

The Canton Register: The First English-Language Newspaper on the China Coast

PAUL A. VAN DYKE*

ABSTRACT: *The Canton Register* played an important role in the development of the China trade. Many of the private traders did not have the means to collect information about China and the trade in Asia, other than what they needed in order to carry on their business. As a result, everyone involved in the trade tended to have a different view of how business was managed and conducted and why things developed as they did. This situation changed when *The Canton Register* was established in November 1827. For the first time in the history of the China trade, everyone could get access to the same information by just purchasing a copy of the *Register*. The newspaper provided a wide range of data to the foreign community in China, from articles about Chinese society and politics, to trade practices in ports throughout Asia. Prior to the 1820s, the foreign community was not large enough to support such a paper. By 1825, however, there were more than 100 ships arriving each year, most of which were privately owned. The demand for a common source of information was strong, and *The Canton Register* filled that need. Although there were many controversies surrounding the paper, such as its support of the opium trade and its opposition to the English East India Company's monopoly, the paper supplied its customers with what they needed to carry on their commerce in China.

KEYWORDS: China trade; *The Canton Register*; China coast newspapers; Opium; East India Company; Tea.

* Paul A. Van Dyke, Ph.D. in History, retired professor from the Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, China, is the author of a series of works on the theme of the Canton trade.

Paul A. Van Dyke, doutorado em História, professor jubilado da Universidade de Sun Yat-sen em Cantão, China. É autor de várias obras sobre o comércio em Cantão.

THE NEED FOR RELIABLE INFORMATION

One of the very troublesome aspects of the China trade was the lack of knowledge about the commerce. In the eighteenth century, the European East India companies dominated the trade. Each of them collected their own data, which were, of course, written in their own languages. It was not in the companies' interest to share this knowledge, which meant that everyone had a somewhat different understanding of the trade and the Chinese administration.

It was very much in the interests of China not to allow specific groups to monopolise parts of the trade. The Chinese customs superintendents, known as Hoppos (戶部 *hubu*), knew very well that restricting access to markets would lead to lower prices for imports and higher prices for exports, both of which would hinder growth. In the interest of keeping prices competitive, the Hoppos shared their trade figures with anyone who desired to have them.

The Dutch, for example, could learn what the French, English, Danes, Swedes, Austrians, Portuguese, and Spanish were buying and selling in China. All of these Europeans could obtain this data just by asking. They sent their Chinese linguist to the Hoppo's office, and he then copied whatever they wanted from the official account books.

In the late eighteenth century, the mainland European companies began to pull out of the China trade. There were various reasons for this happening, which include a decline in profits owing to the enactment of the Commutation Act in England in 1784, the increased risks of suffering losses at sea owing to ongoing wars between Europeans, and new competition from private traders in China from the late eighteenth century onwards.

The Imperial (Austrian) company pulled out of the China trade in 1786. The French company exited the trade in 1793, which was followed by the Dutch company in 1795, the Prussian company in 1804, the Swedish company in 1806, and the Danish

company in 1807. By the early nineteenth century, the trade was made up primarily of the English East India Company (EIC) and private traders.

Owing to the risks of war, the number of foreign ships that traded at Canton in the early eighteenth century could vary significantly from one year to the next. There were only 32 vessels in port in 1812, while 103 ships arrived in 1802. By 1808, more than 50% of the ships were privately owned, with the balance of them being chartered by the EIC.

It was much more difficult for private traders to gain information about the trade. They often only owned one or two small ships. Unlike the East India companies' vessels which had crews of more than a hundred men, the private vessels were often manned with just a couple dozen seamen. Some of the private operators had a small fleet of vessels, and maintained year-round residents in China. Other traders just came and went each year with their vessels.

Information about the trade was passed from captain to captain and supercargo to supercargo, with everyone receiving and collecting different information. Because few, if any, of these private traders could speak or read Chinese, they always had incomplete knowledge about the trade and how it was administered. Because they often operated on a very small scale with a skeleton crew, there was no advantage to be gained in collecting data from the Hoppos, like the companies had been doing. Moreover, before 1820, the number of ships that arrived in China could vary significantly from one year to the next, making the trade rather unpredictable. Even if a trader collected information from the Hoppo's books, there was no guarantee that the circumstances would be the same in the next year.

In the 1820s, however, the trade became more consistent, which gave rise to more foreign agency houses establishing offices in China. Dozens of commission merchants were now operating in Canton and Macao. This was an important

IMPRESA ESTRANGEIRA NA CHINA

development because one of the main sources of income for newspapers was classified ads.

Unlike the eighteenth century, when most of the traders were Europeans who spoke different languages, almost all of these private traders in the 1820s could speak English. The majority of them were British and Americans, traders from Britain controlled areas in India, and English-speaking Spaniards from Manila. There had been a need for an English-language newspaper in Macao and Canton for many years, but it was not until the mid-1820s that it became a viable option. By 1825, there were more than 100 ships arriving each year, and most of them were privately owned and commissioned. This development was important because there needed to be a large enough customer base to make an English-language newspaper a profitable investment.

THE CANTON REGISTER.
VOL. 6. MONDAY, 16th SEPTEMBER, 1833. NOS. 13. & 14.

NOTICE.
The interest and responsibility of NATHAN DUNN in our House, ceased on the 31st ultimo.
The business of the House will be continued by JOSEPH ARCHER and JAMES JENKINS, under the firm of NATHAN DUNN and Co.
Canton, June 1st, 1833.

NOTICE.
The interest of Mr. J. H. ZOREL, in our establishment, has ceased from this day.
KIERULFF and Co.
Manila, 1st June, 1833.

FOR FREIGHT OR CHARTER.
TO LONDON, THE STRAITS, INDIA, OR NEW SOUTH WALES.
The British barque GUARDIAN, of 202 tons burthen, Captain Sinclair. Apply to A. S. KEATING.
Canton, June 12th, 1833.

FOR BOMBAY.
The ship CALYDONIA, Captain Lyon, will positively be despatched from Whampoa, on the 25th Sept. next, touching at Singapore. Apply to RAYGEE VICARIE.
Canton, 2nd August, 1833. French Hong, No. 7.

FREIGHT FOR BOMBAY.
The Ship CORNWALLIS, P. Key Commander, will leave Whampoa on the 1st. October next. Apply to FRAMJEE PESTONJEE.
Canton, 10th August, 1833.

FREIGHT FOR THE STRAITS & CALCUTTA.
The EMONSTON, M. Mc. Donnell Commander, will leave Whampoa on the 15th. October next. Apply to FRAMJEE PESTONJEE.
Canton, 24th August, 1833.

NOTICE.
The Underigned have this day established themselves as Commission and General Agents under the firm of ZOREL and BUTCHART.
MANILA, 1st August, 1833.
J. H. ZOREL.
ALEX. BUTCHART.

FOR SINGAPORE AND HAMBURG.
The brig GERMANIA, Capt. Just, will sail with all despatch. For freight apply to JARDINE, MATHESON & Co.
Canton, September 5th 1833.

