

廣東十三行考

梁嘉彬著



國立編譯館

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廣東十三行考 一册

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祥

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，時余適爲國立中山大學文史研究所主任，聞其好學，特延請爲文史研究所編輯員，使其專心致力於此，期成巨著。越一年，乃擴充爲三篇：一曰序篇，二曰本篇，三曰尾篇。而本篇最爲重要，又分三章：一爲十三行起源考，二爲十三行沿革考，三爲十三行行人名及行商事蹟考；至於序篇，不過敘述自己研究之意義，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，故知則詳爲考證，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，且引梁廷柅粵海關志謂「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，行商有秉命封艙停市約束外人之行政權，又常為政府官吏之代表，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，行商為對外貿易之獨占者，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，即為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，皆為不平等條約所束縛，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，而唯平鋪直敘，沾沾於行之沿革，及行名人名等瑣碎考證，何足以鑿中外人士之望？曰，正唯鉅行之沿革，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，為海舶出入咽喉，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輿。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

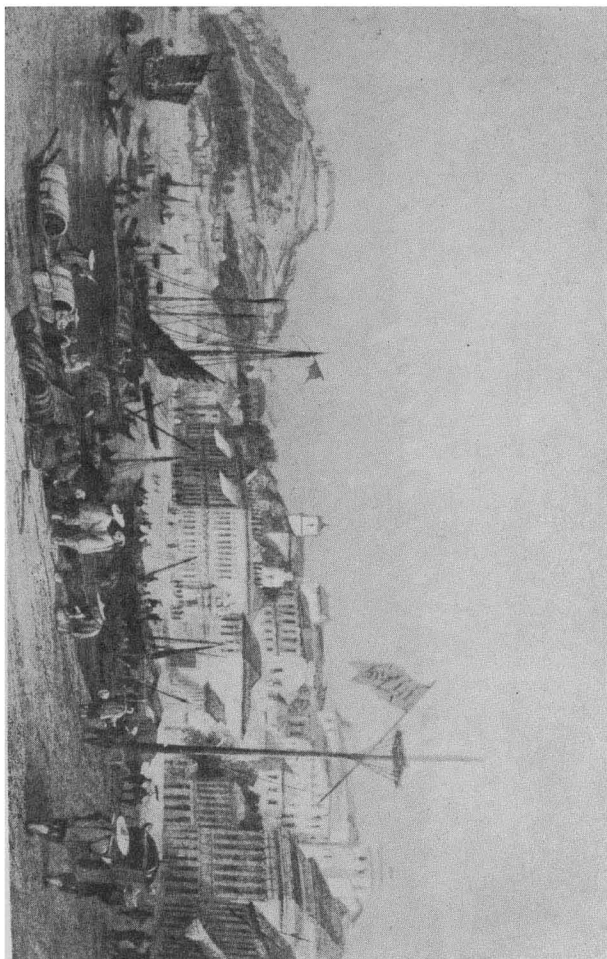
經營此宗貿易而已，此其證也。昔歐陽修作五代史記，言吳越國自武肅重歛其民，以事奢僭，下至雞魚卵殼，必家至而日取，每笞人以責其負，而吳越王子孫錢儼作吳越備史，略去此等事不書，故以子孫而作其先祖之史，其不足以當信史明矣。曰：史材貴乎詳贍，蓋史事影響於社會各方面，非止一端，故必多方記載，乃盡厥用，外人研究十三行者，亦嘗注重行人名以及行商之事蹟，昔黃宗羲作明史案，其史材分爲三科，曰國史、曰野史、曰家史，各采其長而去其短，家史亦有所長，必待其子孫撰述，乃能詳備，梁君之撰此書，於其本身家史，固較詳盡，然於各行商後人，因其世交姻戚關係，如潘、伍、易、葉、謝諸家家傳族譜，亦嘗遍訪搜采，此非他人之所能爲也。吳越國事，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，催作一敘，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。

