

主编 朱小丹

# 中国 广州

## 中瑞海上贸易的门户

### GUANGZHOU CHINA GATEWAY OF SINO-SWEDEN MARINE TRADE



In Cadiz from 17 April  
to 6 May 1743

Outbound  
Passes equator  
12 June 1743


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June-July 1744

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广州出版社



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## 第一章 绪论

在中国历史上，广州是著名的外贸口岸。唐、宋两朝，来自印度、波斯、大食等地的蕃姓海商为这座城市的历史平添了斑斓的色彩。他们后继有人，16世纪以降，来自大西洋的葡萄牙人抢占先机，先于其他欧洲商人在广州口岸立稳了脚跟。随后，西班牙人、荷兰人、英国人、法国人等接踵而来，各国的商船云集于黄埔港，欧洲多个国家的国旗在夷馆前迎风飘扬。明、清时期的广州口岸，在国际贸易中又得以再领风骚。

从唐、宋时期的蕃姓海商到明、清两

就用不同的词汇去品评这些夷商。人多势众的英国商人被认为是不驯服者，后起之秀的美国商人则尚称恭顺，而当日显赫一时的葡萄牙商人在乾隆年间已被归入到了疲商之列。我们的目光不应仅局限在这几个在中文文献中时常出现的国度，在18世纪中叶，当广州步入其外贸的极盛期时，还有另外多个欧洲国家的商人活跃在这个口岸。这当中有正处于启蒙时代的法国，有美人鱼的祖国丹麦，风车之国荷兰，还有正在与新兴的俄国一较长短的瑞典，这些国家的商人都是广州口岸的常客。

在斯堪的纳维亚半岛国家中，瑞典与清代广州保持着最密切的商业联系。瑞典商人在广州口岸遵纪守法，清朝官员曰之为西

广州十三行风景图（大约1780年）  
View of Thirteen Factories in Canton (Circa 1780)



朝的西洋夷商，广州见证了世界贸易在千年间的变化。蕃坊、怀远驿曾是形形色色的蕃商聚居之地，而十三行街区则是深目高鼻的西洋商人活动的场所。贸易对象的变化，使得广州与更遥远的国度建立了联系。这些国度是那么的遥远，以至于中国人长久以来对它们是闻所未闻。它们的商人以不同的方式与明、清时期的中国——天子的国度——打交道，尽管这些商人在中国人的眼里都是番鬼之属，但他们的经营方式不尽相同，待人接物之态度亦大有异趣。有鉴于此，中国人也

洋夷商中之驯服者。瑞典商人与美、英等国商人不同，没有向广州大量输入鸦片，也没有参与针对清朝的商业战争，他们为中瑞间的友好往来奠定了基础。回顾广州与瑞典贸易的历史，我们将看到在那个世界市场日趋形成的历史时期，广州是怎样与瑞典这个遥远的国度建立贸易联系的；中国与瑞典在这个历史过程中都发挥了各自的作用。中国有句古话，温故而知新，重温过去，将有助于我们展望未来。



