

Probing Macao as Part of the Larger Analysis of Global City and Megalopolis (1720-1820)

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The nature of settlements in the new millennium global network and landscape has been the predominating discussion in regionalism and global cities since the end of the last century,¹ and this paper will touch upon this rhetoric while examining the case of pre-modern settlements and regionalism along the China coast. The highly linked-up state of the contemporary world has its origins, after all, in the pre-modern period, even though the driving forces might have changed. At the larger level, this study hopes to probe into the demography, markets and routes between Canton and Macao, and in the process to investigate aspects of linkages

between Canton, Macao and the Pearl River delta in the period 1720-1820. The paper is confined to the hundred years between 1720 and 1820 for three reasons: 1) The long 18th century has been touted as the transitional period between the early modern period and the 19th century; 2) the investigative period has been shifted later by two decades to utilise the data available; and 3) the period is located between the points during an attempted revival of the Cohong (1720) and the change of winds towards a new era in the 1840s.

This paper will re-examine the data and criteria for judging and discussing 'global cities' of the past, especially Canton. A comparison will be made with other similar settlements in other parts of the world and along the China coast. Beyond analysing Canton as a city, the megalopolis of the settlement is also explored. In the process an attempt will be made to overlay market and demographic data on the extended area. Finally, attempting a tour-guide like description, the ways up from Macao to Canton, especially on the inland side, are investigated. This is done in the context of a review of the relations and linkages between the 'enclave' and the global settlement. The linkages between Canton and Macao are also discussed in terms of certain modelling

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identified for the study. A. F. Burghardt's idea of a gateway settlement (cum central place), in conjunction with the notion of a polycentric network scheme, can be modelled and analysed for their on-the-ground fit. In the process, Skinner's central place application and stages of development of markets in the Pearl River delta is re-visited for discussion. On the classification of markets, one may even re-examine Clifford Geertz' idea of a bazaar and investigate the degree to which this type of market fit and applied on the ground.

Surveying the research on Macao in the 18th century, one can identify quite a few prominent works. On Canton, one can find even more contributions to the subject arising from a number of reasons. The relations between Macao and Canton would usually be taken up in one way or another in these works. More intently, on the discussion of economically related issues (if one could delineate them as such), the (official) process of foreign and imported goods being transported up the (outer) Pearl and West rivers was relatively well known. Studies have been undertaken on goods being handled at Canton or Macao, such as porcelain, silk or tea in the former, and sandalwood in the latter. Less attention was given to exchange and linkage at the level of the petty traders, whether permitted or unauthorised, owing partly to the lack of hard data on trade.

P. Van Dyke's thesis,² tuned into a published book, is worthy of highlight because it raises many issues for update and discussion, some of which were thought to have been resolved. This work represents a certain milestone because it was able to expand on details in the trading activities undertaken at Canton by tapping a variety of materials like ships' logs and journals as well as merchants' papers and letters from the USA and a number of countries in Europe, whereas previous works were more reliant on one major source or sources from a particular place. More than this, Van Dyke's work has its title and focus on Canton but reveals quite a bit about the role of Macao, and in fact it encourages researchers to conceive of Canton with the surrounding settlements as an interlinking and functioning economic unit. Further details on other issues, such as the procedure upriver, were unveiled.

As noted by Van Dyke, previous generalised works, such as those by L. Dermigny, D. Basu, or Huang Qichen 黄启臣, tended to focus on the more bulky trade with foreigners and on refinements (from

H. B. Morse) of volume estimates of trade undertaken at Canton. An important spatial study by W. Skinner was applied to settlements over broad regions in China, including the Lingnan area and specifically the Pearl River delta in the late 19th century. On the coastal areas, Chinkeong Wong, for instance, has initiated a valuable investigation on specific settlements and their linkages. One specialist (K. C. Fok) on Macao historical studies remarked that there was 'much' literature on the economic and commercial developments in the Pearl River delta, although this writer believes that many of these were focused on Hong Kong or the contemporary era.³

On the Chinese side, there is the feeling that works from the 1980s focus on areas like Jiangnan, although the first volley on the commercialisation of agriculture and markets in the Pearl River delta (in the form of an article, by Ye Xianen 叶显恩 and Tan Lihua 谭棣华⁴) was fired during that time. While Luo Yixing 罗一星's work⁵ was targeted at Foshan, some research was done on the rise and fall of Macao, and external trade as well. Further works on the Pearl River delta in the late 1980s continued to focus on economic development, goods and markets. Impressive progress has been made on late 19th century Qing studies on economic linkages between goods and markets as well as the bigger and treaty ports like Shanghai. Academics on the mainland concede there still is a lack of overall coordination when compared to Japan or Taiwan and western literature, and their theories have not been proven in local studies.

CANTON AS A GLOBAL CITY

What constitutes a global city? The idea of a 'world city', broached in a seminal work as early as in 1966, appears to 'rank cities according to their disproportionate geo-economic power in the world-system.'⁶ This 'disproportionate' power has often been investigated in terms of the multinational corporations and their operations in those cities. The response and interaction of a city in the form of the evolution of new hierarchies and sectors, as well as expanded size, has contributed to shaping the present state of discussion. Naturally, the discussion is not too

Xiangshan district, Guangdong Province,
20th year of the reign of Jiaqing (1815).

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far detached from certain basic indicators, such as the population and linkages that the settlement has attained or formed. Although the opening paragraph of this section appears to use the terms 'global' and 'world' interchangeably, the equivalence is not to be assumed. For one researcher, world cities can refer to 'a type of [large and well-connected] city which we have seen over the centuries.'⁷ 'Global' city refers to a settlement that is more contemporary. Some would go further to insist on mutual exclusivity between characteristics associated with 'global' and 'world' settlements. Current theories of how cooperative economic zones (hence, emphasis on the polycentric model and a more regional approach) serve as a strategy for developing the country have become popular with the rise of the fifth dragon (Guangdong Province). The mega-city of Canton surely draws its late 20th and 21st century status in some form from the legacy and accumulated experience of long-standing developments, excepting the periods of disruption and discontinuity. What kind of 'experience', then, did Canton build up from?

Located not far from the 'confluence' of three tributaries of the Pearl River system to the west of the city of Canton is situated in one of the most fertile areas in south China, with its mild climate coupled with rich alluvial soil that allows high productivity and 'triple cropping of rice' on the Pearl River delta.⁸ In terms of drainage into the sea, the Pearl River (with abundant rainfall) easily surpasses the Yellow River at seven times the volume and is second only to the Yangtze among Chinese rivers. The average depth of the river is seven metres, and it is raised further during high tide. On average, this meant that a small steamer which 'took in' up to thirty metres of water was able to sail into Huangpu and along the West tributary (especially on the leg further west), and a vessel of 400-500 tons (equivalent to the capacity of a Chinese junk) was able to navigate there. On the delta plain, distributaries formed a fine and closely knit web, making the lower vicinity of Canton highly navigable for all manner of small vessels.⁹

The spot in which Canton is located features a long and enduring history. Panyu was listed in the Han dynasty's *Shiji* 史记 [*The Records of the Grand Historian*] as a city of 'big fanfare' (among the eighteen which existed at that time) and carrying a variety of goods. The Silk Road on the sea, which began during

the Han dynasty, was recorded in the *Hanshu* 汉书 [*The Book of Han*] to have started off from China at Xu Wen County (in Guangdong). The route gradually grew more sophisticated, and Song China was trading with over fifty countries through Guangzhou. The travels of Marco Polo and his family during the Yuan dynasty are well known. Incidentally, at the end of their service, the Polos chose to return to Venice via the sea route. In the same period, logs by other famous travellers like Ibn Battuta described Canton as 'one of the biggest cities in the world' featuring 'beautiful markets, rich variety of goods on display, and cosmopolitan; and having a mosque in the city.'¹⁰

The Silk Road trade, during and especially nearing the middle period of the Qing dynasty, underwent yet further evolution: 1) Despite the continued dominance of trade monopolies (i.e. the Dutch V.O.C. and the English E.I.C.), English traders (whom H. Fuber referred to as the initiators of the 'great commercial revolution') added to the already extensive trade carried by the 'unofficial' traders, such as the Portuguese *levantados* and the Chinese junk traders¹¹; 2) Although the Dutch remained a force of their own in the Indonesian archipelago, the political economy of the ascending British hegemony was shifting trade activities to British areas of influence in India. At China's end of the Silk Road, England's share of the import and export trade was at least half of the total volume in the 1760s, and about three-quarters of the total in the 1830s. In terms of trade structure, tea had become the most important item of trade, followed by silk and related products.¹²

The extent of China's new Silk Road trade was also conditioned by domestic developments. Coastal and maritime trade had been seriously affected during the Ming-Qing transition because renegades of the former dynasty were putting up their last resistance, partly, along coastal provinces and offshore islands. Although there has been a tendency to characterise the beginning of the Canton system and trade as having picked up from 1757, recent efforts have begun to trace the system to the abolition of the coastal curfew in the 1680s (after the last pretenders of the previous dynasty abdicated).