FOR SINGAPORE & BOMBAY.
TOUCHING AT COLOMBO
The Ship VICTORY, Captain C. Bide, to sail on the 23rd of September.
Apply to THOS. DENT & Co.
Canton, August 6th, 1833.

FOR THE STRAITS AND CALCUTTA.
The ELIZABETH, Captain Stephens, to sail in all this month. For freight apply to JARDINE, MATHESON & Co.
Canton, September 8th, 1833.

FOR SINGAPORE.
The British barque GEORGIANA, J. S. Thompson, Commander, will sail for Singapore direct, on or before the 25th Inst. For freight apply to JARDINE, MATHESON & Co.
Canton, September 8th, 1833.

FOR SALE.
The ship LORD AMHERST, burthen 328 Tons, Thomas Rees Commander, Apply to WHITMAN & Co.
Canton, September 14th, 1833.

FOR CHARTER TO LONDON OR NEW SOUTH WALES.
The British ship, SIE. THOMAS-MEYER, 328 Tons, Captain Richards; she will be ready to receive cargo at Lintin or Macao by 15th prox.
Apply to A. S. KEATING.
Canton, September 13th, 1833.

CANTON.
The eldest surviving son of the senior secretary-marshal, commonly known to foreigners as "young Hong-yee," died, after a lingering illness, on the 11th Inst. He was the fourth son; the elder three had previously deceased; and, of the remaining three, two are but boys, and the one is the Emperor's service at Peking. Executions are being made to induce consent, hitherto constantly withheld from the unfortunate old man, to retire from the turmoil of public life, and escape the hourly danger and constant annoyance to which, by his position between the government and foreigners, he is exposed; and to be allowed to die in peace. The disgusting tyranny of the Chinese government is strongly exhibited in the case of this man. Old and worn out—stricken by the loss of his sons—the servilest of a China man can endure—he is constrained to continue in the "office" of Hong-merchant, on account of his wealth, part of which may, in case of any cause of complaint arising against him from asserted disturbances with foreigners, or other illegality, real or assumed, be wrested from him. He formerly paid an enormous sum to have the name of his late son cut in the books of the local government instead of his own, by which he was saved the trouble of attending at the public office, and there can be little doubt but that he would not hesitate to give up one half of his riches, if he could thereby obtain permission to retire with the other.

The new Tartar *Tsing-keen* or General-commandant of Canton is a very hard-working soldier, and all for exercise—which is not over-pleasant to the idle and over-indulgent descendants of the conquerors, who are under his command. General *Hai-fong-ah* will probably require implicit attention to the Imperial edict which has been lately issued against military officers using sedan-chairs, instead of riding on horseback.

Our good *Hoppe* *Chang-yin*, to be continued in office here for another year. The almost unprecedented length of time which this officer has remained, (for the *Hoppe's* regular term does not exceed one year) has a tendency to have effect on his naturally rapacious temper and habits. He is one of the most evil individuals that has ever been

Fig. 1: Front page with advertisements. *The Canton Register*, 16 September 1833.

FILLING THE NEEDS OF THE FOREIGN COMMUNITY: *THE CANTON REGISTER*

Establishing a newspaper is no small undertaking. Of first importance was to obtain a printer and a person to operate it. In 1824, James Matheson purchased a hand-operated press that included type for Portuguese and Spanish accent marks. The printing press arrived in China in autumn 1825.¹

There have been many studies done on the early English-language periodicals published in China.² In addition, there are also many discussions about the English newspapers in endless academic books and articles. Many of these studies are not specifically focused on the periodicals themselves, but rather show how they contributed to the historical developments over time.

In this study, I focus on the practical applications of the first English-language newspaper on the China Coast, *The Canton Register*. It was published in Canton, Macao, and later Hong Kong, from 1827 to 1844. Obviously, any periodical that depends on sales for its survival must produce something of relevance to its readers. The editors of *The Canton Register* were indeed intensely focused on filling the needs of the foreign community, but with a particularly bold and unapologetic focus on smuggling activities in China.

Discussions of the opium trade in the Delta were a dominant feature of the paper from the beginning (see Fig. 2). If a larger profit could be produced from opium, by smuggling it up the Chinese coast, then the paper informed its readers

ESTIMATE OF CONSUMPTION AND VALUE IN DOLLARS, OF INDIAN OPIUM IN CHINA FROM 1st APRIL, 1829.

	PUNJA & BENARES.			MALWA.			TOTAL.							
	Chests.	Price.	Value.	Chests.	Price.	Value.	Chests.	Value.						
APRIL.	Punja	377	845	3,18,563	Benares	129	840	1,00,800	4,19,363	296	920	2,17,120	793	6,36,283
MAY.	Punja	499	880	4,27,080	Benares	354	850	1,30,580	5,58,660	351	950	3,33,450	901	8,87,410
Consumption to 1st June 1829		1187		8,23,325		587		5,60,570	1724		15,29,893			
Stock at Lintin - do. do.		3106				1185			4291					

Fig 2: Estimate of Consumption and Value in Dollars, of Indian Opium in China from 1 April to 1 June 1829. *The Canton Register*, 2 June 1829.

FOREIGN PRESS IN CHINA

how to go about it. The founders of the paper were opium dealers, so obviously they were not interested in what was legal or illegal, but rather how they could effectively evade China's laws to produce the largest profit.

Thus, if there were one overarching theme that best represents *The Canton Register* and the objectives of its sponsors and editors, it might be 'how to get rich by any means possible'. But such a simplified generalisation really does not do the paper justice. As we will see from examples below, the *Register* fulfilled a wide range of legitimate needs within the foreign community. It was very useful to everyone, regardless of whether they were smuggling or not. Nevertheless, it should be noted at the outset that one of the newspaper's core ingredients was commercial greed: profits were important, laws were not.

Alexander Matheson established *The Canton Register*, with the financial backing and sponsorship of his uncle, James Matheson.³ James was one of the founding members of the Jardine Matheson & Co., which earned a large share of its profits from selling opium in China. The American William Wightman Wood was hired as the first editor of the newspaper. However, he only lasted four issues, and was let go in early January 1828. His relentless opposition to the EIC's monopoly in China, and his criticism of Chinese officials, was more controversy than was palatable to James Matheson.⁴

The next editor was Arthur Saunders Keating, who was quickly replaced by John Slade. The newspaper began as a bi-monthly periodical, of four pages. The early issues were devoted mostly to trade data. The first two pages consisted of a series of brief articles discussing relevant issues to traders such as Chinese coins, events in China, meetings between foreign residents, shipping accidents, deaths, births, and marriages in the foreign community, as well as various other issues. It also discussed changes that had taken place in Asian ports such as Macao, Batavia, Penang, Cochin China, and Singapore (see Fig. 3).

