

The Shopping Streets in the Foreign Quarter at Canton 1760-1843

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It is commonly believed that there were always three shopping streets in Canton from the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century. The names of these three streets were New China Street, (Old) China Street, and Hog Lane.¹ We can confirm that the latter two streets did indeed exist from 1760 to 1822. In fact, we also know that Hog Lane was already in existence as early as the 1740s, and perhaps earlier. But there is no clear evidence to support there being a third, 'New China Street' in this period. Because the names and locations of these streets, and when they were established, has been a topic of much discussion in recent years; and because there is some confusion about 'New China Street' in a couple of primary sources, I will devote space here to show that there were only two shopping streets in this period.

Before 1760, small shopkeepers were scattered throughout the area surrounding the factories. There was a street with porcelain shops, another street with silk shops, another with lacquer ware, and so on. The main warehouses of the *Hong* merchants were located at various places throughout the western suburbs. They were not necessarily all near the quay where the foreign factories were built. A Swedish map from 1748 (Plate 1) shows this quite clearly.² The *Hong* merchant Cai Hunqua's (Sej hunqua) house was located several blocks north of the quay; Yan Texia's house was located far to the west; Poankeequa's (Poanqvuiqua) house was a block north of the factories; and Attay (Attai) and Chetqua's

(Kjetqva) *hongs* were located on the other side of the canal east of the quay.

The locations of the various *Hong* merchants' houses were distributed out like this throughout the 18th and 19th century. In 1760, however, the Chinese government, in cooperation with the merchants of the

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Co-hong 公行, decided that all of the small outside merchants needed to be kept under closer scrutiny and control. A new street was created for this purpose and all of the small operators were required to move there. Of particular interest were the porcelain shops, because they tended to trade in fairly large volumes and could compete with the *Hong* merchants. For years these small shops had been trading with foreigners, and many times without the *Hong* merchants' knowledge. By moving these men into this new location it was hoped that the government and *Hong* merchants could better monitor these outside men's activities, and curtail their illicit transactions.³

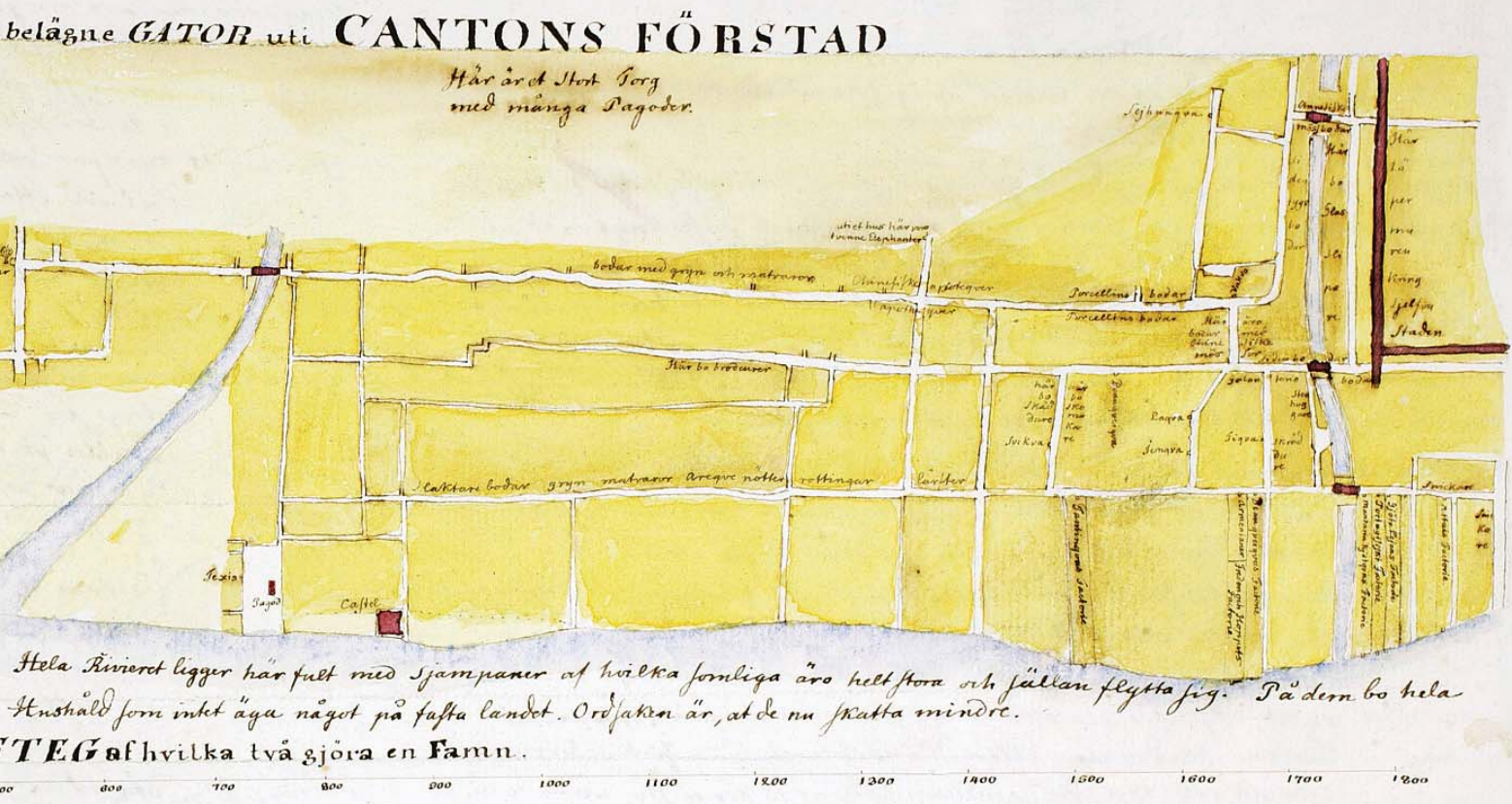
Dalrymple, who was in Canton in 1760, witnessed the changes that took place in the trade that year. He mentioned that all the licensed shopkeepers were moved to

one single Street, which was separated by a Gate from the rest of Canton, only open to the Wharf, on the Banks of the River, where the European Factories are situated.⁴

The Dutch officers also recorded the creation of this new shopping street.⁵ It later became known as China Street. As Patrick Conner has pointed out, the name ‘China Street’ was probably connected to it being a place to buy ‘chinaware’.⁶ In the late 18th century, this avenue shows up in the foreign records as ‘New Street’, ‘Porcelain Street’ and/or ‘China Street’. These names all refer to the same avenue. In the early 1780s, for example, Sonnerat was in Canton and mentioned that there was a ‘*rue Marchande, appellée par les Européens rue de la Porcelaine, & celle des Bonetiers*’. [Merchant Street, called by Europeans the street Porcelain, and that of Hosiers].⁷ The ‘*Bonetiers*’ is undoubtedly a reference to the numerous fabric shops that were located on this street along with the porcelain shops. There are numerous other references such as this in the foreign archives and they all refer to there being just one main shopping street.⁸ The name ‘Hog Lane’ shows up in

Plate 1: 'Plan af Trenne nærmast til Rivieret belägne Gator uti Cantons Förstad'. (Dalman, dagböcker, 1748-9) Courtesy of Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien Biblioteket, Stockholm.

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records as well (see examples below). But it was a place for common sailors to buy things and entertain themselves, and not usually a place where supercargos went to purchase their cargos.

The street that later became known as 'New China Street' was created after the fire in 1822 when all of the factories were destroyed. The entrance to this street was located between buildings Nos. 1 and 3 in Plate 2. In Chinese, it was called Tongwen Jie 同文街.⁹ A drawing of the factories from the late 1830s shows one of the streets near the factories with this name on the entrance.¹⁰ And Plate 3 is a painting of the factories after the 1822 fire and shows its location. There has been some confusion in the secondary literature as to this street's origins.¹¹

The street was named after the famous merchant Poankeequa III (Pan Zhengwei 潘正炜). He traded out of the Tongfu Hang 同孚行, but his family firm was previously called the Tongwen Hang 同文行. Poankeequa III sacrificed his factory (building No. 2 in Plate 2) for the construction of this street so there was good reason for putting the family name on it. The Tongfu Hang was then moved east of the canal on the east side of the quay.¹²

By examining the many paintings and drawings of the factories, it becomes clear why scholars have thought that a 'New China Street' existed east of the Danish factory before 1822. Plate 2, for example, shows a space and doorway between buildings Nos. 1 and 2. The frame of the doorway looks very similar to the frame at the entrance to China Street (between buildings Nos. 6 and 7). After New China Street was created, we still see two doorways in these locations, albeit they were much widened.¹³

All of the detailed plans of the factories that show three streets, namely New China Street, (Old) China Street, and Hog Lane, were created after 1822. Because paintings before 1822 seem to also show three streets or doorways, it was logical for scholars to assume that there were always three streets. It must be remembered, however, that the entire area was leveled, after the 1822 fire, and completely rebuilt. This misfortune provided an opportunity to insert a new shopping street east of the Danish factory.

Plate 3: 'The Foreign Factories at Canton'. Courtesy of Martyn Gregory, Canton and the China Trade. An Exhibition of Early Pictures Relating to the Far East. Cat. 43 (London: Martyn Gregory Gallery, 1986), Fig. 16a, p. 13.

