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Author: Frederic Delano Grant, Jr

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Appendix 1.

The Original Five Regulations (1760)

Modern Translation. Full text of the New Regulations Made to Control Foreign Merchants,” dated 29 January 1760, as translated by Lo-shu Fu, A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644-1820) (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1966), pp. 224-6:

The ministers of the grand council deliberated and reported: “The Viceroy of Liang-Kwang, Li Shih-yao, in a memorial suggested regulations to control and restrain the foreign barbarians as follows:

“(1) The barbarian merchants should be prohibited from passing the winter in the provincial capital: On investigation, the viceroy found that originally foreign trade had been limited to a fixed period, namely, from the time that the foreign ships put into port until their subsequent departure. Foreigners were not allowed to remain secretly in the Interior. Recently, the fact that in some cases hong merchants owed them money which they did not pay gave the barbarians a pretext for remaining in the provincial capital. Inevitably there would arise intrigues between the foreign and the Chinese merchants which might lead to trouble. Consequently the viceroy now petitioned that in the future after the foreign merchants sell out their goods and collect their money, they should return to their own country according to our time limit. Even if they have not liquidated their debts with our hong merchants, they ought to live in Macao temporarily. They should hand their goods over to the hong merchants as their agents to sell the goods. The following year they can collect their money and return to their own country.

“This legislation is intended to prevent the barbarians from living in the Interior. We should approve what the viceroy has petitioned, but we are afraid that when the corrupt hong merchants hear that the foreign merchants cannot stay long in the Interior they will purposely delay the sale of their goods. If such a thing happens and an accusation is made, the local magistrates must punish the treacherous hong merchants according to law. They should not be spared!

“(2) When the foreigners arrive in Kwangtung they must reside in the factories of the hong merchants and be under their control and supervision: On investigation the viceroy found that when the barbarian merchants came to Kwangtung and lived in the factories of the hong

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merchants, they were not allowed to come and go as freely as they pleased. If they are not ordered to live in the factories of the hong merchants who had been officially registered, we shall have difficulty in knowing whether they engage in intrigue and when they come and go. Again, if their business is not managed by the hong merchants, there will be more abuses.

“This regulation should also be approved as the viceroy has petitioned. Hereafter we order foreign merchants to reside at the factories of the hong

merchants who are under our strict jurisdiction. If their rooms and houses are not large enough to house the foreigners, then we should order that the hong merchants rent houses and send men to take care of them. We do not allow traitors to enter and depart at will, to trade privately with them. However, the hong merchants should not exploit them by raising their rent as they see fit, now that we have the situation really under control. We order the local magistrates to watch carefully and sternly prohibit such abuse.

“(3) We should forbid Chinese merchants from borrowing capital from the foreign barbarians and we should forbid the foreigners from hiring Chinese as their servants: On investigation, the viceroy found that the barbarian merchants who always came to Kwangtung are allowed to sell out the goods they bring and purchase other goods to take back to their own countries. No contraband should be secretly exported. Recently, the hong merchants and people of the Interior borrowed money mostly from the barbarians in order to do their business and to share their profits.

“We should approve what the viceroy has petitioned and order the hong merchants who had borrowed foreign money to report the truth. We should set a time limit within which they should be required to pay off their debts. Then they will be no longer subject to further investigation. Hereafter, if anyone violates the prohibition and borrows money from the foreigners and engages in intrigue with them, he should be punished according to the law by which we punish criminals who communicate with a foreign country, borrow money or hold their goods or money without payment. The money which they borrow should be confiscated by the government.

“Originally the foreigners brought their own boys to serve them because they were not allowed to hire people of the Interior. Hereafter, if any shameless Chinese (with the exception of interpreters and agents) are so greedy for money that they are willing to be hired, they should strictly be prohibited from this practice by the local magistrates. If the local magistrates let them enjoy indulgences, then they, too, should be punished.

“(4) We should strictly prohibit the old abuse, namely, the hiring of our people by foreign merchants to transmit their news and letters: On investigation, the viceroy found that the barbarians coming from afar and

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going to the hong to trade, should not be allowed, under the pretext of gathering news, to hire coolies for the transmission of news, and thus communicate with the treacherous merchants of the Interior.

“We should approve what the said viceroy has petitioned and order the hong merchants and coolies to show everything they carry for the foreigners to the local magistrates for their scrutiny and investigation. If any disobey this order, we should forthwith punish the men who, acting on behalf of the foreigners, look for and hire the coolies. We should also punish the men who transmit letters for the foreigners.

“When the Westerners living in Macao have official business and desire to send a letter to the Imperial Board of Astronomy, the foreign chief should petition our

maritime sub-prefect to forward it to the viceroy and respectively communicate with the Board of Astronomy and the throne. This regulation should also be approved as the viceroy has petitioned.

“(5) We should consider detaching officers from other garrisons to send them to the places where foreign ships anchor in order to examine and control their ships: On investigation the viceroy found that whenever the foreign ships anchor, unfortunate incidents occur because they bring in their crews, men of cruel and violent character. Moreover, traitors and the tankas may secretly win over these men to their plots.

“The said viceroy reported that at Kwangtung we used to have one garrison regiment of one officer and twelve soldiers to maintain order, but that was not enough. We should allow the said viceroy to select a candidate of the rank of major under command of the viceroy's brigade to be specially stationed there to supervise the officers of the guard houses both for defense and for patrol.”

The Emperor approved this memorial.

Appendix 2.

The Original Five Regulations (1760)

Contemporary Translation. Full text of the “Regulations for the Control of Trade at Canton, 1760,” as set out in Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), Vol. V, pp. 94-98 (Appendix AK):

The merchants seperately received a Chop from the Tsongtou which is said to be published by the Emperors Order in Consequence of the Representation under Him by the above mentioned Magistrate.

The following is a Translation of the Chop wch. came from Court.

FOU Minister of State and Accounts presents this Memorial in obedience to your Majestys Orders given to the Council called Kiunki, to deliberate on the Memorial of Ly Tsongtou of the Provinces of Canton and Quangsi who proposes some regulations regarding Foreigners.

1st. He represents the Residence of Foreigners at Canton in the Absence of the Ships, and demands that it may be forbid. He says the Foreigners commonly arrive in the Fifth and Sixth Month, and return about the Ninth or Tenth Month. If any of them are under the necessity of staying on their affairs, the Custom formerly was that they should go to Macao, Now many of them under the pretence of their Affairs not being finished live secretly at the Capital, and it is difficult to avoid bad consequences happening from it, which may be the occasion of much trouble. He demands that after they have loaded their Ships, they may be ordered to return home at the usual time, and if there be any who have not settled their Affairs with the Hongists, that they are obliged to go [to] Macao, and that their unsold goods be left with the Hongist to sell for them in their Absence, that in the following Monsoon they may return to their respective Kingdoms &c.