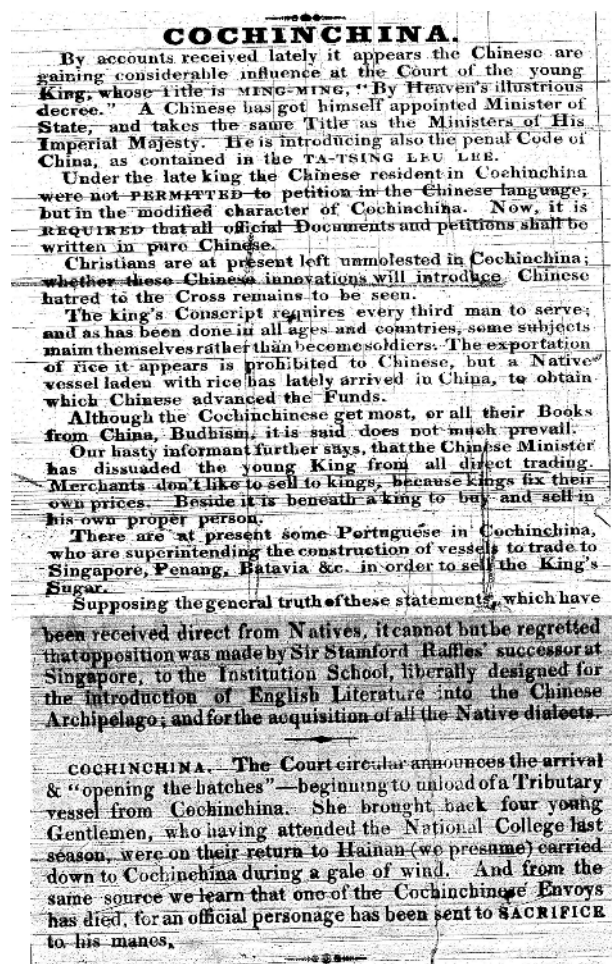
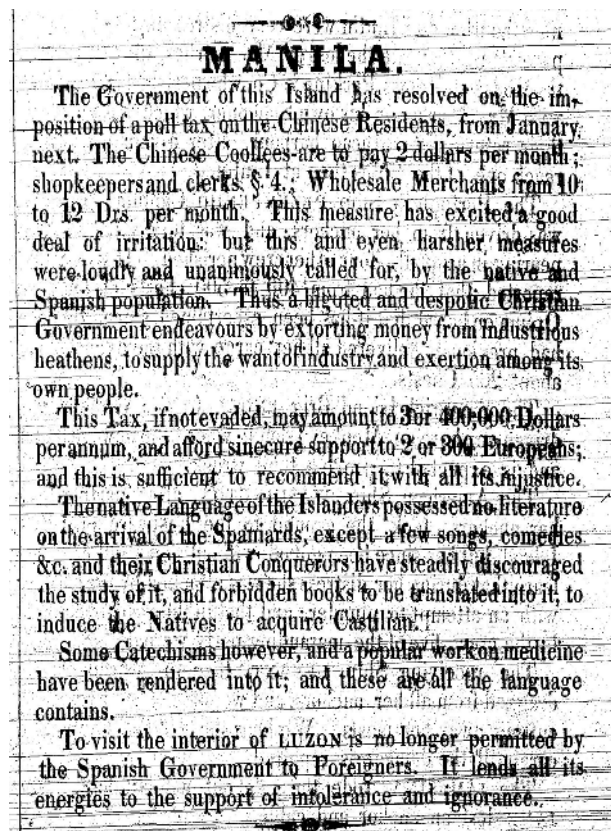


Fig. 3: 'Cochinchina'. *The Canton Register*, 2 July 1829.

Because many foreign and Spanish ships sailed between China and Manila each year, the latter port was given extensive coverage in the *Register* (Fig. 4). Many issues showed the number of ships in port at Manila, and other details about the trade each year. Any time a change took place in the trade at Manila, such as a new regulation being introduced or the removal of one, the *Register* would inform its readers. It also featured advertisements from Manila firms. Thus, in this regard, Manila was given almost as much space in the paper as was devoted to Macao. Thus, the *Register* is a very important source for the history of the Philippines as well.

IMPRESA ESTRANGEIRA NA CHINA

Fig. 4: 'Manila'. *The Canton Register*, 17 August 1829.

From the beginning, the *Register* devoted some space to trade history and Chinese politics and culture. Almost every issue had at least one article on something about Chinese culture. There was criticism about the negative nature of some of these articles, but the *Register* continued to publish them nonetheless.

On the third page was a *Price Current* which showed the high and low prices of all imports and exports. The *Price Current* came with the *Register*, but could be purchased separately as well, as a single page. The last page of the *Register* included a brief discussion of the opium trade, a list of new ship and passenger arrivals and departures, and other relevant shipping details (Fig. 5). While the criticisms of the EIC were corrected after Wood was removed, the paper continued to publish articles that portrayed the Chinese rather negatively.⁵

The shipping data was a difficult matter to collect, owing to some ships stopping at Macao, others at Lintin, Cumsingmoon, or Hong Kong, and others going upriver to Whampoa. Vessels came and went at all times of the year and they often moved from one port to the next. In order to better co-ordinate the collection of data, a notice was published in the paper asking all commanders to fill in forms when they arrived. These forms were available in various locations in the Delta, and after completed, were forwarded to the press in Canton.

The opium trade continued to be openly featured in each issue. Besides Jardine Matheson & Co., another prominent sponsor was the Spanish firm Yrissari & Co.⁶ The latter business was also heavily involved in the opium trade.⁷ While it is perhaps obvious why the smuggling was given extensive coverage in the paper, it is nonetheless quite surprising to see how openly it discussed these illegal activities. The Chinese Hong merchants did not dare to speak about the opium trade, out of fear of reprisals from Chinese officials. The *Register*, on the other hand, supported the smuggling.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.			
MAY	ARRIVED		FROM
10	Brit Ship England	Reay	Singapore
18	Am Schooner Greyhound	Dumerick	Batavia
22	Brit Ship Sherburne	White	Calcutta
24	„ Bark Mercury	Bell	ditto
27	„ Ship Good Success	Durant	Bombay
„	Sp. Ship Union		Manila
„	Am Brig Terrier		Peru
29	Brit Ship Charlotte	Crocket	Bombay
MAY	SAILED		TO
18	Danish Brig Norma	Kierulf	Manila
19	Brit Barque Numa	Wade	ditto
„	Am Brig Ocean	Searle	ditto
23	Sp. Ship Rita	Ramirez	ditto
Passengers per ENGLAND, Mrs. Reay			
Per SHERBURNE, Mrs. White, E. Otaduy Esqr.			
Per MERCURY, A. De Souza Esqr.			

Fig. 5: 'Shipping Intelligence'. *The Canton Register*, 2 June 1829.

Another feature of the *Register* was to translate and print any new Chinese edicts or regulations that might affect the trade. Portuguese documents were sometimes also translated, if the contents had something to do with the trade and the foreign community. These documents were of great importance and helped to make the paper a vital resource to its readers. The *Register* had slowly evolved into becoming an essential paper to everyone involved in the trade.

Fig. 6: 'Canton Price Current'. *The Canton Register*, 18 November 1829.