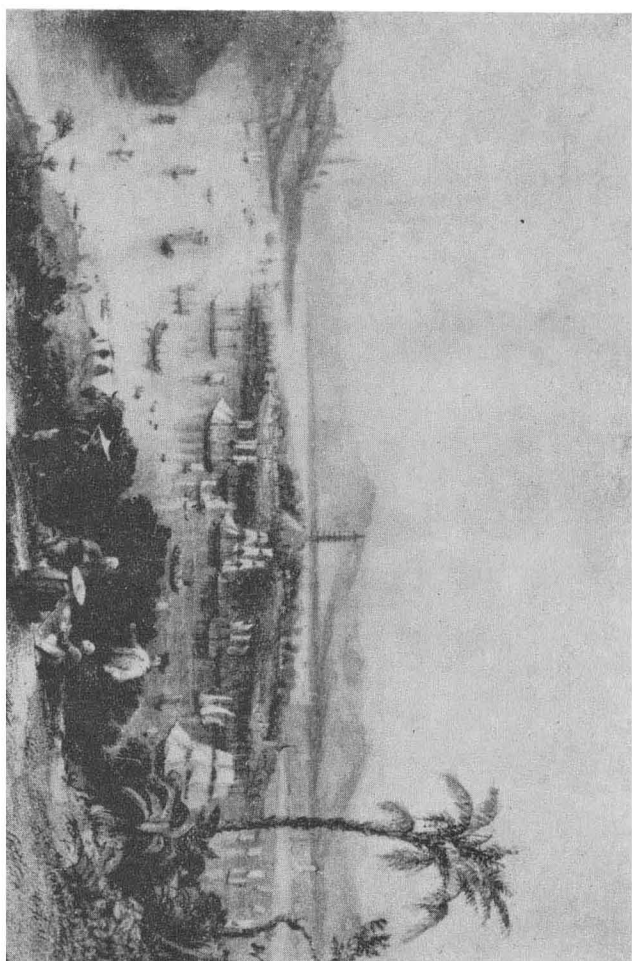
圖一 從香山縣前山塞望澳門（採自『Views in China』卷二頁二七）。



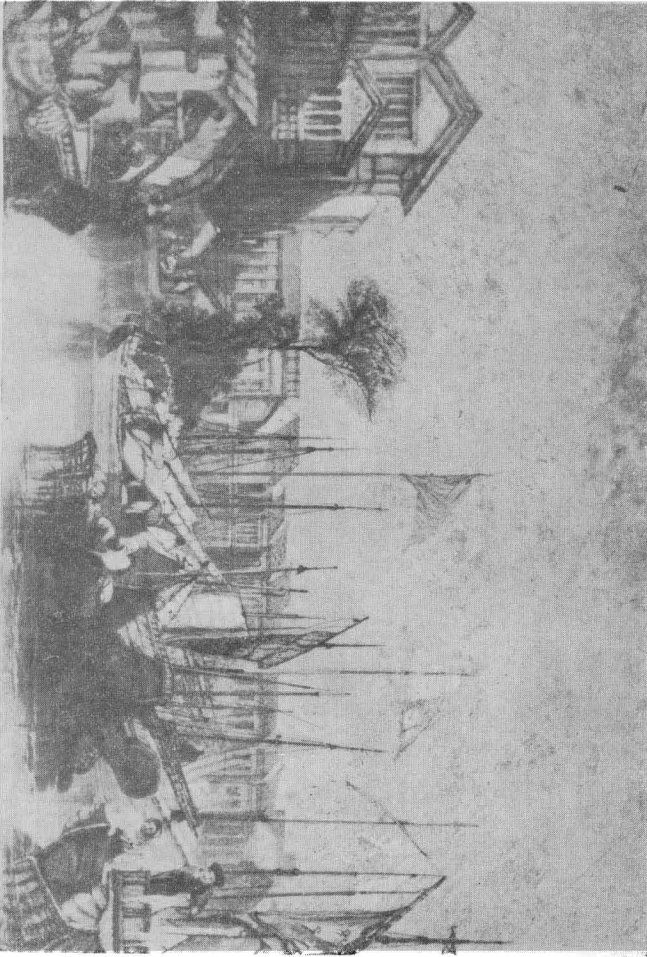
圖二 澳門南環（採自“Views in China”卷二頁四六）。



圖三 外船駐碇之黃埔 (採自「Views of China」卷一百八〇)。

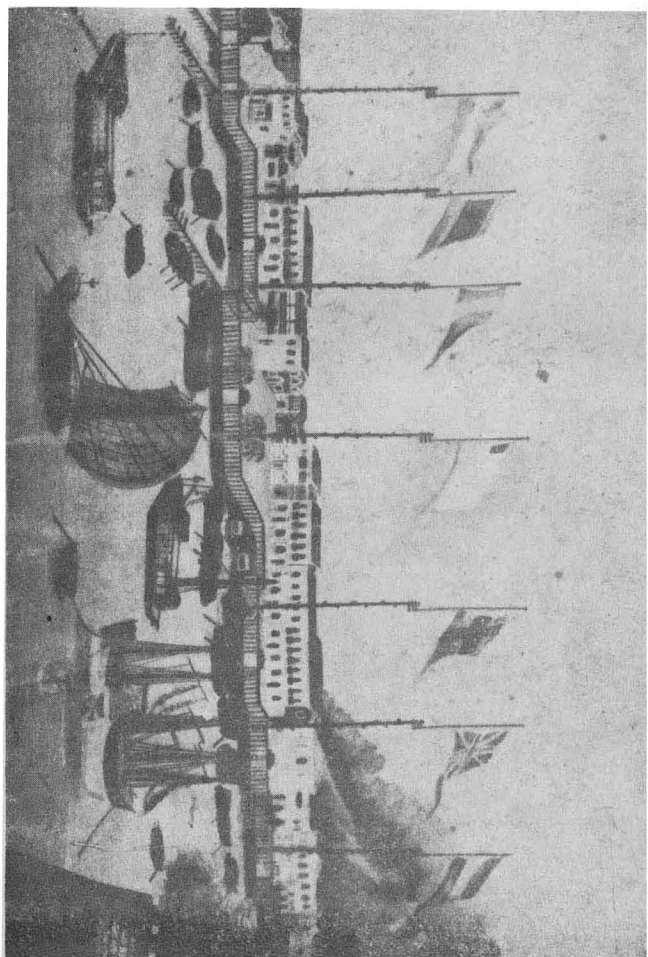


圖四 廣州十三夷館（採自“Views of China”，卷一，頁七〇）。

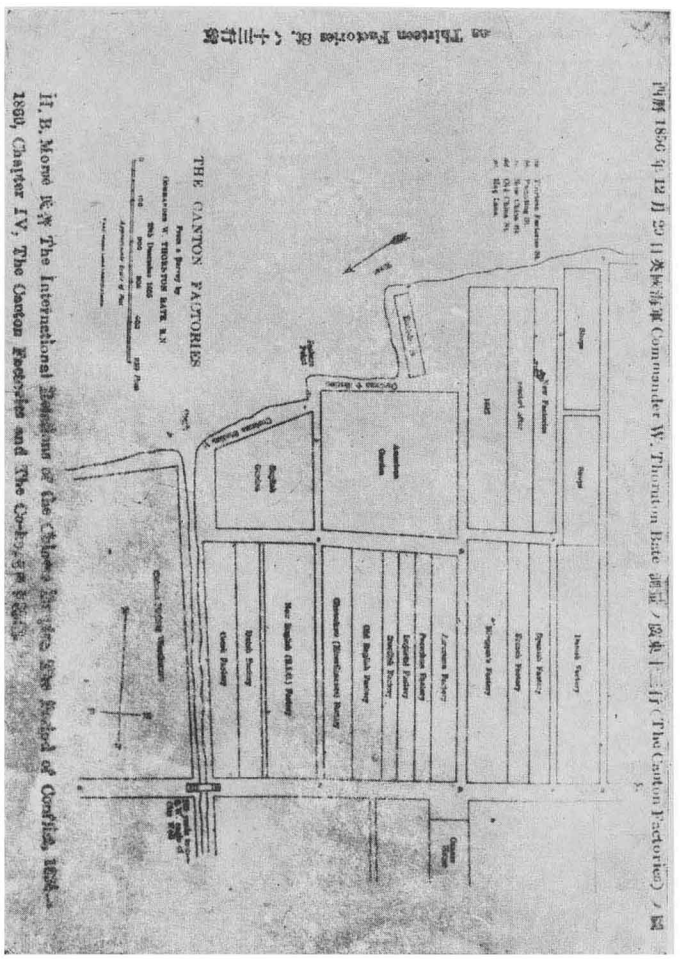


圖五

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）。



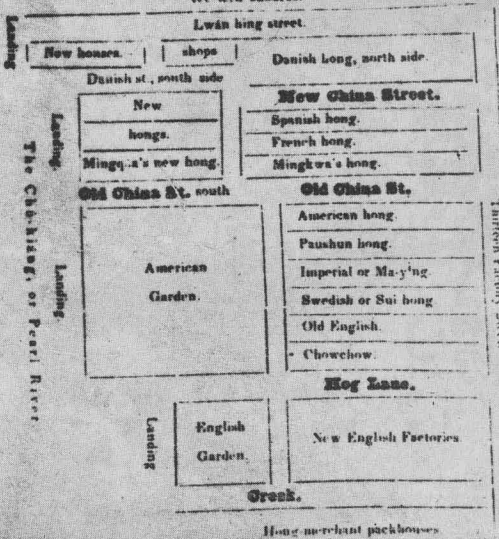
圖六 廣州十三夷館圖案 (武藤長藏採自 Morse: The International Relations of the Chinese Empire 卷二 章四: The Canton Factories and the 'G-hong')



H. B. Morse: The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, The Canton Factories and the 'G-hong', 1860, Chapter IV, The Canton Factories and The 'G-hong', p. 186.

the factories—separates 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 thorough-fare eastward, after passing over the Creek, it leads on to Carpenters' 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 or *Teh king k'oi*, south side, near the landing place. Beyond *Lwan-hing* street and the Thirteen-factory street on the west and north, far 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, (in deed of all excepting the New English) are also occupied by Chinese shops, the foreigners, however, having narrow passages through them into the street. The Conaco-house 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 Mingkw'a's hong.

Western suburbs.