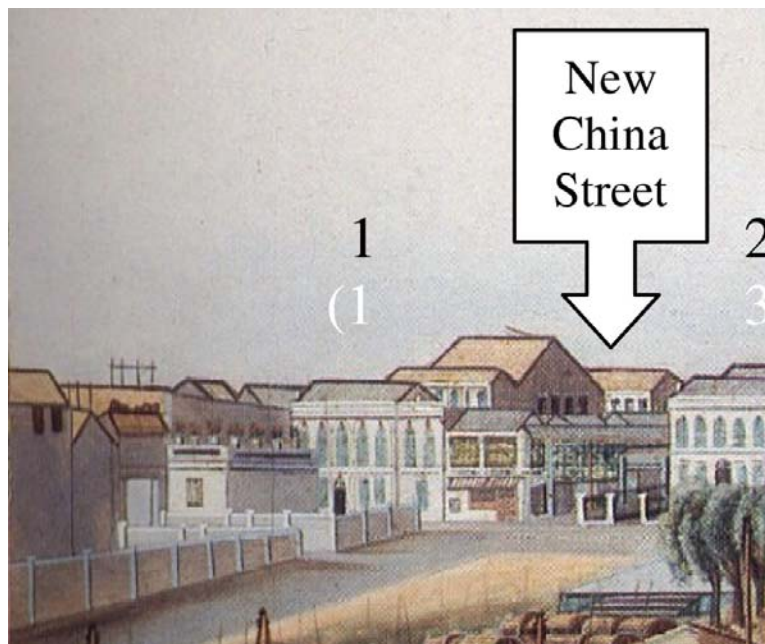


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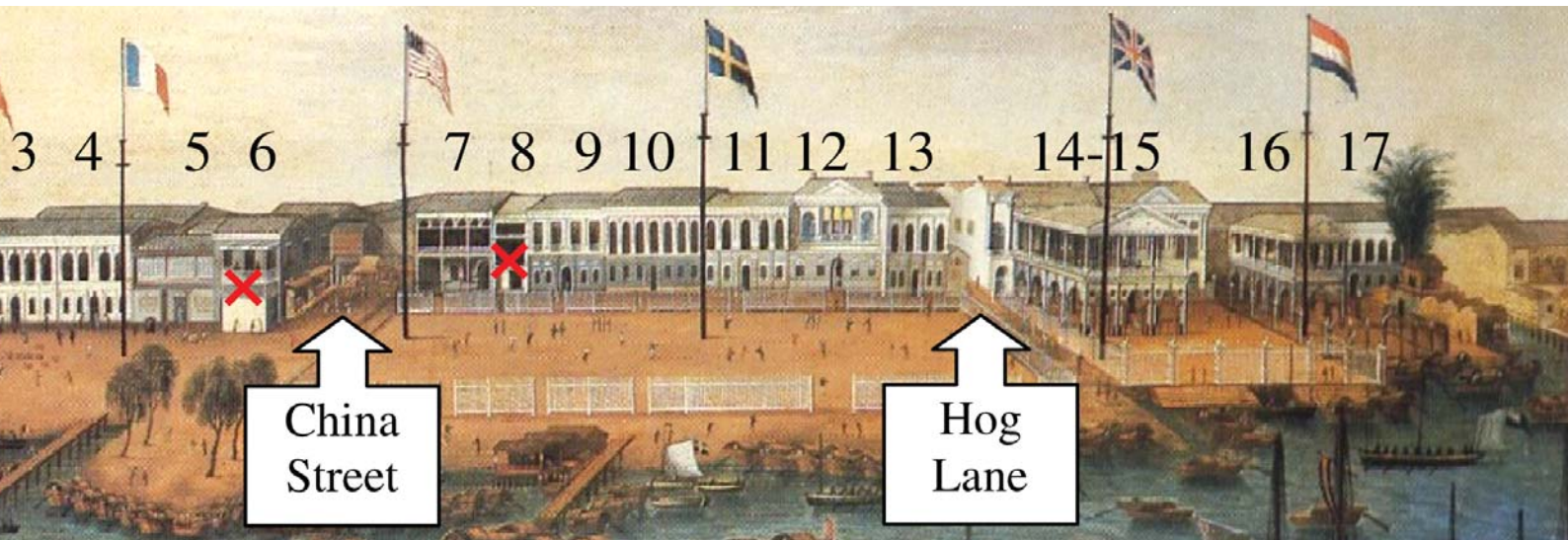
Plate 2: 'The Foreign Factories at Canton'. Courtesy of Martyn Gregory, Canton and the China Trade. An Exhibition of Early Pictures Relating to the Far East. Cat. 43 (London: Martyn Gregory Gallery, 1986), Fig. 14, p. 11.

There does indeed seem to have been a street between buildings Nos. 1 and 2, before 1822. However, it was not a shopping street open to foreigners, and it did not yet take on the name 'New China Street'. It seems to have been an entrance or service alley for the Chinese houses and factories in this area. We have several descriptions of Canton written by foreigners from 1760 to 1822, and they attest to there being two

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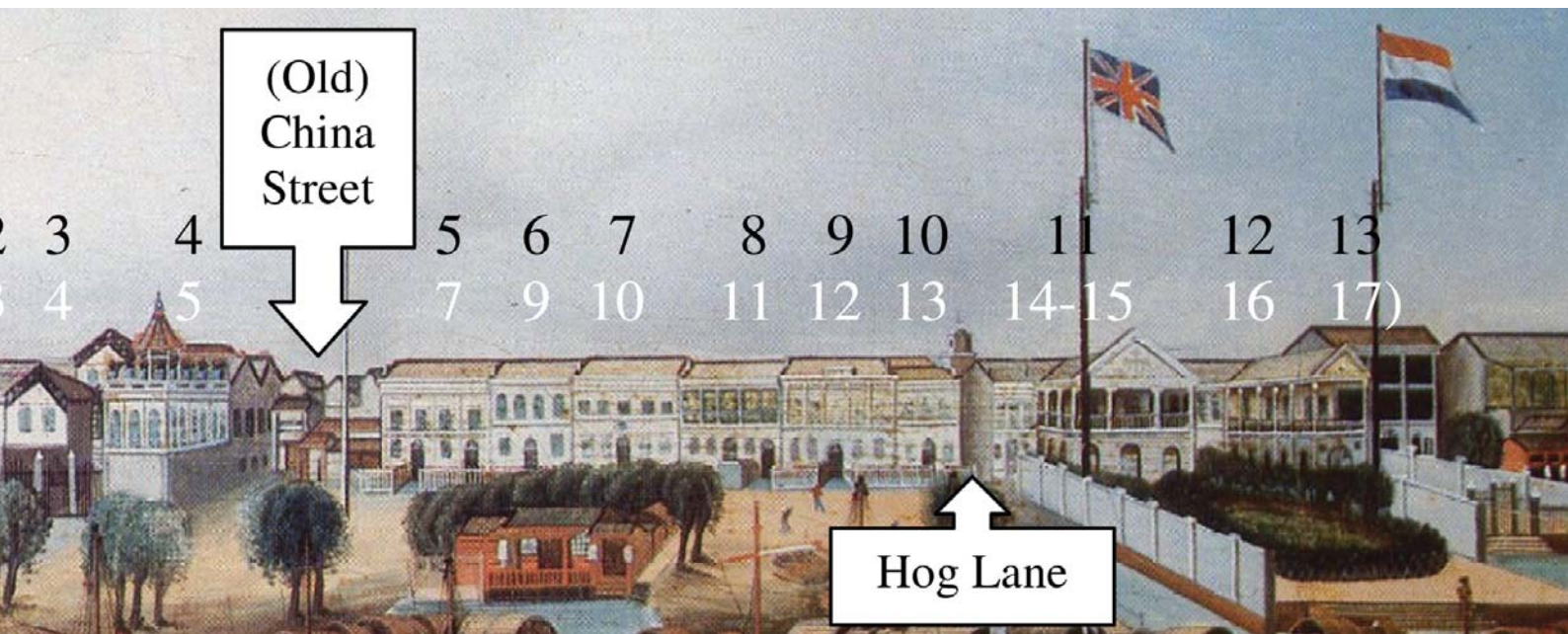
shopping streets open to foreigners at this time (China Street and Hog Lane). I provide some examples below.

On 27 August 1786, the private trader John Pope wrote:

The European Factories cut a very handsome appearance when compared to the Chinese houses, which are mean in the extreme. The English and Dutch are superb buildings—have a beautiful long Veranda in front and are well furnished inside. Those of the private merchants are good houses but very confined being one at the back of the other for

six or eight on. The whole front of the European Factories scarcely occupy a thousand yards. We have just taken a walk round them—vulgo—up China Street and down Hoglam [Hog Lane] two streets that bound the Factory on each side. This is generally a morning walk. China Street, the only one that deserves the name of a street, is about 30 feet broad and a quarter mile long, inhabited totally by shopkeepers who deal wholly with Europeans, chiefly silk merchants, china shops, fan makers, lacquer ware and printers and such like.

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I have bought for you some paintings on paper, one set containing 113 paintings exhibiting all the different trades in China.¹⁴

In December 1804, the seaman James Johnson recorded several incidents and skirmishes between foreign seamen and Chinese in Hog Lane that he had witnessed. In order to get even with their Chinese oppressors, several of the seaman joined together 'to make a "sortie" *up Hog-lane, and down China-street.*' He mentioned that this was a 'route whose topography is well known to most sailors who visit Canton'. But their progress was 'checked by securing the gates leading into China-street, and forcing them to return by Hog-lane'. There is no mention of a third street open to foreigners, only these two.¹⁵ But obviously in order to go up China Street and return via Hog Lane, there needed to be a connecting street, which was Thirteen Hong Street. Morrison called this connecting street 'Old China-street' (see below).

In reference to the year around 1810, Milburn wrote:

The streets in the suburbs are in general very narrow and confined, and paved. The principal one is denominated China-street; it contains nothing but shops, in which are to be met with the productions of every part of the globe, and the merchants are in general extremely civil and attentive.¹⁶

... all business transacted by Europeans by others than this association, or Cong-Hong, became contrary to law, except with licensed shopkeepers in one single street, which was separated by a gate from the rest of Canton, only open to the wharf on the banks of the river where the European factories are situated.¹⁷

George Wilkinson was in Canton in 1811 and recorded the following about the shopping area.

1811, Dec 24: China-street may be called the Bond-street of Canton. The shops, in their way, appear to be much handsomer, and better assorted than any others in that part of the city in the neighbourhood of the Factories, and the street itself nearly three times the width of their common streets, which in general will scarcely admit of two persons to walk comfortably abreast, without encountering a continued jostling, and the certain danger of having their pockets picked. This street, then, is plentifully stored with all those articles of luxury and curiosity most likely

to attract the eyes of European visitors, who make it a kind of daily lounge, to gratify their desires with what the Chinamen spread out to amuse their fancies, and to lighten their purses.¹⁸

Wilkinson's description of the Chinese shops, craftsmen and artists continues for several pages, and there is no mention of a street east of the Danish factory.

The American seaman and merchant, Charles Tyng, arrived in Canton in January 1816. In later life he wrote a journal of his experiences at sea and recorded the following about his visit to China.

