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上海扶輪社卡爾克勞---中華扶輪第一位媒體專業人

Shanghai Rotarian Carl Crow---the first Media Professional in Rotary China

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Carl Crow was one of the 37 charter members in 1919 of the Rotary Club of Shanghai (上海扶輪社) --- the first Rotary Club in the Republic of China (中華民國). He held the 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.

Herbert Carl Crow (30 September 1884 – 8 June 1945)---though nobody ever called him Herbert and he hated the name---was an American journalist, newspaper proprietor, advertising pioneer, and author best known for his quarter-century residence in Shanghai, where he adapted Western business practices to the Chinese market during the Republican China era.

Carl Crow was born in rural Highland, Perry County, Missouri, United States. Arriving in Shanghai in 1911 amid China’s revolutionary upheavals, Crow initially worked as a correspondent for 《The China Press》《大陸報》 and other publications, later acquiring and managing newspapers such as the 《Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury》《大美晚報》， which he transformed into influential English-language outlets blending American

journalistic styles with local reporting. In 1918, he established Carl Crow, Inc.---the first Western-style advertising agency in China---which grew into a leading firm representing foreign brands like 『General Electric』 and 『Procter & Gamble』, innovating mass-market campaigns tailored to Chinese consumers and amassing a client base that treated China’s vast population as “400 million customers”. His business acumen extended to cultural ambassadorship, as he collected and displayed artifacts in the Agency’s gallery, fostering Western understanding of everyday Chinese life. Crow’s writings, including the 1937 bestseller 《400 Million Customers》《四萬萬顧客》---a practical guide to navigating Chinese commerce---and anecdotal volumes like 《The Chinese Are Like That》(1933), offered candid, observation-based portrayals of Chinese customs, humor, and economic potential, drawing from his direct experiences rather than ideological lenses and remaining cited for their prescience on global trade dynamics. Returning to the United States in 1937 amid escalating Sino-Japanese tensions, he continued authoring on East-West relations until his death in 1945, leaving a legacy as a pragmatic bridge between American enterprise and Republican-era China.

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.



The Story of Carl Crow

Early Life and Initial Journalism Career

Carl Crow was born on 26 September 1883 in Highland, Missouri, United States. His parents were George Washington Crow, a farmer, and Elvira Jane Sharrock Crow.

Raised in modest circumstances typical of mid-western farm families in the late 19th Century, Crow gained practical experience in the printing trade during his youth, reflecting an early aptitude for journalism in an era when many rural youth apprenticed in such skilled labors.

Crow pursued early education that included studies at Carleton College before transferring to the University of Missouri, where he enrolled in the newly established School of Journalism which was founded in 1908---one of the first such programs in the United States. Prior to his formal journalism training, Crow gained practical experience by owning and operating a small newspaper, which provided hands-on insight into the mechanics of publishing and reporting in rural America.

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. He worked on the student-run 《The University Missourian》, reporting stints with the 《Columbia-Missouri Herald》 and on the 《Fort Worth Star-Telegram》's crime beat to further develop his reporting abilities.

Following his time at the University of Missouri, Crow honed his skills as a crime reporter in Texas, spending approximately five years covering local law enforcement, investigations, and criminal cases for newspapers in the region. This period exposed him to gritty, on-the-ground reporting, building resilience and a focus on factual detail amid high-stakes stories, though specific publications from this era remain less documented in available records. His Texas tenure emphasized police beats and public safety issues contrasting with the diplomatic and revolutionary reporting that would later define his career abroad.

By 1911 at the age of 27, Crow's domestic experience positioned him for international opportunities leading to his departure for Shanghai to contribute to the launch of an English-language press amid China's revolutionary upheavals. However, his initial U.S. work laid the foundational skills in enterprise and adaptability that characterized his subsequent ventures.

Career in China

Arrival and Reporting on Revolution

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.

With prior experience at newspapers in Missouri, he sought to cover events in the crumbling Ch'ing Empire (大清國) (Imperial China), establishing himself quickly in the city's expatriate press circles. His timing coincided with rising unrest, as provincial rebellions against imperial rule gained momentum. Within weeks of his arrival, Crow reported on the Xinhai Revolution (辛亥革命), which erupted with the Wuchang Uprising

(武昌起義) on 10 October 1911, sparking widespread provincial secessions from Imperial Ch'ing's control. Traveling to Peking (*Beijing*) (北京), he witnessed key negotiations between revolutionary leaders and Ch'ing officials, including those culminating in Emperor Puyi's (宣統皇帝溥儀) abdication on 12 February 1912, effectively ending over two millennia of imperial rule. Crow's dispatches emphasized the Revolution's chaotic yet transformative nature, highlighting the republicans' organizational challenges and the dynasty's internal weaknesses, based on direct observations rather than secondary accounts.

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 Empire 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. 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 (蔣中正) and his bewitching, scheming wife, Soong Mei-Ling (宋美齡).

Newspaper and New Agency Ventures

Crow's initial newspaper venture in China centered on 《The China Press》, an English-language daily in Shanghai, providing an American perspective amid British-dominated publications like the 《North China Daily News》《字林西報》. He served as its night editor, contributing to its operations during the early Republican era. As a correspondent, Crow contributed to early editions of 《The China Press》, a newspaper he helped establish, which provided expatriate readers with on-the-ground analysis of revolutionary developments, including military engagements and diplomatic maneuvers. His reporting avoided romanticizing the upheaval, noting logistical failures among revolutionaries---such as inadequate supply lines and factional infighting---that prolonged the transition to

republican governance. This work positioned Crow as a pragmatic observer, prioritizing verifiable events over ideological narratives prevalent in some Western coverage.

In 1929, Crow founded and edited the 《Shanghai Evening Post》 (later incorporating 《Mercury》 as the 《Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury》), targeting expatriate readers and advocating for Nationalist Chinese development while maintaining an independent stance on local politics. This publication operated until the late 1930s, reflecting Crow's shift toward ownership and editorial control in response to evolving Sino-foreign dynamics.

