

廣東十三行考

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國 立 編 譯 館

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廣東十三行考一冊

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朱序

廣東十三行考三篇，番禺梁君嘉彬所撰也。初，梁君在國立清華大學史學系肄業，曾撰有廣東十三行行名考，載於清華週刊，師友之間咸稱道之。畢業後回廣州，繼續研究十三行史實，時余適為國立中山大學文史研究所主任，聞其好學，特延請為文史研究所編輯員，使其專心致力於此，期成巨著。越一年，乃擴充為三篇：一曰序篇，二曰本篇，三曰尾篇。而本篇最為重要，又分三章：一為十三行起源考，二為十三行沿革考，三為十三行名人名及行商事蹟考；至於序篇，不過敍述自己研究之意義，辨別他人論著之是非；尾篇則雜述行商與市舶牙行、夷館大班等關係，與夫行商之包攬貿易，約束外商等狀況，亦多扼要之談。文成十餘萬言，誠洋洋大觀也。或謂梁君著十三行考，而十三行之命名，究取何義，究起何時，皆未曾考得，捨棄根本之要義，鋪張枝葉之瑣談，未見其可也。曰：考史事者，多聞與闕疑並重，故知則詳為考證，不知則不妄附會，蓋書闕有間，此亦無可奈何者也；況梁君此書，較前人發明者已多，如十三行之起源，中外著述咸謂在康熙五十九年，或康熙六十一年，且有謂在

乾隆二十五年者，梁君據屈大均廣州竹枝詞「銀錢堆滿十三行」句，知十三行之名，當起於康熙二十六年以前，且引梁廷枏粵海關志謂「國朝設關之初，令牙行主之，沿明之習，命曰十三行」是十三行之起源，雖未確切發見，然較之前人，已屬多聞，此不可菲薄者也。或謂十三行在中國近代史中，關係最鉅，以政治言，行商有秉命封船停市約束外人之行政權，又常爲政府官吏之代表，外人一切請求陳述，均須由彼輩轉達，是又有唯一之外交權；以經濟言，行商爲對外貿易之獨占者，外人不得與中國其他商人直接貿易。此等特殊制度，無論中國外國，皆蒙不利，鴉片戰爭，即爲擊破此種外交制度及通商制度而來，自此一戰，中國一蹶不振，外交經濟，皆爲不平等條約所束縛，百年以來，皆受此十三行所貽之禍。梁君此書，不能分別條考此等重要因果，而唯平鋪直敍，沾沾於行之沿革，及行名人名等瑣碎考證，何足以饜中外人士之望？曰：正唯敍行之沿革，而重要之因果，乃隨處可以發見，要在明眼人自取之耳。梁君引明萬曆中周玄暉涇林續記云：「廣屬香山，爲海舶出入咽喉，每一舶至，常持萬金，併海外珍異諸物，多有至數萬者，先報本縣，申達藩司，令舶舉同縣官檢驗，各有長例；而額外隱漏，所得不貲，其報官納稅者，不過十之二三而已，繼而三十六行領銀提舉，悉十而取一，蓋安坐而得，無簿書刑杖之勞，然猶不若鹽課提舉。」據此，外國貿易，本市舶提舉所專領，自廣東三十

六行出，始代提舉主持外國貿易，市舶提舉悉十取一，安坐而得，而行商乃爲官商矣。梁君以爲此卽十三行之權興。梁君又謂「行商承商之法」（卽所謂包攬貿易，所謂對外貿易獨占者），約如鹽商故事，中國自唐以來，舉凡鹽鐵市舶諸大利，政府多采獨攬制，明清兩代，鹽商牙商（十三行初本爲牙行，）同爲粵東兩大資本集團，鹽課提舉，亦嘗兼攝市舶之事，十三行行商承商制度，固早萌於鹽商承商制度也。據梁君所考，則此種包攬貿易制度，實起於明萬曆間廣東三十六行之牙商，而此等制度，又仿自鹽商，惟行商爲對外貿易之獨占者，鹽商爲對內貿易之獨占者，對外貿易獨占，則不利於外國，故爲外國擊破，對內貿易獨占，則不利於本國，而外國方且利用之，以爲外債取償之計，吾國鹽商獨占制度，今後亦宜廢除，然此等獨占制度，其歷史遞衍甚長，十三行之前，已早有之，甚且可推其源於市舶提舉司（梁君追溯此等歷史甚詳），非一朝一夕之故，十三行不能專任其咎。由此可知詳述行之沿革，亦不可菲薄者也。或謂梁君爲十三行中天寶行行商梁氏之後，故其作十三行考，偏重於行名人名及各行商之家世傳記，與其佳話，如捐輸興學，以及其他公益等事，意在宣揚祖德，故特別加詳，而於鴉片戰爭直接原因，如鴉片貿易，則力爲迴護洗刷，梁君自言，「鴉片輸入論此每歸其罪於行商，經余考證所得知，輸入鴉片者，多屬走私商人，而十三行行商中，前後僅有一二家