There is then a fixed certain time for the European Vessells to come and return. The Custom is that none should remain secretly in the Interior parts of this Kingdom. At present because the Merchants have not paid their Debts, and that they have not finished their affairs with them, the Foreign Merchants make this pretence to live at the [provincial] Capital, endeavor to know the prices of Goods, and to buy them at Cheap rates to make a Profit on them. The People of the Country intrigue with them and are guilty of base Tricks. At present the Tsontou demands, that after the Foreign Merchants have finished their affairs, they return to their respective Ships. That they should have no pretence to remain in the Interior parts of the Country,

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To have comers & goers occasions irregularities and disorders, wch are against the good Rules and Orders of the Country. The Merchants or Hongists must settle all their accounts justly by the time of the departure of the Ships, and punctually pay what they are indebted, If any Merchandize or Goods are unsold, the Merchants

must among them bring affairs to a Conclusion, and must not prolong their Debts from Year to Year. Both parties must act with Sincerity and fidelity, and not occasion losses, and oblige the Mandarines to assert their Authority. The Foreign Merchants should return at their usual time, They deliver their Goods to the Hongists to sell for them, If there be any who abuse the Credit given them, and are Guilty of Rogueries, and it should come to the Knowledge of the Mandarines, they shall be severely Judged according to the laws of the Country, and punished without any Grace.

If the Foreigners should not have finished their Affairs, and they will in the mean time live at Macao, They will in this case do as they Judge convenient to themselves, it is not necessary to oblige them to return to Europe, by which they must suffer great difficulties & Losses.

2nd. He represents the necessity of Ordering the Hongists to watch the Foreigners who live in their Hongs with the Strictest Attention. The Custom is for Foreigners on their arrival to take apartments in the Hongs. At present there are Vagabonds who build Handsome houses to allure Strangers for which they receive great Rents, who let them do many bad things, who come and go, occasion trouble, carry on illicit trade, defraud the Customs, and commit several such like disorders. Hereafter none but the approved Hongists must be permitted to lodge, and trade with the Europeans. If the Foreign Merchants commit disorders, and Violate the Laws, and the lower Mandarines do not prevent it they shall be broke, and rendered incapable of Serving &c. The Hongist must carefully watch, and keep in order, the Foreign Merchants who live in their Hongs. If the appointed Hongists, and the Linguists are in Collusion with them to commit Villanies, The Tsontou demands that hereafter the Guilty should be punished, That they will not be allowed to dispose of the houses at their pleasure, that all abuses be suppressed, and that the Foreign Merchants should not suffer Losses.

3rd. He represents, concerning the money lent by Foreigners, and the Chinese who are in their Service, And he demands that these abuses be forbid. At present numbers of Foreigners lend their Money that remains unemployed in trade, to the Merchants

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of this Country, who go into other Provinces to trade, they make Contracts with them, and make use of them for sundry purposes. If the people of this Country do hereafter on any pretence whatsoever take up money of Foreigners, he requires that they should be severely punished. Foreign Merchants are allowed only to sell their Merchandizes they bring with them. And to purchase what they have occasion to carry away, any other Trade has been long since prohibited, they are not permitted to send their Goods into other Provinces for their Accounts, At present there are many Peoples of the Country who trade with the Europeans Capital. It is by such like Intrigues that Lieou- Ya-Pien has occasioned so much trouble. And this prohibition is of great Consequence to the Country. He demands that the Hongists be obliged to finish all their Accounts, and affairs, before the return of the Ships; If they act contrary to such Orders, if they don't settle their Accounts, and if they are guilty of any Rogueries, that they be severely punished, and that all the Goods also of those who borrow money be Confiscated.

Foreigners also bring with them Servants sufficient for their use, formerly they could only take few of the people of this Country into their Service. Hereafter none but the established Linguists and Compradores are allowed of, and if any others presume to enter into the Service of the Europeans, the Inferior Mandarines must be acquainted with it, That it be ordered the Linguists take care this Prohibition be strictly observed, and if there be any who Act contrary to it they shall be strictly punished.

4th. He represents that the Foreigners hire people to carry Lettrs into the Country, and demands that this Abuse be totally forbid. There are many Foreigners who to carry on their trade send Peoples into the Province of Nankin, Chet-kiang and others, and even hire Post Horses to inform themselves of the price of Goods, as Hong- shing-y did when the Mandarines sent expresses to Seize the Criminals, the said Criminals received Intelligence before the arrival of the Orders by which means they Evaded them and fled from Justice, Lieou-Song-Ling of the Tribunal of Mathamaticks has twice given Intelligence that Que-Gan, Kouening, Fang-Cheou-Y and others desired to be called to Court to be employed in the service of the Emperor, and that it was by Lettrs he received from Macao, which gave him information thereof. These Lettrs were brought by Chinese and this is what must for ever be forbid &c. Foreigners take Hongts to trade in but under pretence of informing themselves of the price of Goods, they must not hire people to carry Lettrs

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or otherwise have such Connections with the Country People; this is an Abuse that must be entirely Abolished. The Tsongtou requires that the said Lettr carriers be severely punished, that if it is necessary to communicate any affairs, the Report be made to the Mandarines, in Order for them to judge what is requisite to be done. If after these Orders there be any who undertake to carry Letters, that those who are employed in these affairs and the Letter Carriers be severely punished. As to the Foreigners of Macao, if they have any affairs, for the Service of the Emperor, to communicate to the Tribunal of Mathematicks, the Procurator must give information to the Mandarin called Hany-Fang-Tong-Tchy [the Kunming Fu] who will make his report to the Tsongtou, and he will accordingly as he may think proper send the necessary advices to Court, He demands that it should be the Tsongtou to treat on these affairs.

5th. He represents that some Mandarines of War should be stationed to watch and keep the Foreign Ships in Order. The Foreign Ships enter into the River and anchor at the place called Whampo, each Ship Crew consists of 100 to 200 Men. The Custom has hitherto been for a Mandarin of the Corps called Hie-Piao to be there with Soldiers to keep a good watch and prevent Disorders. But this force is not sufficient, He therefore demands that a Reinforcement of a Mandarin called Cheou-Pei [Shou-pei] be added, that every thing be well looked after, and for the support of the said Augmentation, that Eight Tales per Month be taken out of the Receipt of the Customs. That the Body of Guards in the Neighbourhood to appoint a Vessell with Soldiers to pass backwards and forwards, and that they keep a strict look out, which is to be continued until the departure of the Ships. The Foreign Ships have a great number of People, many of them are of a wild brutish Nature, and may easily occasion trouble, The Villainous Boat Men connect themselves wth

them, wch occasions continual disturbances. The Tsontou desires besides the Mandarinés who according to the antient Custom are on Duty, another be appointed with the Command of 100 or 200 Men, which will with difficulty be sufficient to keep the Foreigners in Order. There must then be another Mandariné called Cheou-Pei of the Corps call Tou-Piao who must always be on Guard, prevent Disorders, and from time to time give all necessary Intelligence for the Expence and Charges of those on Duty according to the Ancient Custom Eight Tales per Month is allowed. To defray the Expense of this Reinforcement Eight Tales must also be allowed, and the whole force must be on Duty until the Departure of the

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Ships, and if they do not diligently do their Duty, the Superior Mandarinés must break the Inferior Ones.