From the common [Canton quay] were two streets, or lanes, running back about half of a mile, on which foreigners were allowed to walk. No one was allowed to enter the gates of the city, and there never was a foreigner inside of the city, until years afterwards when in the war with the English, the city was taken. At the end of these two walks, there were Chinamen stationed, armed with bamboo clubs to stop further progress, and drive us back. These streets or lanes were called China Street and Hog Lane. The first was about 12 feet wide, with stores on each side. Hog Lane was about 10 feet wide, also shops, not so fine as on China St. There were more eating places, and small traders there. The principal resort of sailors was at Jemmy Young Tom's. He spoke pretty good English and we used to go to his place, and get what we wanted to eat and drink. He was a middle aged Chinaman, and was always very good to me.

The shops in China Street were large, and almost everything the country produces was to be found for sale there. The stores were apparently all open on the street, so that one could see in, what was for sale. There was always one standing at the door beckoning us to come in and buy. The first thing in the trade was a 'kumshaw,' that is a gift, a silk handkerchief, or something of the kind, and if you accepted the gift and did not buy anything, and went on to another store, you would not receive a 'kumshaw', as notice would be given that you already had one....

In the stores in China St. there were all kinds of silks, china sets, carved ivory and tortoise shell work, and great variety of ornamental boxes, & a variety of nic nacs made from rice, and bamboo. In fact, there was everything that one had never

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FIGURE 1: 'THE EUROPEAN FACTORIES BEFORE 1823' (FROM WEST TO EAST).

1.	16 th . 黄旗行 Wong-he Hong, 'The yellow flag factory' – the Danish factory.	Thirteen Hong Street 十三行街, Old China Street
2.	15 th . 同孚行 Tung-foo Hong, 'The factory of mutual trust' – occupied by a Hong merchant.	
3.	14 th . 吕宋行 Luy-sung Hong, 'The Luzon factory,' i.e. the Spanish factory.	
4.	13 th . 旧公行 Kaw-kung Hong, 'The old public hong' – the French factory.	
5.	12 th . 东生行 Tung-sang Hong, 'The factory produced in the east' – occupied by a Hong merchant.	
6.	11 th . 燕子巢 Een-tze Chaou, 'The swallow's nest' – the corner factory.	
	Here a street, containing shops, where Europeans make their various small purchases, intervenes, called 'China street': sometimes New China-street, in contradistinction from a street that runs at right angles to this one, and which is called 'Old China-street'. The Chinese call it 新街 Sun-kae, 'New street', and 靖远街 Tsing Yune kae.	
7.	10 th . 广源行 Kwong-yune Hong, 'The factory of wide fountains' – the American factory.	
8.	9 th . 万源行 Man-yune Hong, 'The factory of ten thousand fountains'.	
9.	8 th . 宝顺行 Pow-shun Hong, 'The precious prosperous factory'.	
10.	7 th . 孖鹰行 Ma-ying Hong, 'The twin eagle factory' – the Imperial factory.	
11.	6 th . 瑞行 Suy Hong, 'The Swedish factory': for Swede, the Canton people say, 'Suy'.	
12.	5 th . 隆顺行 Lung-shun Hong, 'The gloriously prosperous factory' – the old English factory.	
13.	4 th . 丰泰行 Fung-taie Hong, 'Affluent great factory', called the 'Chow-chow' factory, intimating, that it is occupied by a variety of persons – Parees, Moormen, &c.	
	Next to this factory [Pow-wo Hong] there is a narrow lane, with small ships on one side, where seamen procure clothes, spirits, &c. called, by Europeans, 'Hog-lane'; by the Chinese, 荳栏街 Tow-lan-kae.	
14-15.	3 rd . 保和行 Pow-wo Hong, 'The factory that ensures tranquility' – the English factory.	
16.	2 nd . 集义行 Tseep-ee-Hong, 'Assembled righteousnesses factory' – the Dutch factory.	
17.	1 st . 义和行 E-wo Hong, 'Righteousness and peace factory', commonly called the Creek factory.	
•	Mandarin House, 行后关口 Hong-how-kwan-how.	

Source: Robert Morrison, *Notices Concerning China, and the Port of Canton* (Malacca: Mission Press, 1823), pp. 15-16.

seen before. It was like a museum, and I used to go into the shops and store rooms, and instead of giving them offense, they seemed more pleased than I was myself, and would take things down to show me, and sometimes would give me something of not much value.¹⁹

As mentioned above, there are numerous references in the French, Dutch, Swedish, American and Danish China trade records to a 'New Street' or 'Porcelain Street' all of which are references to the shopping street that later became known as 'China Street'.²⁰ I have

found no references to a third parallel street in those records, nor in the British company's records.²¹

Morrison and Davis both wrote glossaries of the trade, and listed all of the streets, factories, and merchants, with Romanised names and their Chinese characters. Morrison's vocabulary was published in 1823, and Davis's in 1824.²² But both of these lists are referring to the layout of the factories before the fire of 1822. These were the first detailed descriptions of the foreign factories and streets giving both Romanised and Chinese names. Figure 1 shows Morrison's layout

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FIGURE 2: 'NAMES OF THE FACTORIES OR HONGS' BEFORE 1823 (FROM WEST TO EAST).

•	Mowqua's Hong, 广利行 Kwang-le-hang.	Thirteen Hong Street 十三行街, Old China Street
•	The one formerly Gnewqua's, 会隆行 Hwuy-lung-hang.	
1.	Danish Factory, 黄旗行 Hwang-ke-hang.	
2.	Ponkequa's, 同孚行 Tung-foo-hang.	
3.	Spanish, 吕宋行 Leu-sung-hang.	
4.	French, 旧公行 Kew-kung-hang.	
5.	Chunqua's, 东生行 Tung-sang-hang.	
6.	Corner Factory, 燕子巢 Yen-tsze-chaou.	
	China Street 新街 Sin-keae, or 清远街 Tsing-yuen-keae.	
7.	American Factory, 广源行 Kwang-yuen-hang.	
8.	Fatqua's Hong, 万源行 Wan-yuen-hang.	
9.	The next, 宝顺行 Paou-shun-hang.	
10.	Imperial Factory, 双鹰行 Shwang-ying-hang.	
11.	Swedish, 修和行 Sew-ho-hang.	
12.	Old English, 隆顺行 Lung-shun-hang.	
13.	Persee Factory, 丰泰行 Fung-tae-hang.	
	Hog-Lane, 荳栏街 Tow-lan-keae.	
14-15.	English Factory, 保和行 Paou-ho-hang.	
16.	Dutch, 集义行 Tsëe-e-hang.	
17.	Creek Factory, 义和行 E-ho-hang.	
•	Mandarin House, 行后关口 hang-how-kwan-kow.	

Source: J.F. Davis, *A Commercial Vocabulary* (Macao: Honorable Company's Press, 1824), pp. 25-26.

of the factories. The entries were copied directly from his list.

Morrison numbered the factories from east to west. I have reversed the order and have started from west to east. Davis numbered them from west to east, as I have done. Davis and Morrison only showed sixteen factories, but there were in fact seventeen buildings on the quay. Nos. 14 and 15 were merged together in 1815, and then there were sixteen. I have kept the numbers up to seventeen in order to

correspond with another study recently done on the *Dating of the Canton Factories*.²³

Morrison stated that the term 'New China-street' was just another name for 'China-street'. As is mentioned above, foreigners often referred to this avenue as New Street, because it was created in 1760. Apparently there was another street 'that runs at right angles to this one', which connected China Street with Hog Lane.²⁴ According to Morrison, it was called 'Old China-street'. This street would have been another

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name for Thirteen Hong Street (十三行街 Shap-sam Hong Kae). It ran at right angles to China Street and Hog Lane at the back (north end) of the factories.²⁵

Figure 2 shows Davis's plan of the factories as they appear in his *Vocabulary*. I have inserted my building numbers for clarification. And I have added the Old China Street (Thirteen Hong Street), as Morrison described it, which Davis did not mention.

Davis's *Vocabulary* was published at the 'Honorable Company's Press' in Macao in 1824. He