Complementing his directorial roles, Crow launched the Oriental News Agency in the 1920s, which evolved into the Chun Mei News Agency (中美通訊社) (also known as the Chinese-American News Agency), distributing content to U.S. outlets and facilitating American reporting on China. In 1921, he compiled and published the first 《Newspaper Directory of China》, a comprehensive catalog of over 1,000 Chinese periodicals, updated in subsequent editions through 1935 to aid journalists and advertisers navigating the fragmented press landscape. These efforts underscored Crow's entrepreneurial approach to journalism, blending reporting with commercial directories amid China's press liberalization post-1911 Revolution.

Advertising Agency and Business Expansion

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---a successor to his earlier Chun Mei News 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 22*) 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).

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.

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.

The firm operated as an advertising and merchandising agent, focusing on promoting Western products to Chinese consumers through innovative campaigns that adapted American marketing techniques to local markets. By importing concepts like branded advertising and consumer outreach, Crow's agency filled a nascent market gap, serving foreign companies seeking to penetrate China's emerging urban economies.

The Agency rapidly expanded its operations, developing the first and largest advertising network across Eastern China, which included strategic office relocations to accommodate growth---such as a move in September 1922 to a new building at 6B Kiangse Road in Shanghai (上海江西路 6B 號). This infrastructure enabled nationwide distribution of advertisements via newspapers, billboards, and direct merchandising, positioning Carl Crow, Inc. as the dominant player in interwar China, outpacing local and other foreign competitors in scale and reach. Crow's firm also compiled comprehensive newspaper directories, aiding clients in targeting media placements and underscoring its role in professionalizing advertising intelligence.

Over two decades, until the late 1930s amid escalating geopolitical tensions, the Agency sustained profitability by representing major international brands, emphasizing practical sales strategies over speculative ventures, and leveraging Crow's journalistic insights for culturally attuned promotions. This expansion reflected broader Western commercial inroads into China, though constrained by political instability and competition from nascent domestic agencies.

Works by Carl Crow

Major Books on China

Carl Crow's most prominent book on China 《400 Million Customers: The Experience of an American Advertiser in China》 was published in 1937 by Harper & Brothers. 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 Robert 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.

Drawing from his decades operating an advertising agency in Shanghai, the work chronicled the practicalities of marketing Western goods to China's vast population, emphasizing cultural adaptations, consumer behaviors, and the pitfalls of assuming uniform demand across 400 million potential buyers. Crow detailed successful

campaigns, such as those for 『Pond's』 cold cream and 『Maxwell House』 coffee, which leveraged local idioms and imagery to overcome superstitions and preferences for traditional remedies. The book underscored the nascent commercialization of China in the Republican era, portraying it as a lucrative yet unpredictable market requiring on-the-ground insight over remote speculation.

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). In this book, Crow synthesized 25 years of observations on Sino-foreign interactions, critiquing expatriate complacency while appreciating Chinese resilience and ingenuity. The narrative blended anecdotes of business dealings, social customs, and wartime strains, positioning foreigners as temporary “devils” in a kingdom poised for modernization. These works collectively established Crow as a candid chronicler of China's interwar transformation, prioritizing empirical lessons from commerce over ideological abstraction.

Crow also authored 《The Chinese Are Like That》《我的朋友，中國人》 in 1938, an anecdotal volume offering candid, observation-based portrayals of Chinese customs, humor, and everyday life drawn from his direct experiences in Shanghai.

Other Publications and Contributions

Earlier, Crow produced 《The Travelers' Handbook for China》《游歷中國聞見擷要錄》，first published in 1913 by the Hwa-Mei Book Concern (華美書局) in Shanghai, with subsequent revised editions through the 1930s. This guide offered pragmatic advice for Western sojourners, covering transportation, lodging, currency exchange, and etiquette amid China's political turbulence and infrastructural limitations post-Ch'ing Dynasty. It included maps, itineraries for major cities like Shanghai, Peking and even the British Crown Colony Hong Kong, with warnings about health risks and banditry, reflecting Crow's firsthand navigation of concession zones and treaty ports.

Another 2 books were published in New York regarding America and the Asian countries: 《America and the Philippines》 (1914); and 《Japan and America: A Contrast》 (1916). 《America and the Philippines》 was a work analyzing U.S. colonial administration and economic interests in the islands following the Spanish-American War in 1898. This

publication drew on his early journalistic observations and contrasted with his later China-focused writings by emphasizing American expansionism in Southeast Asia.

The next one 《Japan and America: A Contrast》 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.

In the realm of reference works, Crow compiled and published the 《Newspaper Directory of China》 in 1931, cataloging over 1,000 Chinese periodicals with details on ownership, circulation, and editorial stances. Subsequent editions appeared in 1933, 1935, and 1937, reflecting the evolving media landscape amid political turmoil. These directories served as practical tools for advertisers and journalists, leveraging Crow's extensive network in Shanghai's press circles.

His periodical contributions extended to U.S. audiences, with articles such as 《Office Morale and Chinese Devils》 in 《Harper's Magazine》 (April 1937), which humorously dissected workplace dynamics and superstitions encountered in his China operations. Crow also penned pieces on advertising and Far Eastern affairs for trade journals like 《Printers' Ink Monthly》, including a 1939 article exploring war's impact on commercial messaging. These writings disseminated his firsthand business insights, often blending anecdote with market analysis.

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》《孔子的故事》(1937).