We have examined and deliberated on all of Above mentioned Articles, and judge it necessary they be complied with, for which purpose we present this Memorial to your Majesty, Humbly imploring your most gracious Light, and through your profound Penetration to receive your Instructions, that your Orders may be communicated to the Tribunal, to be by them transmitted to the Tsongtou, that he may conform thereto, and Effectually see them observed.

The Emperors answer was, that it be done according to their Request.

Appendix 3.

The Eight Regulations (1831)

Contemporary Translation. Full text of the “Eight Restrictions on Foreigners,” as set out in Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), Vol. IV, pp. 293-301 (Appendix AB) (footnotes in the original, have been renumbered):

Order from the Governor [Viceroy], communicated by the Namhaeheen on the subject of Eight Restrictions on Foreigners. Dated 12th, received 20th May, 1831.

Puan, the Namhaeheen, etc. hereby issues an order to the Hong Merchants with which they are required to make themselves fully acquainted. A Communication has now been received from the Kwangchowfoo, which being opened is as follows:

‘On the 19th day of the 2d Moon of the 11th Year of Taoukwang (March 9, 1831) a communication was received from Kwae the Poochingsze, stating that on the 9th day of the 2d moon of the 11th year of Taoukwang (February 27) he had received the following communication from Le the Cabinet Minister and Governor.

‘It appears that on the 6th day of the 2d moon of the 11th year of Taoukwang (Feb 24th) I, the Governor, united with Choo, the Fooyuen and Chung the Hoppo, in sending a respectful Memorial to the Emperor, explaining old regulations, intended to guard against outside barbarians, and deciding on the circumstances that required modification by addition or diminution. Besides waiting til the Vermillion Pencil’s reply be received, when it shall respectfully be recorded and communicated, I also take the original of the memorial to his Majesty and communicate it forthwith. When sent to the Sze, let him pass it to the Foo, to deliver to the Hien, that he may make it known to the local civil and military officers, and may also order the Hong Merchants to act in obedience to it. Oppose not.’ Accompanying is a Copy of the original Memorial.

I, the Namhaeheen, having received this forthwith issue a copy of it, for obedience thereto. When it reaches the said Merchants, let them immediately obey, and act according to the tenor thereof. Oppose not. A special order —

Annexed is a copy of the original Memorial.

Dated Taoukwang 11th Year 4th moon 1st day.

May 12th 1831.

Regulations to guard against foreigners proposed to the Emperor by Governor Le, Deputy Governor Choo and Hoppo Chung, in Council. February 24th 1831, Communicated to foreigners by

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an order of Government dated May 12th. Received at Macao May 20th.

A memorial to explain old regulations intended to guard against outside barbarians, and also certain deliberations to modify them by additions and diminutions, that the same may be obeyed and kept. Looking up we pray for the sacred glance at the business.

Canton Provincial City being near the Coast and the place where foreign ships go and come, it is extremely fitting that the guard against them and watch over them should be perfectly complete and close.

During the reign of Kienlung the English foreign merchants having violated the prohibitions of the Celestial Empire, the then Governor Le-she-yaou¹ proposed to the Emperor and had enacted five regulations to guard against outside barbarians which were available to keep them under control: **but through length of days they have gradually been neglected and the execution of them relaxed.**

In the 9th year of Taoukwang the English foreign merchants having long deferred entering the Port because they solicited a diminution of the Port charges and again last year having secretly taken foreign women to live in the Factories, and by stealth conveyed them to Canton, which things were reported to the Emperor at the time, although the said foreigners repented and did not end as they had begun with perverted opposition; still the disposition of Barbarians being deceitful and crafty, it is absolutely necessary to carry into effect with severity the inhibitory orders and to strengthen the guards against them.

But as to the old regulations that were enacted, **present and former circumstances are different; and there are some points which require consideration and modification to suit the times**, and then the whole may be obeyed and kept.

We, calling to our aid the Treasurer and Judge with the old regulations [and] deliberated on the modifications which the times require — and have charged the civil and Military Officers; the soldiers and police to exert themselves in keeping up a constant patrol and guard. And have required the Hong Merchants and Linguists to be faithful in examining and searching into what is going on. Thus when strictness inside has become a habit — or established customs inside are enforced with strictness — disturbances fro outside barbarians will be eradicated: and, seemingly the principles of a good Charioteer in restraining and soothing his horse will be more thoroughly carried into effect.

Having reverently associated with us the Hoppo Chung, we unitedly present with profound respect this Memorial, and send

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a fair Copy of the Eight regulations which have been deliberated on for the Emperor's inspection — prostrate praying for His Majesty's Sacred perusal and instructions.

A Copy of the original regulations to guard against foreigners, together with the alterations which have now been made and arranged under eight topics is hereby reverently presented for His Majesty's perusal.

1st. Foreign Merchants must not remain over the Winter at Canton. This is an old regulation that should be modified to keeping up at all times a guard against them.

When this regulation was originally framed the foreign Ships came to Canton and anchored during the 5th and 6th moons; during the 9th or 10th they returned to their respective Countries, they were not allowed to remain in Canton City to find out the price of goods; to make purchases and acquire profit; and to go backwards and forwards having intercourse with Native Chinese, which originated traitorous connexions. If the goods in their Honggs were not all sold, and they wished for the time being to live at Macao they were permitted to suit their convenience.

On searching it is found that in the time of Kienlung the foreign vessels which came to Canton did not exceed 30 or 40, but now they amount to 70 or 80, or even 100.

Of late years the English Company's Barbarian Ships have arrived in succession during the 7th or 8th moons, and having exchanged their Cargoes, have left the Port in the 12th moon, or onward to the 1st and 2nd moons of the ensuing Year.

The said Nation's Company's Chief and foreign merchants, after the Company's ships were gone and affairs completed requested permits to go to Macao and reside there, till the 7th or 8th moons when the said Nation's merchant ships came to Canton Province and then they requested permits to go up to Canton City to superintend the Commerce.

Exclusive of these, there are the several Nations of India and America whose foreign ships come to Canton. Their trade is coming and going at uncertain intervals, by no means like the English Company's. Of these under one Man's name there may be one or two ships in a Year that come to Canton; or three or four ships, or an individual may have no ship at all, but only goods consigned to him to sell in some other ship. These foreign Merchants all remain at Canton to manage their affairs. As the foreign ships are now double what they were formerly, and the time of their anchoring is uncertain — beside, as they have remained at Canton, transacting their Commercial Affairs, for many years with mutual tranquility, it is doubtless unnecessary

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to restrict them positively to the 9th or 10th moon to return to their own country.

Hereafter if foreign Merchants do indeed arrive early at Canton City and all their goods be sold, then according to the old regulations, let them reverse their oar at the appointed time, but if they arrive late on the 8th or 9th moons, and require time to sell their goods, let the Hong Merchants be charged to keep a strict oversight and control over the Foreign Merchants residing in Canton. At the same time dealing justly to make haste to pay the price of things; **not being allowed to contract debts** and persist in delaying.