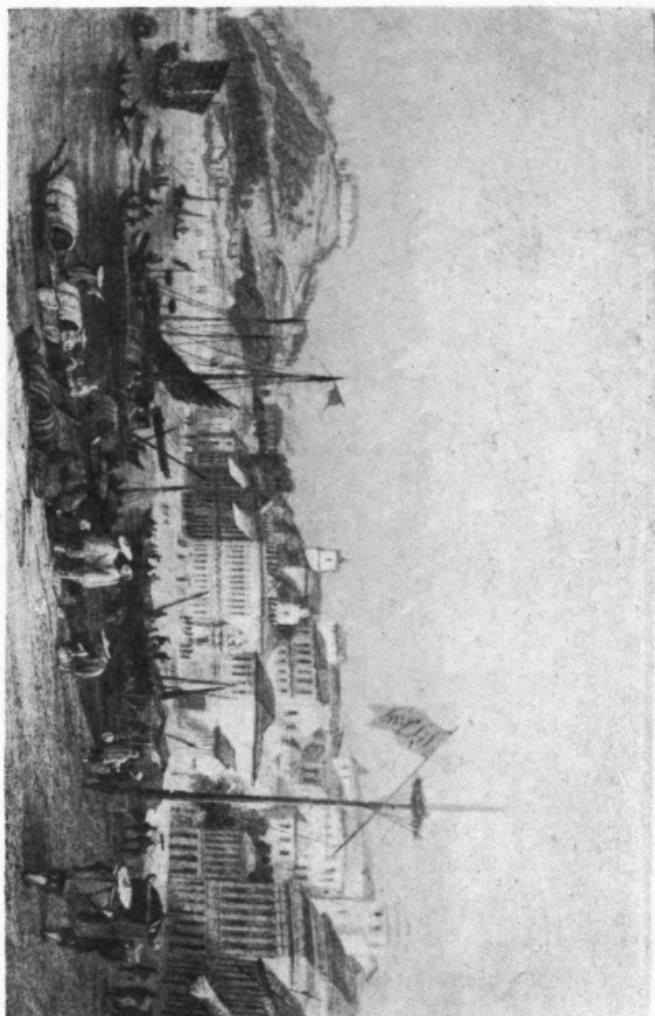
經營此宗貿易而已，」此其證也，昔歐陽修作五代史記，言吳越國自武肅重斂其民，以事奢僭，下至雞魚卵殼，必家至而日取，每笞人以責其負，而吳越王子孫錢儼作吳越備史，略去此等事不書，故以子孫而作其先祖之史，其不足以當信史明矣。曰：史材貴乎詳贍，蓋史事影響於社會各方面，非止一端，故必多方記載，乃盡厥用，外人研究十三行者，亦嘗注重行名人名以及行商之事蹟，昔黃宗羲作明史案，其史材分爲三科，曰國史、曰野史、曰家史，各采其長而去其短，家史亦有所長，必待其子孫撰述，乃能詳備，梁君之撰此書，於其本身家史，固較詳盡，然於各行商後人，因其世交姻戚關係，如潘、伍、易、葉、謝諸家家傳族譜，亦嘗遍訪搜采，此非他人之所能爲也。吳越國事，若僅賴歐陽五代史記世家一篇，則埋沒一國史實足以爲社會各方面史材者，何可勝數，幸賴其子孫儼，撰輯吳越備史，於是後人研究吳越史事者，乃得左右采獲，傳之無窮，梁君此書之功，亦庶幾乎錢儼，此又不可菲薄者也。余於今春離廣州至南京，寓居青溪，梁君屢次來書，催作一敍，余乃隱括或說，約成三辨，卽錄以質之，梁君，梁君當亦以爲然也。