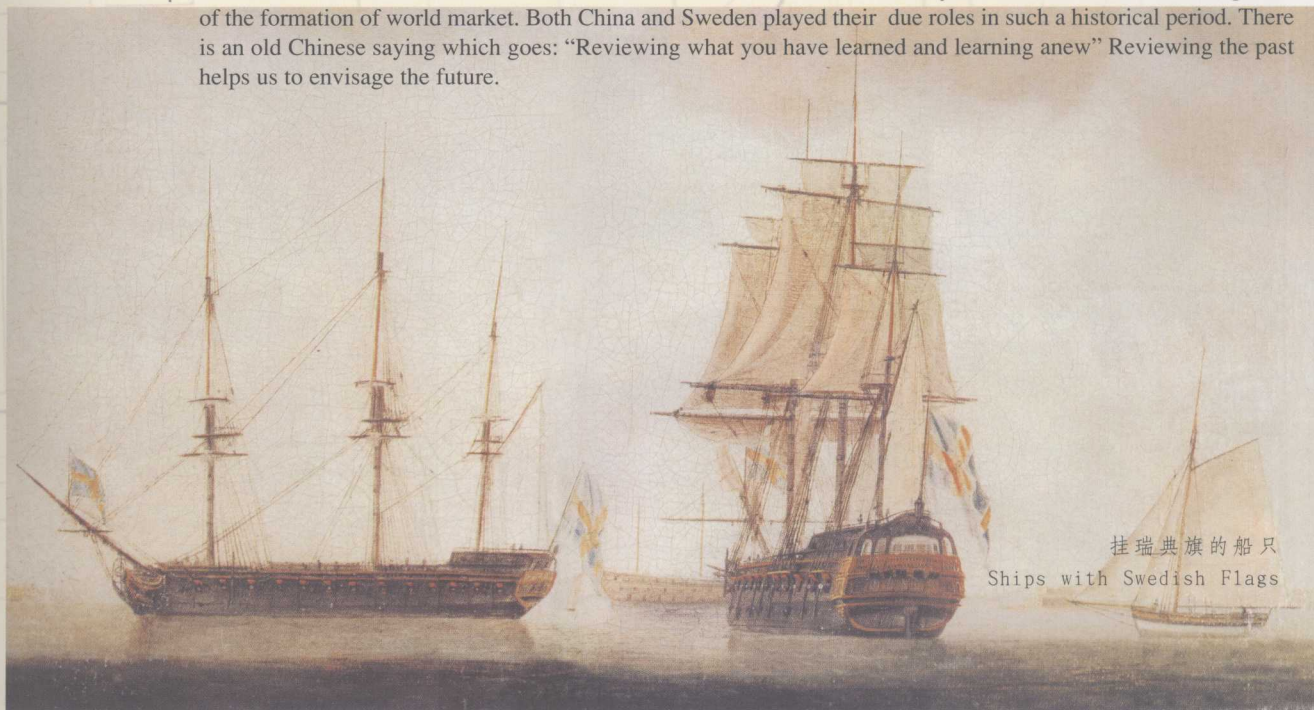


## Chapter One Introduction

Canton is a famous port of foreign trade in Chinese history. During the Tang and Song Dynasties, overseas merchants from India, Persia, Arab and other countries added splendor to the history of this city. Since the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, the Portuguese from the Atlantic Ocean took the lead, followed by the Spanish, Dutch, English and French merchants, in settling in the port of Canton. European vessels berthed at Huangpu Port, with their flags blowing in front of the Foreign Houses (factories). The port of Canton in the Qing Dynasty revived its glory in the international trade.

From the “overseas merchants” in the Tang and Song Dynasties to the “western merchants” in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, Canton witnessed the change of millennium in world trade. Huaiyuan Yi used to be the population place for foreign merchants, while the blocks of Thirteen Hongs were the venue of activities for the western merchants with “deep eyes and high noses.” The change of trading partners linked Canton with even more remote nations in the world. They were so far away from China that for a long period of time, they remained a mystery to Chinese. The merchants of these countries contacted with China, the kingdom of the sons of Heaven during Ming and Qing Dynasties in different ways. Though these merchants were all “foreign ghosts” in the eyes of the Chinese, they were very different in their ways of running business and communicating with the Chinese. In view of these differences, the Chinese used different terms to describe these “foreign merchants”, e.g., the overwhelming British merchants were considered “indocile”, the newly arrived promising Americans were “quasi-docile”, while the once-prosperous Portuguese merchants were described as “slump merchants” when China was under the rule of Qianlong, the fifth emperor of the Qing Dynasty. We should not limit our observation to the countries which have been often mentioned in Chinese documents. In the mid-1700s when Canton’s foreign trade reached its prime, merchants from many other European countries were also very active at this port, including France in the Age of Enlightenment, Denmark, the motherland of the Little Mermaid, Holland, the nation of windmills and Sweden who was then competing with the emerging Russia. The merchants from these countries were all frequenters of the Canton port.

Among the Scandinavian countries, Sweden kept the closest commercial relationship with Canton in Qing Dynasty. The Swedish merchants, who observed the laws and regulations of Canton, were believed “docile” by the officials. Different from the American and British merchants, the Swedes did not export large amount of opium to Canton, nor did they participate in commercial wars against the Qing Dynasty. The Swedish merchants laid down the foundation for friendly exchanges between China and Sweden. The history of trade between Canton and Sweden reveals how Canton established trade relations with Sweden, a remote country at that time, in the historical period of the formation of world market. Both China and Sweden played their due roles in such a historical period. There is an old Chinese saying which goes: “Reviewing what you have learned and learning anew” Reviewing the past helps us to envisage the future.



挂瑞典旗的船只  
Ships with Swedish Flags





## 一、 瑞国初来

在清代的文献中，瑞典的国名是瑞国。中文“瑞”字有祥和之义，这与英国被音译为英吉利、法国被音译为法兰西不同。一般来说，一个国家的商船初到中国，就要向当地官府报告名号，由官府拟订其国名之中译，其后就会沿袭使用。瑞国之名，按清代人的看法，当较美利坚、法兰西之类的译名悦耳，且寓意吉祥。可见，瑞典商人初到中国之时，就已给人们留下了较好的印象。

与欧洲大多数国家和地区类似，最早与中国建立贸易联系的瑞典商业机构是该国的东印度公司。瑞典东印度公司于1731年6月14日成立，1732年3月7日，该公司派往广州的第一艘商船从哥德堡启航。从这时起直到1806年，瑞典东印度公司组织了132次亚洲航行，其中只有3次到印度，其余的都