Let the foreign Merchants of all Nations when their goods are sold and business finished — whatever the time may be go home with their Ships or go down to Macao and reside there; they must not intentionally delay their departure. By this

modification, foreigners will all be prevented from lingering long in Canton, and traitorous Natives will rarely have a pretext for forming illegal connexions.

2nd. Borrowing foreign Merchants money — it is right to eradicate the evil of contracting debts.

When the regulations were originally established native merchants violated prohibitions by borrowing money of foreign Merchants, and strung on, being led by hooked connexions. **At that time their offences were punished according to the law for 'Forming connexions with foreign nations and borrowing money to defraud.' The money borrowed was prosecuted for and confiscated.**

This old law against Hong Merchants' borrowing money of foreign Merchants was long strictly acted on. But the Hong Merchants when foreign Merchants left the port, **eventually made a vague statement (whether they were indebted for balances or not) that affairs were concluded. These are unworthy of credit and the gloss should be done away with.**

Hereafter beside prosecuting and punishing according to law the Hong Merchants who borrow money of foreigners and string on and are led by hooked connexions with them — the foreign Merchants who trade with Hong Merchants must be made every year, when their affairs are concluded, **to give in to the Hoppo, a voluntary written declaration, for his examination, whether there be any outstanding claims or not.** Then should the Hong Merchant fail, the foreign claims which have been previously reported will be paid by instalments, those that have not been reported, even if prosecuted for, will not receive any attention from Government.

And it must be ordered that all balances due by Hong Merchants **must be paid within three months.** Procrastination will

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not be permitted and when they are paid the foreign Merchant's receipt must be presented to Government and preserved on record. **If payment be not made within the limited period, it is allowed to the foreign merchant to prosecute.** If he does not choose to prosecute he may do as he pleases; but if he prosecute after the period has expired, Government will pay no attention to his claims. This is to eradicate the trick of old and new claims being made to radiate upon each other.

3rd. The original interdict was to prevent foreign Merchants having Natives to serve them. This requires a little modification. The original regulations ran thus. That foreign Merchants living in the factories were strictly interdicted from employing any other Natives than Linguists and Compradores.

It is found by research that of the Natives who have been given to foreigners to serve, there had heretofore been a class denominated Shawan² (quasi dicat Sand Literate) these have long been interdicted and it is right, still to act according to the old prohibitions, and severely interdict them. But recently the foreign Merchants of various Nations who have come hither have much increased. They continually require people to look after their goods; to watch their gates; to carry water and to carry goods, and the black demon Slaves which the foreign Merchants bring are by nature very stupid and fierce; if they (the foreign Merchants) be compelled to use

entirely black demon slaves, it is really apprehended that there will be such a large collection of them, that in going out and in they will wrangle with the natives, and the arrangement turn out to be the creation of disturbance.

It is right to request that hereafter the people necessary in the foreign factories, for taking care of Cargo, keeping the gate, carrying water, and carrying goods be hired by the Compradore from among Natives, and he shall report their names and surnames to the Hong Merchants, who, with the said Factory's Compradore, shall be made responsible for searching into what they do and controlling them.

Should any of these people instruct and seduce the foreign Merchants to act traitorously, let the Hong Merchants and Compradore report them to Government and request that they might be prosecuted.

4th. After the foreign Merchants enter the port and anchor, let there be at that place as heretofore Military Officers and soldiers appointed to search and examine. In the Hong Merchants factories where foreigners live — let them be under the restraint and control of the Hong Merchant, to prevent disturbances.

The regulations originally enacted were, that when the foreign

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ship had entered the Port and anchored at Whampoa, Military Officer and twelve soldiers should be sent from the Kwangheep; these were to construct a mat shed and keep guard. A Military Officer was also to be selected sent from the Suhpeaou, to search and examine — And from the adjacent Military Station a row boat was to be sent, to unite with another boat sent from the left wing of the middle division in searching and examining. After the Ship left the Port they were to be recalled. In these arrangements there is no occasion to make any change. But from length of days these orders are considered mere form. It is right to make continually a secret search, and if the Military become remiss and steal repose, to punish them severely forthwith.

As to foreign Merchants lodging in Hong Merchants factories, it has heretofore been the duty of Hong Merchants to govern and control them. **The purchases of goods made by them must pass through the hands of a Hong Merchant.** This was originally designed to guard against the traitorous Natives misleading them, teaching them and egging them on. Hereafter the foreign Merchants dwelling in the Hong Merchants Factories, must not be allowed to presume of their own accord to go out and in, lest they should Trade and carry on clandestine transactions with traitorous Natives.

The boats on Canton river in which they go must not be allowed to set sail and go fast; lest they rush against Native boats on the River and wrangle and quarrel. They must not be allowed to wander about the Villages and Market places near Canton in order that bloody affrays may be prevented.

5th. Foreigners clandestinely taking foreign females to dwell in the factories, at Canton, their ascending to sit in shoulder chariots (sedan chairs) must both be interdicted.

It is found on enquiry that the foreigners of every Nation bringing wives and women servants to Canton City to dwell has long been strictly interdicted; but last

year the English Chief violated the laws and brought them. They have already been expelled and driven back to Macao. It is found out that the woman he brought to Canton, was brought by the said foreign Merchant from his own Country. The women servants who followed them were Portuguese of Macao hired to serve.

Hereafter it is right to issue strict orders to the Chief foreign Merchants of every Nation disallowing them bringing foreign women to Canton to reside. If they are wilfully to disobey **then trade will be forthwith stopped**, and they immediately sent under escort to Macao. At the same time let it be made the duty of Custom house Cruizers, officers and soldiers in the event of meeting foreigners carrying females to Canton to intercept them and send them back.

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Further let orders be given to the Tungche of Macao to transmit orders to the Portuguese foreign Headman Weileto, and the Fanchae (or foreign 'Envoy) that hereafter other foreigners hiring women to serve are allowed to reside at Macao only — it is not allowed to the Macao Authorities to permit them being taken to Canton. If there be disobedience to this Order — Weileto alone will be responsible.

As to foreigners using chairs in Canton, it all arose from traitorous vagabonds giving them, and chair-bearers coveting gain. Besides ordering foreigners of every Nation to Yield obedience and that hereafter they must not at Canton City ascend the shore in Sedan Chairs; let it be strictly interdicted for traitorous Merchants to give chairs to, or hire chair bearers for foreigners. And if chairmen scheming to obtain gain dare to disobey this order as soon as it is discovered let them be seized and severely prosecuted.

6th. It is right to make it a duty of Custom House Cruizers officers and soldiers, with more strictness and care to interdict and prevent foreigners from conveying musketts and guns to Canton.

The interdict against foreigners bringing muskets or guns with them to Canton was originally very strict; but last year there was a foreigner who suddenly and by stealth conveyed muskets and guns to a foreign factory in Canton, violating in an extreme degree old regulations. Hereafter let it be the duty of Custom house Cruizers Officers and soldiers, to be faithful in endeavoring to find out such attempts; or if; still worse, should they know of them and connive at them, let the said Officers and men be immediately brought up, tried and sentenced.

