

丹麦—挪威与中国海上交往史研究专辑
Business, Shipping and Culture: Danish-
Norwegian Shipping in China for 300 Years



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National Maritime Research

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Jørgen Mikkelsen

(第十八辑)

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海上三百年的延续

——《丹麦—挪威与中国海上 交往史研究专辑》前序

中国航海博物馆自筹建期起,就与世界上各大航海博物馆取得广泛联络、建立友好关系,丹麦国家航海博物馆就是其中之一。2010年7月中国航海博物馆正式开馆之际,筹建中的丹麦国家航海博物馆负责人 Jørgen Selmer 先生应邀出席开馆仪式,此后双方一直在藏品、陈展、研究等相关业务领域保持密切联络。2012年,中国航海博物馆馆刊《国家航海》组建了由境内外航海史学者组成的编辑委员会,Jørgen Selmer 先生即是委员之一。后来他又推荐了该馆策展人本杰明·艾姆森博士(Benjamin Asmussen)。以《国家航海》为载体,双方展开了较为频繁的学术互动。

2015年初,本杰明·艾姆森博士《关于18世纪丹麦与中国经济贸易的研究》入选丹麦文化部与中国文物局所签署的合作备忘录交流项目,应邀来中国交流。3月,本杰明·艾姆森博士到访中国航海博物馆并带来一场题为《在哥本哈根和广州之间》的学术报告。1731年,首航中国的丹麦商船抵达广州黄埔港,此后丹麦亚洲公司成立。该公司获得了丹麦皇家的特许权,垄断了好望角东部地区所有贸易,并由此拉开了丹麦与中国海上交往史的帷幕。报告中,本杰明·艾姆森博士以历史研究者与博物馆策展人的双重视角,以哥本哈根与广州的贸易为主线,结合博物馆的重点文物展品,侧重海上贸易过程中商人、船长、水手的社会组织、生活状况等细节分析,向中国航海博物馆的听众展开了18世纪丹麦与中国海上交往的历史图景。学术报告结束之际,中国航海博物馆的科研人员与本杰明·艾姆森博士的交流并未停止,双方均认为18世纪以来近300年间中国与丹麦的海上交往是一个值得深入挖掘的研究主题,并迅速在2015年就此主题合作策划、出版《国家航海》专刊达成了共识。

历史上不同国家、民族之间的海上交往,基本是以商贸为主要目的、以航运为重要形式,进而渗透至社会生活、政治制度、文化思想等多个层面。鉴于历史上挪威曾经有400多年隶属于丹麦王国的统治,追溯过去300年中丹的海上交往,挪威是不可或缺的一部分,由此我们共同确立了本辑《国家航海》专刊的主题:“丹麦—挪威与中国海上交往史”(Business, Shipping and Culture: Danish-Norwegian Shipping in China for 300 Years)。