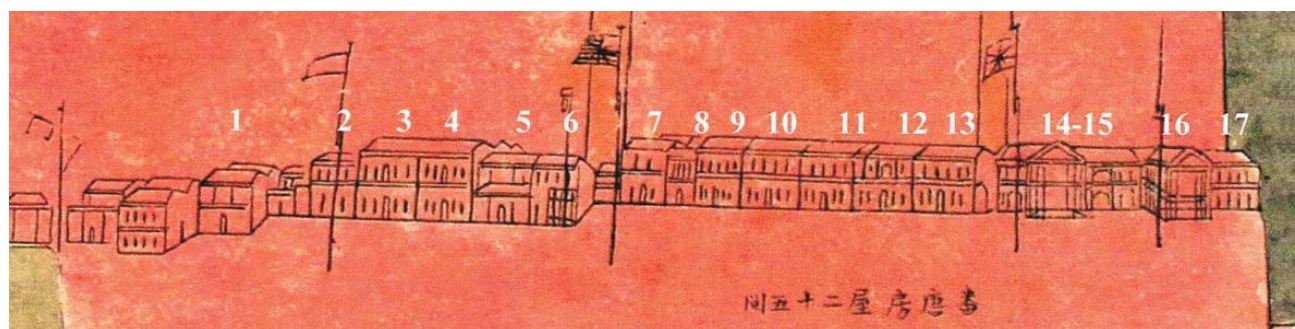
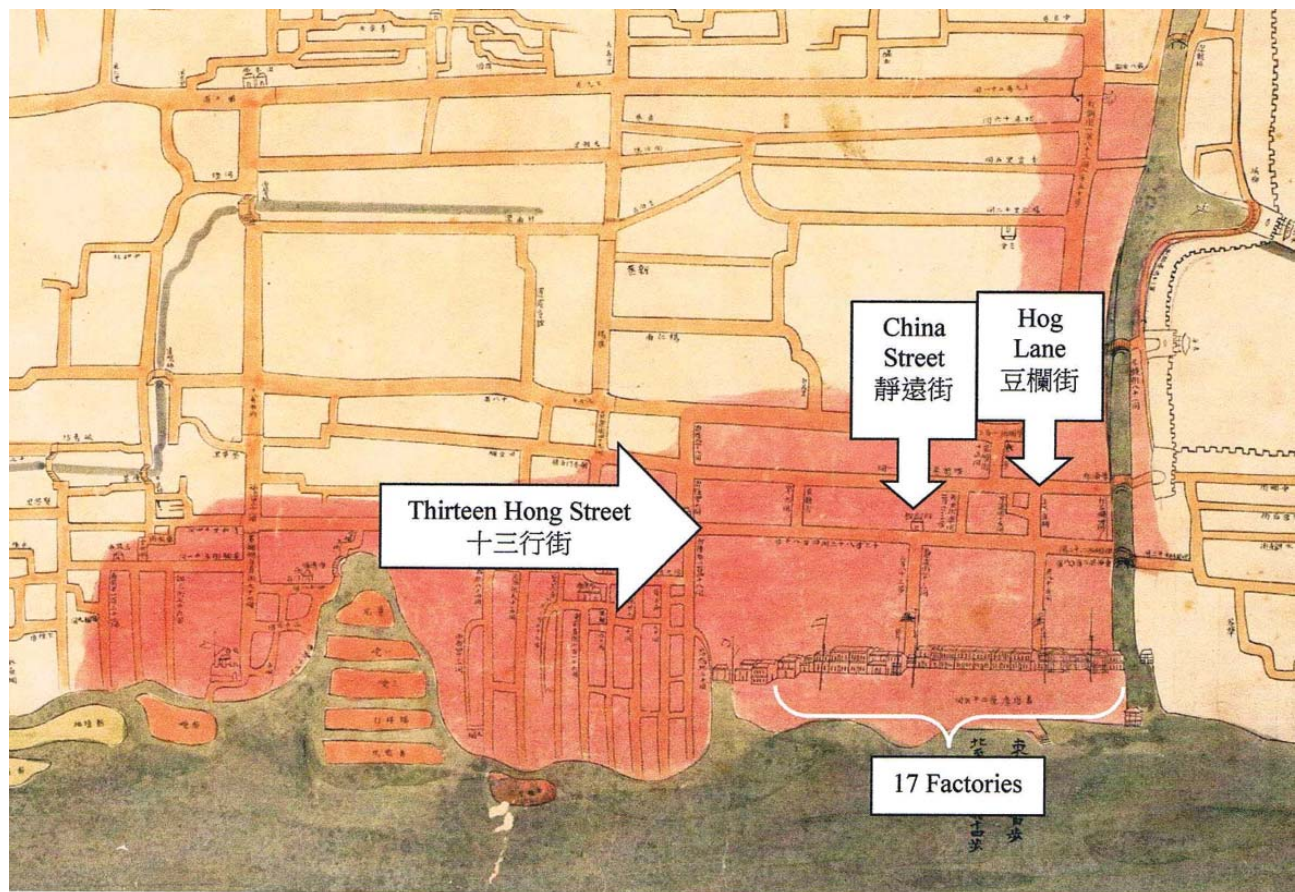
acknowledged in the front of his book that he had gotten 'a considerable portion' of his information from Morrison, but then reorganised the data into a more comprehensive list.²⁶ As mentioned above, both Morrison and Davis's lists of the factories are from before the fire of 1822. We know this because after 1822 there were only thirteen factories, not sixteen (as shown in Plate 3).

Plate 4: Detail of a 'Map of Canton showing the extent of the fire in 1822'.

Courtesy of British Library (Image No. D40079-62, Shelf Mark Add MS 16358 A).

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Davis updated the information he got from Morrison. He added Mowqua and Gnewqua's (Newqua) buildings into the factory list; he listed the owners of buildings Nos. 2, 5 and 8 which Morrison had shown generically as 'Hong merchant's' factories; and he omitted Morrison's description of New and Old China Streets. Thus, we can perhaps consider Davis's factory list as being the most complete up to the time of the fire.

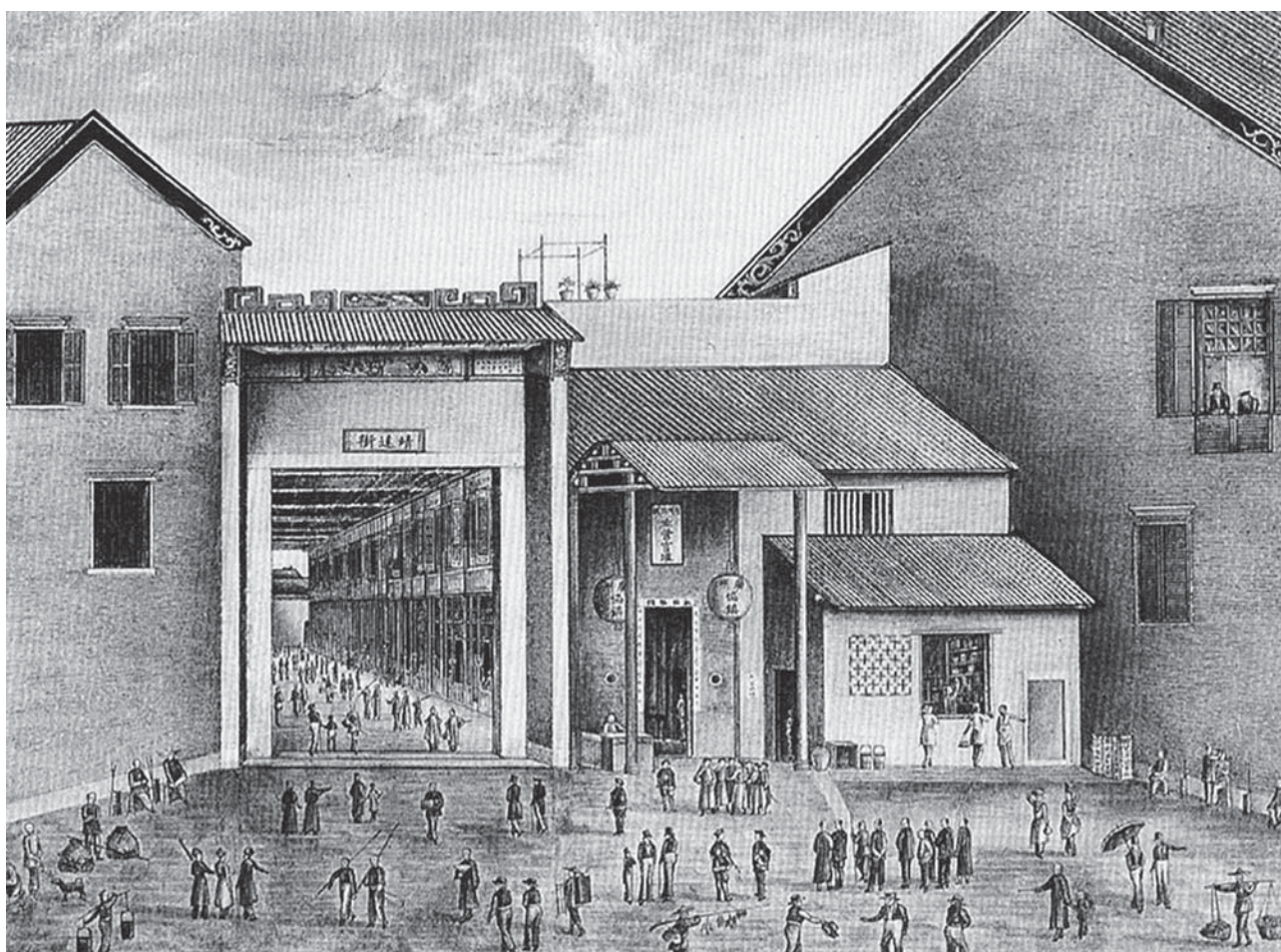
The factories as laid out in Davis's book match perfectly with Morrison's description, except that Davis did not mention 'Old China-street'. Note that Davis also showed China Street as New Street ('新街 Sin-keae') or Tsing-yuen-keae 清远街 (Qingyuan Jie). Chinese records show this street usually being called Tsing Yune kae 靖远街 (Jingyuan Jie), as Morrison showed it (and as appears in Plate 8).²⁷ The Chinese map in Plate 4, however, shows the street to be Jingyuan Jie 静远街. Chinese often used different names for

things at this time, and different characters with similar pronunciations, for their personal and business names so all of these names could be correct.²⁸

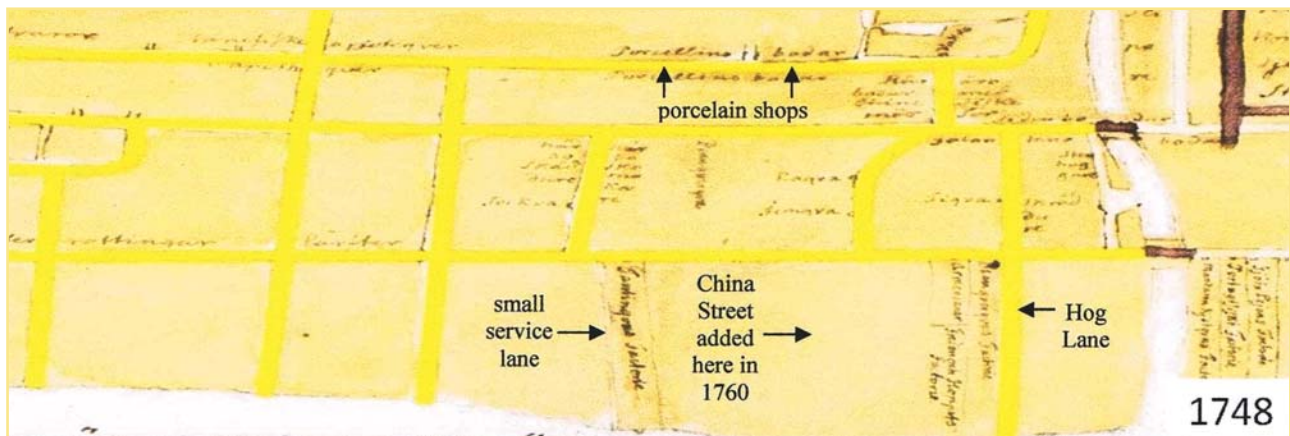
In both Morrison and Davis's lists, there is no mention of a street between buildings Nos. 1 and 2. They did not mention it because, at the time they wrote their vocabularies, it was not a place where people went to buy things. But there is one reference that still needs clarification, because it shows merchants located on both New China Street and Old China Street before 1822.