7th. In case of English Company's Captains³ going backwards and forwards in boats; and foreign Merchants cargo vessels receiving clearances to quit the Port, it is right to obey the standing regulations.

Of the foreign ships that trade the Company's Captains, when it occurs they have public business to attend to, go backward and forward in San pan boats, to interdict and stop which is difficult. It is right to allow them as heretofore to go in boats. If they carry contraband goods, let the Custom house officers and soldiers examine strictly and report for the management of the Affair. But heretofore, there must be a foreign headman or Captain in her before a Sanpan boat is allowed to go with a flag

[start *Chronicles page 300*]

set. If there be no headman or ship Captain in her it must not be allowed, irregularly to sail a boat with flag — Still let the old regulation be adhered to [to] prevent confusion.

In going from Macao to Whampoa and Canton and from Canton to Whampoa and Macao, let a permit⁴ be requested. They must not go and come when and as they please. Doing so will be an offence that will be enquired into.

As to foreign Merchants Cargo Vessels receiving a Red Chop (or Clearance) to quit the Port, heretofore application has been made to the Custom House. Let it still be the duty of the Custom House to inform the forts on every such occasion, that they may examine and let go, and so stoppages and disturbances be prevented.

8th. It is necessary to make arrangements concerning foreigners presenting Petitions: whether a distinction would not be made in Affairs of importance, and it be settled when they must be presented for them and when they themselves may present them.

There must be explicit and fixed regulations determining whether the Hong Merchants are to present Petitions for foreign Merchants or they are to present them themselves; then a confused way of acting, and one exceeding what is proper may be prevented. Let an order be issued to the English and other foreign Merchants requiring their obedience thereto, — that hereafter, if any very important affair occur, which it is absolutely necessary to convey to the Governor's Office, let the Petition be delivered to the Senior Hong Merchant or Security Merchant to present it for them. It is not allowed that foreigners should presume to go the City Gate and deliver it to the Military Officer on Guard. When they present a Petition one or two foreigners only are allowed to proceed with it. They are not allowed to take a number of men with them to blazon abroad the Affair.

If the business be of a common place nature, and the Hong Merchants have not refused to present it for them; or the topic be one which it was improper to present; then the foreigner who shall perversely offend and take a number of people to the City Gate to present a Petition, **that foreign Merchants trade shall forthwith be stopped** one Month, and he be disallowed to buy or sell any goods, thereby to chastise his disrespect.

Petitions concerning ordinary topics of Trade, must be presented at the Hoppo's Office; and ordinary Petitions

[*start Chronicles page 301*]

concerning local occurrences must be presented to the Macao Tungche, or the Heangshan Hien; or the Macao Tso tang — in all which cases it is allowed to appeal as usual.

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- 1 Tradition says that this Governor had a share in Puankhequa's house.
 - 2 Shawan is the Chinese mode of pronouncing the English word 'servant.'
 - 3 Skippers.
 - 4 A Red Chop.

Appendix 4.

The Eight Regulations (1835)

“The new regulations for foreigners, which were prepared by their excellencies the governor, fooyuen, and hoppo, on the 28th of the 1st moon of the 15th year of Taoukwang, (Feb. 25th, 1835) have received the approbation of his majesty, with solemn injunctions that thenceforth they be strictly obeyed. Copies of these regulations, with the hoppo’s seal stamped upon them, have recently been circulated among the residents in Canton. The regulations are eight in number; for a translation of them the reader is referred to the third volume of the Repository, pages 580-584.” Chinese Repository, Vol. 4, page 199 (August 1835).

Contemporary Translation. Full text of the “Eight Regulations,” promulgated 8 March 1835, with their official transmittal, as published in the Chinese Repository, Vol. 3, pages 579-584 (April 1835):

Document from the hoppo, containing a memorial from the Canton government to the emperor, with eight regulations restrictive of foreign trade.

Pang, by imperial appointment, superintendent of the maritime customs of Canton, &c. &c., issues this order to the hong-merchants, requiring their full acquaintance with the contents thereof. I have received the following communication from the governor: —

“Whereas I the governor united, on the 28th day of the first moon, in the 15th year of Taoukwang, with your excellency the hoppo, and Ke, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, in framing a respectful memorial concerning restrictive regulations decided on for the direction of the trade and of barbarians: We must now await the receipt of a reply in vermilion [i.e. in the imperial handwriting], when the same shall be reverently recorded and communicated to you.

“A communication is at the same time addressed to the governors of the metropolitan provinces [Chihle and Keangnan], and of Minche [Chekeang and Fuhkeen], and to the lieut-governors of the provinces of Keangsoo, Chekeang, and Fuhkeen, requesting that they will issue general orders to all civil and military officers along the coast within their jurisdiction, strictly to command that the merchant ships, hereafter, when resorting to Canton to purchase foreign goods, shall one and all repair to the chief custom-house of Canton, and request a stamped manifest, enumerating the goods and their quantities; likewise to disallow private purchases; and also to maintain strict investigation, that if any vessels from the sea, bringing home transmarine goods, be found on examination to be without the stamped manifest of the custom-house, such goods may be immediately regarded as contraband, and examination made and punishment inflicted, according to the regulations.

“Instructions also are given to the tungche of Macao, for him immediately to give strict orders to the pilots, the compradors, and so forth, that they may obey and act accordingly. Hereafter, they are imperatively required to adhere to the regulations established by memorial to the emperor; they are to be careful in

piloting vessels; and they must not unlawfully combine (with foreigners) to smuggle; if the barbarian ships go out or come in contrary to the regulations, or if the barbarians clandestinely go about in small boats to places along the coast, rambling about the villages and farms, the said pilots are to be assuredly brought with strictness to an investigation: if there be any sale or purchase of contraband goods, or stealthy smuggling of goods liable to duty, and the compradors do not report according to the truth, they also are to be immediately punished with rigor; and are decidedly to have no indulgence shown to them.

“Instructions are likewise given to the poochingsze and anchasze to examine and act in accordance with the tenor of the copy of this memorial; and immediately to transmit directions to the civil and military officers along the coast (of the province) to act in obedience thereto; also to command the hong-merchants and linguists to enjoin orders on the barbarian merchants of every nation, for them to obey and act accordingly.”

This coming before me the hoppo, I unite the circumstances, and issue this order. When the order reaches the said merchants, let them act in obedience to the tenor of the copy of the memorial, and enjoin orders on the barbarian merchants of every nation, that they may pay obedience thereto. Oppose. An to special order. Annexed is a paper containing a fair copy of the memorial, as follows: —

“A reverent memorial concerning restrictive regulations determined on for the direction of the trade and of barbarians, is hereby presented, imploring the Sacred Glance to be cast thereon. With reference to barbarians from beyond the outer seas coming to Canton to trade, since the time when, the in 25th year of Keenlung [1760], restrictive enactments were fixed by a representation (to the throne), there have also been further regulations from time to time determined on; viz., in the 14th year of Keaking [1810], and in the 11th year of Taoukwang

[start Chinese Repository page 580]

[1831], by several former governors and lieut.-governors; and on representation (to the throne) the same have been sanctioned, obedience has been paid to them, and they have become established laws. These have been complete and effectual. But during the length of days they have been in operation, either they have in the end become a dead letter, or there have gradually sprung up unrestrained offenses. Last year, the English Company was ended and dissolved. The said nation’s merchants come at their own option to trade. There is none having a general control. Although commands have been issued to the said nation’s barbarian merchants to send a letter home to their country, to continue the appointment of a taepan, who shall come to Canton for the direction and control (of affairs); yet as the merchants are now many, and individuals are mingled together, while affairs are under no united jurisdiction, it is necessarily required that regulations should be enacted and published, that they may be obeyed and adhered to. But the affairs of time have variations of present and past; and since the English barbarians’ Company is dissolved, the attendant circumstances of commerce are also slightly different from what they were formerly.

