WU Songdi

REVIEW OF OLD CHINESE MARITIME CUSTOMS PUBLICATIONS: CENTERED ON THE COLLECTION OF THE HARVARD-YENCHING LIBRARY IN THE UNITED STATES*

The Maritime Customs of modern China were founded by foreigners. The position of chief executive of the Maritime Customs and Excise Department was for a long time held by foreigners. Most of the Maritime Customs officers of the General Tax Office and local Maritime Customs offices were foreigners. In the late Qing Dynasty, due to the incompetence and inefficiency of Chinese officials, the imperial government also charged the Maritime Customs Service with collecting most of the maritime trade taxes. In addition to the basic functions of Maritime Customs management such as foreign trade, taxation, and smuggling, modern Maritime Customs were also responsible for the berthing and diversion of ships, the installation and maintenance of coastal lighthouses and navigation marks, dredging channels, meteorological observations, and disease quarantine at various ports. The Maritime Customs were also responsible for handling the earliest modern postal communications business and quasi-consular business in China, handling Chinese workers going abroad, paying off external claims, and hosting various world fairs held abroad. At the same time, they also participated in various diplomatic and foreign affairs activities, such as reforming the Tongwen Guan (School of Combined Learning), sending students to study abroad, assisting in handling diplomatic missions, setting up foreign embassies and consulates in China, handling new navies, purchasing foreign arms, and acting as entourages for officials of the Qing government when sent on a diplomatic mission to foreign countries, participating in trade tariff negotiations, and so on.¹ It can be said that the Maritime Customs played an important role in the historical process of modern China.

In order to successfully complete various transactions, the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service established a strict declaration and summary system in accordance with western management and statistical concepts since 1860. The Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service also established a bookkeeping office (later renamed as the Statistical Office) to print a variety of publications for Maritime Customs officers and local officials to read. This system was maintained until 1949.

Today's scholars regard the various Maritime Customs publications as the most important database for studying modern China. However, because they were preserved as archives for a long time in China, libraries have not kept many, and the nature of the archives has made them inconvenient for readers to use. In addition, the Maritime Customs Service has traditionally been understood as an institution that manages import and export trade and tax collection, and scholars often overlook its special role in the Chinese government and society at the time. Therefore, few scholars use old Maritime Customs publications, and fewer people conduct comprehensive and in-depth research. In 1951, Han Qitong and Zheng Youkui published *China's Inter-port Trade Statistics from 1936 to 1940* compiled with Maritime Customs trade information [Han and Zheng 1951]. Since then, the use of Maritime Customs information to study Maritime Customs history and economic history gradually emerged in the 1950s and after the 1990s.

However, as far as Maritime Customs internal publications are concerned, there is no in-depth and comprehensive research. In the existing discourse, [Zheng 1934] and [Zhang 1980] basically introduced a compilation of the annual reports, and other systems were relatively neglected; Chen Shiqi only mentioned the publications system when introducing the trade statistics work of the Maritime Customs Service, and there was almost no discussion.² Zhan Qinghua focused on the characteristics and value of Maritime Customs Trade Reports [Zhan 2003; 2008]. Some of the chapters of Hamashita Takeshi's famous book *Economic History of Modern China: Maritime Customs Finance and Open Port Market Zones in Late Ch'ing China*, especially Chapter 3, contains a substantial explanation on how to understand Maritime Customs statistics. The "Chinese Maritime Customs History Information" attached to the end of the book is an excerpt from a large number of import and export trade data and a catalogue of seven major system documents. However, with the exception of the first, second, and fifth series, which each contain a summary introduction of the entire series, the introductions to the other series are quite brief [Hamashita 2006]. Thomas Lyons' *China Maritime Customs and China's Trade Statistics (1859–1948)* [Lyons 2009], taking Fujian as an example, had more discussion on Maritime Customs information. However, this book only studied part of the Statistical Series, and doesn't touch upon anything else. In recent years, the University of Bristol and the University of Cambridge collaborated to conduct research in the "Chinese Maritime Customs Project" [University of Bristol]. Due to different interests, however, they listed all the bibliographies of the old Maritime Customs internal publications, but did not study the publications themselves.

In the past ten years or so, various Trade Reports of China's old Maritime Customs have gradually received the attention of the academic community. In addition to some local provinces and municipalities' translation and publication of local Trade Reports, in 2001, in cooperation with the Second Historical Archives, the General Office of the General Administration of the Maritime Customs, and Jinghua Publishing House photocopied and published 170 large booklets of China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials [Zhongguo Dier Lishi Danganguan and Zhongguo Haiguan Zongshu Bangongting 2001, which have now become the most convenient to use material on China's old Maritime Customs at home and abroad. Since the original texts of the Maritime Customs Trade Reports that were translated in various places have been included in China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials, they belong to the first series of the seven series of old Maritime Customs publications; the other 6 series have basically not been published, and less people carry out systematic collation and research of them.