A monograph by Ng C. K.¹³ that tried to sketch the trade network of Amoy (1680-1730) re-affirmed that the internal web was already sophisticated, and goods required for overseas export were 'efficiently'

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shuttled in that system. Ng affirms, too, that the 'internal' trade and trading web rose after the 1680s and flourished during the time of the Yongzheng Emperor (1722-1735). All sorts of goods from the other parts of the coast and the north were brought down to Amoy for further distribution. For instance, cloth, cotton, silk and some foodstuffs came from Suzhou and Ningpo (in Jiangsu and Zhejiang respectively); more foodstuffs as well as medicinal herbs came from Shandong and Manchuria further north. The emphasis of Ng's work was, of course, to highlight that many of these goods, in addition to whatever else was shipped up from Fujian, were re-directed to Taiwan, which reciprocated with rice, sugar and other foodstuffs. Some of the goods were also loaded for destinations in the South China Sea. Seen from this angle, Canton was an 'outpost' of the network centered in Fujian, where indigenous goods were re-transferred to Nanyang, or where foreign goods were brought up for re-distribution. However, this was the period in which Canton was not the only port-of-

call for foreigners. Foreigners could go up to Amoy (in Fujian) and engage the *hang* or *pubu* 铺户 (shopkeepers who were better established) there.¹⁴ Here, Canton was 'justifiably' underestimated in Ng's work because the attention of his book was focused on the rice trade involving the leg between Taiwan and Nanyang.

According to a work by Huang Qichen on customs and trade networks, the coastal trading web in the late 18th century continued to operate along the same main routes, i.e. 1) the Fujian-Taiwan route (although whether Amoy continued to be as prosperous was another matter); 2) the route linking up to Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Shandong and Fengtian further north; 3) the route connecting to Guangdong; 4) the western access to Canton; 5) here, the Guangdong route linking directly to Zhejiang and Jiangsu, as well as ports in the north, might have emerged after 1757;

Chinese merchant's house near Canton. Engraving by W. H. Capone from a drawing by T. Allom, c. 1843.



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6) as before, ports in Jiangsu and Zhejiang also linked between themselves, and to ports up north. If the Guangdong route emerged or became more important after 1757, then one can say that Canton had become more prominent. The previous western access to places outside was replaced by indigenously sanctioned ones. Only in this way can we say that the role of Canton as a 'gateway' for Chinese merchants seeking western goods and for westerners seeking Chinese products was heightened.¹⁵

In the first few decades of the 19th century before 1840, the trade and transportation network was noted to be well spread inland. In the south, links were established with Guizhou, Yunnan and Sichuan; in the centre, Hunan, Hubei, Henan and Jiangnan; up north, Shanxi, Sanxi, Zhili and Gansu. From the southern areas, a number of types of precious metals and stones, medicinal herbs and some feathered products flowed into Guangdong. From the centre came honey, almonds, silk-related products and green tea. From the northern areas, we have leather products, a variety of wines, some metals and precious stones, medicine (especially ginseng) and tobacco. From Guangdong, a wide range of goods, which included western goods, cotton and cloth products, as well as a rich variety of local products, went inland.

A 'relação' attached to a proposal by a Portuguese governor of Angola (1764-1772) reporting on trade in the Indian Ocean and the East listed the following goods to be exported from China: sugar, a variety of wood, pearls, pots and pans of iron, crockery of Chinchou (Chaozhou), a variety of cloth including silk, cotton and satin, both green, black and Lapsang Souchong tea, a variety of medicinal products like camphor and rhubarb, paper umbrellas, alum crystals, as well as a copper alloy.¹⁶ From near Southeast Asia, China imported fine sugar, camphor, benzoin, ambom, coral, woollen cloth and bird's nest.¹⁷ From Coromandel, Madras and Bengal on the south-western coast to

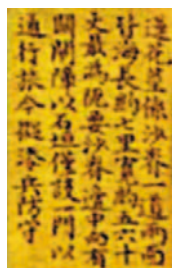
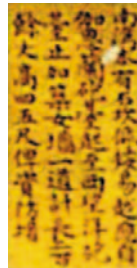
Calicut and Malabar on the south-eastern coast of India (including Ceylon), the following commodities came to China: cotton, silk (raw) and cloth, shark's fin, cow hides, sandalwood, timber and wood,

(medicinal) opium, cardamom, pepper, rice, saltpeter, *meira goma*,¹⁸ oil (from clove), sandalwood, and pearls. From other parts of India, agata beads were carried to Cochinchina from Surrate before being re-exported to China. Fish maw came from Bombaim. From an even wider network, as far away as Muscat and Persia, the following goods were imported, some of which were re-exported from India: incense, indigo, myrrh, rhinoceros horns, dates, attar of roses, almonds, mocha coffee, wheat, cloth, precious stones and pearls.¹⁹

Not only was the variety of goods rich, but the volume traded increased by almost three times from the 1760s to the 1830s. Given the sophisticated links to the internal market and the outside world, one would no doubt find the experience of walking through the streets of Canton to be one of being in a shoppers' paradise; in the modern context, it was perhaps equivalent to going to a megamall in a big city. The number of *xushi* 墟市 (regular markets)²⁰

within the city was numerous, and besides these there were the trading houses, *lan* 栏 (pen-spots),²¹ docks for the transference of goods and passengers, etc. The pen-spots were very specialised, being labelled as those who sold rice, pigs, fish, etc. Adjacent to the thirteen trading houses, there was the Haopan Street, where many merchants and goods were gathered, with many teahouses to serve them.²² On the canals, J. M. Downs has described the sampan communities and markets on the water filling with all manner of services and goods providers like 'boats carrying barbers, food peddlers, fortune-tellers ... as well as hundreds of flower boats, in what was dubbed the "Golden Ghetto."²³

Viewing Canton from a demographic angle, and drawing upon secondary data from T. Chandler and G. Fox, the authors ranked Canton in third place in the list of top ten cities in the year 1800. In 1750 the ranking was sixth, and half a century earlier, the ranking was pegged at twelfth. The criteria for ranking came from computed, which were derived from figures units (house, parish or administrative units) appropriate multiplier.²⁴ The population and 1800 were



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computed to be 300, 500 and 800 thousand, respectively. Elsewhere, Roberts Marks, in investigating rice, food supply and market structure in the Lingnan region, detailed in a footnote the population of Canton in 1753 to be 'on the order of 600,000', supposedly taking into account the populations of Nanhai and Panyu *xian* 县 [counties], but he did not go further to explain his methodology. Where this essay is concerned, two sets of data are referred to: a 1776 Qianlong series and an 1820 Jiaqing series. The first set of data comes from the *Population History of China*, which in turn drew from *Qing Chao Wen Xian Tong Kao* 清朝文献通稿 [*Qing Dynasty Comprehensive Study*]. The latter set of figures is culled from a prefecture gazetteer revised during the 5th year of the Guangxu period (1879), which on further checking was found to be drawn from the 1820 census of the Jiaqing period. Then, setting a 'conservative' multiplier of 70 per cent urbanisation for the Central region and multiplying the population figures of the relevant counties (Panyu and Nanhai) yields a city population for Canton of over 800,000. Returning to the data by T. Chandler, the picture for the other coastal cities reveals: 1) Amoy did not seem to surpass the 100,000 mark despite having a boom time in the 1730s and 1750s; 2) Ningpo was an equivalent if not much larger city further north but did not cross the 200,000 mark in 1800; 3) Suzhou and Hangzhou were listed as two of the top forty world cities, but their populations did not catch up with Canton until 1825 at 480,000 and 600,000 respectively.