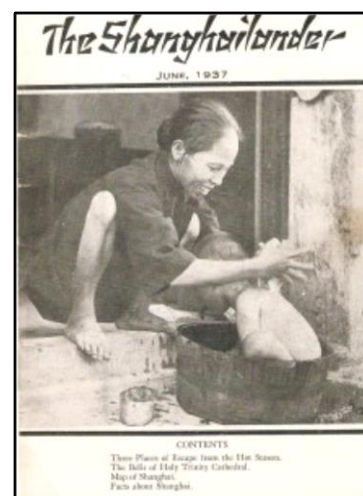
The Shanghailander

Crow edited and published 《The Shanghailander》, a monthly magazine starting in the 1930s, aimed at expatriates and visitors with practical guides to Shanghai's customs, businesses, and social scene, including maps, event listings, and cultural notes to facilitate foreign adaptation. The publication complemented his advertising agency's promotional efforts, distributing thousands of copies annually to hotels and steamship lines. The word "Shanghailander" was used to for the foreigners living in Old Shanghai. The

Shanghailanders were the foreigners that had already spent more than a year. 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 (淞滬會戰) 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 (*Suzhou*) (蘇州), Hangchow (*Hangzhou*) (杭州), Nanking (*Nanjing*) (南京) and Peking (*Beijing*) (北京). 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.

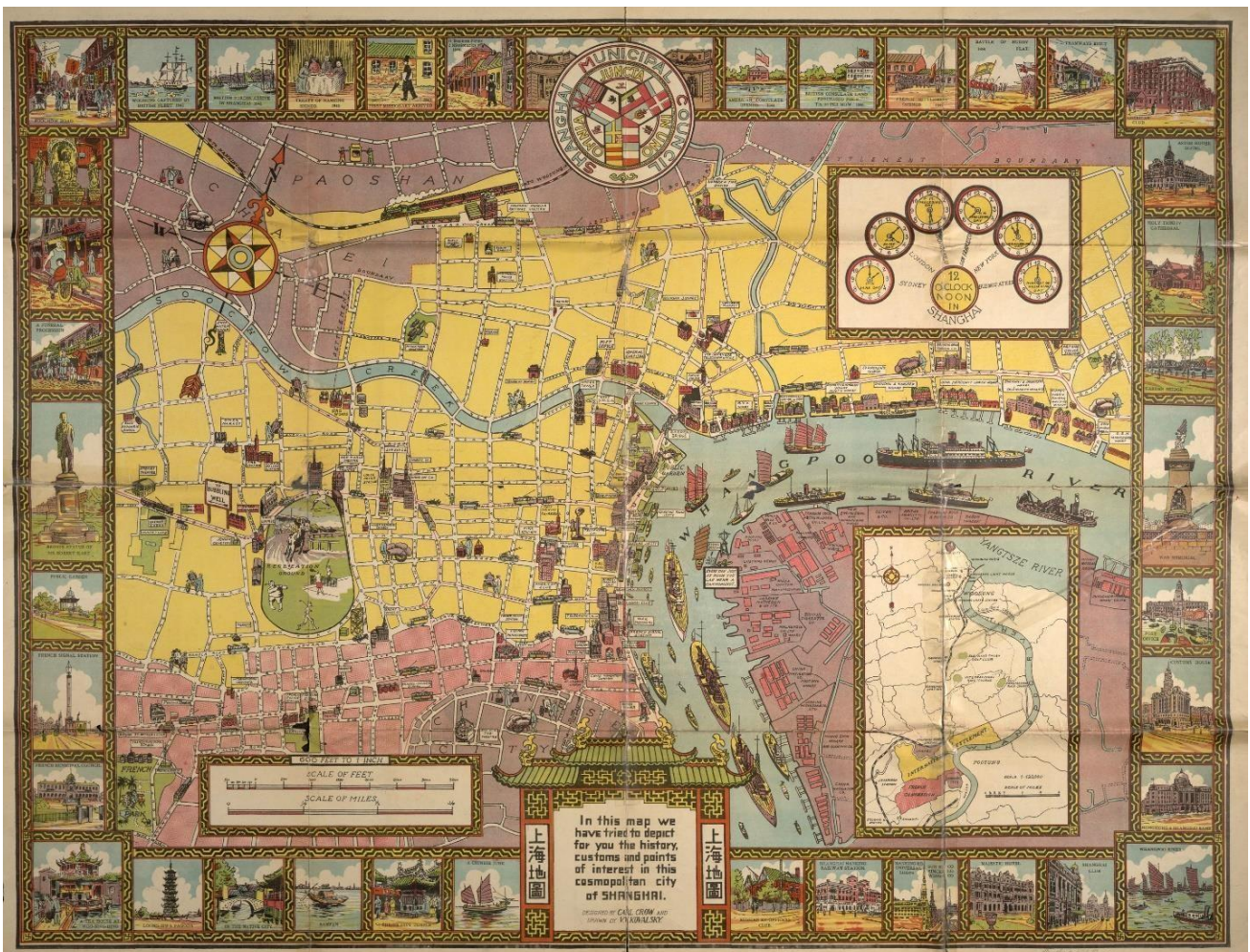
The magazine was surely a good support for selling Carl Crow's books as the full back cover as an advertising for 《400 Million Customers》, his most famous book. Just like today about half of the magazine is advertising, for the international and famous local brands including famous hotels of the time, Astor House (浦江飯店) and Palace Hotel (匯中飯店 now Swatch Art Peace Hotel 斯沃琪和平飯店藝術中心) from the HongKong & Shanghai Hotels, Ltd. (香港上海大酒店有限公司 today's owner of Peninsula Hotel 半島酒店 in Hong Kong), Broadway Mansions (百老匯大廈) and Park Hotel (國際大飯店). 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. (怡和洋行), as well as 《Martell Brandy》 and 『Sandeman Port』, distributed by Gande, Price & Co., Ltd. (甘地派司洋行).



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 (龍華塔) 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。

Perspectives on China

Business and Economic Insights

Crow's primary economic insight centered on China's vast untapped market, which he quantified as encompassing approximately 400 million potential customers in the 1930s, driven by population size and emerging urbanization. This perspective, drawn from his decades operating an advertising agency in Shanghai, highlighted opportunities for foreign enterprises in a rapidly modernizing economy, where urban centers like Shanghai fostered growing consumer demand for branded goods. He noted that Chinese consumers, particularly in cities, displayed resilient customs alongside adaptability to Western products, preferring imports perceived as higher quality, which spurred demand in sectors like manufacturing and retail.