两年来,专刊工作顺利推进。本杰明·艾姆森博士撰写了英文序言,对丹麦、挪威与中国 300 多年来基于贸易而展开的交往历史作整体回顾。来自丹麦、挪威、中国的高校、博物馆、档案馆等科研机构的知名学者积极撰稿,形成了本辑专刊收录的 7 篇英文论文。其中,丹麦国家档案馆高级研究员 Erik Gøbel 的文章侧重 1732 年至 1838 年的丹麦亚洲公司与中国贸易的研究;丹麦国家档案馆高级研究员 Jørgen Mikkelsen 以丹麦亚洲公司的护航舰 Fredensborg Slot 在 1765—1777 期间六次航程的船舶分类帐簿(官方日记)为原始资料,从舰队船舶结构、船员构成、航行路线、疾病与死亡、船员的遗产等方面分析 18 世纪丹麦与中国的贸易关系;中山大学历史系范岱克(Paul A. Van Dyke)教授通过对丹麦亚洲公司档案中记录的中国十三行洋行商人姓名进行辨认,进而分析丹麦亚洲公司与十三行商人之间的利益关系;丹麦奥本罗海事博物馆策展人 Mikkel Leth Jespersen 通过对丹麦具有悠久航运传统的石勒苏益格地区船长妻子们的日记,追溯 19 世纪中后期该地区船长、水手们在中国的航迹;丹麦马斯塔耳海事博物馆历史研究员 Karsten Hermansen 推荐的丹麦重要的航海文献,即来自 19 世纪丹麦 Sorø 地区的水手回忆录《飘海中国六年录》,呈现了一个北欧水手视野中的中国;丹麦奥尔堡大学副教授 Poul Duedahl 聚焦丹麦与中国近代关系史上的一个决定性时刻,即晚清政府首次正式派遣的外交使团(蒲安臣使团)于 1869 年 10 月访问哥本哈根的经过,追溯了丹麦船只在中国铺设海底电缆并引入现代电报的历史始末;挪威克里斯蒂安桑市斯蒂夫特尔森档案馆历史研究员 Bjørn Tore Rosendahl 聚焦第二次世界大战期间挪威船队里的中国海员,叙述了他们在挪威的生存状态,并从政府政策、商业利益、文化差距等方面对其生存状态作原因剖析。

本辑专刊文章围绕“海上交往”主题,在研究时间上跨越了从近古(1730)至现代(1945)的不同时段,涉及贸易、商行、船舶、航运、外交、海员、社会文化等方面,通过对丹麦亚洲公司、丹麦国家档案馆、挪威国家档案馆等所存重要文献的挖掘与研读,就丹麦—挪威与中国 300 多年海上交往历史展开全面、深入的研究,在史料、方法与视野上填补了丹麦挪威与中国交往史的诸多空白,反映了中国、丹麦、挪威三国航海历史与文化研究领域的最新成果。

以古鉴今,站在中国拥抱海洋的复兴时代,我们正以历史的眼光分析未来关于海洋的可能性。强烈的自信与开放的思潮正促成我们对世界的更好认知,也让中国人更加理性地对待文化、历史及海上贸易,而这也恰当地契合了当前 21 世纪新海上丝绸之路文化软实力的建设。中国与丹麦、挪威过去 300 多年的海上交往仅仅是一个开始,这个美好如丹麦童话一般的交流合作还将继续。

《国家航海》编辑部

2017 年 3 月

Introduction

Benjamin Asmussen*

For more than 300 years people, ships, goods and culture has travelled between Denmark, Norway and China. From the Middle Ages until 1814, the twin kingdoms of Denmark and Norway was united under the same king of the Oldenburg dynasty, and sailors from both countries took part in the early expeditions to China, seeking trade with and knowledge of the mythical empire.



Figure 1. The port of Copenhagen, shown in an enhanced and beautified version from 1786.

Photo: Maritime Museum of Denmark

In the 18th century, the harbour of Copenhagen was a regional centre for imports from China. The port was the largest and most important in the

* Benjamin Asmussen (本杰明·艾姆森), the curator at the Maritime Museum of Denmark, Email: ba@mfs.dk.

Oldenburg Monarchy, which included the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, and one of the larger ports in Northern Europe. Throughout the 18th century the harbour was expanded, its waters deepened and new warehouses built. Besides the many local and short-distance routes, goods poured into the city from destinations around the world. From the lands and colonies of the North Atlantic, whale products, furs, woollen stockings and even falcons came in, while ships left for Africa with loads of guns, alcohol and Indian textile to be traded for enslaved Africans in the Danish forts on the Gold Coast. The ships and others would later return after having delivered their human cargo in the Danish West Indies with the fruits of the slave labor, primarily sugar, coffee and tobacco. From beyond the Cape of Good Hope, armed frigates would bring the wonderful colored textiles of India back, along with spices and color wood, while the ships from China carried precious tea along with silk and porcelain used for the consumption of the new drinks of the era. As the population of the Oldenburg Monarchy was of an insufficient size for consuming the amount of goods imported, the capital of Copenhagen served as an important entrepôt, where goods would be reexported and smuggled to much of Northern Europe.