IMPRESA ESTRANGEIRA NA CHINA

Sometimes the Chinese and Portuguese documents were too lengthy to fit into the four-page format, so they were included in a supplement, which was added to the end of the paper. These supplements appear periodically throughout the run of the *Register*. In some cases, the documents were paraphrased in English (Fig. 7). In other cases, they were translated word for word. These translated documents are especially important today to historians, because some of the original Chinese versions have not survived.

Some of the Macao records were not translated but published in their original Portuguese. It was fairly easy for foreign residents to find someone to translate for them. Moreover, many of the Europeans of the time could read Portuguese without too much trouble. Sometimes the Macao Government also received orders from various Chinese officials that affected all foreigners. Macao officials generally translated all of the Chinese records they received into Portuguese, so some of

those documents were published in the *Register* as well. Thus, the *Register* kept readers apprised of changes in government policies that might affect them, whether they were in Canton or Macao.

All types of ads were included in the *Register*, from soliciting freight and passengers, to sales of equipment, liquors, and even ships, to advertising upcoming auctions (Fig. 8). Newcomers could also find a place to live, because apartments were advertised for rent in both Macao and Canton. Jobs were sometimes also advertised, so it was a periodical that was now useful to everyone.

Owing to the annual occurrence of typhoons in the South China Sea, weather was also a feature in the *Register*. Beginning on 4 February 1828, a section entitled 'Thermometer at Noon' was added to the last page of the paper. It showed the temperature at noon every day beginning from 15 January. This section did not appear again until 4 October 1828, and was renamed 'A Meteorological Diary' (Fig. 9 and 10). The barometer readings were added to the section. Rather than a daily record, however, the section showed the high and low readings of each month from March to September 1828. From this issue onwards, the meteorological diaries became a regular feature of the paper. It did not appear in every issue, but when it did appear, it provided the high and low daily readings dating back to the previous Diary.

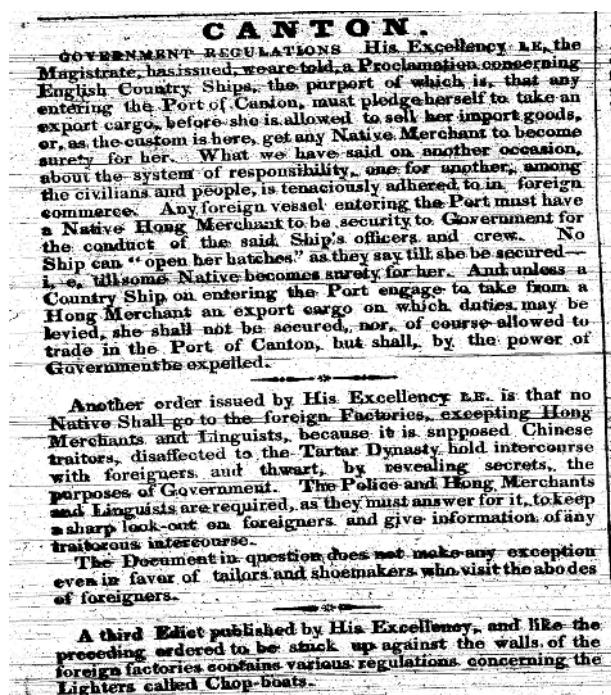


Fig. 7: 'Canton'. *The Canton Register*, 18 September 1829.

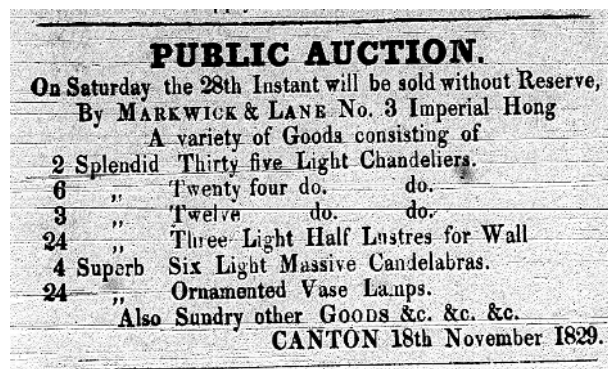


Fig. 8: 'Public Auction'. *The Canton Register*, 18 November 1829.

FOREIGN PRESS IN CHINA

Some of these meteorological diaries also included rainfall data at Macao. These readings were of importance to mariners, which made the paper even more relevant to the non-local foreign readers (the foreigners who came and left with their ships).

Every year there were ships lost at sea, and Slade did his best to publish accurate accounts of their fates. Sometimes the discussion spanned many months. Every time more information arrived about the wreck and its survivors, a short piece would be written about them. When new shoals or rocks were discovered in Asian waters, the *Register* also published those accounts.

In addition to collecting their own information on shipping, the *Register* also reprinted information from a variety of other sources. New arrivals brought newspapers, magazines, and journals from all over the world. In the 4 April 1829 issue, for example, the *Register* republished an account of 'Mutiny & Murder' that appeared in the *Sydney Gazette*. The weather data, navigational details and maritime narratives made the paper an important resource for all mariners. There was no such source to consult prior to the establishment of *The Canton Register*.

FALL OF RAIN AT MACAO.

As the observation of every thing connected with the climate in which we reside, may not only be interesting to those living under its immediate influence, but also may contribute to the advancement of general science, we beg leave to present our readers with a table at foot stating the fall of rain that has taken place for a series of years past at Macao. For the years 1815 & 1816, we are only able to state the total fall of rain during the year, being 64½ inches in the former, and 48½ in the latter. During 1817 & 1818 no Register seems to have been kept.

The fall of rain in January 1829 has been 2½ ins.
 February „ „ 5½.
 March „ „ 1½.

METEOROLOGICAL DIARY.

THERMOMETER.			BAROMETER.		Wind
Mar.	noon,	night.	D.	M.	
16	61	72	30	20	Fine weather light breeze variab. E. a S.
17	61	72	30	20	„ „ „ light airs S. E. a N.
18	63	75	30	20	„ „ „ „ S. a E.
19	64	76	30	10	Cloudy, heavy weather „ „ S.
20	68	78	30	10	„ „ „ „ S. a E.
21	68	74	30	10	„ „ „ Strong breeze N. b. W.
22	61	68	30	15	„ „ „ light airs „ E. a N.
23	63	72	30	20	„ „ „ Fine weather E. a N.
24	65	74	30	10	Cloudy weather Blowing fresh S. a E.
25	64	73	30	00	Cloudy, heavy weather, light breeze S. E. a S.
26	59	61	30	20	„ „ „ Strong breeze N. N. W.
27	58	62	30	25	with light rain, moderate breeze „ „
28	57	59	30	20	„ „ „ „ „
29	55	61	30	30	Constant rain light breeze N. b. W.
30	59	62	30	20	„ „ „ „ „
31	57	64	30	20	Cloudy with frequent rain, light airs N. a E.
Apr. 1	61	73	30	20	Fine weather, rain occasionally light airs E.
2	65	73	30	00	Cloudy & unsettled Fresh breeze S. E.
3	65	72	29	90	Cloudy heavy weather, light breeze
4	68	72	29	85	Cloudy with heavy rain Thunder & lightning, light breeze S. E.
5	67	76	29	90	Cloudy & unsettled, latterly heavy rain N. W. a N.
6	67	74	30	00	Constant rain, light airs N. a N. E.