“Besides those old regulations, respecting which it is unnecessary further to deliberate, but which may all, as formerly, continue to be distinctly enumerated in plain commands; and besides the regulations regarding the management of

barbarian debts, and regarding the strict seizure of smugglers, which have already been specially represented; there are still regulations which require to be reconsidered, for the purpose of adding or altering. These we, your majesty's ministers, calling into council with us the poochingsze and the anchasze, have fully deliberated upon. The rules of dignified decorum should be rendered awe-striking in order to repress overstepping presumption; the bounds of intercourse should be closely drawn, in order to eradicate Chinese traitors; the restraints on egress and ingress should be diligently enforced; the responsible task of investigation and supervision should be carefully attended to: then surely in the restrictive enactment, there will be unceasingly displayed minute care and diligence. At the same time the hong-merchants should be strictly commanded to deal fairly and equitably; each regarding highly his respectability in order that all the foreigners, thoroughly imbued with the sacred dew of favor, may universally quake with awe, and be filled with tender regard. Looking upwards, to aid our sovereign's extreme desire to soothe into subjection the far-coming barbarians, and to give weight and attention to the maritime guard: we respectfully join these expressions in a reverent and duly prepared memorial; and also take the eight regulations which we have determined on, and making separately a fair copy thereof, respectfully offer them for the imperial eye: prostrate, supplicating our sovereign to cast the sacred glance thereon, and to impart instruction. A respectful memorial. Taoukwang, 15th year, 1st moon, 28th day. (Feb. 25th, 1833.)

"We respectfully take eight additional and altered regulations, restrictive of the barbarians, whereon we have deliberated and decided, and have attentively made a fair copy thereof, we with reverence offer them for the imperial perusal."

1. The outside barbarians' ships of war convoying goods are not permitted to sail into the inner seas. It is requisite to enforce with strictness the prohibitory commands, and to hold the naval force responsible for keeping them off.

On examination it appears, that the trading barbarians may bring ships of war to protect their goods themselves. This has been the case for a long time past. But the regulation hitherto existing, only permits them to anchor in the outer seas, there waiting until the cargo vessels leave the port, and then sailing back with them. They are not allowed to presume to enter the maritime port. From the period of the reign of Keaking onwards, they have gradually failed to pay implicit obedience to the old rule; and last year there was again an affair of irregularly pushing in through the maritime entrance. Although the said barbarians, sailing into the shallow waters of the inner river, can effect nothing in the least; yet restrictive measures always should be perfect and complete. With regard to the line of forts at the Bocca Tigris, there are now some additional erections and some removals in progress: and at the same time more cannon are being cast, and measures of preparation and defense are being determined on. It is, besides this, requisite to enforce with strictness the regulations and prohibitions.

[start Chinese Repository page 581]

Hereafter, if a ship of war of any nation convoying goods presumes to enter either of the maritime ports of Cross Harbor or the Bocca Tigris, the barbarians merchants' cargo vessels shall have their holds altogether closed, and their trade stopped, and at the same time the (ship of war) shall be immediately driven out.

The naval commander-in-chief also shall be held responsible, whenever he meets with a ship of war of the outside barbarians anchored in the outer seas to give commands immediately to all officers and men of the forts, that they apply themselves to the object of keeping up preventive measures against the same; also to lead forth in person the naval squadron, to cruize about with them in guard of all the maritime entrances, and to unite their strength to that of the forts, for the purpose of guarding against (any such ship of war). Should the officers or soldiers be guilty of negligence and indolence, they shall be reported against with severity. It is imperatively necessary that the power of the naval and land forces should be exerted in unbroken concert, that the barbarian ships may have no way of irregularly pushing through.

2. When barbarians stealthily transport muskets and cannon, or clandestinely bring up foreign females or foreign sailors, to the provincial city, the hong-merchants shall be held responsible in all points for investigating the matter.

It appears on examination, that barbarians may carry with them one sword, one rapier, and one gun each; this the regulations do not prohibit. But if they presume, besides this, to bring cannon and muskets or other military weapons, or foreign females, up to the provincial city, the fixed regulations hold the officers and men of the guard-houses responsible for finding out and stopping them. The guard-stations have indeed the responsible task of searching and discovering; but the barbarian merchants at Canton, dwelling in the outside barbarians' factories, the apartments which they occupy are all rented by them from the hong-merchants. The said merchants' ears and eyes are close to them: they certainly cannot be ignorant (of anything they do); it is evidently befitting that they should, on all points, be held responsible for investigating and finding out (whatever is done).

Hereafter, the barbarians of every nation shall be altogether disallowed bringing up muskets, cannon or other military weapons, or foreign females or sailors, to the provincial city. If any should clandestinely bring them up, the hong-merchant from whom their factory is rented, shall be held responsible for discovering and preventing it, and for disallowing them to be brought into the factory; and for at the same time repairing to the local magistrate to present a report (of any such attempt). Should he suffer, connive at, and conceal such attempt the said hong-merchant shall be punished according to the law against clandestine intercourse with outside nations. The officers and men of the guard-stations who fail to discover such misdemeanors shall also be severally tried and rigorously punished, as guilty of 'failing to investigate and willfully conniving.'

3. Pilots and compradors of barbarian ships must have licenses from the tungche of Macao; it must not be allowed that they should be privately hired.

It is found on examination that in the office of the tungche of Macao, there have hitherto been appointed 14 pilots: and whenever a barbarian ship arrives in the sea outside the Bocca Tigris, a report should be made to the said tungche, that he may command a pilot to take the ship into port. For the provisions and necessaries required by the barbarian merchants on board the ship, a comprador should be employed; who is also selected from among men conspicuous in their native place for substance and property, and is appointed by the said tungche to fill the station. Of late, there has constantly been a set of vagabonds in the outer seas, falsely acting

in the capacity of pilots; who artfully make away with the goods of barbarians, and then run off. There has also been a class of vagabonds who craftily assume the name of compradors, and unlawfully combine for the purpose of smuggling and other illegalities. When the thing is discovered, and search is made for them, their names and surnames having been falsely assumed, there are no means of finding and bringing them to trial.