In terms of advertising and business practices, Crow advocated tailored strategies to navigate local behaviors, emphasizing the effectiveness of humorous and culturally sensitive campaigns to build brand loyalty amid widespread counterfeiting---a common economic challenge he frequently observed, where domestic imitators undercut originals but inadvertently reinforced trademark value. His agency, Carl Crow, Inc., established in 1918 and thriving until 1937, exemplified successful adaptation by handling accounts for multinational firms, generating revenue through print media in a market where newspapers reached educated elites. Crow cautioned against over-optimism, critiquing the "gold rush" mentality among foreigners who projected unrealistic sales volumes without accounting for infrastructural limitations, regional disparities, and bureaucratic hurdles that impeded scalable operations.

Economically, Crow foresaw growth potential in China's shift toward consumerism, attributing it to increasing middle-class formation and exposure to global trade, though he underscored persistent challenges like superstition influencing purchasing decisions and uneven development outside treaty ports. These observations, grounded in his direct experience rather than abstract theory, positioned foreign investment as viable but requiring patience and localization, influencing later assessments of Sino-American trade dynamics. His insights remain pertinent, as evidenced by their use in contemporary business education for understanding persistent market frictions.

Cultural and Social Observations

Crow documented the Chinese as inherently warm and colorful individuals, actively engaging in fighting, working, celebrating, or conversing with notable enthusiasm. His portrayals in works like *《400 Million Customers》* (1937) intertwined social customs with

everyday commerce, noting the pervasive influence of traditional practices such as haggling and indirect communication styles that stemmed from deeper cultural emphases on harmony and persistence rather than confrontation. Crow highlighted how these norms shaped interpersonal and market interactions, observing that Chinese consumers approached transactions with a blend of skepticism toward foreigners and shrewd evaluation rooted in communal trust networks.

He frequently remarked on the role of superstitions and folk beliefs in guiding social behavior, from product preferences to auspicious timings for events, which he saw as enduring elements of Chinese identity despite modernization efforts in urban centers like Shanghai. Crow's accounts avoided romanticization, instead presenting these traits as pragmatic adaptations to historical hardships, including famines and political instability, that fostered ingenuity and resilience in family and community structures. Overall, his observations underscored a society where individual actions were subordinated to collective familial obligations, contrasting sharply with Western individualism while expressing genuine admiration for the Chinese capacity to maintain cultural continuity amid rapid change.

Political Views and Anti-Japanese Stance

Crow's political views emphasized opposition to isolationism, particularly in the context of Asian conflicts, advocating for U.S. engagement to protect democratic principles against aggressive expansionism. In a 1939 interview with Zhou Enlai, Secretary of the Southern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (中共中央南方局書記周恩來), published posthumously, he argued that American neutrality in the Sino-Japanese War undermined liberty and democratic values, urging intervention to counter threats from authoritarian regimes. This stance reflected his broader belief that U.S. policy should prioritize strategic interests in China over non-intervention, informed by his decades of observation in Shanghai where he witnessed escalating Japanese incursions.

His anti-Japanese position was pronounced and rooted in direct experience of Japan's militaristic policies in China, including the 1931 invasion of Manchuria and subsequent aggressions. Crow viewed Japanese expansion as an existential threat not only to China but to global stability, warning in his 1937 book *《I Speak for the Chinese》* that unchecked conquest would forge an "Oriental power greater than any the world has known", capable of dominating Asia and beyond. He criticized Japan's propaganda efforts to mask imperial ambitions, drawing from firsthand reporting on incidents like interference in Chinese internal affairs, and framed the conflict as a clash between Japanese authoritarianism and Chinese sovereignty.

This perspective led to professional risks. In June 1937, amid rising tensions, the U.S. Embassy in Shanghai requested Crow moderate his public criticisms of Japanese actions to avoid diplomatic friction, though he persisted in his advocacy. Fearing reprisals as Japanese forces advanced, he evacuated Shanghai permanently on 14 August 1937, days after the Battle of Shanghai began, closing his advertising agency and newspapers that had maintained a pro-Chinese, anti-Japanese editorial line. Earlier, during his tenure at the 《Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury》, Crow supported student-led anti-Japanese movements, such as the 1925 May Thirtieth Movement (五卅慘案) protests, highlighting their role in mobilizing national resistance.

Crow's writings, including 《Japan and America: A Contrast》 (1916), contrasted American democratic ideals with Japanese militarism, attributing Tokyo's bullying of China to a flawed national character and ineffective propaganda that belied aggressive intent. He aligned with Nationalist efforts against Japan, contributing to outlets like 《The China Critic》《中國評論週報》 that amplified resistance narratives, though his support was pragmatic rather than ideological, focused on preserving Western commercial opportunities in China amid the chaos of invasion. This anti-Japanese advocacy, while prescient given Japan's later Pacific expansion, drew from empirical observations of atrocities and economic disruptions rather than abstract ideology, positioning Crow as a vocal expatriate defender of Chinese territorial integrity.

Personal Life and Later Years

Family and Relationships

Carl Crow's first marriage was to Mildred S. Powers, a fellow employee at the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, on 28 December 1912. The couple had one daughter, Mildred Elizabeth Crow, born on 4 December 1916. Following the dissolution of this marriage, Crow wed Helen M. Hanniger in 1925. Helen Crow died on 24 November 1941 after a three-week illness at New Rochelle Hospital, New Rochelle, U.S.A. No children are recorded from Crow's second marriage.

Return to the United States

By 1937, Imperial Japan came into the open and the long and savage attack on China began. It was the Battle of Shanghai, 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, August 14th, 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》.