中華民國二十三年六月三十日海鹽朱希祖作於南京青溪寓廬。

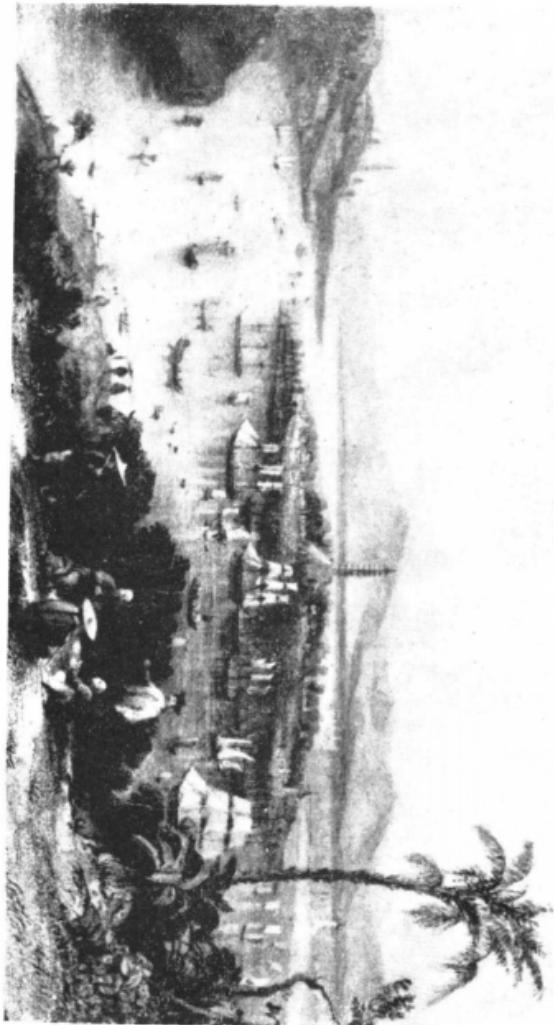
圖一 從香山縣前山望澳門（採自“Views in China”卷二頁二七）



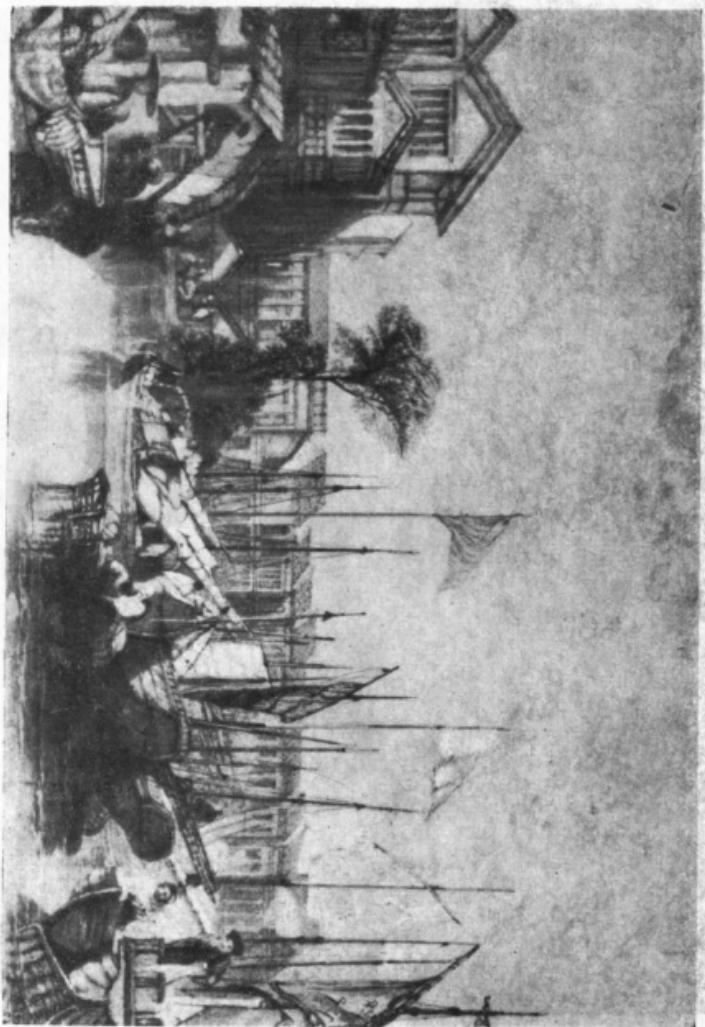
圖11 澳門南環（採自“Views in China”卷11頁四六）。



圖三 外舶駐碇之黃埠（採自“Views of China”，卷一百八〇）

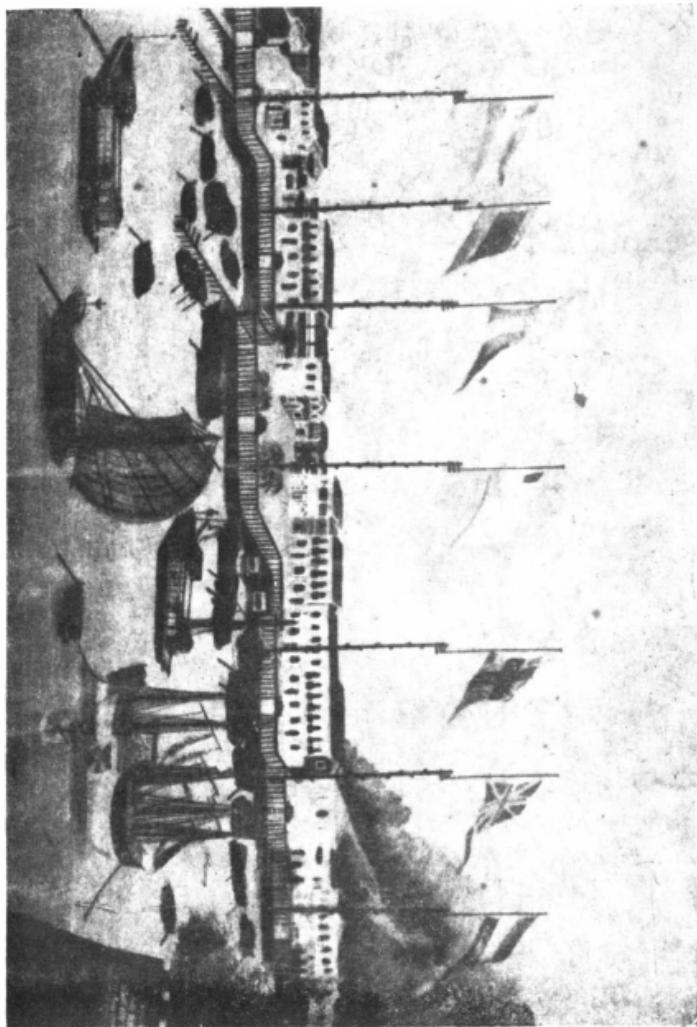


四 廣州十三夷館（採自“Views of China”，卷一，頁七〇）



圖五

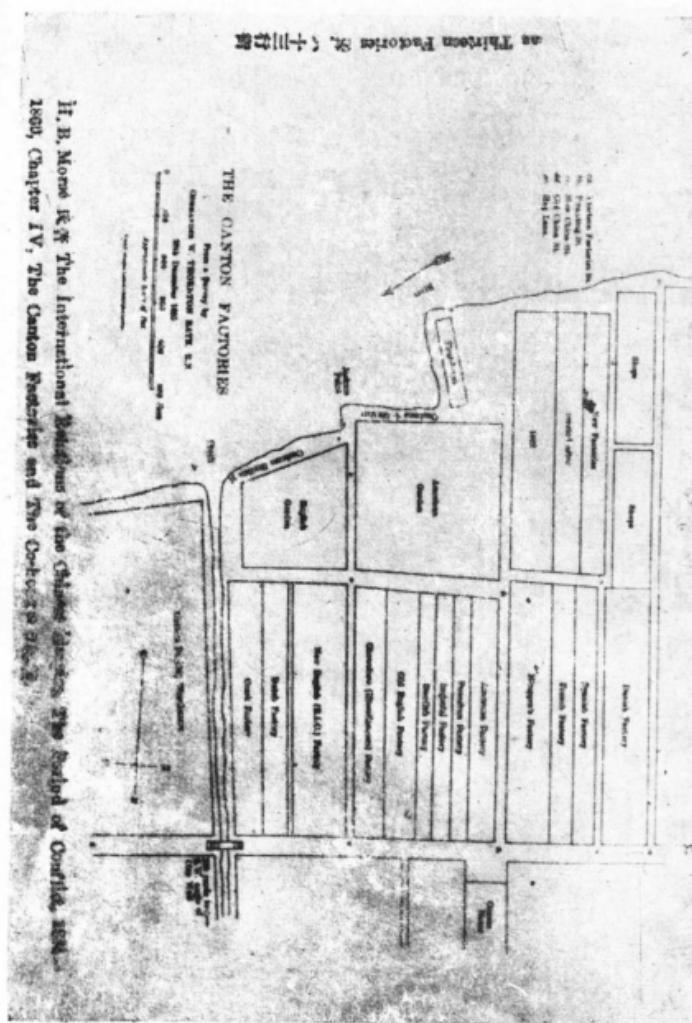
廣州十三夷館（採自昭和六年東亞經濟研究第十五周年紀念號武藤長藏廣東十三行圖說）。



圖六

廣州十三夷館圖案 (武勝長藏採自 Morse: The International Relations of the Chinese Empire 卷一章四: The Canton Factories and the C-hong^o)

[Morse 1856 4: 12] 11 29 11 美國海軍司令 W. Thornton 巴特 [Morse] / 諸夷 [The Canton Factories] /



廣州十三夷館圖案 (武藏採自 The Chinese Repository, Vol. XV, No. 7, p. 373.)

西曆一千八百四十六年七月廣州發行。The Chinese Repository 之二三編 (Vol. X.V.) 之七號 (No. 7) 亦有此圖。

圖中之十三夷館 (Diagram) 乃載セタル同様參照第十三回寫成 (Thirteen Factory Street & Environs). Thirteen Factory Street (製圖)

1846. Notices of the Riot in Canton.