Finally, in terms of perception by westerners and other foreigners, well-known English and American accounts, such as those by J. Barrow (who accompanied the First Earl of McCartney in the embassy delegation to Beijing in 1792) and W. Hunter, never failed to acknowledge the goods and monies that congregated at Canton, even though they wrote negatively about the system of trade at Canton or the general affairs in China.²⁵ The journal entries of the Dutch traders, as used and depicted in L. Blussé's work on major settlements in Asia in the 18th century, conveyed similar tensions but again never failed to note the abundance of commodities and lavishness of wealth that was displayed at Canton. To summarise, there is no doubt that Canton qualifies as a global city in the 18th century on several grounds: 1) it had very sophisticated internal and external trade network links; 2) its population was

ranked at an internationally competitive level and held its own; and 3) perceptions by westerners indicated that Canton was vibrant and a place to do business in China.

THE EXTENDED AREA OF CANTON

Contemporary mega-cities are enmeshed with their immediate and wider regions. The rise of the mega-city of Canton, broached briefly in the preceding section, does not refer only to the city per se. It refers practically to the entire region of the Pearl River delta linked up densely by a host of specialized functions in the different sub-regions and sectors. This is analogous, as P. Hall acknowledges, to the megalopolis identified by J. Gottmann.²⁶ Studying cases from the past presents a different problem to studying contemporary ones. For studying contemporary cases, the age after computers became widely available presents new avenues for obtaining data and evidence hitherto not available. While at this point in time data may not be revealing to any large extent about the linkages in the Canton and Pearl River delta region, the fitting of certain identified modelling on the connections of the area *vis-à-vis* the available evidence can shed a more holistic, if preliminary, picture of the global settlement and its surrounding locality during a particular window of time in history.

A model that can be invoked for the discussion of Canton is A. F. Burghardt's idea of a gateway settlement.²⁷ W. Skinner's series of papers in the mid-1960s on networks in rural China applying Christaller's theory to Guangdong Province is ground-breaking and continues to hold valuable ideas to dwell upon. Luo Yixing's more current market network typification for Lingnan can be discussed critically. The applicability of C. Geertz' conception of the bazaar market network on the Pearl River delta can be brought up for re-discussion. A more contemporary modelling by R. Smith, who drew upon the Actor-Network theory, or a new hypothesis involving the sub-region in question, can be fitted and invoked for further discussion.

The boundary of the Pearl River delta in consideration requires some clarification before any discussion is initiated. The 'central' area of G. Skinner's Central Place Theory (CPT) conception encompasses roughly the counties of modern Zhuhai, Zhongshan, Shunde, Panyu, Nanhai, Guangzhou city, and parts

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of Sanshui, Huaxian, Conghua, Zhencheng and Dongguan. The administrative boundary of Canton of the Qing period included Jiangmen city, parts of Xinhui, Taishan, Shenzhen, Baoan, and Longman counties, as well as part of the present Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

Although there has been a tendency to characterise the beginning of the Canton system and trade as having picked up from 1757, recent efforts have begun to trace the system to the abolition of the coastal curfew in the 1680s (after the last pretenders of the previous dynasty abdicated).

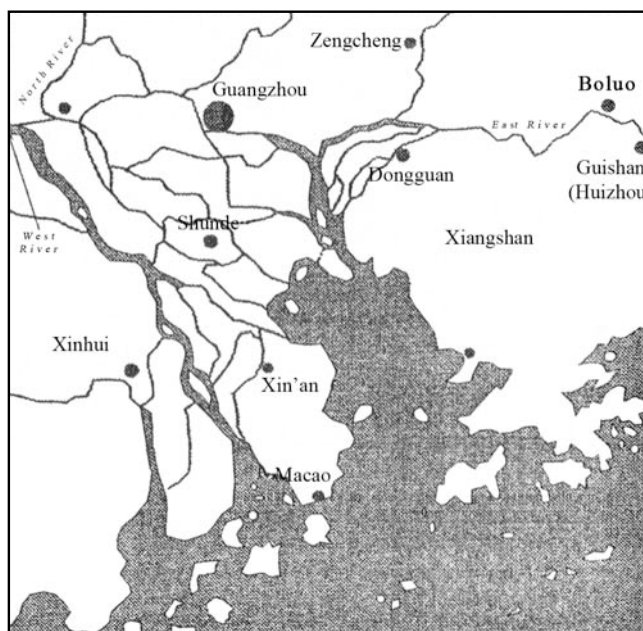
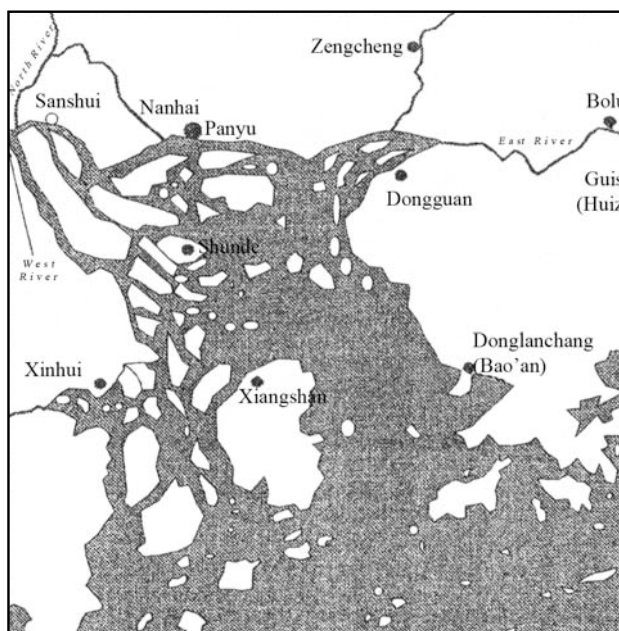
To pre-empt an anticipated overlap in the discussion of the terms ‘gateway’ and ‘central place’, a question that can be asked is whether these can be simultaneously applied to Canton? What evidence can be analysed in this paper on the operating area of Canton?²⁸ The analysis can be undertaken, as raised in Skinner’s ‘Cities and Hierarchy of Local Systems’,²⁹ though by no means mutually exclusively, from both an economic plane and an administrative level. The general thesis pertaining to whether the port or area in question developed into a central place or gateway area depends on its subsequent path of evolution. In the beginning, the inflow of wealth and activity into the port needed to permit ‘an extended tributary area’. If the ‘tributary area’ was large enough, other central places or ports could develop in it. The central place or port in question could become ‘highly productive’ or be providing ‘high service functions.’ The highly productive central places that were ‘inland’ (as in any standard central-places) became points of internal distribution. A gateway city providing high service functions could be inland or coastal, and serve trade connections that were ‘principally long distance.’

Canton was a ‘gateway’ settlement because: firstly, Canton can be said to be situated and ‘developing in the contact zones between areas of differing intensities or types of production, along or near economic shear lines’.³⁰ It is safe to say that Canton acted as a major disseminating point for imported non-western and western goods. The types and varieties of commodities imported into and exported from Canton have been described in the previous section. In connection with monetary history, the Canton-Macao nexus was also an important portal for the inflow of silver into China from abroad. Secondly, it performed a number of high service functions. These included facilitating the coordinative logistic efforts for further processing, importation and exportation of goods (especially ‘long-distance ones’), facilitating the administrative paperwork for the movement of goods, and facilitating certain aspects of financing the goods-trading. Canton also served as a high-level central place. The settlement has been designated as a central metropolis—the only one in Lingnan.³¹ Luo Yixing’s study on Foshan reveals its ‘greater city’ trading network and system further. Luo posits the settlement as (near) the meeting point of three important rivers in the vicinity of the Pearl River delta. Between a ‘gateway settlement’ and ‘central place’, taking on the former role did not mean that the settlement in question did not draw upon its more immediate environment, especially for its more immediate needs.