《I Speak for the Chinese》 (1938) which detailed the hardships faced by the Chinese under invasion. These works built on his earlier publications, emphasizing economic and social insights drawn from decades in the Far East.

《Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom》 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. These works built on his earlier publications, emphasizing economic and social insights drawn from decades in the Far East.

In the years immediately after his return, Crow conducted extensive lecture tours across America to highlight Japan's aggression and China's plight, positioning himself as an authoritative voice on the region based on his prolonged residency and business acumen. During World War II, he contributed to the U.S. Office of Information, leveraging his expertise in propaganda and public relations honed in Shanghai.

Crow's China odyssey was not at an end. He made one final trip to China in the summer of 1941, traveling from Rangoon, capital of the British Burma, up the Burma Road to Chungking (*Chongqing*) (重慶), where he kept a detailed diary of wartime conditions, including Japanese air raids on the provisional capital.

Crow 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》. He resettled in New York, continuing occasional writing until his health declined.

Rotarian Carl Crow died of cancer in Lenox Hill Hospital, Manhattan, New York City, U.S.A., on 8 June 1945, not long before the fall of the Japanese Empire. His family requested that friends contribute to the American Society for the Control of Cancer rather than send flowers, suggesting cancer as the underlying condition. Crow was 61 years old at the time of his death, having returned to the United States from China in the late 1930s amid escalating tensions with Japan. He was survived by two sisters. His wife, Helen M. Hanniger Crow, had predeceased him in November 1941

Influence on Western Understanding of China

Crow's book《400 Hundred Million Customers》, published in 1937, became a bestseller, offering American readers vivid accounts of China's emerging consumer market based on his experiences running Shanghai's leading Western advertising agency from the 1910s onward. Through anecdotes drawn from marketing American products like 『Colgate』 toothpaste, 『Buick』 automobiles, and 『Kodak』 cameras via newspapers, magazines, and over 15,000 billboards, Crow portrayed China not as an inscrutable oriental enigma but as a pragmatic opportunity with 400 million potential buyers exhibiting familiar capitalist behaviors amid modernization. This depiction countered prevailing Western stereotypes of China as stagnant or chaotic by emphasizing empirical observations of urban consumer growth in treaty ports like Shanghai, where Crow's firm capitalized on rising literacy and disposable income to promote branded goods.

His writings, including 《I Speak for the Chinese》 (also 1937), further influenced perceptions by advocating for China's agency against Japanese aggression, drawing on Crow's firsthand reporting from the 1911 Revolution through World War I-era events. As an "Old China Hand" resident in Shanghai for over two decades, Crow provided Western audiences with grounded insights into cultural adaptations---such as Chinese preferences for Western hygiene products---while critiquing imperial overreach without romanticizing the Republic of China's stability. These works crystallized the allure of Sino-American trade for business elites, inspiring pre-War export ventures, though geopolitical disruptions like the 1937 Japanese invasion of China and subsequent U.S. embargo post-1949 limited immediate implementation.

In the broader context of American journalism, Crow's output---contrasting with contemporaries like Edgar Snow's more ideologically sympathetic portrayals---shifted elite views toward viewing China through a commercial lens, fostering a legacy of economic optimism that echoed in post-1970s U.S.-China engagement despite intervening isolation. His emphasis on verifiable market data over abstract orientalism encouraged a pragmatic, if interrupted, reassessment of China as a partner in global trade, influencing policy discussions on leveraging its population for mutual gain rather than isolation. Modern reassessments, such as those in Paul French's biography, credit Crow with humanizing Chinese society through accessible narratives, though noting his focus on urban elites overlooked rural realities. This blend of advocacy and observation helped embed the notion of China's latent economic power in Western discourse, predating its post-reform realization.

Modern Reassessments and Publications

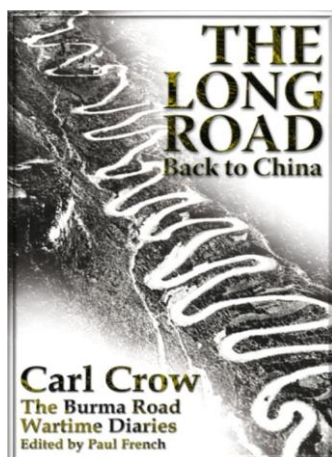
In 2006, Hong Kong University Press (香港大學出版社) published 《Carl Crow—A Tough Old China Hand: The Life, Times, and Adventures of an American in Shanghai》, a biography by British author Paul French that reassesses Crow's quarter-century residence in China from 1911 onward, emphasizing his roles as a journalist, newspaper proprietor, and founder of the first Western advertising agency in the country. French's work draws on Crow's personal papers and contemporary accounts to depict him as an astute observer of Chinese commercial potential amid political turmoil, including the 1911 Revolution and Japanese encroachments, while critiquing Western misconceptions of China as a monolithic market. The book revives Crow's legacy by connecting his pragmatic business strategies---such as adapting advertising to local customs---to early 20th-century globalization efforts, positioning him as a bridge between American enterprise and Chinese society before the full-scale Japanese invasion of 1937 disrupted such activities.

Crow's 1937 book 《400 Million Customers》, which detailed practical experiences in marketing to China's vast populace, has undergone multiple reprints reflecting sustained scholarly and commercial interest. Editions appeared in 2002 (hardcover) and 2008 (paperback), preserving original insights into consumer preferences, counterfeit goods challenges, and the pitfalls of underestimating local ingenuity, which French's foreword in later versions frames as prescient for contemporary foreign investors. A 2023 analysis in 《The China Project》 highlighted the text's relevance amid renewed U.S.-China economic tensions, noting how Crow's emphasis on empirical adaptation over ideological assumptions offers lessons in navigating protectionism and cultural barriers, though it cautions against romanticizing pre-War Shanghai's semi-colonial dynamics.