An even more important trading centre in the 18th century was the port of Canton or Guangzhou on the Pearl River in Southern China. Here ships from the West gathered to trade in the only port in China, they were allowed to enter. From the late 17th century and the middle of the 19th century, Canton was a global meeting place of business and therefore of culture as well as the only way Europeans could get a glimpse of the closed, but fascinating China. This period is described by the British historian A.G. Hopkins as a time of proto-globalisation.^[1] This was a time of immense growth in both maritime connections as well as in services, finance and manufacturing.

In the 18th century the Danish Asiatic Company of Copenhagen possessed a royal monopoly on all trade east of the Cape of Good Hope, which lasted until the dissolution of the company in 1844. During the 18th century, fortunes was made on especially the China trade, and to a lesser degree the trade with India. Perhaps the wealthiest company ever to exist in Denmark, the Danish Asiatic Company was a complex entity expressing both economic ideals of the future as well being an effective arena for individual enrichment. Long-distance trade in the Oldenburg Monarchy in the 17th and 18th century was carried out by joint-stock companies, benefitting from royal monopolies. The

[1] Hopkins, A.G. 2002, *Globalization in world history*, Pimlico, London.

longest-living and most profitable of these companies was the *Kongelige Octryerede Danske Asiatiske Compagnie*, or Royal Chartered Danish Asiatic Company (DAC), which built upon the experiences of the previous East Indian Companies of the Oldenburg State. These trading companies were formed throughout the Western world to take advantage of the transport revolution, that since the late 15th century had tied the world together as never before. Great ships, the largest machines of mankind at the time made long-distance trade possible, or rather the necessity for trade had brought the evolution of the large sailing ships as well as the navigational methods needed for traversing the oceans.



Figure 2. Box of snuff-tobacco, made in Canton around 1741, with an image of the ship CRONPRINSEN AF DANNEMARK along with a text detailing the journey from Copenhagen to China.

Photo: Maritime Museum of Denmark

The 19th century became a time of change for both China, Norway and Denmark both in a political sense and trade-wise. After sharing the same king for 434 years, the Norwegian crown passed to Sweden in 1814, before Norway became completely independent in 1905. The old Oldenburg Monarchy thus lost much land, which was made even worse by the war of 1864, when the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein was lost to a coalition between Prussia and Austria. Of the old core lands, now only the kingdom of Denmark remained, along with the Faroe Islands in the North Atlantic as well as Greenland and the old colony of the Danish West Indies. This struggle left its mark on the maritime activity. Traditionally, many sailors of both the navy and merchant fleets originated in Norway, which proved to be a

challenge after the separation of the double monarchy. New ways of private trade emerged in both Norway and Denmark, both using their intensive maritime past to build large merchant fleets, that continue to this day.

Much has changed in the years between the balmy days of trade in the 18th century and globalised world of the 21st century, but many things remain the same: Ships still transport the coveted goods of the East to the West, merchants, agents and sailors from different cultures still meet and are changed by one another and profits are still to be made for the visionary merchant, despite the many distances separating then and now — psychic as well as physical. Today, the trade flourishes as never before. Giant ships traverses the ocean, carrying raw materials and finished product in almost unbelievable amounts. Just as communication after the internet is as easy as never before, the time to travel between Scandinavia and China has been reduced from 6-9 months by ship to only 11 hours by plane, facilitating the exchange of knowledge and personal relations on an unprecedented scale.

Therefore this special issue of *National Maritime Research* takes a look at the history of the maritime connections between China, Norway and Denmark. Seven articles highlight various aspects of the trade, sailors and businessmen, presenting a look at both the depth and scope of this shared east-west history.