The river network in the delta forms a dense transportation system that does not just support a regular spacing of lower hierarchical levels of settlement (as described in Skinner’s central place application). It fuses the entire region into a megalopolis with distances between related markets reduced to appreciably shorter travelling times. The combination of transportation by river with travelling on land enabled goods that were produced in the other counties to be brought to Canton in a short time, and the external linkages on land and sea concentrated commodities from adjacent provinces and those further away into this provincial capital as well. However, it has to be borne in mind that the complexity of this transportation maze evolved over time. As a region, the Pearl River delta was not as developed during the Song and Yuan dynasties as it was in the later Ming and Qing dynasties (Map A).³²

Although Canton has traditionally been a contact point for the exchange of Chinese and foreign goods, it

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Map A: Pearl River Delta in the 13th and early 19th centuries. Source: R. Marks, *Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 68.

was not the only point of contact across the different dynastic periods. For the Qing period, coastal settlements in Fujian, Zhejiang and even Jiangsu were legally or illegally acting as ports for trade after the final quelling of the Ming pretenders in 1680.³³ R. Marks has suggested that the Lingnan macro-region, specifically Guangdong, has more than one core area other than the 'Central' area, namely the Leizhou-Hainan and Chaozhou sub-regions. Luo Yixing believes that Foshan was serving with Canton as a twin clearing house for domestic produce while foreign goods were cleared in Canton.³⁴

In terms of the complexity and network of the megalopolis region below Canton, a sub-thesis that can be explored is whether Shunde could act as a key settlement in a sub-hub in linking up to the megapolis region of Canton. In this case, the sub-hub can consist of its own county and Xiangshan (including Macao). Although Xiangshan had its own access to Canton and other places in the north via an important harbour at the county capital (of Xiangshan) as well as the West River, Shunde was an unusually large city on its own; even comparable to Foshan in quite a few aspects. The entire sub-region of Shunde might indeed act as an area for handling further processing for raw materials and semi-finished goods that landed at Macao. The demand for paints and dyes for further processing in

Shunde surely required part of the indigo import to be diverted for this purpose.³⁵

CAN THE SPATIAL MAPPING OF GATEWAY CANTON EXPLAIN ITS FUNCTIONS FURTHER?³⁶

It is safe to say that Canton acted as a major disseminating point for many imported non-western and western goods into the interior of China. However, one cannot quite say that a fan-shaped spatial mapping best approximates the tributary area of Canton well. First, much of inland Guangdong was inhabited by a sparser population, and one does not expect these to be the main consumers of imported or processed goods from the Pearl River delta. Goods which got to the Hakka areas (in the 'northern' and north-eastern regions according to Skinner's conception) were able to enter networks for dissemination further inland. Guangzhou merchants who travelled out of the province, and who set up guild houses in different parts of the country, also helped to disseminate the goods further.³⁷ Moreover, mapping on the seaward side defies any method that can be applied on land, especially flat land.

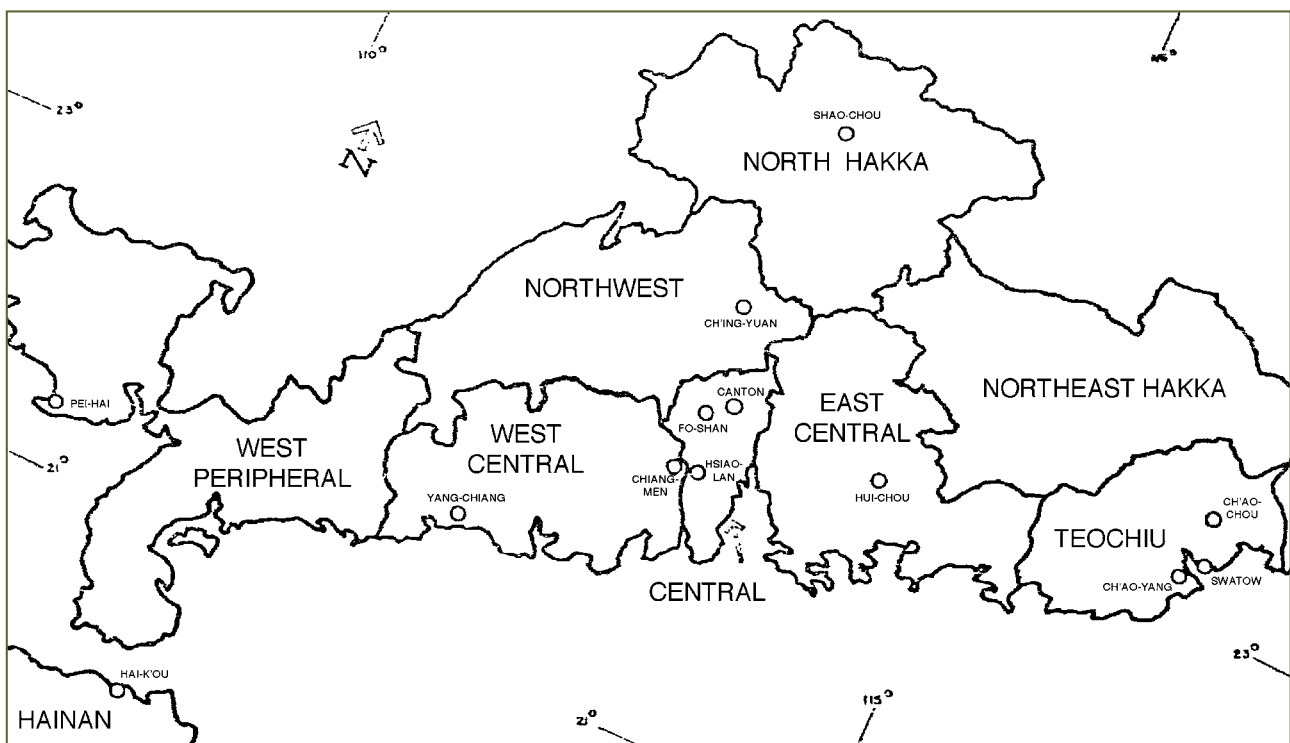
The determination of the final spatial outcome may require consideration of the dynamics in the

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tributary area and megalopolis. The need for travel within the megalopolis can be perceived as a function of the market density of the area. This is the work of a series of ground-breaking papers by Skinner in the mid-1960s applying Christaller's theory to networks in rural China. Guangdong Province proper, according to Skinner, was divided into eight sub-regions (Map B).³⁸ The sub-area that is of most relevance to the investigation of our paper is the Central region. This is where the regional capital and metropolis (Canton) and most of the Pearl River delta are located. In Skinner's scheme of development, the 'progress' of a network could be seen to undergo three stages of intensification. Drawing upon a 'remarkable' official report on Guangdong and on local gazetteers, Skinner computed the average village-to-market (v-to-m) ratio to be about 18. This ratio is not the highest in the province even though the region has the densest population. Skinner deduced that the region is near the last stage of the intensification model because he thought that the markets had come up with ways (such as maximising the market schedule to increase the number of days it was open) to accommodate the increased population and transactions, thus bringing down the v-to-m ratio.³⁹ The present authors attempted

to compute a v-to-m ratio in the hope of finding out if the figure for most of the 18th century confirms some form of second-stage market intensification. Suppose we are trying to achieve some figure higher than 18, and a figure which conforms to the second stage could be any figure that is above 18. Hypothetically, we could aim for an intermediate figure from 23 to 32 (the ratios attained by the East, West, Central and Chaozhou sub-regions). In Skinner's work, the lower figure computed (17.9) was an indication that the number of markets had increased or intensified (a third-stage manifestation in the late 19th century).⁴⁰ The computed figure of 11.0 unfortunately did not appear to be meaningful because it is lower than late 19th-century Hainan at 13.6.⁴¹ Notwithstanding the unfruitful attempt, whether in the second or third stage of market intensification, certain highlighted coastal sub-regions of Lingnan were in themselves already densely populated and commercially well-connected places, which meant an inhabitant from there did not need to travel too far to go to a market.