Scholarly reassessments have linked Crow's writings to broader legacies in Sino-American relations, as in a 2010 journal article examining how 《400 Million Customers》 perpetuated assumptions of China's openness to Western commerce that echo in post-1930s U.S. policy debates on trade reciprocity. This piece argues that Crow's data-driven portrayals---citing specifics like the failure of generic branding without localization---countered overly optimistic narratives but were sidelined by wartime shifts, urging modern readers to apply his causal analyses of market incentives over geopolitical wishful thinking. Such evaluations underscore Crow's value as a primary source for unvarnished economic realism, distinct from later academic tendencies to prioritize ideological frameworks in interpreting interwar China.

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also published as 《My Friends the Chinese》 Hamish Hamilton, London
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- 1945 - 《The City of Flint Grows Up》 Harper & Brothers, New York
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(written in 1939 but published in 2009)





《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.

'I Will Not Yield,' Says Hitler

Roosevelt Plea Lauded

Sudetenland Annexation Last Territorial Claim in Europe, Germans Tell

Chamberlain Expresses Gratitude For Weighty Appeal To Der Fuehrer

Britain Doing Utmost To Secure Peaceful Solution, Prime Minister Declares In Message Addressed To Hull

Paris Welcomes President's Appeal

LONDON, Sept. 26.—His Majesty's Government will with gratitude receive the President of the United States of America, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has addressed to them and to certain other governments, Premier Neville Chamberlain stated in a telegram dispatched today by Washington.

Britain Calling M.P.'s To London

Emergency Session Due Wednesday; Premier To Make Speech

LONDON, Sept. 26.—The emergency session of Parliament for Wednesday is expected to open at 10 o'clock this morning. It is expected that the session will be devoted to the discussion of the President's appeal.

The Prime Minister's speech is expected to be made at 11 o'clock. It is expected that the session will be devoted to the discussion of the President's appeal.

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Premier Says Hitler Shows Lack Of Faith

LONDON, Sept. 26.—Mr. Neville Chamberlain, British Prime Minister, said today that Herr Adolf Hitler's speech last night showed a lack of faith in British and French promises that the Sudetenlands would be ceded to Czechs.

It seems incredible that the people of Europe who do not want war should be misled by a man who has already shown himself ready to undertake a large-scale war, Mr. Chamberlain said.

He said that the British Government is prepared to undertake a large-scale war if necessary, but that it is not prepared to do so unless the Czechs are ready to do so.

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Britain To Aid Czechs If Reich Starts Invasion

Communique Officially Announces London, Paris Decision

KING'S PRIVY COUNCIL MEETS

French Premier Stays In London, Other Delegates Back

LONDON, Sept. 26.—Great Britain, in an official communique, announced today that it has decided to aid the Czechs in the event of any German aggression.

The communique is the first since the German ultimatum to the Czechs. It states that the British Government is prepared to aid the Czechs in the event of any German aggression.

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France Prepares Grimly For War, Aerial Defense

Street Lights Scaled As Red Cross Issues Call For Workers

HOSPITALS READY FOR EMERGENCIES

Air-Raid Precautions Completed; 43,000 Cellars Built

PARIS, Sept. 26.—(AP)—Night is a period of intense activity in Paris as the city prepares for the possibility of a German attack.

The city is in a state of high alert. Street lights have been scaled and the Red Cross is calling for workers to help in the event of an emergency.

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Hitler Insists SUDETEN Control Or War

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POWERFUL REICH ARMY PREPARING FUEHRER ASSAULT

Chamberlain Thanked For Efforts In 'My Patience Is At An End,' Declares In Momentous Speech

RACIAL FRONTIERS STRETCHING

BERLIN, Sept. 26.—(AP)—Herr Adolf Hitler today declared that the annexation of Sudetenland is the "last territorial claim" of Germany in Europe.

He said that Germany would respect the racial frontiers of Europe and that it would not undertake any further territorial expansion.