Fig. 9: 'Fall of Rain at Macao', January to March 1829. *The Canton Register*, 18 April 1829.

QUANTITIES OF RAIN WHICH FELL AT MACAO IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

	1812	1813	1814	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	average
<i>Ins. 10ths</i>														
January	1	6		2 5	1 5	1	5				1 1		1 0	64
February	2 6	1 6	3 ½	3 8	3	3 6	3	1		1 3	2 3		1 3	55
March	5 4	1	2 8½	2 7	1 7	2 4	1 2	6	8	4	2 7	2	3 5	37
April	6 1	4 2	5 4	2	3 5	5	3 8	5 6	3	5 5	18 5		11 1	67
May	19 8	14 8	18 6	8	5	9 2	17 8	1	6	2 8	5 5	7 9	7 20	15
June	16	13	29	4 2	5	10 2	9 1	12 8	17 9	13 4	4 3	8 6	17 3	37
July	12 2	5 8	11 9	4 3	7 5	8	3 2	11 6	4 7	7	11 7	9 1½	10 7	28
August	14 1	5 7	7 2	18 5	5 8	11 5	7	7	4 3	13 6	11 4	16	10	16
September	17 6	5 1	4 4	6	20 8	2 7	12 6	6	16 7	8 2	15 2	3 3	16 2	37
October	6		4 3	4 6	13	10 5	3	11	6 4	3 6	2 2	5 3	7 5	55
November	4 3	2 2	8 8	1 3	1	2 5	4 8		7	1	2 6	1 4	2 2	85
December	2 2	5		1 1	8 2		3		1 6	1		1	4 5	15
	107	3	54 5	95 7	59	65 9	68 6	63 6	55 7	68 6	67 3	78 7	51 64	101 3

Fig. 10: 'Quantities of Rain which Fell at Macao in the Undermentioned Years', 1812–1828. *The Canton Register*, 18 April 1829.

IMPRESA ESTRANGEIRA NA CHINA

By 1829, there were so many ships anchored in the lower Delta for several months that the seamen became very bored. One of the enjoyments in the China trade was the creation of boat races, known locally as 'Regatta'. The seamen raced each other in their row boats. Monetary prizes were awarded to the first, second, and third place winners. These races lasted a couple days and were carried out in Canton and also in the anchorage downriver called Toon-Koo (east of Lintin Island). Thus, one of the highlights of the *Register* was the published accounts of the winners in each Regatta (Fig. 11).

TOON-KOO REGATTA
Second day's Races, Thursday 15th October 1829.

The sport surpassed that of the first day's Racing, and notwithstanding the high terms in which we spoke of the boats on that occasion, we cannot help expressing our opinion, that although not so numerous, they appeared to us to be in higher order on this; and the crews unquestionably in better condition from training.

I.

A subscription purse of 300 dollars, for six oared cutters—the first boat to receive 130 dollars—the second 100 dollars, and the third 70 dollars.

- 1st Lady Melville's Shamrock
- 2nd Thames's Vixen
- 3rd Atlas's Lara
- 4th Hythe's Magpie
- 5th Duke of Sussex's Mary
- 6th Vansittart's Charlotte
- 7th Repulse's Blue Ribbon—distanced
- 8th Waterloo's Black Dwarf
- 9th Buckinghamshire's Red Ribbon— } withdrawn

A good race between the three first boats, the Shamrock beating the Vixen by about a minute and a half, and the Lara by three.

II.

A subscription purse for double banked cutters of 500 dollars—the first boat to receive 160 dollars; the second 140 dollars; third 110; and fourth 90 dollars.

- 1st Lowther Castle's Don Giovanni
- 2nd Herefordshire's Red Rover
- 3rd Sealeby Castle's Maid of all Work
- 4th General Kyd's Admiral
- 5th Vansittart's Driver
- 6th Waterloo's Black Giant
- 7th Lady Melville's Erin-go Bragh
- 8th Windsor's Black and all black
- 9th Repulse's Blue Ribbon
- 10th Hythes Pie-bald
- 11th Duke of Sussex's Anna
- 12th Charles Grant's Tamar
- 13th Duke of York's Falcon

A capital race, the Don Giovanni, Red Rover, Maid of all work, and Admiral keeping close together, the whole way—there being only a minute and two seconds difference between the first and fourth boats.

We shall do ourselves the pleasure in our next, of laying before our readers, an account of the third and fourth days Races.

Fig. 11: 'Toon-Koo Regatta'. *The Canton Register*, 3 November 1829.

The *Register* also included many letters written to the editor, and the editor's replies. Slade made an attempt to address concerns readers had of the way certain issues were covered in the *Register*. Some of these letters were rather contentious. In order to avoid conflicts, authors often disguised their identity by simply signing their name anonymously as 'Common Sense', 'Observer', or simply, 'Foreigner'.

After three years of operation, *The Canton Register* had proven itself to its readers, but not everyone was happy with the way the paper covered the trade or portrayed the Chinese. The previous editor, William Wood, decided to challenge the *Register* with his own newspaper, the *Chinese Courier, and Canton Gazette*. The first issue was published on 28 July 1831, in which Wood explained his reasoning for the paper.

In a community so small as that of Canton the commencement of another newspaper may appear a work of supererogation, and the attempt to secure its support unreasonable and impertinent; but we are urged to the trial from a conviction that some medium is necessary for the dissemination of those opinions which it is the policy of our contemporary to avoid.

[...]

The great object which we have in view is the establishment of a liberal and well conducted press: one, which may at once command respect for its opinions, and deserve credit for its management.

Wood was a free trade advocate and eager to bring an end to the EIC's control over the China trade. *The Canton Register* was more conservative, and hesitant to publish anything that might anger the EIC officials in China. The main sponsors, Jardine and Matheson, were both British citizens

FOREIGN PRESS IN CHINA

and did not want to create any rifts or controversies in their homeland. Wood, on the other hand, was an American, and could care less about creating a rift with the EIC.

In the first issue of the *Courier*, Wood published an article entitled 'Free Trade to China'. Besides advocating the end of the EIC, he also called for the removal of restrictions on the trade in China. He was very much in favour of converting as many Chinese as possible to Christianity, and was in favour of using force with China, if necessary, to bring reforms to the trade. Wood published several articles entitled 'War with China', in an effort to gain support in the foreign community for stronger measures against the Chinese administration. Thus, from the outset, it was made clear that the paper would be devoted to issues that *The Canton Register* had, up to this point, been reluctant to address.

The *Courier* published numerous articles on Chinese politics and culture as well and some articles discussing the trade of other Asian ports. It was never intended to be a holistic publication like *The Canton Register*, and actually published very little useful data about the trade. Most of the issues in the *Courier* contain no advertisements whatsoever, so the sole source of income came from donations, subscriptions, and sales.

It was not until the 14 April 1832 issue that numerous advertisements began to appear. In that issue, Wood also produced a section on shipping, showing the new arrivals and departures. *The Canton Register* was already doing this, so there was some duplication. Each issue thereafter contained ads and shipping lists.