Map B:
W. Skinner's division of Guangdong. Source: W. Skinner, 'Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China Pt II',
Journal of Asian Studies XXIV/III (1965), pp. 208.



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The freedom and physical mobility with which traders were able to undertake business also depended on the hierarchy they were coming from. At the higher level of hierarchy, 'Emperor-approved' or visiting Guangdong from another province (*huangshang* 皇商 or *keshang* 客商) who dealt with bulk purchases probably faced more prescribed and rigid pathways in their trading forays. This was especially so in the Pearl River delta region where clan and lineage forces were deep-seated. Traders from outside the region, for instance, had to negotiate for their access. Rawski and Naquin have affirmed that merchants from outside Guangdong achieved only 'mediocre' success in accessing markets in the area.⁴² Petty merchandisers at the lowest end of the hierarchy, who may better match C. Geertz' conception of bazaar traders, were likely to have more freedom in roaming the markets in the region. The bazaar has been defined as the exchanges and transactions between people from the level of the non-trader laymen (labourers, small farmers and minor civil servants) to the 'small' shopkeepers in a market according to the local schedule.⁴³ The mode and mobility by which bazaar traders operated may be modelled by R. Smith's 'non-conforming' spatial model, even though the initial conception of the framework was for describing linkages between (world) cities (Map

C).⁴⁴ The implication of this is that not only can the irregular linkages and movements (see the section on Travelling from Macao later) of small traders be better understood, but the relationship between Canton and Macao, which was hitherto not highlighted, can also become more explicable.

MACAO AND CONTEXT

Shifting our attention further to Macao, the settlement was located at the tip of the region presented by the combination of different models. The grant to the Portuguese to trade in Macao in 1535 initiated a glorious period that was to last them until a little after the first third of the 17th century. Acting as middlemen, the Portuguese were able to tap into the exchange trade of silk for silver between Japan and China. During the Habsburg period (1580-1640), the volume of business engaged in by the Portuguese was approximating fifteen million taels.⁴⁵ The Portuguese role in this trade needs to be seen in the context of the relationship cultivated on more than one front. The very same goodwill became a bane when the Japanese authorities decided to favour the Dutch over the Portuguese for the former's non-zealousness in religious matters. Added to this was the upheaval from dynastic change in China, which caused disruption along the coast for much of the middle third of the 17th century. Macao never recovered to its prosperous self even as trade resumed in the latter decades of the century.⁴⁶

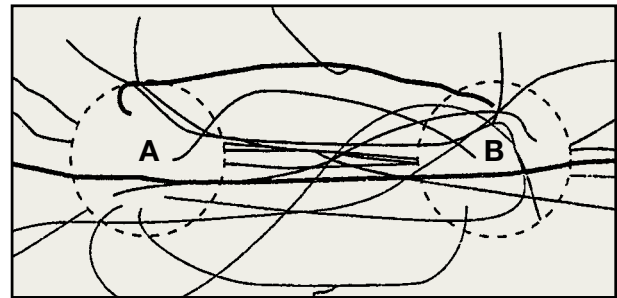
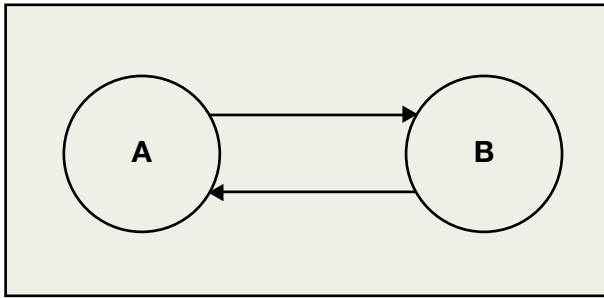
Although Macao was never able to recover its former glory, the settlement adapted to survive in the 18th century. Macao was given the privilege to bring in imported goods directly and was allowed to admit twenty-five ships into their dock tariff free annually (from 1725). Ships that were owned by other westerners had to comply with customs and associated procedures that began at Macao (entering from Bocca Tigris). The most important markets were located along the series of docking points along the old harbour, and one can further identify streets filled with shops along the eastern end (Rua dos Mercadores, Rua das Estalagens and Rua dos Ervanários).⁴⁷ Although Macao hardly produced anything, there was a rich variety of imported goods in its markets, including ivory, incense, amber, cloth (camlet), logwood, sandalwood, a variety of western goods, as well as fruits, vegetables, rice and other staples from the mainland.⁴⁸

TALLY OF MARKETS AND VILLAGES IN CENTRAL REGION

County	Market (regular)	Shi/Dou/Bao	Village
Hua	8	23	187
Zhengcheng	24	11	329
Dongguan	50	13	366
Xinhui	46	11	477
Shanshui	24	12	145
Nanhai	21	16	797
Shunde	52	11	275
Panyu	90	4	679
Xiangshan	10	10	334
Total	325	111	3589

Source: Information derived from gazetteers published by China Bookshop (Qianlong version) or Wenchen Publishing (Republican version) bearing the namesake of above places.

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Map C: 'Traditional' and Smith's representation of linkages between global cities. R. Smith, 'World City Topologies'. In *Global Cities Reader*, edited by Brenner and Keil, p. 403

In A. Ljungstedt's sketch of 1836, the Macanese population was categorised into three groups: citizens with Portuguese blood, Chinese citizens, and other foreigners. The population of Portuguese apparently declined from the end of the 17th century to the first two decades of the 1800s by three-quarters from a high of about twenty thousand. A little past 1820, the ratio of Portuguese to Chinese was about one to six.⁴⁹ Following from this, the population of Macao worked out to be about 30,000. From A. M. do Vale, who drew from documents at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon) and documents published in the *Arquivos de Macau*, the population of Macao from 1745 to 1793 fluctuated from twelve to twenty-eight thousand—the figures being deflated at the beginning and at the end, as well as dipping below 20,000 in the middle of the period.⁵⁰

Although the extraordinary role of Shunde may require more than one paper to prove, the preliminary thesis can offer a conjecture with which to link Macao to it. As an external subsidiary port linking to Canton, a peculiar and semi-colonial settlement like Macao did not link or depend directly on the global city *per se*, but on other intermediate centres embedded in the megalopolis region.

At least some evidence can be marshalled for a bustling 'middle way' involving various exchanges between Shunde and Macao. The exchanges included the trade of goods involving various levels of traders, service trade for the needs of Europeans and the population at Macao, and other peripheral support (such as financial) for European activities at Canton. Although generalisation may not be possible, traders at the 'higher end' of pure or mixed Portuguese blood were often members of the Senate. Small Macanese traders at the lower end were probably no different

from petty traders on the mainland side. In fact, for the transitory population that was moving between the mainland and Macao, strict distinction of ethnicity might not be viable. The service-providers who served the Portuguese and European needs at Macao were very similar to those living in the 'Golden Ghetto' at Canton. Portuguese traders not only required raw materials for the servicing of the ships but also skilled labour to man the vessels.⁵¹ On occasions when there was a depression or natural disaster on the inland and delta side, a push factor swelled the population of Macao. The thesis has been raised that Shunde could function as a sub-region for further processing to be undertaken. Elsewhere, Van Dyke has provided register evidence of Europeans providing loans. An analysis of interest differentials also affirmed how funds might be more likely to be provided from the European side. In a collection of Xiangshan records, Portuguese have also been known to provide loans to medium-ranking traders; in this instance, the local was from Fujian.⁵²