是以广州为目的。广州与哥德堡作为中瑞两国的重要口岸的地位由此可见一斑，两个城市间的密切关系源远流长。

首航广州的瑞典商船以当时国王的名字命名，叫“腓特烈国王”（Friedericus Rex Sueciae）号。船上的大班叫柯林·坎贝尔（Colin Campbell），瑞典国王还任命他为派往中华帝国的全权代表。坎贝尔原来是苏格兰商人，曾加入英国东印度公司，到过印度。后来，坎贝尔加入了奥斯坦德公司（Ostend Company），担任公司的大班，因而数次到过广州。坎贝尔具有在广州从事贸易的经验，对前往亚洲的航线也较熟悉，瑞典东印度公司选择他担任首航广州的商船大班，负责贸易方面的事宜，可谓任人得当。

远眺广州城（大约1800年）  
View of Canton (Circa 1800)







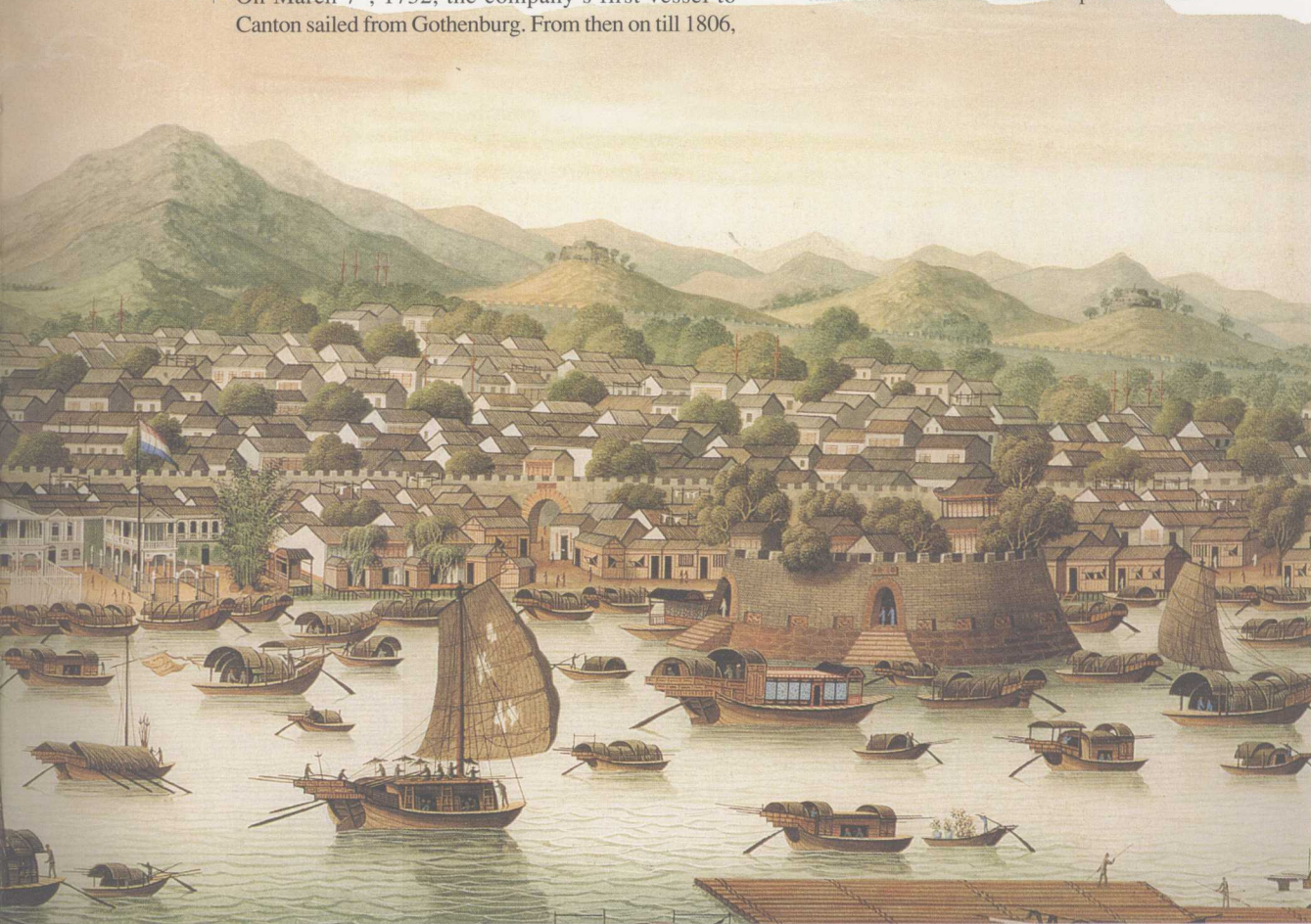
### *I. Swedes made their presence in China*

In documents recorded in Qing Dynasty, Sweden was called "the Country of Rui". In Chinese, "rui" means auspicious. The translation of Sweden into Chinese was different from those of England and France, which were transliteration of their English names. Generally, when a vessel of a country first arrived in China, it would have to report its country's name to the local government who would then decide its Chinese translation which would be carried on. For people in Qing Dynasty, the name "the Country of Rui" sounded more pleasant and was more auspicious than Chinese translations of America and France. Obviously, the Swedish merchants had left a good impression on the Chinese when they first arrived in China.