Hereafter, the tungche of Macao, when appointing pilots, shall ascertain fully their age and outward appearance, their native place and habits of life, and shall give them a place on the list (of pilots), and a sealed and signed waist-war-

[start Chinese Repository page 582]

rant.* A list also shall be kept of them, and a full report respecting them sent to the office of the governor and to the custom-house, to be there preserved. When a barbarian ship is to be piloted in, a sealed license shall be given to them, stating explicitly the names and surnames of the pilot and master of the ship, which when the guard-stations have verified, they shall let the ship pass on. Any men without the sealed and signed waist-warrant, the barbarian ships must not hire or employ. With regard to the compradors required by the barbarian ships, when anchored at Macao or Whampoa, they must all have waist-warrants given to them by the said tungche; and must be subject at Macao to examination by the said tungche, and at Whampoa, to examination by the Pwanyu heen magistrate. If the barbarian ships come in or go out contrary to the regulations, or if the barbarians go about clandestinely in small boats, to places along the coast, rambling among the villages and farms, the pilots shall be brought to a strict investigation. And if there be any trading in contraband goods, or any stealthy smuggling of goods subject to duty, and the compradors do not report the same according to the truth, the offense shall be rigorously punished.

4. With regard to hiring and employing natives in the barbarian factories, there must be limits and rules clearly settled.

On examination it appears, that it was formerly the regulation, that the trading barbarians should not be permitted to hire and employ any natives except linguists and compradors. In the 11th year of Taoukwang, it was, on representation (to the throne), permitted, that in the barbarian factories, for gatekeepers, and for carriers of water and carriers of goods, natives might be hired for (foreigners) by the compradors. But the silly populace earnestly gallop after gain, and possess but little shame. And adjoining the provincial city, are many persons who understand the barbarian speech. If the barbarians are allowed to hire them at their own pleasure, it will be difficult to prevent unlawful combinations and traitorous procedure. It is evidently befitting that a limit and rule should be fixed, and that a special responsibility should be created.

Hereafter, in each barbarian factory, whatever be the number of barbarians inhabiting it, whether few or many, it shall be permitted only to employ two gatekeepers and four water-carriers; and each barbarian merchant may hire one man to keep his goods. It shall not be permitted to employ any more than this limited number. The comprador of the barbarian factory shall be held responsible for hiring these men; the linguists shall be held responsible for securing, and filling up the places of the compradors; and the hong-merchants shall be held responsible

for securing and filling up the places of the linguists. (This will be) a shutting up rule, extending through progressive grades. If there be any illicit combination or breach of law, only the one who hired and stood security shall be answerable. At the same time commands shall be given to the superintending hong-merchant, to make out monthly a fair list of the names and birthplaces of the compradors and coolies under each barbarian's name, and hand it in to the district magistrate, to be kept in the archives, ready at any time to be examined. As to the carriers of goods, the linguists shall be commanded to hire them miscellaneously, when the time comes (that they are required); and when the business is finished to send them back. With regard to natives being hired to become the menial attendants of barbarian merchants, under the name of shawan [servants], it shall still be for ever prohibited. Should merchants hire coolies beyond the limited number, or clandestinely hire shawan as menial attendants, the linguists and hong-merchants shall both receive punishment.

5. With regard to barbarians sailing vessels about in the inner rivers, there should be reductions and limitations severally made, and the constant practice of idly rambling about should be prohibited.

It appears on examination, that the barbarian trading vessels, when they enter the port, anchor at Whampoa. In going to and fro between Canton and Macao, the English Company's skippers only have hitherto been permitted to travel in flag-bearing sampan boats. This kind of sampan is a boat with a rather large hull, and a deck over it; rendering it easy to carry in it military weapons and

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contraband goods. Now that the Company has been dissolved, all the flag-bearing sampan vessels should be done away with. As to the barbarians residing in the foreign factories, they are not permitted to presume to go in and go out at their own pleasure. In the 21st year of Keaking [1816], when governor Tseang was in office, it was arranged, that on three days, viz., the 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month, they should be permitted to ramble about once, in the neighborhood. Of late years, the barbarians have continually disobeyed the old regulations; it is imperatively necessary to enforce powerfully the prohibitory commands.

Hereafter, all the barbarians, when their ships reach Whampoa, if they have any business requiring them to go to and fro between Canton and Macao, or to interchange letters, are only permitted to use uncovered small sampans; they may not again use flag-bearing sampan vessels. When the small sampans pass the custom-houses, they must wait until they are searched; and should they have in them contraband goods, or cannon or other military weapons, they must be immediately driven out. The barbarians residing in the factories shall only be allowed to ramble out on the 8th, the 18th, and the 28th, three days of each month, in the neighboring flower gardens, and the Haechwang sze temple [on Honan]. Each time there must not be more than ten individuals; and they must be limited to the hour of five in the evening to return to their factories. They must not be allowed to remain out to sleep, or drink liquor. If, when it is not the day that they may receive permission, they should go out to ramble, and they exceed the number of ten individuals, or if they go to other villages, hamlets, or market-places, to ramble about, the hong-merchants and linguists shall both receive punishment.

6. When barbarians petition on any subject, they should in all cases petition through the medium of the hong-merchants, in order that the dignity of government may be rendered impressive.

On examination it appears, that the written characters of outside barbarians and the central flowery people are not of the same nature. Among them [the former], there are some who have a rough idea of Chinese characters; but they are unacquainted with style and good diction, and are ignorant of the rules required for maintenance of dignity. When they petition on affairs, their expressions are devoid of intelligent signification, and there is always much that is difficult to explain. They also, in an irregular manner, adopt epistolary forms, and confusedly proceed to present papers themselves; greatly infringing the dignity of government. Moreover, that for one and the same barbarian affairs, petitions should be presented, either through the medium of the hong-merchants, or by barbarians themselves, is an inconsistent mode of acting.

Hereafter, on every occasion of barbarians making petitions on any affair, they must always have the hong-merchants to petition, and state the circumstances for them. It is unnecessary that they should themselves frame the expressions of the petitions. If there be accusations to be brought against a hong-merchant on any affair, and the hong-merchants may, perhaps, carry it oppressively, and refuse to petition for them, then the barbarians may be allowed to go themselves to the offices of the local magistrates and bring forward their charges; and the hong-merchants shall be immediately brought to examination and trial.

7. In securing barbarian ships by hong-merchants, there should be employed both securities by engagement and securities by rotation, in order to eradicate clandestine illegalities.

It is found on examination, that when barbarian ships come to Canton the old rule is, that they should be secured by all the hong-merchants in successive rotation; and that if they transgress the laws, the security-merchant shall alone be responsible. Afterwards, it was apprehended, that securing by rotation was attended with offenses of grasping and oppressive dealing; and all the keang keo barbarian [i.e. country] ships were permitted themselves to invite hong-merchants to secure them. Now, the Company has been dissolved; and the barbarian ships that come are scattered, and without order; if the responsibility of being secured by the hong-merchants in rotation be again enforced, as formerly, it is apprehended that offenses of extortionate oppression will arise. And yet if suffered themselves to choose their securities, it is difficult to insure that there will not be acts of unlawful combination.