Wood's radical views, however, did not produce a large enough following to keep the paper going. His attack on the EIC was now also becoming less of an issue, because the Company's China monopoly was scheduled to end with the closing of the 1833 season. Wood's dwindling

readership could no longer support the paper, so it was discontinued in September 1833.

Other English-language publications appeared at this time as well. *The Canton Miscellany* began in 1831, but ended after only a few issues. In May 1832, the first issue of *The Chinese Repository* appeared. It became very successful, and survived up to 1851, when it was discontinued. Both publications were more in line with academic journals, with China being their main focus. They reproduced many travel journals to Asia, and published articles of interest, in an effort to educate their readers of Chinese life, culture, and religion. The editor of *The Chinese Repository* was the American missionary Elijah Coleman Bridgman.¹⁰ He was staunchly opposed to the opium trade, and as such, did not compete with *The Canton Register*. For the most part, the *Repository* provided information that was not available in the *Register*. In fact, many articles that appeared in the former were reproduced in the latter.

Besides periodicals, foreign residents also obtained information about China from books. In the 1830s, many books began to appear in English. Most of these volumes were written by long-time foreign residents of Canton and Macao. John Carroll has recently provided a summary of these books, so I will not discuss them here.¹¹ Most of the books were published in Europe or the United States, and had a much broader distribution than the China coast publications. These books became popular among the foreign residents in Canton and Macao. Parts of them, such as Gutzlaff's voyages along the China coast, were reproduced in both *The Canton Register* and *The Chinese Repository*.¹² Obviously, these books were of interest to Portuguese residents as well, so it is not surprising to see many of them in the Leal Senado Library today.

After the *Courier* was discontinued, the advertisements that were being featured there

IMPrensa ESTRANGEIRA NA CHINA

transferred to *The Canton Register*. By the end of 1833, the *Register* had developed a substantial readership. Most of the front page, and part of the back page, was now full of classified ads, which would have certainly been a boost to its budget.

Now that the *Courier* was gone, Slade decided to expand the *Register*. Beginning with the first issue of 1834, it became a weekly publication. The four-page structure continued as before with an occasional one or two-page supplement. The *Price Current* continued to be purchased separately as well.

Slade was sometimes supplied with historical documents from the China trade. The British, French, Dutch, Danes, and Swedes were active in the trade in the 1830s. All of those Europeans had traded at Canton in the eighteenth century as well. They would sometimes hand Slade documents from earlier years, excerpts of which were then translated and published in the *Register*.

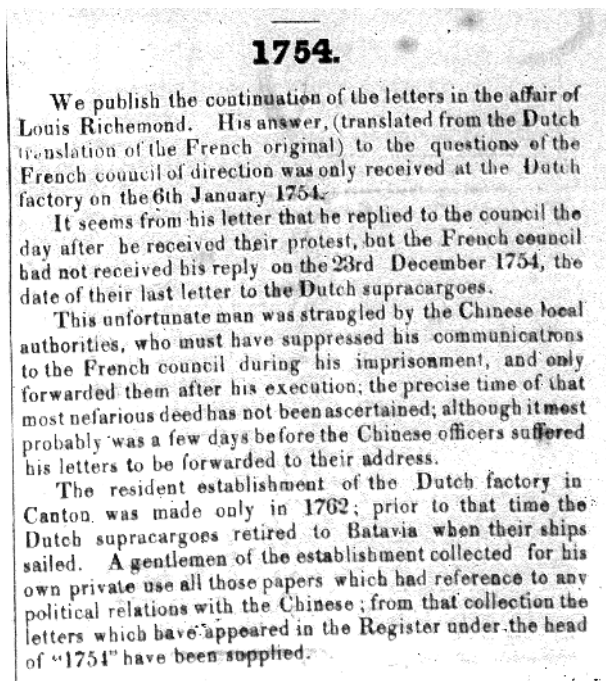


Fig. 12: Article entitled '1754', which are extracts from Dutch records of that year. *The Canton Register*, 25 March 1834.

While it is nice to have lost documents republished for posterity, sometimes these historical records were taken out of context by Slade, which then produced a false account of what happened. In the 18 and 25 March 1834 issues, for example, Slade printed some records from 1754, which concerned the death of an Englishman at Whampoa by the hand of a Frenchman named Louis Richemond. Slade was given access to a few of the Dutch records from 1754, which were actually translations from the French records. He then had them translated into English from the Dutch.

At the end of the article, Slade concluded that 'this unfortunate man [Richemond] was strangled by the Chinese local authorities' (Fig. 12). The records he reproduced in the *Register* did not say this, but Slade, or the man who supplied the records, provided his own interpretation of what happened.

I have published an account of this Frenchman in 1754 (who was known as a 'Renegado').¹³ According to the English, Dutch, French, Swedish, and Danish records from that year, the incident did not end at all like what is represented in *The Canton Register*. Richemond was not killed, but rather released from prison a year later owing to a general amnesty granted to him by the emperor. Slade only had access to a few pieces of the affair, which gave his readers an entirely false account of what happened. Thus, it should be pointed out that historical accounts which were republished in these early China coast newspapers are not always reliable.

While *The Canton Register* and *The Chinese Repository* were not in direct competition with each other, they had their disagreements. The latter journal published a lengthy article entitled 'Free Trade with China' in the 2nd volume, no. 8 (December 1833) edition. The EIC's monopoly was about to end, and there was much concern and discussion about how to proceed thereafter. The supporters of *The Canton Register* strongly objected

FOREIGN PRESS IN CHINA

to the contents of that article and published several responses in the 7 January, 4 February, 11 March and 8 April 1834 issues, and continued to discuss the matter throughout the rest of the year.

At the centre of this discussion was the extent to which the EIC would continue to be involved in the tea trade. Private ships would now carry the tea to England, but company officials still wanted to have a hand in the purchases in China. That side claimed that 'it is utterly impracticable for Private Traders to deal with the China Merchants upon Equitable Terms' so the purchasing of the tea should be done by the EIC, and then freighted to England on private ships.

Now that the company's monopoly was ending, Jardine, Matheson, and their associates no longer felt the need to refrain from voicing their opinion. The supporters of *The Canton Register* felt that the assertion above about private traders being 'utterly impracticable' to be nonsense. They wanted the EIC's hold on the tea trade to be unequivocally discontinued.¹⁴

Over the course of 1834, the rift between these two parties widened. It gradually became clear that the two sides were not going to agree, and that *The Canton Register* would continue to be opposed to the EIC's involvement in the China trade. The Company formed a 'Finance Committee' and kept agents in China, who did all the purchasing of the tea. The EIC continued to invest more than a million dollars per year in the trade. The Company's agents negotiated with the Hong merchants, and then freighted the goods to England on private ships. James Matheson referred to the position of agent in the 'Finance Committee' as 'a regular disgraceful job'.¹⁵

In order to counter the influence *The Canton Register* was having on the foreign community in China, the backers of the EIC decided to start their own paper, *The Canton Press*. The first issue was published on 19 September 1835. By 1 October,

the *Press* had essentially duplicated the content of *The Canton Register*, with ads, commentaries, articles on shipping and Chinese culture, and a 'Price Current'. It also included a much more comprehensive list of ships and passengers. It published two lists of ships, one showing the vessels that were anchored at Whampoa and another showing the ships in the lower Delta.