In the first article, senior researcher Erik Gøbel introduces the early history of the first sporadic Danish-Norwegian expeditions to China, which sailed through the colony of Tranquebar in India. The success of the first expeditions led to a royal concession to form the Danish Asiatic Company, which would enjoy a monopoly within the Oldenburg Monarchy of all trade east of the Cape of Good Hope. In addition to the structure of the company, Erik Gøbel describes the various commodities that formed the basis of the trade as well as the financing that made the global trade possible.

In the next article, senior researcher Jørgen Mikkelsen zooms in to a single expedition of the Danish Asiatic Company and follows the frigate Fredensborg Slot from when it saluted its farewell in Copenhagen in November 1765, and during the long voyage to Canton, present day Guangzhou. Due the extremely well-preserved archive of the Danish Asiatic Company, Mikkelsen is able to go into detail with not only the health, origins and life of the crew, but also with rituals of funerals and the belongings of individual sailors, provided us with a detailed insight into the everyday life of the sailors.

After the reader's arrival in China, professor Paul van Dyke takes over

with a new overview of the Chinese merchants, who traded with the Danish and Norwegian company traders of the Danish Asiatic Company from 1734–1833. This meticulously collected data provides a solid foundation for further research into the business and networks of the Chinese and European traders.

In 1844, the Danish Asiatic Company was formally closed, and the trade were now free for private traders as well. In his article, museum curator Mikkel Leth Jespersen looks at the shipping and sailors of the duchy of Schleswig under the Danish king, where a new private China trade emerged after the revoking of the monopoly. In the 1850s and 1860s especially the sailors of the town of Aabenraa became very active in trading with China on quite different terms than what had been customary in the 18th century. Jespersen's access to a rich source material in the shape of among other things diaries and consular reports allows a fascinating look at a shipping in a time characterised by fascination of a foreign culture, pirate attacks, a changing political landscape and war in China and a change of flag when the duchy of Schleswig was annexed by Prussia after the war between Denmark on one side and Prussia and Austria on the other side.

A closer and personal look at the conditions for sailors in this phase of the trade with China is offered in the memoirs of the sailor Peter Gebert Steen, translated from Danish by Benedicte Busk-Jensen and introduced by museum curator Karsten Hermansen. The sailor Steen began his first voyage at the age of 15 and had at the time already crossed the Equator twice. His memoirs gives a quite direct and subjective view of his experiences in China and on the voyages between Europe and Asia.

The last half of the 19th century was a time of great change on many levels, and in his article professor Poul Duedahl outlines the story of the first official Chinese cross-continental voyage since the expedition of Zheng He in the 15th century. Duedahl takes a closer look at the part of the voyage that included a visit in Copenhagen to the country of the yellow flag or Huang qi guo,(黄旗国) as Denmark was known in Guangzhou during and after more than a century of trade. The official stay in Denmark by the delegation, which included several ministers, did not lead to significant political agreements, but the cultural encounter seem to have been great, seen from both cultures. Although Chinese had visited Scandinavia earlier, at least from the 1780s as sailors onboard the ships of the Danish Asiatic Company, knowledge of the culture of the other was very small and led to many interesting episodes. The visit however helped pave the way for the Great Northern Telegraph Company, headquartered in Copenhagen, to introduce the electrical telegraph

in China.

The last article takes us into the 20th century in a time of global war, where Chinese sailors were employed by many countries, including Norway during the Second World War. Bjørn Tore Rosendahl of the University of Agder in Norway tells the story about a thousand Chinese seamen, and their hardships through the turmoil of war.

It is the hope of the editors that these articles will allow the reader to gain new insight into the shared maritime history of China, Norway and Denmark. This shared history has been the starting point of the cooperation between the China Maritime Museum and the Maritime Museum of Denmark and will hopefully lead to a continued and inspiring future working with the shared past.

Much more remains to be explored in future cooperations between scholars of the three countries. In order to help and encourage scholars to cooperate, we have included contact information for the contributors of this special issue. We look forward to hearing from you!