A quick stock-taking and discussion may be made of Macao at this point. Judging from the products Macao produced, it is clear that it did not make a transition into a cottage industry production base like 'big' villages and towns of roughly similar demographic sizes on the mainland, such as Xiaolan and Longjiang, which were famous for their native produce.⁵³ Macao slipped into the role of a service industry provider. This was reinforced by the transitory movements of skilled labourers between Macao and the mainland, and by exacerbated intermittent crises and push factors. Although Macao was a small enclave that produced few goods, the role played by its 'big' Portuguese *casado* merchants was large. A comparison with their fellow competitors (i.e. the English and Chinese junk operators) for the period 1722-1752

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shows that Portuguese private traders featured among the main contenders at Batavia.⁵⁴ The Portuguese were also acting as freight carriers for other Europeans. This is not to say that Macao 'had it good'. A survey from 1750-1800 showed that the number of ships fitted out hardly ever reached the allocation of twenty-five ships that were granted by the Chinese authorities owing to a number of reasons. One reason why the number of ships allotted to the settlement was not optimised owes partly to the fact that there were not enough seamen (and ships) to accommodate more business. As Macao was a base for shipping, the shortage of seamen could be explained by the competition for services from those fitting the junks and other European ships. Another peculiarity one has to bear in mind is that the jurisdiction of Macao was 'shared' between China and Portugal. While the privilege granted to the Portuguese allowed them a special status in China's external trade, sporadic imposition of control and/or increase in customs on Macao by the Chinese (as on the occasions of 1747 and 1784, etc., which in turn triggered economic and fiscal crises at Macao) served to damage its business.⁵⁵

TRAVELLING

Finally, we discuss the routes from Macao up to Canton. Although the present authors were not able to secure the personal notes or business papers of any specific merchants travelling from Canton or Macao, there was evidence available from documents at the level of *xian* magistrates and other secondary corroboration (Ng, etc.), to suggest that trading took place beyond the *hangs*, the *keshang*, and 'big' western merchants (E.I.C.) by trading groups and individuals at various other levels, such as the *pu-hus*, the *casados* from Macao, or Chinese translators who were engaged in trading themselves,⁵⁶ and the petty and moonlighting traders or service providers. On the whole, it may be said that the inhabitants of the Central region, even if they were farmers, were more amenable to be engaged in trade. Those who moved to Macao to trade usually lodged in rented places belonging to local Chinese or Portuguese families.⁵⁷ Many who traded also genuinely or predatorily converted to Christianity because of the special advantages that could be gained in exchanges with religious institutions (which engaged in a variety of businesses themselves) in Macao.⁵⁸ There

was even an array of people who were travelling under a variety of guises. For instance, there were Chinese who adopted western names, and even westerners disguised as locals.⁵⁹

The river network in the delta forms a dense transportation system that does not just support a regular spacing of lower hierarchical levels of settlement [...] It fuses the entire region into a megalopolis with distances between related markets reduced to appreciably shorter travelling times.

How easy was it for one to get up the river from Macao? The guide below offers a brief but a far-from-inexhaustible permutated picture of going up. Two towns feature as important interchanges for going further up: Shiqi⁶⁰ and Jiangmen.⁶¹ One could opt to travel either by the river or a combination route of land and river. On the river, one could get to Shunde, or directly to Panyu or Canton itself, and even to Dongguan (to the east of Canton). Of course, one could also veer off to the west to Longjiang along the Jiujiang River, which routed back to Foshan and Canton. From Jiangmen, one could access Foshan directly. At Foshan, one could either go diagonally east or west to Canton or Shanshui (Map D).⁶²

To illustrate the itinerary further, if a traveler went by the route through Shiqi and Shunde, he had to pass through several villages and small towns in Xiangshan like Xiaolan, Dalan, Dahuangpu and Huangjiao. At Xiaolan, he could sidetrack to Chengchun. It is worth noting that Chengchun would gradually become a stopover for smugglers.⁶³ There he could buy good wine. Flowers and fruits from there also sold well in nearby places.⁶⁴ Chengchun was well-connected by a number of bridges, so those travelling by a land and river

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route would have no trouble switching between the alternatives.⁶⁵ If he turned to Lungjiang for instance, the traveler could buy silk, though this was locally produced and probably of a lower quality compared to those from Suzhou.⁶⁶ Although Shiqi was deemed a more prominent junction, it was possible to sail from the other tributaries to Shunde as well. Sailing up 'length-wise' to Panyu, he could buy oranges, and turmeric, which could be used as a medicine or a spice. Nearby, fresh oysters could be bought from oyster farms. In all these places, it was likely that small quantities of imported and foreign goods could be bought. If one proceeded directly from Shiqi to Canton, it would not be an understatement to say that one had entered a 'shoppers' paradise.' From Shiqi to Donguan, one was able to get incense and incense-related products at the final destination. On the way there, one could even visit the tea farms first.

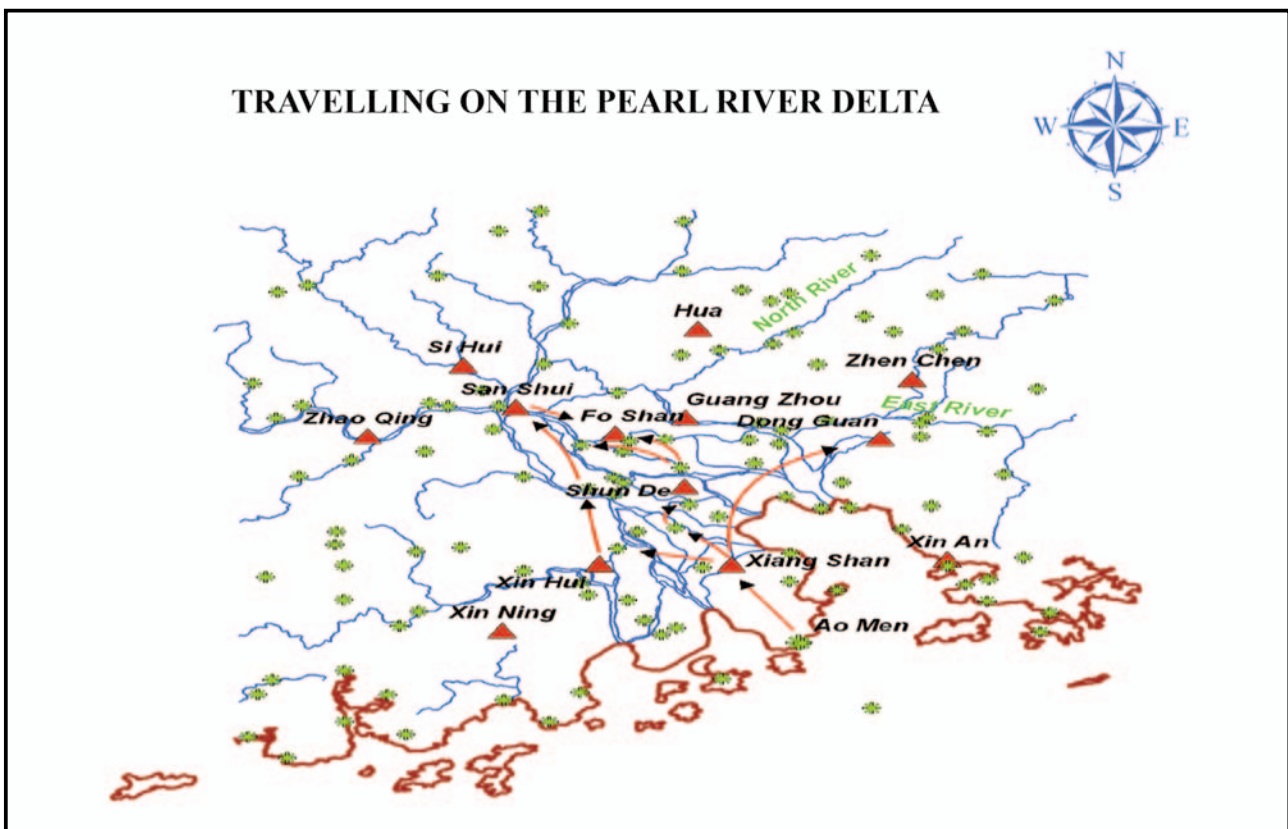
If a traveler was going along routes from Jiangmen to Shunde or Panyu, he would usually sail up the West River. If he went to Foshan, he would find himself in the 'sister capital' for shopping. Less well known is the

fact that he could turn west to Shanshui, which carried a great variety of local fruit and vegetable produce on its markets, including mandarins, oranges, mushrooms, and an assortment of pickled or preserved vegetables.⁶⁷ From the reverse direction, he could route back along Jiujiang to Canton or Shunde.