Like most European countries and regions, it was the East India Company of Sweden that started the trade relations between Sweden and China. Sweden set up its East India Company on June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1731. On March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1732, the company's first vessel to Canton sailed from Gothenburg. From then on till 1806,

the company organized 132 trips to Asia, three of which were to India and the rest were to Canton. It can be concluded from these records that Canton and Gothenburg were two important trading ports of China and Sweden and that the close relationship between the two cities was of long standing.

The first Swedish merchant ship to Canton "Friedericus Rex Sueciæ" was named after the then Swedish king. The captain of the ship was Colin Campbell who was appointed as the plenipotentiary to the China Empire by the King. Campbell was a Scottish merchant who once worked for the English East India Company and had been to India. After joining the Ostend Company, he had been to Canton several times as supercargo of the company. With his trading experience in Canton and his knowledge of voyages to Asia, Campbell, who was appointed by the Swedish East India Company to be responsible for trade-related issues, was the ideal choice for the captain of the first merchant ship to Canton.







## (一) 选择广州

“腓特烈国王”号初航广州一事，在中文文献中也有提及，据《清朝文献通考》记载：“瑞国通商始自雍正十年（1732）。后，岁岁不绝。每春夏之交，其国人以土产黑铅、粗绒、洋酒、葡萄干诸物来广，由虎门入口，易买茶叶、瓷器诸物，至秋冬回国。”从这段话我们可以看到，瑞典商

底割断。这时，通过两个不同的渠道，广州口岸还可以保持对外贸易。其一是朝贡贸易。在海禁期间，藩属各国的朝贡并没有停顿下来，暹罗（泰国）等海外国家的使节继续通过广州来华朝贡。此外，葡萄牙、荷兰等国也曾派遣使节以朝贡的名义来华，商讨贸易的事宜。这样，诸如此类的以朝贡为



广州城远眺（1669年之后）

The city Guangzhou Fu, or Kanton (After 1669)

船前来广州与中国商人贸易，是长期稳定的。那么，吸引他们到广州来的动力是什么呢？那就是在广州从事贸易可以得到丰厚的回报。

明末清初，广州及附近地区的局势较为动荡，当清廷控制该地区后，采取了严厉的措施监控此处的海外活动。明朝时已被推行的海禁政策被进一步强化执行，为了彻底割断沿海地区与海外的联系，清廷还实施了迁海的政策，沿海居民被迫迁徙到内地。在长达20年的时间里，广州口岸正常的对外贸易被迫停顿，但对外的联系并没有因此而被彻

名、货贩为实的活动就给广州带来了贸易的机会。其二是通过澳门。澳门是广州的外港，它在此期间除了短暂的停顿外，一直保持着对外联系。清廷把允许澳门继续经营外贸看做是其“怀柔远夷”的具体表现，在这样特殊的情况下，使得广州始终能够维持对外的联络。海禁期间，掌管广州地区行政权力的是平南王尚可喜、尚之信父子。他们为了自身的利益，对于外贸所带来的丰厚利润当然不会视而不见，他们依仗着自身的势力，纵容手下大肆走私，聚敛钱财。





### 1. The choice of Canton

The first voyage of "Friedericus Rex Sueciae" to Canton was also mentioned in Chinese documents. As recorded by *A General Research on the Documents of the Great Qing Dynasty Sweden* "started to trade (here) since the tenth year of Yongzheng's rule (1732) and the trade continued year after year. At the end of spring and at the beginning of summer, the Swedish came to Canton by way of Bocca Tigris to



trade their products such as black lead, raw wool, wine and raisin for such items as tea leaves and porcelain. They usually would stay till winter came". It can be drawn from above that trading trips by Swedish merchant ships to Canton were of long-term nature and uninterrupted. Then what was the motivation behind their trips to Canton? It was the rich and generous return that they obtained from their trade in Canton.

At the end of Ming Dynasty and the beginning of Qing Dynasty, Canton and its surrounding areas were in turmoil. After it took over the area, the Qing government executed iron-handed control over the activities at sea. The marine ban started in the Ming Dynasty was further strengthened. In order to cut off the connection between the coastal areas and abroad, the Qing government implemented the policy of boundary-shifting, i.e., people living in the coastal areas were ordered to migrate to the hinterland. During these twenty years, the normal foreign trade in the Canton port was forced to stop. However, its connection with the outside world was not completely severed. Canton could still carry on its foreign trade

through two different channels. One was the tribute trade. The vassal states of Qing government did not stop paying tributes during the marine ban. Envoys of other countries such as Siam came to pay tribute by way of Canton. In addition, Portugal, Holland and other countries also sent envoys to China to discuss trade issues under the name of paying tributes. Therefore trading activities under the name of paying tributes brought trading opportunities for Canton. Second, Macao was the outer port of Canton. Except for a brief period of trade breakdown, it had maintained its connection to the outside world during this period. The Qing government regarded permission of Macao to continue its foreign trade as an example of its policy of "placating the remote foreign countries". Under these special circumstances, Canton actually kept its contact with the outside world. During the marine ban period, for the rich profits of foreign trade, the Pinnan Seigniors, Shang Kexi and Shang Zhixin who were father and son and who were in charge of Canton, connived at their subordinates' wanton smuggling activities to amass wealth.