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不能风雨同舟?

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The Danish Asiatic Company and Its China Trade 1732-1838

Erik Gøbel*

Abstract: The first voyage from Denmark to China was sent out in 1730. Upon its successful return, the Danish Asiatic Company was established. A royal charter granted it a national monopoly of shipping and trade in Asia, and until 1806, a total of 116 ships, known as China-men were sent out. Exports from Denmark consisted first and foremost of silver, whereas the return commodities were tea, supplemented by small quantities of porcelain, pharmaceutical products, silk, and lacquer ware. The auction value of the return cargoes was enormous, and so were the profits as a rule. After 1814, the Company never really came to life again, and its last China-man returned to Denmark in 1834. The Danish Asiatic Company was dissolved in 1844, and the China trade became free for all Danes.

Keywords: Danish Asiatic Company, Trade, Shipping, Tea

The first Danish East India Companies

In 1616, the Danish^[1] King Christian the Fourth founded an East India Company. The intention was to establish a Danish colony in India in order to participate in the lucrative trade in Asian commodities.^[2] This initiative was inspired in many ways from the Netherlands, and the charter of the Danish

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[1] The Danish crown also held sway over present-day Denmark and Norway, together with Schleswig-Holstein. In addition to these, it ruled over the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, as well as small tropical possessions in India, on the Gold Coast, and in the Caribbean.

[2] A general introduction to Danish trading companies can be found in Feldbæk, "The Danish Trading Companies" and Feldbæk, "The Organization and Structure of the Danish ... Companies".

East India Company (*Ostindisk Kompagni*) of 17 March 1616 was more or less copied from that of the Dutch *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*.^[1] Assisted by the king, the Danish company fitted out a fleet which departed from Copenhagen in 1618, and which succeeded in acquiring rights from the local prince to settle in Tranquebar on the Coromandel Coast south of Madras (Chennai). Factories were established later in Serampore in Bengal and around the Indian Ocean. The share capital was small, and the First Danish East India Company never became a real success. It sent out a total of only 18 ships to India between 1618 and 1639, but the Danes also participated in intra-Asian country trade. Even though the First East India Company's charter also mentioned China and Japan, no expedition was ever sent so far. The king, in 1637, also permitted the Copenhagen merchant Hans Trægaard and associates "for six or seven years to sail to and trade in China, Japan, Siam, and other places",^[2] but without result. The company sent out its last India-man in 1639 and was finally dissolved in 1650. In the 1640s, the East India Company made plans for shipping from Tranquebar to China but never realized such plans as far as we know.

Not until 1668 was a Danish ship sent out again to Tranquebar (and Bantam).^[3] This was a successful expedition and a Second Danish East India Company was granted a royal charter on 28 November 1670. The share capital was subscribed first and foremost by the royal family, Copenhagen merchants, and noblemen. For the next couple of decades the company operated profitably, sending one or two ships per year to Asia.

It was not until 1674, however, that the "Fortuna" had departed from Copenhagen, bound for China and carrying letters from King Christian the Fifth to the Chinese, suggesting friendship and mutual trade.^[4] The "Fortuna" thus became the first Danish ship ever to arrive in China. It reached Fuzhou in 1676, sold part of its cargo, and departed again in October 1677.

Danish shipping to China was resumed no later than 1700, when the Governor in Tranquebar reported that the "Printz Carl" had been sent to

[1] Gøbel, "Dutch Influences".

[2] *Kjøbenhavns Diplomatarium* 3, ed. O. Nielsen (Copenhagen, 1877): 235; Feldbæk, *Danske handelskompagnier*, 26.

[3] Feldbæk, "The Organization and Structure of the Danish East India, West India and Guinea Companies", 141-145.

[4] Olsen, *Dansk Ostindien 1616-1732*, 184-185; Kirkebæk, "When Denmark Discovered China", 13-14.