In the Waln Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, there is a list from 1819 showing many of the small merchants. Some of these men were located on 'New China Street', others on 'Old China Street', and

Plate 8: 'The entrance to Old China Street'. Ca. 1839. Courtesy of Martyn Gregory, *Trade Routes to the East. Historical Pictures by Chinese and Western Artists 1780-1950*. Cat. 72 (London: Martyn Gregory Gallery, 1998), Fig. 92(a), p. 58.



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still others on 'Bridge Street'.²⁹ According to Morrison, Old China Street would have been the Thirteen Hong Street. It is unclear which street Bridge Street might refer to. Conner has suggested that this street might also be Thirteen Hong Street, but it is unclear.³⁰ There were at least four different bridges in the vicinity, with streets leading to them. Hog Lane also ended near a bridge so it is difficult to know which avenue 'Bridge Street' might refer to.

In addition to foreign sources, I have searched many Chinese records looking for information about the streets in Canton. The new electronic databases *Zhongguo fang zhi ku* 中国方志库, *Ming Qing shi lu* 明清实录, and *Zhongguo lei shu ku* 中国类书库 now provide very useful means of searching the records, without having to page through every one. I received several hits for Shisanhang 十三行, Tsing Yune kae 靖远街, Tow-lan Kae 豆栏街, and Tongwen Jie 同文街, but nothing of much use. Most of the references are from after the opium wars, and especially the Xuanton 宣统 era (c. 1909-1911). There was one hit, however, from the second year of Daoguang (ca. 1822). It reads as follows: Guangzhou xie Shisanhang Xin Jie 《广州协十三行新街》.³¹ This reference does not specify where this Xin Jie 新街 (New Street) was located except that it was in the Shisan hang 十三行 (Thirteen Hong) area. Fortunately, there is a Chinese map that has survived that helps to clarify this.

Plate 4 is a detail of a Chinese map showing the extent of the fire on 1-2 November 1822 (the shaded area). Note that there are only two streets in the factory area that run north and south, China Street and Hog Lane. Thirteen Hong Street runs east and west and lies to the back of the factories.

Plate 5: Detail of 'Plan af Trenne närmast til Rivieret belägne Gator uti Cantons Förstad' showing streets (highlighted in yellow) that are common with the 1822 map in Plate 6. (Dalman, dagböcker, 1748-9).

Courtesy of Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien Biblioteket, Stockholm.

If we compare Plate 4 with the Swedish map from 1748, we can see clearly the addition of China Street that was made in 1760. Plate 5 is an enlarged detail of the map in Plate 1, and Plate 6 is a detail of the map in Plate 4. On these enlarged details, I have highlighted in yellow the streets that are common on both the 1748 and 1822 maps. Because these two maps were drawn at different scales, I have stretched them a bit so that they correspond with each other, and make it easier to identify the common streets.

Each of the city plans shows additional streets that the other does not have, which probably reflects changes that took place over time. In Plate 6 the quay has been much extended towards the south. In 1748, the factories were sitting on piles, with no quay underneath. The foreigners entered the buildings directly from their boats, which, at that time, were anchored right outside their factory doors.³²

Plate 5 shows a small service lane to the east of Tantinqua's factory, which does not appear in later references. Unfortunately, there were several different merchants with the name Tantinqua so it is difficult to know which person this might refer to. But the location of the factory would roughly correspond with building No. 2 in Plate 2. The entrance to this small service lane was between buildings Nos. 1 and 2.

In summary, here is what the references above tell us about the streets in the factory area. From 1760 to 1822, there were only two shopping streets on the quay that ran north and south, and they were as follows.

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1. China Street: Located between buildings Nos. 6 and 7 in Plate 2, with various names as follows:
 - a. Foreigners called it New Street, 新街 Sun Kae (Xin Jie), New China Street, China Street or Porcelain Street
 - b. Chinese called it Sun Kae (Xin Jie) 新街, Tsing yune Kae (Qingyuan Jie) 靖远街, (Jingyuan Jie) 静远街 or Tsing-yuen-keae (Qingyuan Jie) 清远街).
2. Hog Lane: Located between buildings Nos. 13 and 14 in Plate 2:
 - a. Foreigners called it Hog Lane, Hoglam, Rue du hog, or something similar
 - b. Chinese called it Tow-lan Kae (Doulan Jie) 荳栏街.

Thirteen Hong Street ran east and west and it also had shops on it before 1823. According to Morrison, foreigners sometimes called this avenue Old China Street. It ran at right angles behind the factories and connected China Street to Hog Lane.

After the fire, there was much concern in the foreign community—especially the British to make changes to the factory area for better protection against fires. The British wanted the Chinese and foreign residents separated. The *Hong* merchants were asked to come up with a plan for the rebuilding. Their response was as follows:

It affords us much satisfaction to perceive by the following Edict from the Viceroy, that the report of the merchants relative to Chinese buildings adjoin our factory has been favorably received and an order contained in it to the owners of property so situated to make it over to the merchants at a reasonable price.

Purport of the Hong Merchants petition to Government concerning Hog Lane &ca, drawn up under the direction of Chunqua and communicated by him Nov. 21 1822.

The 10 Hong Merchants in obedience to the Governor's orders given in his answer to the English, have examined and hereby report their opinion. The Merchants then quote at length the governors reply to the committee's letter of Nov. 5th and add.

We prostrate have examined, and have to state that the foreign factories in front are on the Banks

of Chooahae or the Pearl Sea, (name of the river) and behind they join the street called Shih San Hang [Thirteen Hong], where the native shops are connected with them like dogs teeth, which makes them very liable to injury.

On deliberation we have come to this resolution, that hereafter when rebuilt a vacant space should be left behind the foreign factories, so as to disconnect them entirely with the shops of Shih Shan Hang Street [Thirteen Hong Street].

The street Tow Lan (Hog Lane) is at a Landing place for ferry Boats which cross the river, on the east side is the foreign factory rented by the English Company and on the west side is a factory rented by Indian Merchants, the distance between the two factories is about 10 cubits. On the east side there have not been any shops. On the west side, there were narrow small shops built up against the foreign factories and on the top of these shops were 'frame lofts', wood for fuel, cooking places, &ca all above the tiled roof, and extremely fitted to catch fire. The buying and selling of these shops consisted in petty things, in unlicensed selling of spirits, by which the dealers seduced the foreign sailors and excited disturbances, all of which was contrary to law. Besides, this street was too narrow and distressing to the passengers coming and going by whom it was crowded and blocked up. Since their shops have now been burnt down and the ground alone remains, we Hong Merchants who own some of it, are willing to contribute it to government to become a government highway, as to the rest of the ground we are willing to contribute our property to purchase it at the price which the deeds may shew was given for it, that it may be turned into a street, by which passengers will be accommodated and the danger of fire prevented.

From those owners of ground who are willing to sell, we can ourselves buy, but should any be singular and refuse to sell, we beg that the local magistrates may be directed to buy of them, and we entreat your Excellency graciously to grant, that a proclamation may be issued on the subject, by which the owners of the ground may have all their suspicions removed, and not still stand gazing about. This will indeed be consistent with virtue and expedience.

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With respect to the Street called Tsing yuen (China Street) there were several scores of shops which dealt in foreign commodities; On the west side they were built against the American Factory, the walls of which were perforated by the shopmen to make cupboards or shelves, on each side above the shops were built lofts and cooking places and fuel was heaped up above the tiles, which made them very dangerous, hereafter when rebuilt we beg that government will limit the height to which they may be built and disallow 'frame lofts', cooking places being made, and fuel being laid upon the roof above the tiles.

And it is absolutely necessary, both on the East and the West sides, that there should be a space left about a cubit wide, and each builder be compelled to rear their own wall and not build against the foreign factories, nor the merchants Hong, nor excavate the walls for cupboards or shelves, in this way the calamity of extensive fires may be prevented; nor will it be injurious to the shopmen. These are the simple opinions of us merchants and whether right or not we submit to your Excellency's decision.

Nov. 21

1822

may belong to them, and by purchasing the rest of the ground of the owners, on such terms as the deeds may shew to be proper, is what may be done, but the said merchants must advance their own property to give what shall appear a fair price, on the government sealed deeds of the ground being produced. After which, the Heen Magistrate will be directed to publish a proclamation to all concerned. As to places where the shops were built close against walls, which the natives before excavated to place shelves in, and where on the tops of the lofts, cooking places were established which easily communicated fire, that the Heen magistrate be directed to issue an official order interdicting such practices is what may be done.³³

In the weeks that followed the *Hong* merchants' report and the governor's response, the residents of Hog Lane joined together in protest against being forced to sell their properties at prices that they claimed were less than market value. Protests were launched with several more responses from officials, all of which the British had translated and recorded in their factory records. In the entries above, there are only three streets mentioned, Thirteen Factory Street, China Street, and Hog Lane. There is no reference to a New China Street or Tongwen

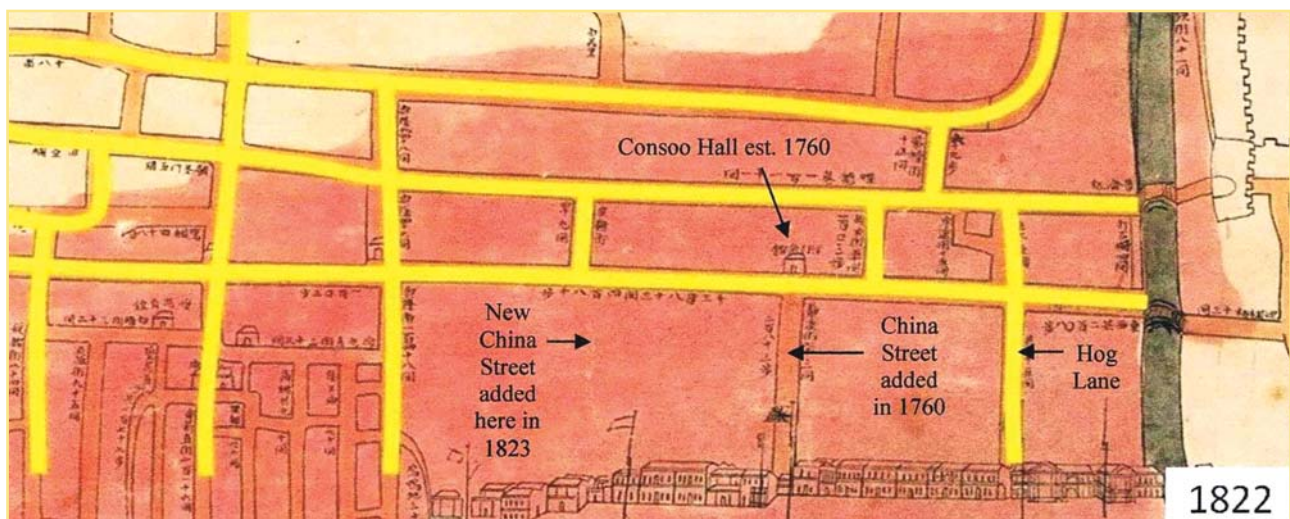
The Governor replied to the *Hong* Merchants request, as follows:

The Leaving a vacant space behind the foreign factories, by the Hong Merchants giving up what

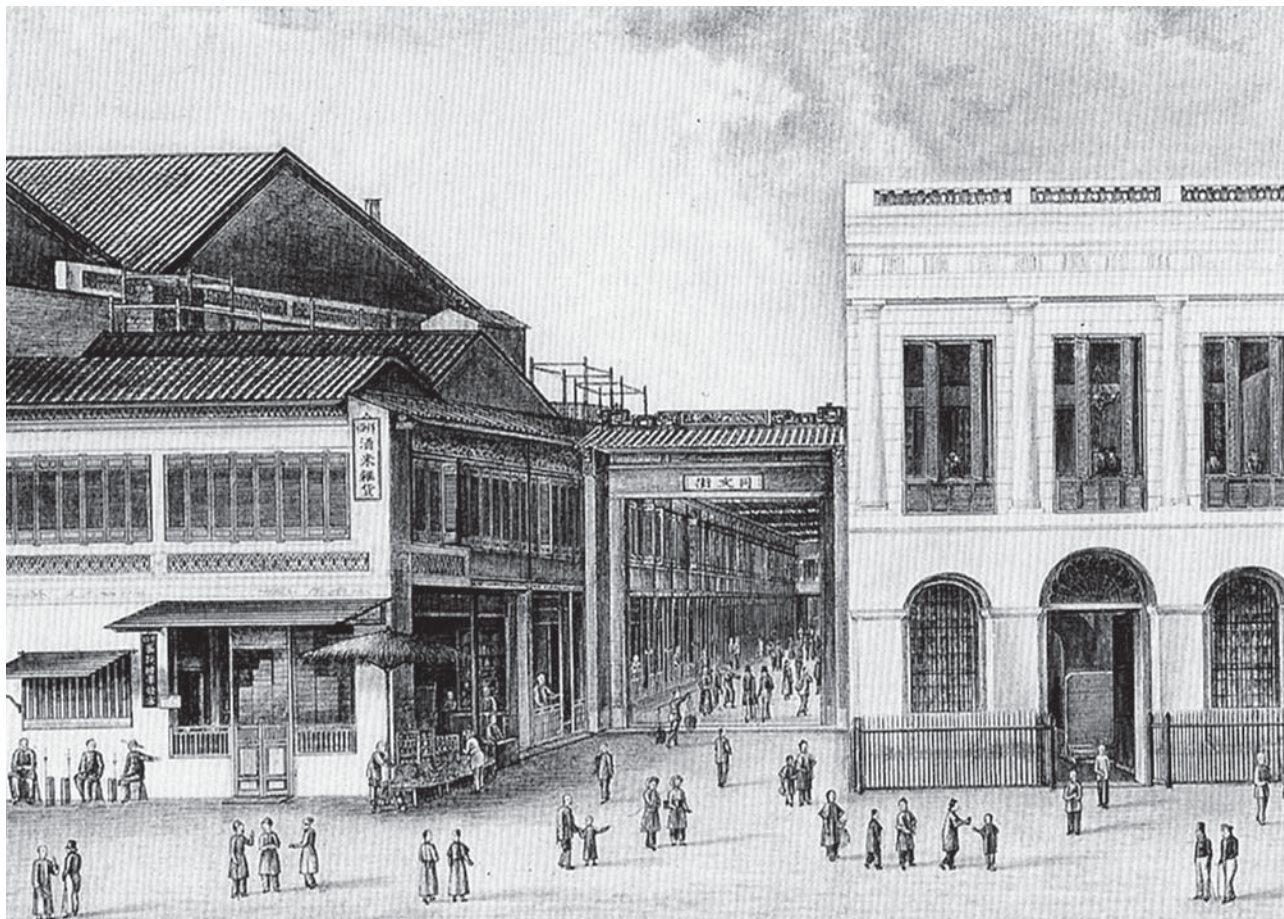
Plate 6: Detail of a 'Map of Canton showing the extent of the fire in 1822' showing streets (highlighted in yellow) that are common with the 1748 map in Plate 5. Courtesy of British Library (Image No. D40079-62, Shelf Mark Add MS 16358 A).

WEST

EAST



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Jie lying to the east of the Danish factory, because there was no such street before the fire of 1822.

The British did not record how the controversy with the Hog Lane shopkeepers ended. But what is clear from the many entries in the EIC records is that merchants and officials wanted the streets to be widened. And they wanted the Thirteen Hong Street to remain empty to provide a fire break at the back of the factories.

In the end, the new plan of the factories consisted of thirteen main buildings, three shopping streets, and Thirteen Hong Street at the rear. Poankeequa III gave up his factory (building No. 2 in Plate 2) in order to construct a new street on this spot. The fact that the street was named after his family (Tongwen 同文) suggests that he may have donated the land for its construction. In fact, one source stated that he owned the street.³⁴

In 1830, Wood referred to the street east of the Danish factory as 'the Chinese street named after the

Plate 9: 'The entrance to New China Street'. Ca. 1839.
Courtesy of Martyn Gregory, *Trade Routes to the East*.
Historical Pictures by Chinese and Western Artists 1780-1950. Cat. 72
(London: Martyn Gregory Gallery, 1998), Fig. 92(b), p. 58.

merchant *Pon-kei-qua*'.³⁵ In 1832, Morrison called the street east of the Danish factory Old China Street. But in 1833, Ljungstedt called it New China Street.³⁶ If the merchants from the Thirteen Hong Street were moved here, then there was some justification for Morrison referring to it as Old China Street. By the mid-1830s, however, Ruschenberger mentioned that the street which ran behind the factories (Thirteen Hong Street) was 'filled by various small shops'.³⁷ Thus, if the shops there were moved to the new location in 1823, then it became occupied by shopkeepers again later. Over time, foreigners began calling this avenue east of the Danish factory New China Street, as Ljungstedt showed it. Plate 9 shows what it looked like in the 1830s. China Street then gradually took on the name Old China Street, and Plate 8 shows what it looked like after the fire.

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Figure 3 shows the new layout of the factories after the rebuilding.

This was the layout of the factories from 1823 to 1843. I have inserted the old building numbers in parenthesis to show how they compare with the previous plan. Factories Nos. 2, 6 and 8 were not rebuilt, which reduced the total number to thirteen. The removal of No. 2 made space for New China Street; the removal of No. 6 enabled China Street to be widened; and No. 8, which was a very narrow building before 1822, enabled the American factory to expand.³⁸ The character 新 (new) was added to the Chinese name for Hog Lane, San-Tow-lan-keae 新荳栏街.³⁹ China Street was still known as Tsing-yuen-keae 靖远街.⁴⁰

Plate 2 indicates with a red X the buildings that were eliminated after the fire. Plates 3 and 7 show the new layout of the factories.

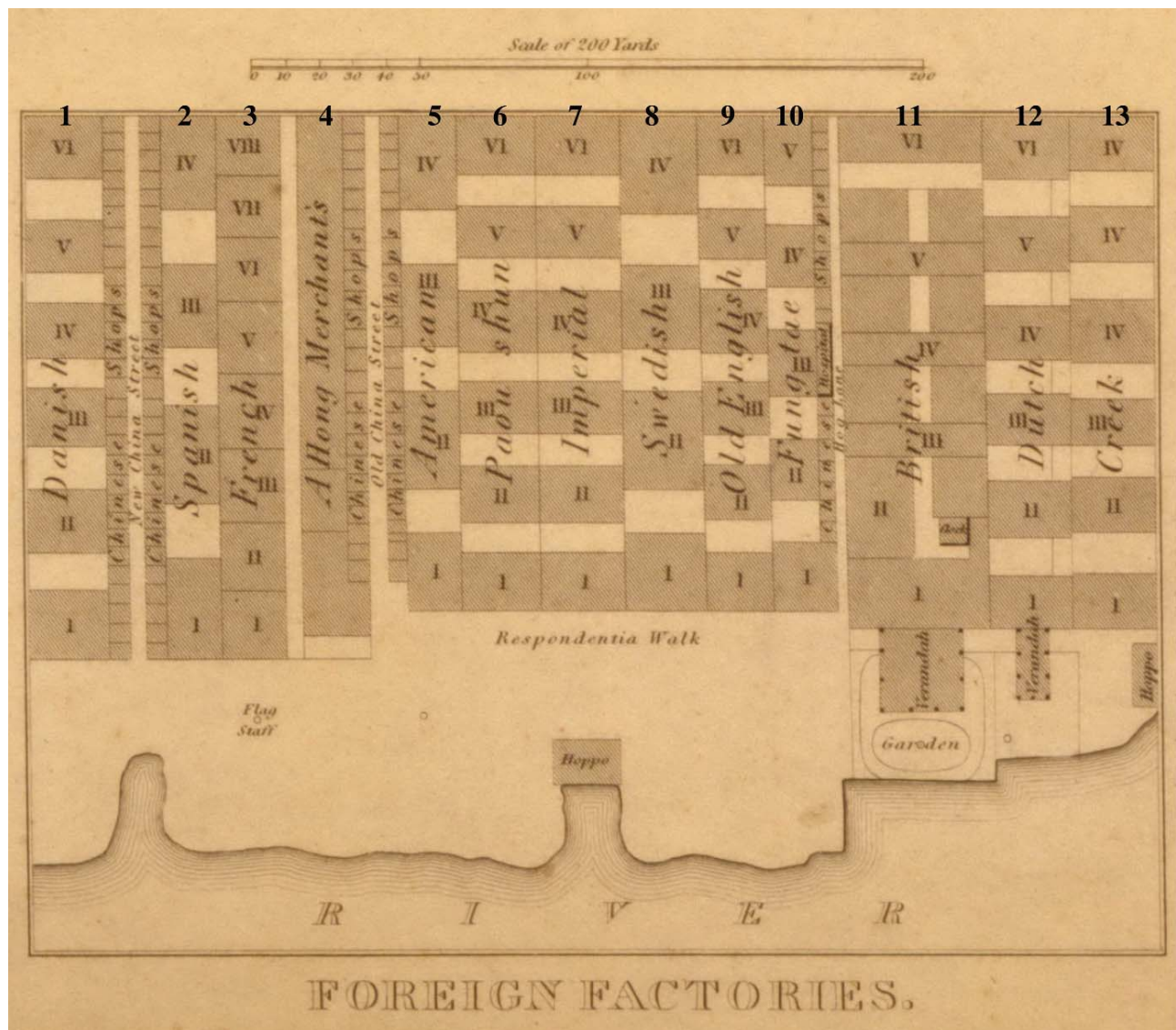
After the rebuilding, foreigners no longer referred to Thirteen Hong Street as Old China Street. According to Morrison, the Tung-wan kái 同文街 was called Old China Street for a while. Most references, however, usually referred to it as New China Street.⁴¹ These name changes are very confusing. But considering how they came about, there is some logic behind it. China Street later took on the name Old China Street. The name Hog Lane did not change. The Danish factory took on a new name, Tehing kái 德兴行 (Dexing Hang). And Mingqua took over Chunqua's *hong* (No. 6 in Plate 2).