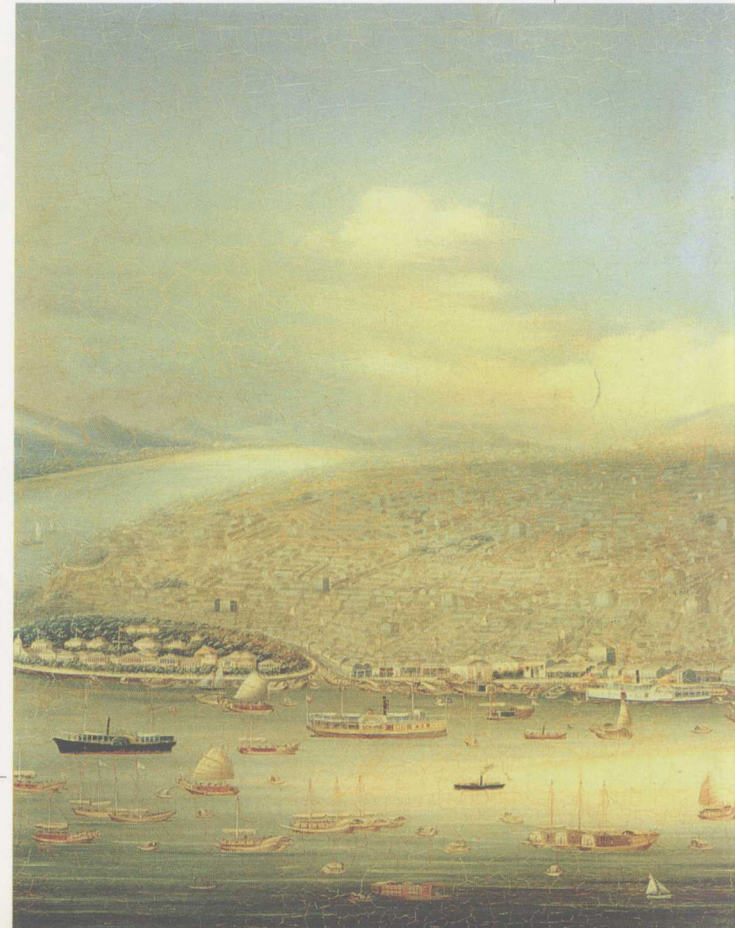


海禁结束后，清廷立即在广州设立了粤海关，广州的外贸开始重新步入正轨。在17世纪后期，当广州、厦门、宁波等港口再次向西洋商人开放时，广州并不是最吸引欧洲人的地方。厦门长期以来都是荷兰人最乐于前往的港口，在1670—1680年间，英国人又频频造访该地。于是，当海禁初开时，厦门成了西洋商船停泊的首选之地。1684—1699年间，共有9艘欧洲商船进入厦门港，而同期只有1艘停泊在澳门。据英国人说，广州在17世纪后期还是排斥他们的，因为葡萄牙人想保护自身的垄断，而英国人也想强行进入该口岸，这些让广州方面大为恼火。此外，更重要的是，广州的市场还不稳定。无论如何，广州港显然被冷落了。不过，它要恢复过去的繁荣，不需要太长时间的等待。

大约从1720年开始，中国与欧洲各国商船的贸易基本上集中到了广州。这些欧洲国家包括英国、法国、荷兰、神圣罗马帝国（奥斯坦德公司）、葡萄牙等。其中，已有一个世纪历史的英国东印度公司的势力正在逐渐强大。为了在华寻找一个稳定的贸易地，该公司在17世纪末至18世纪初，曾派遣船只分别前往澳门、厦门、舟山（并至宁波）和广州等口岸。结果，英国人发现，舟山口岸的定海，只不过是一个小市场，只有本地买卖。商人都集中在内陆的宁波，定海只不过是远离中心的一个站，他们是为了和英国贸易这个特别的目的才来到这里的。因为远离中心市场，以舟山为贸易地显然不尽如人意。至于厦门，不是一个大的贸易市场，它的商人也不能够保卫自己；而英国的大班则始终受制于一班专制者的妄想，他们只是为了目前利益而行事。1704年，英国商船“忠诚库克”（Loyal Cooke）号和“赫恩”（Herne）号在厦门徒劳地等待了5个月，最终无法进行贸易，悻然而去。到了1714年，英国东印度公司的商船“安妮”（Anne）号甚至因为防卫海盗的法令，被困在厦门港口整整16个月。英国的大班们对于舟山及厦门两地的贸易条件难免颇有微词。