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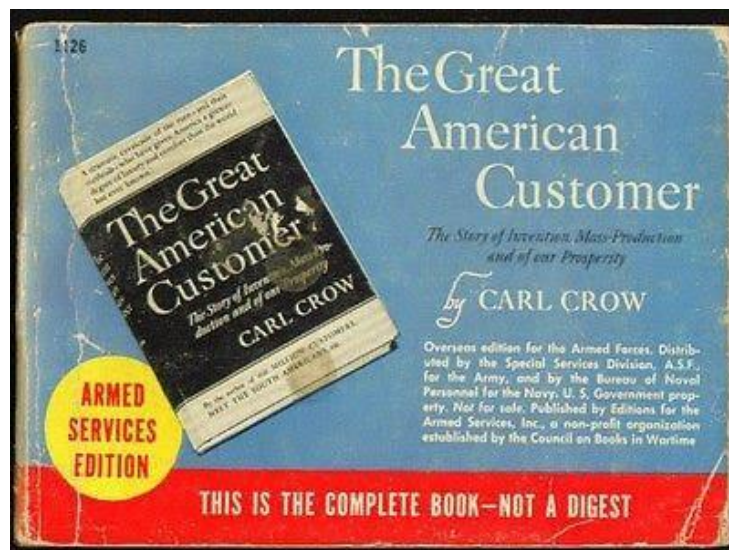
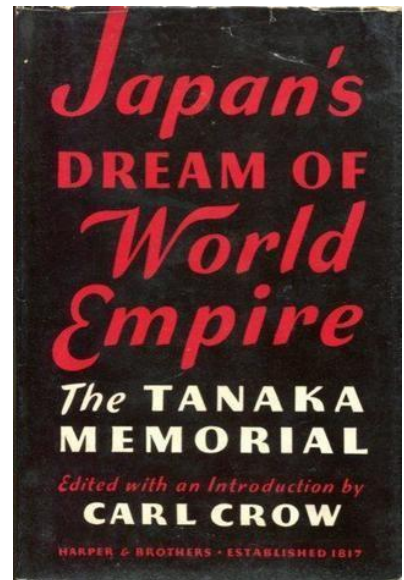
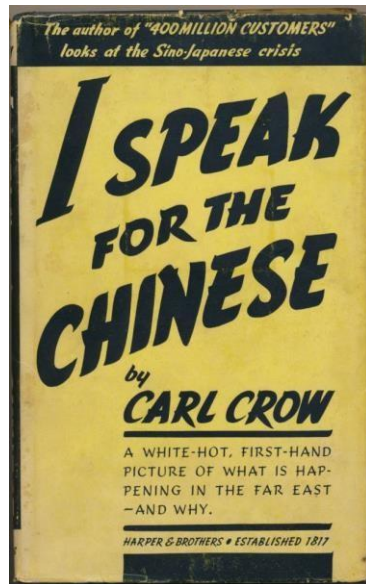
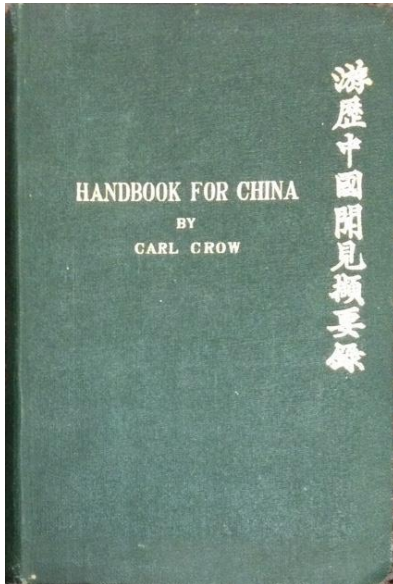
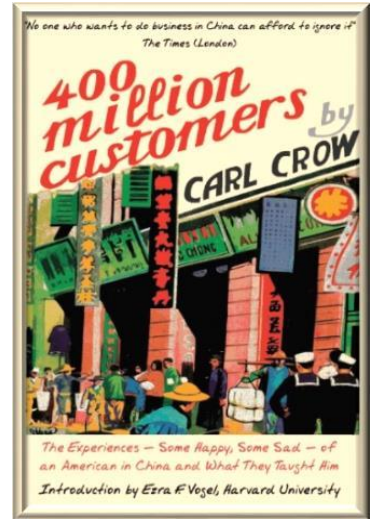
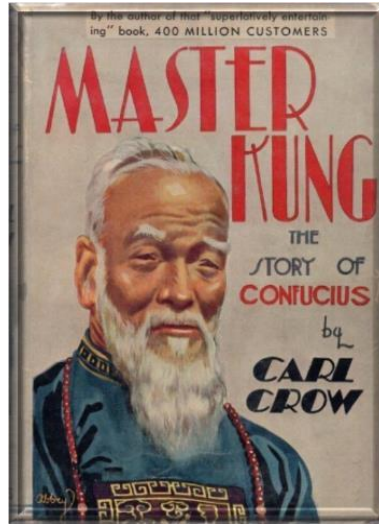
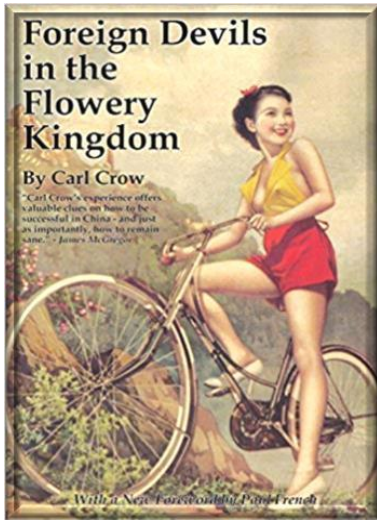
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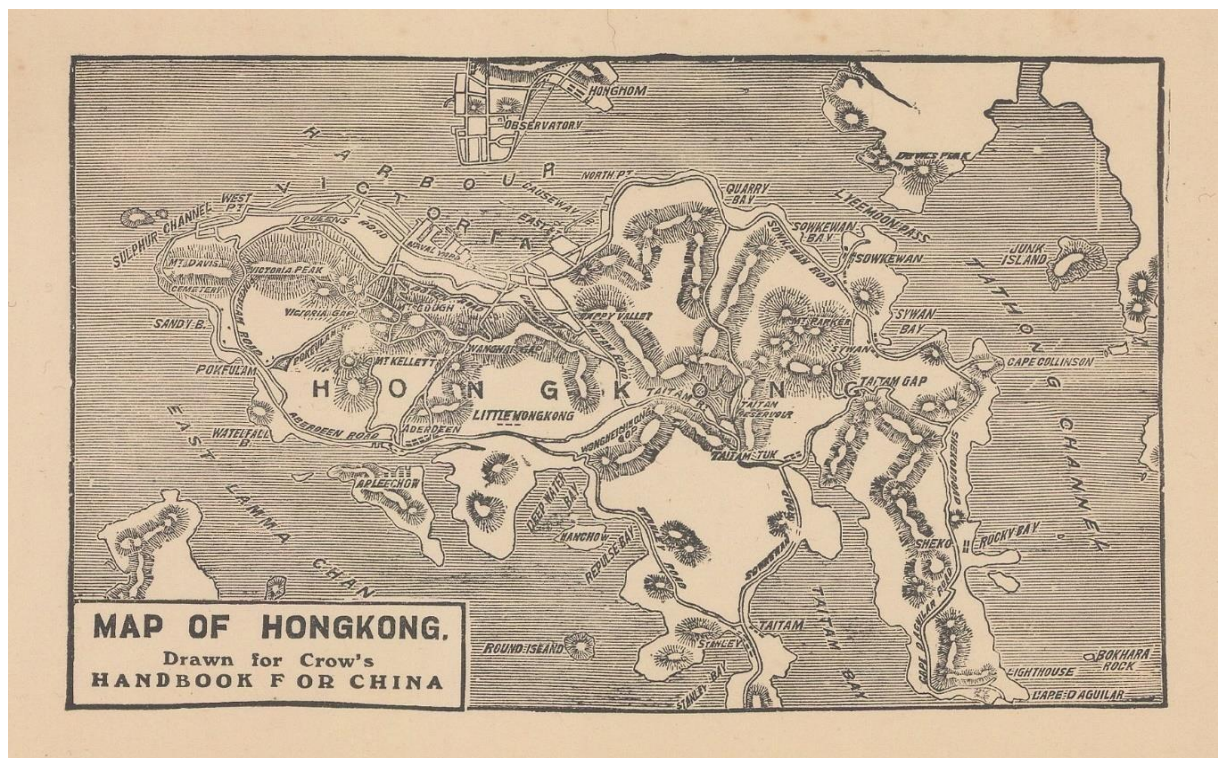
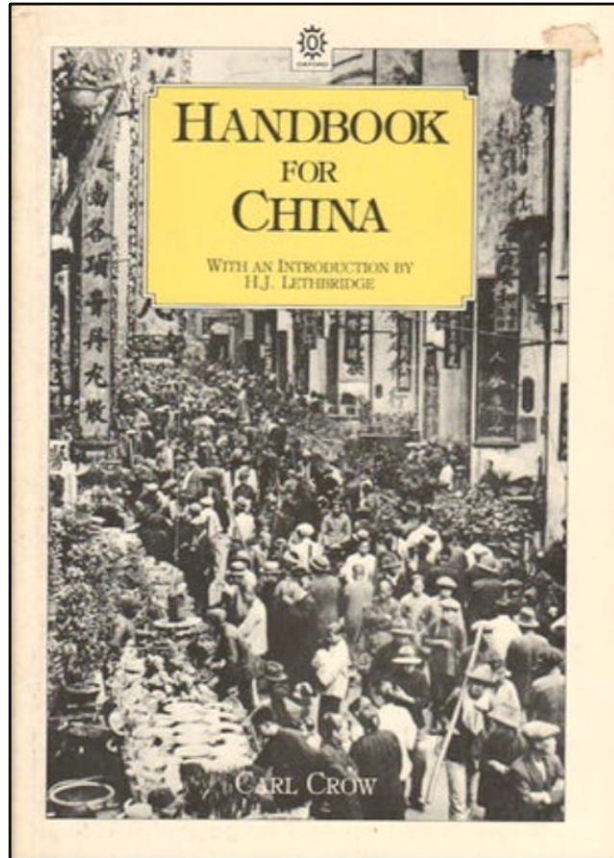
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1938年9月27日《大美晚报》
Front page of 《The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury》 (27 September 1938)