I should perhaps mention, however, that the *Press's* ship lists are full of mistakes. I have collected all the data about arriving and departing ships. I found out that the information provided in the *Press* was often incorrect. They sometimes recorded ships as arriving, but in reality, they had not arrived. The editor had to then mention the error in the next issue. Some ships were missed, and not published in the *Press* until weeks after they had arrived.

Sometimes the *Press* recorded ships departing which had not departed. There are many entries showing the same ship departing two or three different times. It is impossible to tell from the entries in *The Canton Press* when some ships actually arrived or departed, or whether all of the entries were incorrect.

The *Press* gradually got better at collecting shipping data, but it continued to publish a lot of mistakes over the next couple of years. Thus, as far as shipping intelligence was concerned, *The Canton Register* was much more reliable. The *Press*, however, provided a more comprehensive record of which ships were at Whampoa and which ones were in the lower Delta.

Newcomers to the trade would probably have found *The Canton Press* more useful than the *Register*, because the former eventually included information about all the fees that had to be paid at Whampoa. Like the *Register*, the *Press* also included information about the opium trade, and treated it as a legitimate item of commerce. The *Press*, however, did not include 'A Meteorological

IMPrensa ESTRANGEIRA NA CHINA

Diary', so the *Register* continued to be the best source for weather information.

By 1834, there were 200 to 400 ships arriving each year, and now all of them were privately owned. The foreign community in China had nearly doubled from what it was in 1827. There were now enough customers to support two newspapers.

Even though the *Register* and the *Press* duplicated a lot of trade data, they continued to feature many different articles and content. Thus, although they competed with each other, the demand for a wide variety of information about China and about the trade in Asia in general, was strong, and sufficient enough to support both papers.

The two papers continued to be published, side by side, up to 1844. By this time, most of the foreign community had moved to Hong Kong. *The Canton Register* changed its name to *The Hong Kong Register*. *The Canton Press* ceased publication. There were now a variety of other periodicals in circulation such as *The Friend of China and Hongkong Gazette* (1842) and *The China Mail* (1845), which filled in the void left by the closure of *The Canton Press*.¹⁶

CONCLUSION

As the Canton trade grew over the decades, the composition of the participants gradually changed over time, which gave rise to a need for a commercial newspaper. In the eighteenth century, the trade was dominated by European East India companies. They had their own means of collecting and distributing information. They could obtain whatever trade data they wanted from the Hoppos. Their internal networks of information were sufficient to their purposes, and thus, there was not a need for an outside medium, such as *The Canton Register*.

By the end of the century, the mainland European East India companies began to cut back

their operations in China. This was partially the result of lower profits produced after the British reduced their tax on tea in the Commutation Act of 1784. It became less profitable for mainland East India companies to smuggle tea into England. Wars between Europeans also diverted funds away from the China trade, and increased the costs and risks of sailing to China. There was also an increase in competition from private traders.

By 1807, the EIC was the only East India company still operating in China. As the other companies pulled out of the trade, more private traders moved in. The foreign community in Canton and Macao began to grow substantially. Before 1820, however, the number of ship arrivals could vary significantly from one year to the next. This meant that the number of foreigners in Canton and Macao also varied a lot.

In the 1820s, the trade began to level off and by 1825, there were 100 or more ships arriving each year. Most of these vessels were privately owned. This growth led to more foreigners establishing year-round residences in China. Unlike the East India companies, these private operators did not have a good source of information. They collected different data, with no common source of knowledge.

Most of these private traders could speak English, so there was now a strong demand for a newspaper to disseminate information about the trade. By this time, Jardine Matheson & Co. had been trading at Canton for several decades. Alexander and James Matheson purchased a press in 1825, and began publishing *The Canton Register* in November 1827. Other sponsors included the Spanish firm Yrissari & Co. and the former American consul, Benjamin Chew Wilcocks.

All of these original sponsors were deeply involved in smuggling, so it is not surprising to find the *Register* providing extensive coverage of the opium trade. The *Register*, however, provided

FOREIGN PRESS IN CHINA

a very broad coverage of the trade in China and Asia in general, so it had something of benefit for everyone. It also provided extensive coverage of daily life in Canton and Macao. The newspaper quickly became a success, and provided a much needed medium for the foreign community to share information.

Over time, other publications were introduced to challenge the views expressed in the *Register*. Some of them like *The Canton Miscellany* and the *Chinese Courier* came and went rather quickly. Others such as *The Chinese Repository* found a niche in the market that was not being filled by the *Register*, and managed to coexist alongside that newspaper.

With the ending of the EIC monopoly in 1834 came a rift in the views of the British merchants in China. On one side were the proponents of the

EIC, who wanted the company to continue to be involved in the trade, but in a reduced capacity. On the other side, was the Jardine Matheson crowd, who wanted the EIC out of the China trade altogether. This led to the former crowd establishing their own paper, *The Canton Press*, which began operations in September 1835.

By this time, the foreign community in China had nearly doubled from what it was in 1827, so there was a strong enough demand to support both papers. They continued to be published side by side up to 1844, when most of the foreign community had moved to Hong Kong. *The Canton Register* changed its name to *The Hong Kong Register*, and *The Canton Press* ceased operation. The *Register* continued to supply its customers with the data they needed as the trade transitioned from the Canton System to the Treaty Port era.^{RC}

NOTES

- 1 Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 96–97.
- 2 I list a few of the studies here, for reference: Kendall A. Johnson, "The Sacred Fount of the ABCFM. Free Press, Free Trade, and Extraterritorial Printing in China," chap. 4 in *The New Middle Kingdom: China and the Early American Romance of Free Trade* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017); Bin Chen, "Preparing for the Challenge Ahead: A History of *The Canton Register*, c. 1827 to 1838" (master's thesis, University of Macau, 2012); Yixiong Wu, "Zai hua xiren baokan yu yapian zhanzheng," *Shehui kexue zhanxian*, no. 6 (2010): 58–71; Murray Rubinstein, "The Wars They Wanted: American Missionaries' Use of *The Chinese Repository* before the Opium War," *The American Neptune* 48, no. 2 (Spring 1988): 271–282; Elizabeth L. Malcolm, "The *Chinese Repository* and Western Literature on China 1800 to 1850," *Modern Asian Studies* 7, no. 2 (Mar. 1973): 165–178, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00004534>; Frank H. H. King, ed., and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822–1911* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1965); Prescott Clarke, "The Development of the English Language Press on the China Coast, 1827–1881" (master's thesis, University of London, 1961).
- 3 John M. Carroll, *China Hands and Old Cantons: Britons and the Middle Kingdom* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 10–11; Grace, *Opium and Empire*, 96–97.
- 4 Johnson, *The New Middle Kingdom*, 103; Carroll, *China Hands and Old Cantons*, 10–11.
- 5 Carroll, *China Hands and Old Cantons*, 11; Grace, *Opium and Empire*, 97.
- 6 Grace, *Opium and Empire*, 97.
- 7 Ander Permanyer-Ugarte mendia, "Españoles en Cantón: los Diarios de Manuel de Agote, primer factor de la Real Compañía de Filipinas en China (1787–1796)," *Itsas Memoria. Revista de Estudios Marítimos del País Vasco*, no. 7 (2012): 523–546; Ander Permanyer-Ugarte mendia, "Opium after the Manila Galleon: The Spanish involvement in the opium economy in East Asia (1815–1830)," *Investigaciones de Historia Económica* 10, no. 3 (Oct. 2014): 155–164.
- 8 Cambridge University Library (CUL): Jardine Matheson Collection (JM) A2-1, letter dated 3 December 1827;

IMPrensa ESTRANGEIRA NA CHINA

Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto. The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844*, with a new introduction by Frederic D. Grant (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014), 41, 242.