广州有长期的对外贸易历史，这里的商人不乏与外商打交道的经验。据英国等欧洲商人观察，广州的官员更加务实，愿意让外商进入港口贸易，以便从中渔利。对外商刁难的情形，在这里较少出现。并且，广州口岸腹地较广大，珠江三角洲地区的市场发展成熟，这里作为外贸的口岸，较之厦门和舟山更为理想。于是，英国、荷兰、法国等国的东印度公司都逐步将在华贸易的重点转到了广州口岸。1720年以后，广州成为了清朝与欧洲各国贸易的最重要的海上口岸。清廷虽然没有明文禁止西洋商船前往厦门、舟山等地，但这些港口实际上已失去了此前的吸引力了。1732年，瑞典“腓特烈国王”号首航来华时，选择停泊在广州，是符合当时中国外贸的实际状况的。

广州城 (1865 年)  
View of Canton (1865)





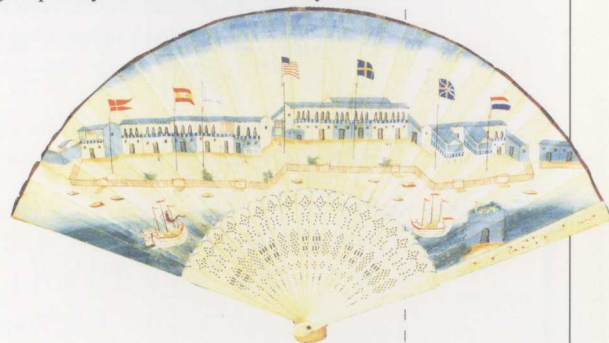


After the marine ban, the Qing government soon set up Guangdong Customs Office in Canton Hoppo, which marked the return of foreign trade in Canton to the right path. In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century when Canton, Xiamen and Ningbo were once again opened to the western merchants, Canton was not the most attractive spot for these merchants. Xiamen had for a long time been the favorite choice of the Dutch and a port the British frequented from 1670 to 1680. Therefore when the marine ban was first lifted, Xiamen became the first choice for the western merchants to anchor their ships. From 1684 to 1699, there were altogether nine ships that entered the Xiamen port, but only one in Macao. According to the British, in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, Canton still discriminated against them. The reasons were that the Portuguese wanted to keep their monopoly and that the British wanted to force into the port, which angered the local government. More important was that the market in Canton was not yet stable. At all events, the Canton port was ignored. However, it was not long before Canton returned to its prosperity.

From about 1720s, most of trade between China and European merchant ship were conducted in Canton. These European countries include the Great Britain, France, Holland, the Holy Roman Empire (the Ostend Company), Portugal and so on. The British East India Company with a history of 100 years was gradually throwing its weight around. In order to find

a stable trading base in China, the company sent ships to different ports such as Macao, Xiamen, Zhoushan (Ningbo) and Canton at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The British found that Dinghai in Zhoushan port "was just a small market for local business. Most merchants trade in Ningbo of the inland. Dinghai was a station far away from the center where the Chinese came specifically to do business with Britain". Since it was far away from the central market, Zhoushan was not an ideal choice for a trading base. As for Xiamen, "it was not a big trading market whose merchants could not even protect themselves; the British managers were at the will of a group of tyrannies who were only after

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immediate interests." In 1704, two British merchant ships Loyal Cooke and Herne stayed in Xiamen for five months without conducting trade and finally left sulkily. In 1714, Anne, a vessel of the English East India company was stranded in the Xiamen port for 16 months due to Anti-Pirates Decrees. No wonder that the British managers held grudges against the trading conditions in Zhoushan and Xiamen.

Canton had a long history of conducting foreign trade whose merchants were experienced in dealing with the foreign merchants. As observed by the British and other European merchants, the officials of Canton were more pragmatic and willing to allow the foreign merchants to trade in the port for their own gains. Creating difficulties for the foreign merchants was relatively rare here. Moreover, the hinterland of the Canton port was wide and the Pearl River Delta market was developed. It was a better choice than Xiamen and Zhoushan as a foreign trade port. As a result, the East India companies of Britain, Holland and France gradually turned their trading focus in China to the Canton port. Canton became the most important marine port of trade between the Qing government and the European countries. Though the Qing government did not forbid in writing the western merchant ships to go to Xiamen and Zhoushan, these ports had in reality lost their appeal. In 1732 when the Swedish "Friedericus Rex Sueciæ" first sailed to China, it chose to call at the Canton port, which was in accordance with the specific situation of China's foreign trade.