西曆一千八百四十六年七月廣東發行ノ The Chinese Repository 第十五卷 (Vol. XV) 第七號 (No. 7) 第三百七十二頁ヨリ第三百七十三頁ヨリ撰リ扱ケラレタ The Thirteen Factories, or 十三行 *shih san hang* ノ説明トシテ扱ケラレタルニ關スル表 (diagram) ヲヲ載セタルニ同誌第三百七十三頁ノ寫眞 (Thirteen Factory Street) 印刷サレ居ルハ Thirteen Factory Street ノ図也

西曆一千八百四十五年七月廣東發行ノ The Chinese Repository 第十四卷 (Vol. XIV) 第七號 (No. 7) 第三百四十七頁以下に掲ケラレル廣東在任ノ外人表 (List of Foreign Residents in China) ノ説明ノハジメニ載スル廣東十三行 (The thirteen factories) ノ圖案 (Diagram)

1-45 List of Foreign Residents in Canton.

ART. V. List of foreign residents in Canton, July Anno Domini: *eighteen hundred and forty-five, with notices 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 hon. Mr. Morrison in 1833, it will be seen that, excepting the *Parsons*, 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 T'ho (Ewo) hong.*
2. *Dutch factory, or T'ih-t'oh hong.*
3. *English factory, or Fung-ho hong.*
4. *Ming Shahn, or Sun-tan t'eh.*
5. *Choo-choo hong, or Fung-t'eh hong.*
6. *Old English factory, or Loong-shan.*
7. *Swedish factory, or Sai hong.*
8. *Imperial factory, or Shi-yang hong.*
9. *Pan shan hong.*
10. *American factory, or Kwang-guan.*
11. *China St., or Tsingyuen hoi.*
12. *Minghan's hong, or Chung-ho hong.*
13. *French factory.*
14. *Yevvish hong.*
15. *Old China St., or Tang-wan kai.*
16. *Danish hong, or Tching hoi.*

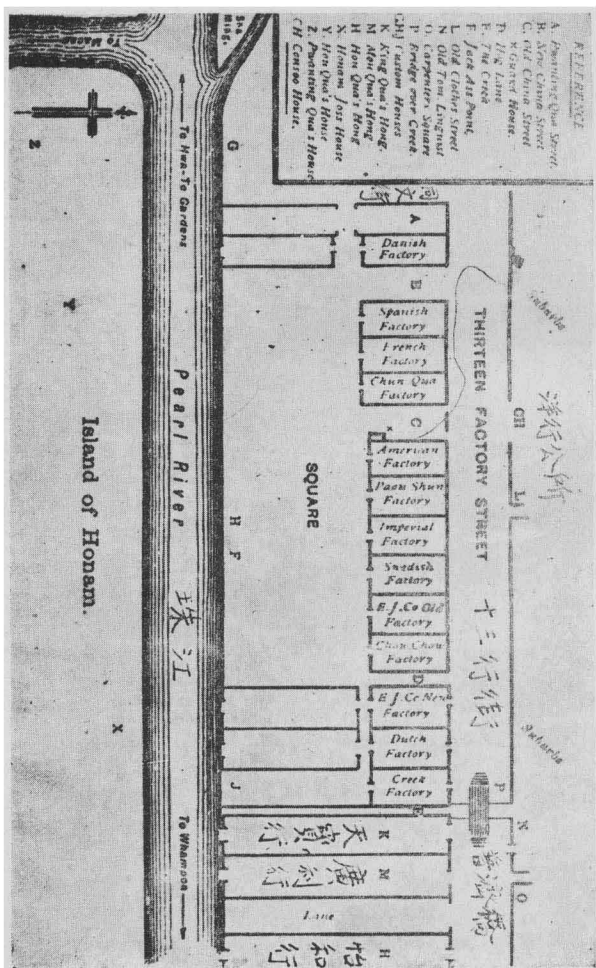
Each of the factories or hongs as the Chinese call them, extended from the street on the north to near the bank of the river on the south. The Creek hong, however, ran parallel with the river nearly the entire length of the east and west side.

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, two, or three stories high. Before the Creek hong there was a small custom-house station, and another one in front of the Swedish and Imperial hong. There were also small inclosures before the Dutch, the English, and the Danish.

前掲第四圖表ト上下轉例ス、第一圖タルヲガ所屬ノ廣東十三行船子 (びいご) 繪寫成表ニ添ニ圖タル中譯漢圖說ヲ附公使所譯ノ十三行船子繪寫表ト對照上注意サレシメ (武藤長瀬記)

圖九 廣州十三夷館圖案 (採自 Hunter: Bits of Old China)



圖九說明：

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

Factory” 當爲 Vingqua's Hong 或 Chung-ho hong [潘文濤 (明官) 中和行]

(D) 今新豈欄 (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) 爲廣利行故址, 今普安街 (H) 爲怡和行故址, 今怡

和大街。