FIGURE 3: PLAN OF THE FACTORIES 1823-1843 (FROM WEST TO EAST).

1.	(1) Danish Factory, 德興行 Tehing kái. New (Old) China Street, or Tung-wan kái 同文街 (Wood said it was named after Ponkeiqua).	Thirteen Hong Street 十三行街
2.	(3) Spanish, 呂宋行 Leu-sung-hang.	
3.	(4) French, 舊公行 Kew-kung-hang.	
4.	(5) Mingkwa's hong, or Chung-ho hong 中和行 (formerly Chunqua's hong). China Street, or Tsing-yuen-keae (新)靖遠街.	
5.	(7) American Factory, 廣源行 Kwang-yuen-hang. (Wood called it Man-yune hong).	
6.	(9) The next, 寶順行 Paou-shun-hang. China Street 新街 Sin-keae, or 靖遠街 Tsing-yuen-keae.	
7.	(10) Imperial Factory, 雙鷹行 Shwang-ying-hang.	
8.	(11) Swedish, 修和行 Sew-ho-hang.	
9.	(12) Old English, 隆順行 Lung-shun-hang.	
10.	(13) Persee Factory, 豐泰行 Fung-tae-hang. Hog-Lane, 新荳欄街 San-Tow-lan-keae.	
11.	(14-15) English Factory, 保和行 Paou-ho-hang.	
12.	(16) Dutch, 集義行 Tsëe-e-hang.	
13.	(17) Creek Factory, 義和行 E-ho-hang.	

Source: Wood mentioned that his description of the factories and streets was as they were in March 1829. W. W. Wood, *Sketches of China: with Illustrations from Original Drawings* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830), pp. 67-68. Morrison used this plan of the factories in 1832, which was later republished in the *Chinese Repository*, vol. 14 (1845), p. 347. The following authors called the street between the Danish and Spanish factory 'New China Street'. Anders Ljungstedt, *Chinese Repository*, vol. 2 (1833), p. 304; and W.S.W. Ruschenberger, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, during the Years 1835, 36, and 37*. 2 vols. (London: 1838), p. 394; and William Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton before Treaty Days 1825-1844* (London: 1882. Reprint, under the title *An American in Canton (1825-44)*. Hong Kong: Derwent Communications, Ltd., 1994), p. 13.

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WEST

EAST

Plate 7: 'Foreign Factories', by W. Bramston 1840. Courtesy of Hong Kong Museum of Art (AH1964.0115).

In 1836, the following description of Canton was published in *The Penny Cyclopædia*.

The European factories are called by the Chinese 'the thirteen *Hongs*,' the word *hong* being always used by them to denote a commercial establishment or warehouse; according to their custom, each factory is distinguished either by some appellation denoting wealth and prosperity, or by the name of its flag. Thus the Austrian factory was called the 'twin Eagle Hong,' a name which it retains to this day; the Danish, the 'yellow flag Hong;' the Company's [British], 'the Hong

that ensures tranquility;' the American, 'the Hong of extensive fountains;' and so on. To the east of all there is a narrow inlet from the river—a fœtid ditch, which serves to surround a portion of the city wall, as well as to drain the portion of the town. This is crossed with a single arch by a narrow street at the back of the factories [Thirteen Hong Street], that leads to the warehouses of the several Hong merchants, all of them communicating with the river by wooden stairs, from which the tea and other goods are shipped. The space occupied by the foreign factories is

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crossed by two well-known thoroughfares, one of them named China Street, and the other Hog Lane; **to which a third, called New China Street, has been lately added** [emphasis added]. The first is rather broader than the generality of Chinese streets, and contains the shops of the small dealers in carved and lackered ware, silks, and other articles in common demand by strangers. The alley called Hog Lane is more narrow and filthy than any thing of the kind in a European town.⁴²

This reference does not state exactly when New China Street was added to the quay. But we know from another reference that it was created shortly after the fire. Lelius, a passenger on the EIC ship *General Kyd*, arrived in China on September 22, 1825. During his two months stay, he visited the shopping streets in Canton, which included Hog Lane, Old China Street and New China Street.⁴³

CONCLUSION

Contrary to popular belief, there were only two shopping streets in the foreign quarter in Canton from 1760 to 1822. Hog Lane was already in existence by the early 18th century. It was located between buildings Nos. 13 and 14 in Plate 2. China Street was created in 1760 in order to better manage and control the small shopkeepers. All of the small shops in the western suburbs, who were trading with foreigners, were moved to China Street. It was located between building Nos. 6 and 7 in Plate 2. New China Street was created after the fire of 1822. Poankeequa III sacrificed his factory to make room for this new street. The street was then named after his family, Tongwen Jie. It was located between buildings Nos. 1 and 3 in Plate 2. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 Downing wrote in 1838 that 'Hog Lane' was a corruption of the name 'Hong Lane' but provides no references to where this information came from. Toogood C. Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China in 1836-7*. 3 vols. (London: 1838. Reprint, Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972), 2: pp. 211-212.
- 2 Stockholm: Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences (Kungliga Vetenskaps-akademiens Bibliotek, KVB): Ms. J.F. Dalman, 'Dagbok under resan från Gjötheborg til Canton 1748-1749'. A copy of this Swedish map is reproduced in Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), Plates 02.01 and 02.02.
- 3 Here are some references to a new street created in 1760 where small shops were relocated. National Archives, The Hague (NAH): VOC 4386, *dagregister*, 1760.08.23, p. 51, 1760.08.29, p. 59, 1760.10.04-5, p. 77. Both Morrison (1823) and Davis (1824) confirm that, up until their time, 'New Street' and 'China Street' were one and the same. Robert Morrison, *Notices Concerning China, and the Port of Canton. Also a Narrative of the Affair of the English Frigate Topaze, 1821-22. With Remarks on Homicides, and an Account of the Fire of Canton*. (Malacca: Mission Press, 1823), pp. 15-16; and J.F. Davis, *A Commercial Vocabulary, containing Chinese words and phrases peculiar to Canton and Macao, and to the Trade of those Places; together with titles and address of all the officers of government, Hong merchants, &c. &c.* (Macao: Honorable Company's Press, 1824), pp. 25-26.
- 4 Alexander Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*. 2 vols. (London: George Biggs, 1793), 2, p. 319.
- 5 The Dutch referred to this new street as 'nieuwe winkelstraat' [New Shopping Street], 'nieuwe straat' [New Street] or 'Porcelain Straat' [Porcelain Street]. NAH: VOC 4386, *dagregister*, 1760.08.23, p. 51, 1760.08.29, p. 59, 1760.10.04-5, pp. 76-77, Canton 92, 1786.02.06, pp. 3-4 and Canton 94, 1788.08.18, p. 20.
- 6 Patrick Conner, *The Hongs of Canton. Western Merchants in South China 1700-1900, as seen in Chinese Export Paintings* (London: English Art Books, 2009), p. 75 and note 3. Adams and numerous other authors have also testified to China Street (or 'China-row') taking on that name owing to it being a place to buy chinaware. Rev. John Adams, *The Flowers of Modern Travels*. 2 vols. (Boston: John H. Belcher, 1816), 1, pp. 136-137.
- 7 M. Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et a la Chine*. 2 vols. Paris: 1782, 2, p. 13.
- 8 In 1768, the Swedes mentioned that the silk and porcelain dealers were located in the 'nya gatan' [New Street]. Nordic Museum Archive, Godegårdsarkivet. Ostindiska Handling F17 (hereafter referred to as NM: F17): 1768.11.09, p. T1_00052. There are many references to 'New Street' or 'Porcelain Street' in the Dutch records, a few of which are as follows: NAH: VOC 4386, *dagregister*, 1760.08.23, p. 51, 1760.08.29, p. 59, 1760.10.04-5, pp. 76-77, Canton 92, 1786.02.06, pp. 3-4, Canton 94, 1788.08.18, p. 20; and Ghent University Library (GHL): Ms 1985, 1791.01.06. This latter reference is also a document from the Dutch East India Company, but now located in Ghent. The Dutch often referred to the main tollhouse on the quay, and the Mandarins stationed therein, as the 'porcelain street tollhouse' or 'porcelain street Mandarins', because it was located at the opening to China Street. For one example, see NAH: VOC 4447, 'Rijs Onkosten van Canton na Macao', 1792. In the 1780s, the Frenchman Charles de Constant also made reference to a 'rue de la porcelaine' [Porcelain Street]. Louis Dermigny, ed. *Les Mémoires de Charles de Constant sur le commerce a la Chine*, par Charles de Constant (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), p. 145. For a few American references to a 'China Street' in 1797, see Brown University, John Carter Brown Library (JCB): Brown Papers, Box 1131, Account Book of purchases made in China by John Bowers, Supercargo, 1797.