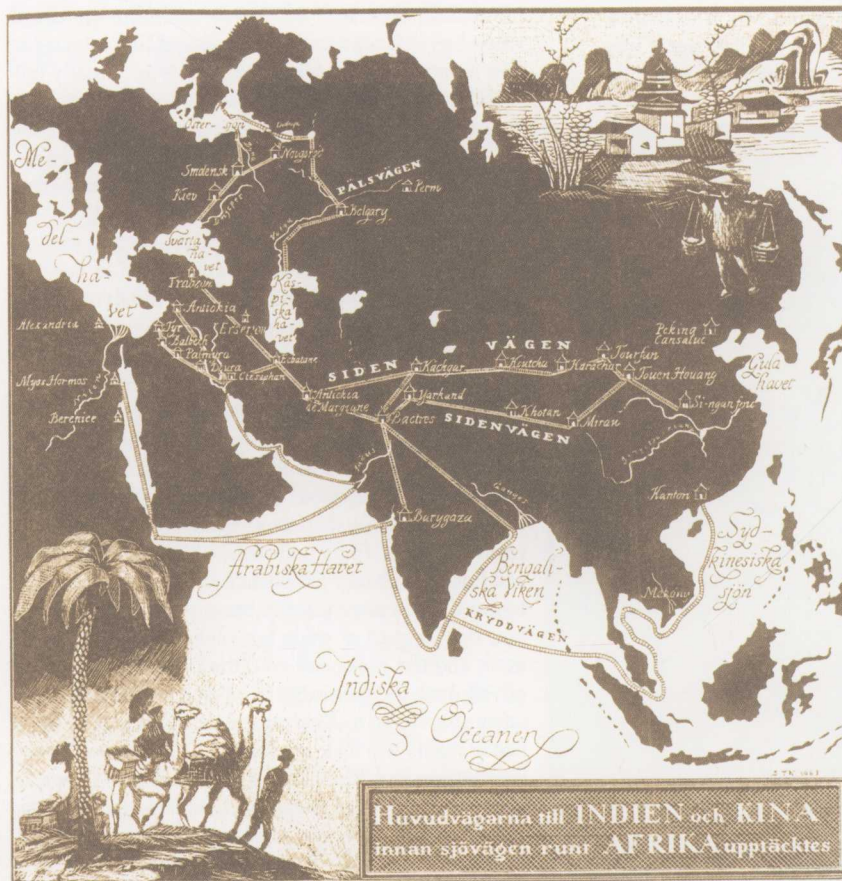


## (二) 瑞典东印度公司之创立

与大多数欧洲国家一样，瑞典人最初前往亚洲，摘取贸易果实，是由国家颁发特许状的东印度公司进行的。所谓“东印度”，指的是在好望角以东的由欧洲探险家“发现”的地区，包括了东非及沿岸地区、红海地区、印度、马来群岛、中国和日本等。如此广大的地区，其贸易利益之庞大，可想而知。因此，欧洲多个国家都不甘人后地建立了自己的东印度公司。瑞典东印度公司成立于1731年，比赫赫有名的英国东印度公司、荷兰东印度公司等都晚了100多年，甚至比其近邻丹麦王国的东印度公司也晚了115年。丹麦的东印度公司在

1616年成立。瑞典东印度公司如此“姗姗来迟”，是有其缘由的。

17世纪初期，当欧洲多个国家的东印度公司在亚洲贸易大获其利时，瑞典已经从一个小国发展成了北欧的强国，波罗的海上的重要港口几乎全被瑞典控制。1620年，瑞典国王接受了从事波罗的海贸易的荷兰商人的建议，在瑞典西部的沿海地带建成了以阿姆斯特丹为模式的海港城市哥德堡。从此，瑞典的船队可以直接从哥德堡启航，进入欧洲市场。这时，瑞典建立东印度公司的计划可谓是“万事俱备，只欠东风”了。但就在瑞典方面已草拟好建立东印度公司的特许状，准备大施拳脚之时，“北方战争”爆发了。瑞典的所有物资都投入到了战争中，建立东印度公司的计划就此搁浅。