the factories—separating them from several of the large pack or ware-houses of the old hong-merchants, in one of which is the British consulate—and runs north parallel with the western wall of the city. The Thirteen-factory street, running east and west on the north of the factories, is a great thoroughfare eastward, after passing over the Creek, it leads on to Carpenter's Square, to the British consulate, and to the city gates and the Imperial landing place in front of the city. There are two small custom-house stations within the lines of the factories, one at the mouth of the Creek, and one at the end of Hog Lane, on the corner of the American Garden; also three police stations, one in Hog Lane, near the landing place; one in Old China street, near the American factory; and one in the Danish street, i.e. Tsa kia kui, south side, near the landing place. Beyond Lai-nan street and the Thirteen-factory street on the west and north, for miles are densely populated suburbs. On the west side of Hog Lane and on both sides of Old and New China streets are lines of Chinese shops. The north ends of several of the factories, (one of all excepting the New English) are also occupied by Chinese shops, the foreigners, however, having narrow passages through them into the street. The Consulate is situated on the north side of the Thirteen-factory street at the head of Old China St. The principal scene of the riot was in Old China St. and in front of Mingkua's hong.

Western suburbs.

Lwan hong street.

Hong houses.	shops	Danish hong, north side.
Danish st., south side		
New hong.		
hong.		
Mingqua's new hong		
Old China St., south		
American		
Garden.		
Landing.		
The Chai-kiang, or Pearl River		
Landing.		
Hong merchant places.		
Grass.		
English		
Garden.		
Landing.		
New English Factories		
Creek.		

西曆一千八百四十五年七月廣東發行、The Chinese Repository (No. 7) (第十三回) (No. 7) (第十三回) (The thirteen factories) (圖案)

1945 List of Foreign Residents in Canton.

Art. V. List of Foreign residents in Canton, July Anne Domini eighteen hundred and forty-five, with names of their factories, houses, &c.