A little more may be said about the route up the West River to Jiangmen before we move on to another matter. Van Dyke, in surveying the field, commented in *Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta* that 'very few narratives have survived of [this] passage.'⁶⁸ One gets a feeling from Van Dyke's limited description that foreigners could get a license (*shangsheng zhizhao* 上省執照) to go up the West River with their goods. They could also transport goods (illegally) down the river. Westerners did this to avoid the 'heavy' tolls on the other side (referring to the Boca Tigris passage).

Map D:

Traveling up from Macao. Source: Constructed from data posted under China Historical GIS Project
website http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~chgis/chgis_home.html.



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It was also added that if the western ships wished to obtain large quantities of the returned goods (locally produced goods and Chinese exports), they could do it only at Bocca Tigris.

Studies on the early modern world have the tendency to run into problems with defining what was legal and who was a pirate. While this essay will not endeavour to venture into the area of piracy, it is well-known that, as studies on 16th-century *wako* 倭寇 and particular cases in the period of investigation have revealed, coastal fishermen and villagers were often in cahoots with, or were sometimes themselves pirates. At Macao, we can see fishermen and 'compradores' smuggling goods in and out of Macao under the eyes of Chinese patrol boats. Further up in the loop linking Xinan, Dongguan, Panyu, Chengchun and Xiangshan, fishermen and *dan* inhabitants sometimes made their own produce and sometimes picked up what little bundle of goods they could before stopping by these places to drop off their merchandise. In fact, Macao was likely to be such a hotspot for these activities that a monument (*bei* 碑) was erected in the 5th year of Jiaqing (1800) near the Lianfeng 蓮峰 temple (near Wangxia village) to highlight the nature of the problem and the associated penalties if the smuggler was apprehended. It also exhorted local officials not to extort from 'honest' subjects.⁶⁹ Although we touched on 'petty' smugglers here, 'most, if not all, of the hang merchants [as well as big Portuguese traders] were involved in some type

of smuggling, at one time or another.'⁷⁰ This was the beginning of the informal Canton system, and lucrative opium would gradually become a craved-after item in the illegal dealings.

SUMMING-UP

That Canton was an important global city is well known and well substantiated by studies and sources, both primary and secondary. The extended region (in the form of its megalopolis) is, by contrast, less well-researched. Recent historical research, especially since the turn of the new millennium, has begun to shed more attention on the historical Pearl River delta, notably before the Opium War and the role and function of Macao in relation to Canton. Macao could and did act as more than an 'enclave' for Canton. This study focusing on the routes up the river also serves to uncover how Macao could be linked to other principal settlements in the area, on the way to Canton. R. Smith's 'non-conforming' spatial description may be employed to understand Canton-Macao relations. This is the case when one finds that goods did not need to traverse through Canton for sale, or that there might be excess liquidity at Macao to help the Co-hong to outfit an expedition. In the long haul of the 18th century, the development of Macao *vis-à-vis* the Canton system before the Opium War and the rise of Hong Kong is hopefully explained a little further. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 See compilation of articles gathered in N. Brenner and R. Keil eds., *Global Cities Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- 2 P. Van Dyke, *Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690-1845*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 2002.
- 3 See K. C. Fok, 'Portuguese Macau's Impact on Pearl River Delta during Ming and Ching Periods'. *Portuguese Studies Review* VII/2 (1999), pp. 36-53. In Chinese literature, for instance, 'Mingqing zhu shanjiao zhou shangye yu shangye ziben de fazhan' 明清珠三角商业与商业资本的发展 by Huang Qichen 黄启臣, in *Zhongguo Shehui Jinjishi Yanjiu* 中国社会经济史研究, 1984, pp. 37-50.
- 4 Ye Xianen 叶显恩 and Tan Dihua 谭棣华, 'Ming-Qing Zhushan Jiao Zhou Nonye Shangye Hua Yu Xushi De Fazhan' 明清珠江三角洲农业商业化与墟市的发展. *Guangdong Shehui Kexue* 广东社会科学 No. 2 (1984), pp. 73-90.
- 5 Luo Yixing 罗一星, *Ming Qing Foshan Jingji Fazhan yu Shehui Bianqian* 明清佛山经济发展与社会变迁. Guangzhou: Renmin Publisher, 1994.
- 6 Sir P. Hall, 'Global City-Regions in the Twenty-First Century'. In *Global City-Regions* edited by A. Scott. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 59.
- 7 S. Sassen, 'Global Cities and Global City-Regions'. In *Global City-Regions* edited by A. Scott, p. 79. See also F. Braudel, *Perspective of the World*. London: Collins, 1984; P. Hall, *World Cities*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1966, and A. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and World Economy*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- 8 Susan Naquin and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, p. 177.
- 9 Huang Qichen, 'Guangzhou chenwei haishang sichou zhi lu qidian de dili jingji tiaojian' 广州成为海上丝绸之路起点的地理经济条件 (Prerequisites for Guangzhou as Starting Point for the Silk Road on the Sea), in Guangzhou Gudou Xuehui et al. eds., *Lun Guangzhou Yu Haishang Sichou Zhi Lu* 论广州与海上丝绸之路 (Discussing Guangzhou and the Silk Road on the Sea). Guangzhou: Zhongshan UP, 1993, pp. 3-26.