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Hereafter, when the barbarian ships arrive at Canton, they shall still as formerly, be permitted to invite hong-merchants in which they have confidence, to become their engaged securities; and all the trade in goods, the requesting of permits, the payment of duties, and the transaction of public affairs, shall be attended to by the engaged security-merchant. In the payment of duties, the tariff regulations shall be conformed to; it shall not be allowed to make the smallest fractional addition. At the same time, to each vessel shall be appointed a security by rotation, the duty of which, each hong-merchant shall fulfill in his successive routine. It shall be his special duty to examine and investigate affairs. If the engaged security-merchant

join with the barbarian to make sport of legal practices and traitorous machinations, or secretly add to the amount of duties, or incur debts to the barbarians, the security-merchant by rotation shall be held responsible for giving information thereof, according to the facts, that the other may be brought to an investigation, and that the debts may be reclaimed. If the security by rotation connive, he shall also, on discovery, be brought to an investigation.

8. If barbarian ships on the seas, clandestinely sell goods chargeable with duty, the naval forces should be held responsible for finding out, and seizing the same. Also communications should be sent to all the seaboard provinces, to examine and investigate.

It appears on examination, that when the barbarian ships of every nation bring goods to Canton, it is reasonably required that they should enter the port, pay measurement charges and duties, and sell off through the medium of the hong-merchants. But the said barbarian vessels continually cast anchor in the outer seas, and delay entering the port; and some even do not at all enter the port, but return and sail away; not only storing up and selling opium, but also, it is feared, clandestinely disposing of foreign goods. We, your majesty's ministers, on every occasion of such being reported to us, have immediately replied, by strict directions to the naval forces to urge and compel them to enter the port, or if they will not enter the port, to drive them instantly away, and not permit them to loiter about. We have also appointed officers at the various maritime entrances, to seize with strictness smuggling vagabonds. In repeated instances, men and vessels going out to sea to sell opium have been seized, and on investigation, punishment has been inflicted. But the province of Canton has a line of coast continuous along the provinces of Fuhkeen, Chekeang, Keangsoo, and Teentsin [Chihle]. Traitorous vagabonds of the several provinces sail in vessels of the sea on the outer ocean, and clandestinely buy and sell goods, dealing with the barbarians, and then carry back (their purchases) by sea. This class of traitorous dealers, neither entering nor leaving any of the seaports of Canton, there are no means of guarding against or seizing them. And the foreign goods having a divided consumption, the amount that enters the port is gradually lessened; the consequences of which on the duties are great.

Hereafter, the naval commanders-in-chief should be held responsible for giving commands to the naval vessels to cruize about in the outer seas in a constant course; and if there be any dealers approaching the barbarian ships, clandestinely to purchase foreign goods, immediately to seize them and give them over for trial and punishment. Also, regulations should be established that vessels of the sea, of whatever province, when wanting to purchase foreign goods, shall all repair to the chief custom-house of Canton, and request a sealed manifest, enumerating the goods and their quantities; and that none should be permitted to make private purchases. Communications should be sent to the provinces of Fuhkeen, Chekeang, &c., that general orders may be issued requiring obedience to be paid to this, and that strict search may be maintained in all the seaports, that if any sea-going vessel bring back foreign goods, and it appears that she has not the sealed manifest of the custom-house, they shall be immediately regarded as contraband, and, on legal investigation, the vessel and cargo confiscated.

Taoukwang, 15th year, 2d moon, 10th day. [March 8th, 1835.]

- This is a piece of wood with characters cut thereon, to be carried about the person; hence called a waist-warrant.

Appendix 5.

The Eight Regulations (Per W.C. Hunter)

Contemporary Translation. Full text of the "Eight Regulations," in an undated version, from William C. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton Before Treaty Days 1825-1844* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882), pp. 28-30 (italics and footnotes in the original) (footnotes renumbered):

The authorities framed eight regulations for the especial government and control of these divers people from afar. They date from the year 1760, and are curious enough to recall. Never having been abrogated, they were assumed to be in force always. They were confirmed by an edict of the Emperor Kea-King [the Jiaqing Emperor] in 1819, after a revision in 1810. Some of them came to be disregarded by the foreign community, particularly those referring to the Gardens, the Honam Temple, and pulling in their own boats on the river; but so far as regards women entering the Factories, an infringement of them in this essential particular took place in 1830, as will be seen hereafter. The chief sufferers in the event of a disregard of any important item of the regulations would of course be the Hong merchants. The 'Eight Regulations' were now and then brought to the Factories by a Linguist, as an intimation that they were not to be considered a 'dead letter.' Translated into English they read thus —

Regulation 1. — All vessels of war are prohibited from entering the Bogue. Vessels of war acting as convoy to merchantmen must anchor outside at Sea till their merchant-ships are ready to depart, and then sail away with them.

Regulation 2. — Neither women, guns, spears, nor arms of any kind can be brought to the Factories.

Regulation 3. — All river-pilots and ships' Compradores must be registered at the office of the 'Tung- Che'¹ at Macao. That officer will also furnish each one of them with a licence, or badge, which must be worn around the waist. He must pro-

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duce it whenever called for. All other boatmen and people must not have communication with foreigners, unless under the immediate control of the ships' Compradores; and should smuggling take place, the Compradore² of the ship engaged in it will be punished.

Regulation 4. — Each Factory is restricted for its service to 8 Chinese (irrespective of the number of its occupants), say 2 porters, 4 water-carriers, 1 person to take care of goods ('godown coolie'), and 1 ma-chen (intended for the foreign word 'merchant'), who originally performed all the duties of the 'House Compradore,' as he is styled to-day.

Regulation 5 prohibits foreigners from rowing about the river in their own boats for 'pleasure.' On the 8th, 18th, and 28th days of the moon 'they may take the air,' as fixed by the Government in the 21st year of Kea-King [Jiaqing] (1819). All ships'

boats passing the Custom-houses on the river must be detained and examined, to guard against guns, swords, or firearms being furtively carried in them. On the 8th, 18th, and 28th days of the moon these foreign barbarians may visit the Flower Gardens and the Honam Joss-house,³ but not in *droves* of over ten at one time. When they have 'refreshed' they must return to the Factories, not be allowed to pass the night 'out,' or collect together to carouse. Should they do so, then, when the next 'holiday' comes, they shall not be permitted to go. If the ten should presume to enter villages, public places, or bazaars, punishment will be inflicted upon the *Linguist* who accompanies them.

Regulation 6. — Foreigners are not allowed to present petitions. If they have anything to represent, it must be done through the Hong merchants.

Regulation 7. — Hong merchants are not to owe debts to foreigners. Smuggling goods to and from the city is prohibited.

Regulation 8. — Foreign ships arriving with merchandise must not loiter about outside the river; they must come direct

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to Whampoa. They must not rove about the bays at pleasure and sell to rascally natives goods subject to duty, that these may smuggle them, and thereby defraud His Celestial Majesty's revenue

1 An assistant-magistrate. Up to 1848 Macao was under the joint government of the Portuguese and Chinese.

2 At this time the ships' Compradores were engaged at Macao, and not at Whampoa.

3 Buddhist Temple.