- 9 A number of authors shows Benjamin Wilcocks leaving China in 1827, but the following reference clearly shows him boarding the ship *London* as passenger in December 1828. British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR) G/12/280, letter to the Court of Directors, dated 13 December 1828 in Canton. *The Canton Register*, 3 January 1829, last page under ‘Departure of Passengers [sic]’, also shows ‘B. Wilcocks Esqr’, departing as passenger aboard the ship *London*, which left China on 17 December 1828. Another source shows that Wilcocks was still acting as an agent in Canton on 28 December 1827, so he was clearly still in China at that time. CUL: JM C10-8, letter to Thomas Crawford in Bombay, from Jardine and Matheson in Canton, dated 28 December 1827, p. 231. Macao artist, George Chinnery, also made a portrait of Benjamin Chew Wilcocks, which he signed and dated 1828. Josephine C. Dobkin, “Chinnery and Houqua: Questions of Attribution,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 48 (2013): 205–216, see esp. 209–210, <https://doi.org/10.1086/675323>. Dobkin, however, writes on page 211 that ‘Wilcocks returned to Philadelphia in the spring of 1828.’ Thus, there are some discrepancies in the sources. The following references show Wilcocks leaving China in 1827. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, 124; Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1682–1846: Commercial, Cultural,*

and Attitudinal Effects (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), 32; Frederic D. Grant Jr., “The April 1820 Debt Settlement between Conseequa and Benjamin Chew Wilcocks,” in *Americans and Macao. Trade, Smuggling, and Diplomacy on the South China Coast*, ed. Paul A. Van Dyke (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 73–94, see esp. 79. Shuo Wang shows Wilcocks arriving in Philadelphia in 1828. Shuo Wang, *Negotiating Friendships: A Canton Merchant Between East and West in the Early 19th Century* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 181, and note 174.

- 10 Carroll, *China Hands and Old Cantons*, 11.
- 11 Carroll, “Being There,” chap. 3 in *China Hands and Old Cantons*, 99–138.
- 12 Charles Gutzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China, in 1831, 1832, & 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands* (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1834).
- 13 Paul A. Van Dyke, *Whampoa and the Canton Trade: Life and Death in a Chinese Port, 1700–1842* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2020), 135–136.
- 14 *The Canton Register*, 1834.04.22, 62.
- 15 CUL: JM C4-4, letter to Alexander Pearson, from William Jardine in Canton, dated 1 March 1835. John Carroll has discussed the various parties involved on each side of the EIC argument, and the backers of *The Canton Press*. Carroll, *China Hands and Old Cantons*, 11–12. See also King and Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers*, 18–19.
- 16 King and Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers*, 18–21.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Sources

British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR), G/12/280
Cambridge University Library (CUL): Jardine Matheson Collection (JM), A2-1, C4-4, C10-8

Printed Sources

The Canton Miscellany, 1831.
The Canton Press, 1835–1844.
The Canton Register, 1827–1844.
Carroll, John M. *China Hands and Old Cantons: Britons and the Middle Kingdom*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021. See esp. chap. 3, “Being There.”
Chen, Bin. “Preparing for the Challenge Ahead: A History of *The Canton Register*, c. 1827 to 1838.” Master’s thesis, University of Macau, 2012.

Chinese Courier, and Canton Gazette, 1831–1833.
The Chinese Repository, 1832–1851.
Clarke, Prescott. “The Development of the English Language Press on the China Coast, 1827–1881.” Master’s thesis, University of London, 1961.
Dobkin, Josephine C. “Chinnery and Houqua: Questions of Attribution.” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 48 (2013): 205–216. <https://doi.org/10.1086/675323>.
Downs, Jacques M. *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844*. With a new introduction by Frederic D. Grant. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014.
Goldstein, Jonathan. *Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1682–1846: Commercial, Cultural, and Attitudinal Effects*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978.

FOREIGN PRESS IN CHINA

- Grace, Richard J. *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014.
- Grant, Frederic D., Jr. "The April 1820 Debt Settlement between Conseequa and Benjamin Chew Wilcocks." In *Americans and Macao: Trade, Smuggling, and Diplomacy on the South China Coast*, edited by Paul A. Van Dyke, 73–94. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012.
- Gutzlaff, Charles. *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China, in 1831, 1832, & 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands*. London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1834.
- Johnson, Kendall A. *The New Middle Kingdom: China and the Early American Romance of Free Trade*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017. See esp. chap. 4, "The Sacred Fount of the ABCFM. Free Press, Free Trade, and Extraterritorial Printing in China."
- King, Frank H. H., ed., and Prescott Clarke. *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822–1911*. Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1965.
- Malcolm, Elizabeth L. "The Chinese Repository and Western Literature on China 1800 to 1850." *Modern Asian Studies* 7, no. 2 (Mar. 1973): 165–178. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00004534>.
- Permanyer-Ugarteandia, Ander. "Españoles en Cantón: los Diarios de Manuel de Agote, primer factor de la Real Compañía de Filipinas en China (1787–1796)." *Itsas Memoria. Revista de Estudios Marítimos del País Vasco*, no. 7 (2012): 523–546.
- . "Opium after the Manila Galleon: The Spanish involvement in the opium economy in East Asia (1815–1830)." *Investigaciones de Historia Económica* 10, no. 3 (Oct. 2014): 155–164.
- Rubinstein, Murray. "The Wars They Wanted: American Missionaries' Use of *The Chinese Repository* before the Opium War." *The American Neptune* 48, no. 2 (Spring 1988): 271–282.
- Van Dyke, Paul A. *Whampoa and the Canton Trade: Life and Death in a Chinese Port, 1700–1842*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2020.
- Wang, Shuo. *Negotiating Friendships: A Canton Merchant Between East and West in the Early 19th Century*. Boston: De Gruyter, 2020.
- Wu, Yixiong 吳義雄. "Zai hua xiren baokan yu yapian zhanzheng 在華西人報刊與鴉片戰爭 (Western Newspapers in China and the Opium War)." *Shehui kexue zhanxian 社會科學戰線* (Social Science Front), no. 6 (2010): 58–71.