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- 10 Deng Duanben 邓端本, 'Guangzhou yu haishang Sichou zhi Lu de Xingqi yu Fazhan' 广州与海上丝绸之路的兴起与发展 (Guangzhou and the Origins and Development of Silk Road on the Sea), in Guangzhou Old City Society et al. eds., *Lun Guangzhou Yu Haishang Sichou Zhi Lu*, pp. 30-6.
- 11 See H. Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in Orient*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis, 1976. See also George Bryan Souza, *Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea 1630-1754*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. For an update of the Chinese junk traders, see P. Van Dyke, 'Reassessment of China Trade: Canton Junk Trade as Revealed in Dutch and Swedish Records'. In *Maritime China in Transition*, edited by Wang Gangwu and Ng Chin Keong. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 2004, pp. 151-67.
- 12 Deng Duanben, 'Guangzhou yu haishang Sichou zhi Lu de Xingqi yu Fazhan', p. 26. Ratio of British to total import/export trade between Western countries and China in 1760s: roughly 280/560 thousand taels; in 1830s: roughly 1700/2300 taels. Value of tea traded at 1818: about 6 million silver dollars; value of silk and related products at 1817: about 0.64 million silver dollars. See also unpublished thesis by D. K. Basu, *Asian Merchants and Western Trade: A Comparative Study of Calcutta and Canton 1800-1840*. Berkeley: University of California, 1975.
- 13 C. K. Ng, *Trade and Society: Amoy Network on the Chinese Coast 1683-1735*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1983, chapter 2 and conclusion.
- 14 Foreigners at Canton, perhaps arising from the stricter regulations there, had to do business via appointed hangs (called *bao hangs*, the most prominent security merchants). See p. 172 in C. K. Ng, *Trade and Network, the Amoy Network on China Coast, 1683-1735*.
- 15 Huang Guosheng 黄国盛, 'The Chinese Maritime Customs in Transition, 1750-1830'. In *Maritime China in Transition*, edited by Wang Gangwu and Ng Chin Keong, pp. 183-4.
- 16 'Breve e Util Idea de Commercio, Navegação e Conquista d'Azia e d'Africa (incluindo Relação) escripto por Dom Francisco Innocencio de Souza Coutinho, 1779', ff. 54v-57r. In *Os Portugueses na Ásia*, edited by A. Ahmad. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda 1997, pp. 106-109. Here after, referred to as 'Breve por F. I. de Souza Coutinho (Relação)'.
- 17 'Breve por F. I. de Souza Coutinho (Relação)', ff. 54r-57v.
- 18 A type of red-coloured smelly gum used, for instance, for vanishing purpose.
- 19 'Breve por F. I. de Souza Coutinho (Relação)', ff. 45v-57v.
- 20 This may be differentiated from *ji* 集 (irregular markets).
- 21 Referring to enclosed areas whereby domesticated animals or produce to be sold were herded or heaped.
- 22 Huang Foyi 黄佛颐 ed., *Guangzhou Chenfang Zhi* 广州城坊志. Guangzhou: Guangzhou Renmin Publisher, 1994, pp. 25 and 495.
- 23 J. M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784-1844*. London: Associated University Press, p. 62.
- 24 T. Chandler and G. Fox, *3000 Years of Urban Growth*. London: Academic Press, 1974, pp. 280-95 and 372.
- 25 Refer to J. Barrow, *Travels in China: Containing Descriptions collected in the Course of a Short Residence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-Min-Yuen, and on a Subsequent Journey through the Country from Peking to Canton*. Berlin: Nabu Press, 2010, and W. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwee' at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825-1844*, Berlin: Nabu Press, 2010. See also L. Blussé, *Visible Cities: Canton, Nagasaki and Batavia and Coming of Americans*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008, part 3.
- 26 See J. Gottmann, *Megalopolis*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1961.
- 27 See, for instance, the website at <http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/gateway/macau/index.jhtml>.
- 28 Burghardt reminded that there is a possibility the port or settlement in question did not graduate into a more sizeable central place or a port to service the larger volume and longer distance trade activities because the 'tributary area' might never have grown big enough. Even after a spurt of expansion in the 'tributary area', there was a chance for the central place or port to become static or 'retrogressively dynamic' or both if the region could not be sustained (owing possibly to reasons like administrative intervention or shift in productive and demographic concentration adjacent to or linked to a 'tributary area').
- 29 G. W. Skinner, 'Cities and Hierarchy of Local Systems'. In *The City in Late Imperial China*, edited by G. Skinner. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977.
- 30 A. F. Burghardt, 'A Hypothesis about Gateway Cities'. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61 (1971), p. 270.
- 31 Skinner, 'Cities and Hierarchy of Local Systems', p. 298, table 2.
- 32 Refer to maps in R. Marks, *Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 68.
- 33 Naquin and Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 168, where the writers acknowledge the persistence of ports on the southeastern coast 'despite competition from Canton and Ningpo.' We are even informed that Amoy, contrary to the findings of Ng Chin Keong, continued to be prosperous in 1786 (p. 171).
- 34 See Luo Yixing, *Ming Qing Foshan Jingji Fazhan yu Shehui Bianqian*.
- 35 Porcelain wares were sent from the town of Jingde to the Shunde area for coloring. See online version of Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants of Canton, 1720-1804', in *Revista de Cultura* 13, (January 2005), pp. 6-47, and Aoye Xiangqiong 敖叶湘琼 trans. 'Tan Kangguang yu Shunde Ji Hangshang' 谭康官与顺德籍行商. In *Shi Shan Hang Xin Lun* 十三行新论 edited by Tan Yuanheng 谭元亨. Guangzhou: China Review Academic Publishers, 2009; website: <http://www.tourtw.net/crn-webapp/cbspub/readBook.jsp?coluid=wskj&coluname=%E7%B6%B2%E4%B8%8A%E9%96%8B%E5%8D%B7&bookid=35281>, accessed 15 August 2010.
- 36 Burghardt reminded that there is a possibility the port or settlement-in-question did not aor a port to service the larger volume and longer distant trade activities because the "tributary area" might never have grown big enough. Even after a spurt of expansion in the "tributary area", there was a chance for the central place or port to become static, or "retrogressively dynamic", or both if the region could not be sustained (owing possibly to reasons like administrative intervention or shift in productive and demographic concentration adjacent / linked to "tributary area" etc.).
- 37 Beyond Zheling and Meiling passes, goods exported out of the province were congregated and disseminated up at Nanchang or Hankow.
- 38 W. Skinner, 'Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China Pt II'. *Journal of Asian Studies* XXIV/II (1965), pp. 207-8. Guangdong 'proper' because in the article Skinner also included Hainan Island.
- 39 Ibid., Intensification cycle refers to the increased layering of market settlements from an initial simplistic and more isolated arrangement. Subsequent layering resulted in different outcomes according to different start points: one for a physically more inhibited terrain and the other for a more ideal flatter terrain. See from p. 196 onwards in the same issue.
- 40 Skinner did bring in another possibility: that the people of central Guangdong became even more market attuned; i.e. they became more entrepreneurial and participated more in trade and exchange.
- 41 Some problems and questions for the unfruitful outcome may be raised for discussion: Is there a possibility that v-to-m ratio for the second half of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century

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were depressed across the board? At one time, debates also centered around the degree to which the Opium War and the beginning of the Treaty System were able to induce a growth in trade in China. To achieve a figure greater than 17.9, such as the 23 attained by West Central, would require the number of villages to be 6739 (assuming the number of markets to be constant). It is logical to reason that the figure before the third stage intensification was higher than 17.9. This means that the number of villages found is grossly under-represented. As it was, the tracing of the villages in the Qianlong county gazetteers did not experience too big a problem except in one case (Sanshui). The figure was usually counted from the *fangdou* section of the gazetteer. When we compared the figures collected with village numbers revealed in the *Guangzhou Fuzhi* 广州府志 (1879), the increase in the number of villages over time seems reasonable against the larger background of the rise in population from 1724-1820. For instance, there were 275 villages versus 294 for Shunde and 477 versus 511 for Xinhui (the first figure from Qianlong gazetteers and the second figure from Guangxu gazetteers). There is a possibility that markets might not be meaningfully traced. Since most of the markets were traced using Qianlong gazetteers alone, to obtain an expected outcome of 23 would require only about half the markets identified (unless the figures for the Qianlong period were inflated). The third possibility, as is discussed by PRC scholars and found in *The Population History of China*, is that the duplication of W. Skinner's method might be a impossible task for two further reasons. Firstly, the scholars revealed that Skinner had used data that were not easily obtained or available. For example, in his study on Guangdong, Skinner claimed to use 'a remarkable late 19th century Qing report' that corroborated 'the intelligence source compiled by a Japanese author'. Secondly, another dubious procedure is the use of the city wall boundaries for gauging the population. Other issues, like the movement and commercial activities of migrational fringe groups, as well as the irregular octagonal village-to-market spatial relation distorted by highly accessible docks which might in themselves serve as markets, also serve to confound the application of Skinner's model further and defy computation. Nevertheless, at the end, it must be said that the remarkable nature and breadth of Skinner's work is still admirable. This paper was able to construct maps that drew upon data posted under the China Historical GIS Project on the website of the Regional Systems Analysis Center at UC Davis.

- 42 Naquin and Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 162.
- 43 C. Geertz, *Peddlers and Princes*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963, p. 30.
- 44 R. Smith, 'World City Topologies'. In *Global Cities Reader*, edited by Brenner and Keil, p. 403. Adapted from B. Latour's Actor-Network Theory (see for instance, <http://amsterdam.nettime.org/Lists-Archive/nettime-1-9801/msg00019.html>). The subject is also written about by J. Law and K. Hetherington in *Materialities, Spatialities, and Globalities*. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 34-49.
- 45 Huang Qichen, 'Mingqing shiqi Guangzhou he Aomen zai mouyi quanqiuhua de diwei he zuoyong' 明清时期广州和澳门在贸易全球化的地位和作用 (Canton and Macao's Role in the Globalized Trade during the Ming-Qing Period). *Revista de Cultura* (Chinese Edition) 57 (2005), p. 53.
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- 56 Van Dyke, *Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta*, see chapter 4.
- 57 Zhongshan Archive Bureau and First Archive of China, *Xiangshan Mingqing Dang An Ji Lu*, p. 710, pp. 190-3
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