色人等，那怕其中有騙子、傳教士以及顯貴；談論近一百年以來的外國人，無論好壞，在中國玩弄的各種詭計，以及他們自己在玩弄這些詭計期間所過的生活。對於一般讀者來說，會喜歡克勞講述的真實故事和奇聞異事，以觸摸 20 世紀上半葉的中國社會。