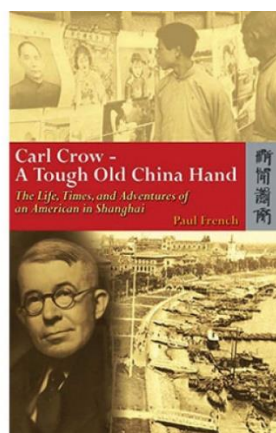






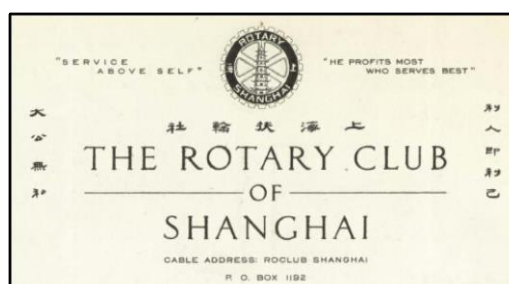
1925年---《游歷中國聞見擷要錄》製作的香港地圖
 1925 -- Map of Hong Kong drawn for Crow's 《Handbook for China》

上海扶輪社卡爾克勞---中華扶輪第一位媒體專業人



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 年日本帝國侵略中華民國，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。克勞是一位著名的美國記者、商人和作家，他在二十世紀初的中華民國(特別是上海)生活了四分之一個世紀，被譽為「中國通」的先驅。

- 廣告界先鋒：1918 年在上海創辦了第一家西式廣告代理公司「卡爾克勞廣告公司」(Carl Crow, Inc.)，為外國品牌開拓中國市場。
- 暢銷作家：1937 年出版了名著《四萬萬顧客》(400 Million Customers)，這本書提供了對中國商業和習俗的敏銳觀察，至今仍被視為跨文化經商的經典。
- 新聞與出版：曾擔任《大美晚報》(Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury) 的創始編輯，並編寫了多本旅遊指南和地圖，如《游歷中國聞見擷要錄》(Handbook for China)。
- 抗戰支持：抗日戰爭全面爆發後，他被迫離開上海，但在美國期間仍積極為中國募捐並呼籲各界援助。
- 情報與外交：二戰期間曾為美國情報部門工作，協助制定支持中國抗日的政策。



卡爾克勞的故事

克勞在二十世紀三十年代的上海灘，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

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密勒(Thomas Millard)從上海發來的一封信。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《The China Press》(大陸報)的英文晨報(圖見第19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883號(No.833 Connaught Road)(今康定路)。

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江西路6B號(6B Kiangse Road)。

幹新聞出身的克勞具有記者的敏銳目光，認為第一次世界大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 22 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《大美晚報》《Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury》(圖見第 20 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) 董事長史戴 (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。史戴認為，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 Shanghaiander》(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 11 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（Manila）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例。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。

本書中，克勞以記者獨有的敏銳眼光和談諧精準的文字，描繪了他所經歷的一系列逸聞趣事：「漢堡馬掌」並不都來自德國漢堡；一包十二枚規格不同的縫衣針，就算作為贈品在中國也沒有市場；買錢塘江的魚付的錢，可能並不包括拴魚繩的費用；外國人心目中的「中國國菜」炒雜碎在中國卻並不存在……背後折射出的一些中國文化和在中國做生意的思維方式，至今仍未過時。

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。