瑞典东印度公司航线图  
Chart of the Swedish  
East India Company





柯林·坎贝尔肖像  
The Portrait of Colin Campbell,  
painted by Johan Joakim Stveng

## 2. The Establishment of the Swedish East India Company

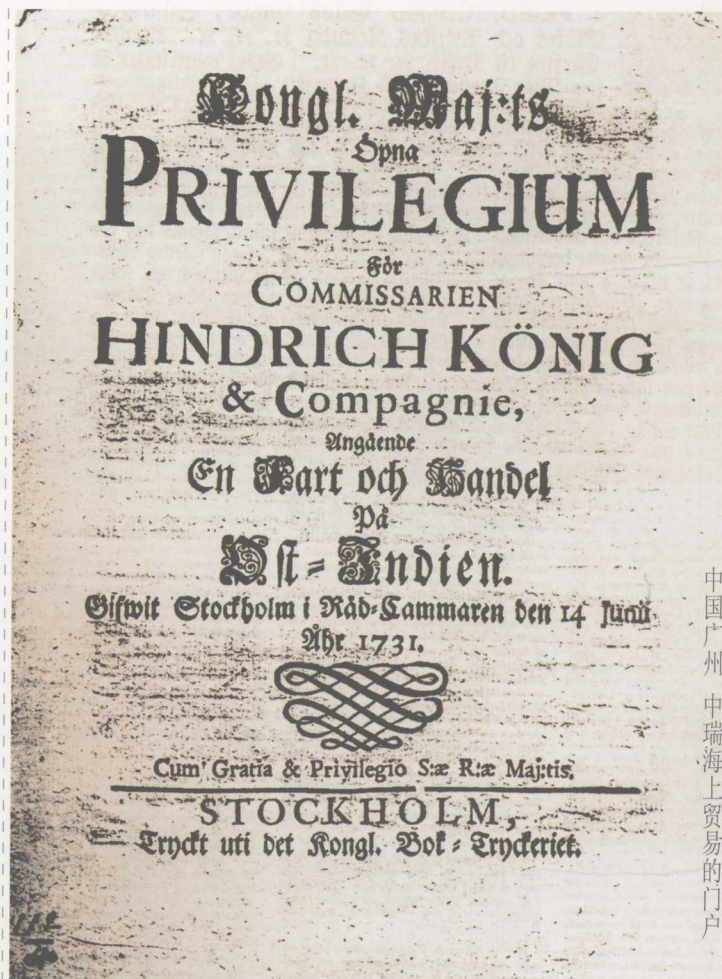
Like most European countries, the efforts of the Swedish to go to Asia and reap the fruits of trade started with the East India Company which had the First Charter issued by the state. The so-called "East India" referred to the area east of the Cape of Good Hope "discovered" by the European explorers, including East Africa and its coastal areas, the Red Sea region, India, the Malay Archipelago, China and Japan. It was clear that astronomical profits could be gained in such a large area. Accordingly, many European countries, unwilling to lag behind, set up their own East India Companies. The Swedish East India Company was set up in 1731, more than 100 years later than the famous English East Indian Company and the Dutch East India Company. Its neighbor the Kingdom of Denmark set up its East India Company in 1616. There were reasons why Sweden set up its East India Company so late.

In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century when the East India Companies of many European countries were reaping profits from their trade in Asia, Sweden had developed into a power in North Europe from a small

country. Almost all the important ports around the Baltic Sea were controlled by Sweden. In 1620, thanks to the suggestion made by the Holland merchants who were engaged in trade in the Baltic Sea to the Swedish king, the port city Gothenburg which was modeled on Amsterdam was built in the coastal area in the western part of Sweden. From then on, the Swedish fleet could sail directly from Gothenburg to the European market. At this time, all was ready for establishing the East India Company except what was crucial. However, just when Sweden drew out the Charter for establishing the East India Company and was ready to realize their ambitions, the Thirty-Years-War broke out. All resources were put into the war and the plan of establishing the East India Company was grounded.

1731 年给 Henrik König 瑞典所有好望角以东所有港口，贸易的 15 年特许状

The Privilegium granting Henrik König the right to all Swedish trade and shipping in ports east of the Cape of Good Hope







到了1729年，当建立瑞典东印度公司的计划被旧事重提时，瑞典方面虽然已经失去了一个世纪的时间，但正是因为有着这么一个世纪的“时间差”，瑞典人也就可以借鉴他国的得失，让本国东印度公司的经营易于进入良性循环。有鉴于人民大量购买来自亚洲的奢侈品会打击本国的工业，在酝酿成立东印度公司的过程中，瑞典人对于日后的经营已有了清晰的思路。支持建立东印度公司的人强调，公司将限制奢侈品的进口，计划进口的商品，是国内必需的。按照第一次特许状的规定，瑞典东印度公司的船只应以哥德堡为进、出口港，而其商船来华是以广州为目的，因此，瑞典东印度公司与中国的贸易，在某种意义上也可以看做是哥德堡和广州这两个港口城市的贸易联系。

瑞典东印度公司成立较晚，当他们雄心勃勃地准备一展身手的时候，沿途的地区基本上已被多个国家瓜分。各个国家都将自己的势力范围视若禁脔，不容他人染指。瑞典东

印度公司只能潜心于自身的商业事务而不作他想了。因为没有占领任何的殖民地，所以瑞典东印度公司没有像其他的一些国家的东印度公司那样，有着殖民掠夺的不光彩历史。这也决定了瑞典东印度公司的活动是以贸易为主，并且有着自身的特色。

亚洲的贸易有着巨大的获利潜力，印度和中国的市场同样具有吸引力，并且两国的商品也具有互补性。欧洲各国的东印度公司大多要在这两个国家同时立足，不会放过任何可能的获利机会。但这两国的市场又是如此的不同，一箭双雕的做法未必奏效，奥斯坦德公司的破产就与其业务过于广泛有关。因此，瑞典东印度公司要吸取这方面的教训。在数次印度之行均无建树之后，瑞典东印度公司转而专注于中国市场，广州成为了该公司船只在亚洲最主要的目的地。

哥德堡市——东印度公司旧址及水道照片  
The building of the Swedish East  
India Company in Gothenburg