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- 9 For one example of Tongwen Jie 同文街 in the Chinese sources, see *Zhongguo fang zhi ku* 中国方志库: *Nan hai xian zhi* 南海县志, juan 3, 'Qing Xuantong er nian li ben' 清宣统二年利本, p. 464.
- 10 Zhang Wenqin 章文钦, *Guangdong shi san hang yu zao qi zhong xi guan xi* 广东十三行与早期中西关系 (Guangzhou: Guangdong jingji chubanshe, 2009), Plate 19.
- 11 Zhang has suggested that the Tongwen Jie may have already existed by 1777, and that the street may have been established in 1744. Zhang, *Guangdong shi san hang yu zao qi zhong xi guan xi*, p. 202. The factories were rebuilt in 1744 after the great fire in December 1743 so this would be a probable time for a new street to be introduced. But as shown above, the street was created in 1823. Some of the confusion about the Tongwen Hang comes from Hummel's *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* 1644-1912 (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print Off., 1943-1944; reprint, Taipei: Literature House, 1964), pp. 605-606. As far as we can prove from the records, however, the Tongwen Hang 同文行 was not established until sometime after 1760. For other references to the Tongwen Hang, see Ch'en Kuo-tung, 'Pan Youdu (Pan Qiguan II): yi wei chenggong de Yanghang shangren' 潘有度 (潘启官二世): 一位成功的洋行商人. In *Guangzhou shi san hang cangsang* 广州十三行沧桑 (The Thirteen Hong in Guangzhou), edited by Zhang Wenqin et al, Guangzhou: Guangdong Ditu chubanshe, 2001, pp. 150-193; Zhang Wenqin, 'Shi san hang hang shang zao qi shouling Pan Zhencheng' 十三行行商早期首领潘振承. In *Guangzhou shi san hang cangsang*, edited by Zhang Wenqin et al, pp. 145-149; and Huang Qichen 黄启臣 and Pang Xinping 庞新平, *Ming-Qing Guangdong shangren* 明清广东商人 (Guangdong Merchants in the Ming and Ching Dynasty) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Jingji chubanshe, 2001), pp. 259-269.
- 12 For the location and painting of the Tongfu Hang after the 1822 fire, see Patrick Conner, *The Hongs of Canton*, Plate 9.12.
- 13 A Chinese reference from 1777 mentions a new street that was created in the factory area, as follows: '关于行馆适中之处, 开辟新街一条, 以作范围'. The reference, however, is too ambiguous to know what street this might have been, or whether it is simply another reference to the new street that was created in 1760. Zhang Wenqin, *Guangdong shi san hang yu zao qi zhong xi guan xi*, p. 202.
- 14 Anne Bulley, *Free Mariner: John Adolphus Pope in the East Indies 1786-1821* (London: British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA), 1992), pp. 73-74.
- 15 James Johnson, *An Account of a Voyage to India, China, &c. in His Majesty's Ship Caroline, performed in the Years 1803-4-5, interspersed with Descriptive Sketches and Cursory Remarks*. London: J.G. Barnard, 1806, pp. 71-74.
- 16 William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 2 vols. (London: Black, Parry, & Co., 1813. Reprint, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1999), 2, p. 465.
- 17 Ibid., 2, p. 469.
- 18 George Wilkinson, *Sketches of Chinese Customs & Manners, in 1811-1* (Bath: J. Browne, 1814), p. 183.
- 19 Susan Fels, ed. *Before the Wind. The Memoir of an American Sea Captain, 1808-1833*, by Charles Tyng (New York: Viking Penguin, 1999), pp. 33-34.
- 20 See examples in these sources: NM: F17, 1768.11.09, p. T1_00052; NAH: VOC 4386, *dagregister*, 1760.08.23, p. 51, 1760.08.29, p. 59, 1760.10.04-5, pp. 76-77, Canton 92, 1786.02.06, pp. 3-4, Canton 94, 1788.08.18, p. 20; GHIL: Ms 1985, 1791.01.06; Dermigny, ed. *Les Mémoires de Charles de Constant sur le commerce a la Chine*, p. 145; and JCB: Brown Papers, Box 1131, Account Book of purchases made in China by John Bowers, Supercargo, 1797.
- 21 On 3 January 1817, Henry Ellis also visited 'China-street' to examine the merchandise for sale, and again, no mention of another street to the west. Henry Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy to China; comprising a correct narrative of the public transactions of the embassy, of the voyage to and from China, and of the journey from the mouth of the Pei-ho to the Return to Canton* (Philadelphia: A. Small, 1818; reprint, London: Edward Moxon, 1840), p. 409.
- 22 Robert Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*; J.F. Davis, *A Commercial Vocabulary*.
- 23 Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Mok, *Dating of the Canton Factories 1760-1822*, forthcoming.
- 24 Robert Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, pp. 15-16. In 1856, Mr. Seymour described Thirteen Hong Street as being 'at a right angle' to Hog Lane and by extension, to New and Old China Streets as well. *Further Papers Relative to the Proceedings of Her Majesty's Naval Forces at Canton* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1857), pp. 1-2.
- 25 Patrick Conner, *The Hongs of Canton*, p. 76; and Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (HSP): 687 Waln Family Papers, vol. 2, 'Book of Prices, Canton 1819'. In the early 1790s, Cossigny seems to also refer to a street at the back of the factories that was full of shops, which would be Thirteen Hong Street. 'Le quai où sont les factoreries des Européens est très-long; il est sur la rive gauche de la rivière. Ils y arborent tous le pavillon de leur nation.... Des bâtimens sont à côté les uns des autres; ils sont fort logs; ils n'ont qu'un étage et ils ont plusieurs cours. Ils forment, dans le derrière, une rue, où il y a une grande quantité de boutiques pourvues de marchandises de toute espèce: elle est fermée aux deux extrémités par des barrières que les Européens ne peuvent pas franchir.' [The quay where the European factories are is very long; It is on the left bank of the River. They all have the flag of their nation... They form, in the back, a street, where there is a large amount of shops with goods of any kind: it is closed at both ends by barriers that Europeans cannot cross.] Charpentier C. Cossigny, *Voyage a Canton, capitale de la Province de ce nom, a la Chine* (Paris: Chez André, 1799), pp. 76-77.
- 26 J.F. Davis, *A Commercial Vocabulary*, note at the beginning.
- 27 See for example, *Zhongguo fang zhi ku*: *Nan hai xian zhi*, juan 6, 'Qing Xuantong er nian li ben' 清宣统二年利本, pp. 665 and 744. On these two pages, the street is shown as: 靖远街.
- 28 For examples of Chinese using different characters for their names, see Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao*.
- 29 HSP: 687 Waln Family Papers, vol. 2 'Book of Prices, Canton 1819'.
- 30 Patrick Conner, *The Hongs of Canton*, p. 76.
- 31 *Zhongguo fang zhi ku*: *Guangdong Tong Zhi* 广东通志, juan 175, Qing Daoguang er ke ben 清道光二刻本, p. 11260.
- 32 Van Dyke and Mok, *Dating of the Canton Factories 1760-1822*, forthcoming.
- 33 British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR) G/12/227, pp. 489-492.
- 34 Patrick Conner, *The Hongs of Canton*, p. 81.
- 35 W. W. Wood, *Sketches of China: with Illustrations from Original Drawings* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830), p. 68.
- 36 The street to the west of the Danish factory was called 'Pwanting Qua Street' or 'Pwanting Streer' by foreigners. The street to the east of Danish factory was called New China Street. The name Pwanting is undoubtedly referring to Puankeequa III. Chinese and western sources show this street to be the Leung hing kae 联兴街. Puankeequa III may have established this street, but the one that took on his name (同文) was to the east of the Danish factory, and the same street that was later called New China Street. Various plans of the factories, with names of streets, can be seen in the following books. Conner, *The Hongs of Canton*, fig. 3.1, p. 77; Zhang Wenqin, *Guangdong shi san*

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- hang yu zao qi zhong xi guan xi*, fig. 21; and Zhang Wenqin et al, eds., *Guangzhou Shisan Hang Cangsang*.
- 37 W.S.W. Ruschenberger, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, during the Years 1835, 36, and 37; including a Narrative of an Embassy to the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam*. 2 vols. (London: 1838. Reprint, Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1970), 2, p. 232. Another description of the Thirteen Hong Street with shops can be seen in *The Waldie's Select Circulating Library* (Philadelphia: Adam Waldie, 1838), p. 312.
- 38 Wood mentioned that the 'Man-yune' hong, which was building No. 8, was now connected to the American factory (No. 7). W. W. Wood, *Sketches of China*, p. 68.
- 39 Liang Tingnan 梁廷楠, *Yuehaiguan Zhi* 粤海关志 (Gazetteer of Guangdong Maritime Customs), 1839. Reprint, Guangzhou: Guangzhou Renmin chubanshe, 2001, p. 516.
- 40 *Zhongguo fang zhi ku: Nan hai xian zhi*, pp. 665 and 744.
- 41 There has been considerable discussion in the past twenty years about the location of the streets in the factory area. A Chinese source from around 1885 shows the location of the Tongwen Jie and Qingyuan Jie to be reversed. And there has been much confusion about the positions of the Old and New China Streets. The sources we have used clearly show, in the pre-Opium War period, that Qingyuan Jie was towards the east and Tongwen Jie towards the west. And we have discussed above some of the reasons for the confusion with Old and New China Streets. For the discussion about the location of the streets, see articles in Zhang, et al, eds., *Guangzhou Shisan Hang Cangsang*; and Zhang Wenqin, *Guangdong shi san hang yu zao qi zhong xi guan xi*.
- 42 *The Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. 6 (London: Charles Knight and Co., 1836), p. 251.
- 43 Lelius, 'Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to China', *The Quarterly Oriental Magazine* (June 1827), pp. 222-267. See pp. 245-248 for a description of the shopping streets. For a view of what Hog Lane, Old China Street and New China Street looked like in the 1830s, see Maria Mok, 'Some Restrictions on Westerners in Canton in the First Half of the 19th Century. A Study based on the Hong Kong Museum of Art Collection', *Arts of Asia* 41: 4, pp. 102-115; and Zhang Wenqin, *Guangdong shi san hang yu zao qi zhong xi guanxi*, Plates 18-20.