Within a few years there has been almost an entire change of foreign residents in Canton; and the alterations in their residences are neither few nor unimportant. By turning to a list published by the late Mr. Morrison in 1832, it will be seen that, excepting the French, the names of only three, then resident in Canton, are found on the accompanying catalogue.

The thirteen factories, counting from the east stood thus—

THE CREEK ON THE EAST.

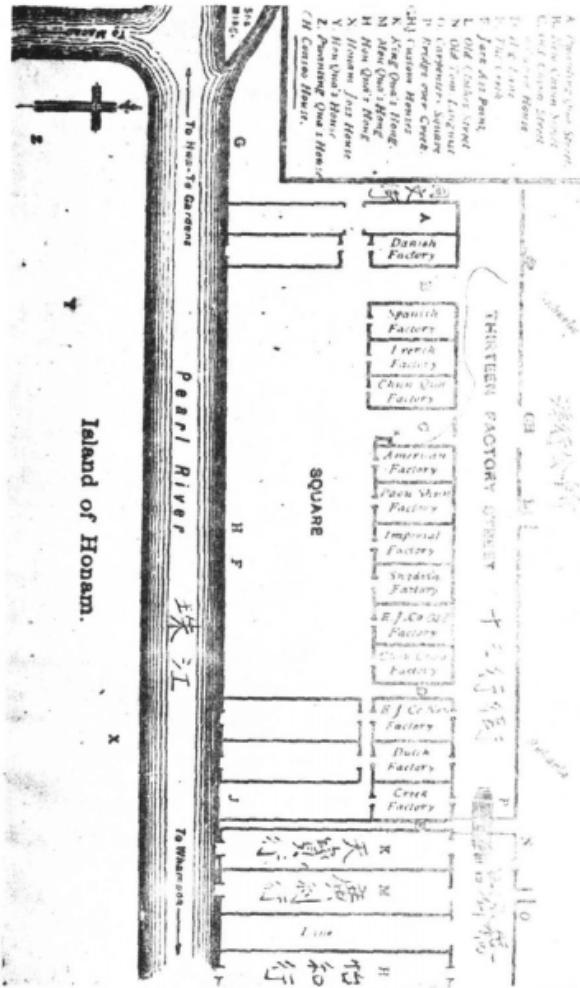
1. Creek factory, or Feh (Eau) long.
2. Dutch factory, or Tih-hi long.
3. English factory, or Pao-hi long.
4. Ning-hong, or San-tai tsu.
5. Chon-chow long, or Fung-ti long.
6. Old English factory, or Long-shan.
7. Swedish factory, or Sui long.
8. Imperial factory, or Ho-ping long.
9. Foo chow long.
10. American factory, or Kming-pua.
11. Whidam St., or Tsing-pien tsu.
12. Ninghan's long, or Ching-ho long.
13. French factory.
14. Spanish long.
15. Old China St., or Tung-tsou tsu.
16. Danish long, or Tebing tsu.

WEST.

Thus they stood prior to December 7th, 1842, occupying a plot of ground extending, say, sixty rods from east to west, and forty or fifty from north to south. The factories were divided into three four, or more houses, built chiefly of brick, and most of them one or two stories high. Before the Creek long there was a small custom-house station, and another one in front of the Swedish and Imperial houses. There were also small inclosures before the Dutch, the English, and the Danish.

前橋第四回表ト上下倒伏ス、第一回タル子ガ房銀ノ廣東十三行宿子（シムニヤヘ）前橋第五回
前橋第六回表ノ十三行宿子繪寫其ト對照上註寫テレタレ（武藤圖書館）

廣州十三夷館圖案 (採自 Hunter: Bits of Old China)



九說明：

(A)今廣州之同興上街(B)今之同文路(C)今之站遠路（參考圖八）“Chun Qua

Factory”華發Wingqua's Hong或Ciung-ho hong【潘文濬（明宦）中和行】

(D)今新壹橋；(E)今太平南路；(F)約今大新公司；(L)今故衣街；(P)今普濟橋；(K)天

寶行故址，今寶順大街與太平南路；(M)為廣利行故址，今普安街；(H)為怡和行故址，今怡

和大街。

圖 10 廣州之街市(採自“Views in China,”卷二，頁六一)。