During a one-year visit to Harvard University in 2003, the author was fortunate to find that the Harvard-Yenching Library has a huge collection of old Chinese Maritime Customs publications. In the following year, the author delivered an article titled "A Treasure Trove of Modern History That Has not Been Fully Utilized: Review of China's Old Maritime Customs Series Publications" [Wu 2005], using the information collected by Harvard and *China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials* to introduce in detail the source and content of the special reports on statistics of the old Chinese Maritime Customs publications, such as the quarterly report, annual report, decennial report, the domestic trade book, and the monthly report, which to some extent has made up for the incompleteness of previous academic research on statistical series. In 2006 and 2007, at the suggestion of the director of the Harvard-Yenching Library, the Harvard-Yenching Institute invited me to visit there twice more, each for a three-month visit. During my one and a half year-long stay in the three visits. I was able to complete my reading of the entire collection of old Maritime Customs publications collected by the Harvard-Yenching Library and other libraries at Harvard University. In addition to collecting as much as possible, I also gave a detailed summary of the contents and features of each book, and compiled a complete catalogue of all the old Chinese Maritime Customs publications collected by Harvard University. In October 2006, I was invited to give a special report entitled "The Treasury of Chinese History (1840-1949): The Old Maritime Customs Publications of China Collected by the Harvard-Yenching Library" at the Fairbank Center of Harvard University. Since then, I have made several academic reports in China and foreign countries, and introduced the collection of Harvard University. Still, I didn't write an article. Considering that my own paper published in 2005 only covers the first series in the seven series of publications, and the other six series are not only different in content but also important, and that the academic community lacks a basic understanding of them, there is still a need for a detailed introduction.

In particular, Harvard University has the world's largest collection of old Chinese Maritime Customs publications. Of the first series that scholars use the most, Harvard has received a total of 464 issues (volumes), accounting for 91.7% of the total number of 506 issues (volumes), bound into 281 books. Of the second to seventh series, plus the 504 issues (volumes) outside the series, Harvard accounts for 42% of the total number (details below). Chinese scholars usually use the 170 volumes of *China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials* published in China for research, but this book only accounts for 60% of the first series of 280 books collected by Harvard. So far, domestic and foreign scholars have rarely used the second to seventh series and the Maritime Customs reports outside the series for research. There is no doubt that only a full use of the Harvard collection can provide a more comprehensive and detailed introduction to old Chinese Maritime Customs publications.

What is "old Chinese Maritime Customs publications"? According to the author, the various documents formed by the old Chinese Maritime Customs can be divided into 2 types by the criterion of whether they are published or not: the original archives that have not been printed and the publications that have been printed and published. The latter refers to the publications by the bookkeeping office of Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service (later renamed the Statistical Office), or the publications that were written by the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service and published in other publishing houses. The main purpose of writing and publishing these publications is for the needs of customs work, not for sale to the public. Therefore, it belongs to the customs' internal publications and is naturally different from the customs archives that maintain the original appearance.

The circular order No. 179 "Directives for the Distribution, Preservation and Use of Maritime Customs Publications" [Haiguan Zongshu "Jiu Zhongguo haiguan zong shuiwu sishu tongling xuanbian" Bianyi Weiyuanhui 2003: vol. 1, 247] issued on February 2, 1882 by the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, stipulates that among the six publications issued at that time, only "statistics, monographs, and miscellaneous publications are available for sale to the public"; these three categories were not intended for full release to the public, but for the Maritime Customs' own work, and only after portions were given as gifts within the Maritime Customs Service and retained by the bookkeeping office, the remaining portion was made available for sale. And for a long time, they were only sold in bookstores of four famous domestic and foreign commercial ports: Shanghai, Hong Kong, London, Yokohama. In 1883, a small number of publications such as the "Foreign Trade Returns of Customs at Treaty Ports" were published in Shanghai and abroad. According to the first volume of the "Foreign Trade Returns of Customs at Treaty Ports," it was a Chinese condensed version of "Returns of Trade at the Treaty Ports in China for the Year 1875," published at the first year of Guangxu (1875) and catalogued as statistical series No. 5 of the year. However, the author did not find any traces of public offering in this report and in subsequent reports. On the title page of the ninth volume compiled in the ninth year of Guangxu (1883), a side note appeared: "To Establish Shanghai Trading Maritime Customs bookkeeping office for translation of Returns of Trade at the Treaty Ports and printing them. The Publication of above-mentioned would be transferred to Kelly & Walsh Ltd. in the three locations of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Yokohama, Japan for sale." It is thus clear that it was no earlier than the ninth year of Guangxu that the general booklet became available for sale in the above three locations through Kelly & Walsh Ltd.

It can be seen that the Maritime Customs publications began to enter bookstores in a few cities at home and abroad due to the decision of the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service on February 2, 1882, to issue statistics, monographs, and miscellaneous publications to the public. However, according to the author's observation, even after 1883, it seems that only those Maritime Customs publications published in Chinese or in both Chinese and English could be distributed in bookstores. Perhaps for this reason rarely can more Maritime Customs publications be found in most libraries at home and abroad. Besides, it's harder to find them in archives centers than libraries because they are publications not originally intended to be preserved as archives.

I. THE SYSTEM AND ACADEMIC VALUE OF OLD CHINESE MARI-TIME CUSTOMS PUBLICATIONS

The Maritime Customs publications system is complex and varied, and with the repeated changes in the names of various reports in the long period of about 90 years, it is difficult to give a clear answer as to how many types of books have been published. The Maritime Customs publications are divided into seven series. The following trials are based on the author's reading and are discussed by series.

The first series, the Statistical Series, is the most important publication of the Maritime Customs. The most important parts of this series are Trade Return and Trade Report. Trade Return is basically composed of data; Trade Report is mainly written in words. Both of them were formed in the 1860s, initially taking each port as a unit. From 1882, Trade Return and Trade Report were merged, with the national and each local Maritime Customs as a unit, with a national overview first, and then various levels of discussion. Originally written in English only, and later in English and Chinese, the Chinese version is the "Foreign Trade Returns of Customs at Treaty Ports." The Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service and Commissioners analyzed trade and related political, economic, transportation, natural disasters, and other aspects in various regions through Trade Return and Trade Report. The "Foreign Trade Returns of Customs at Treaty Ports" was provided to officials in the central and port areas of the Qing Dynasty to read and to understand the trade situation and various factors affecting trade so that they could solve related problems. The various Trade Returns and Trade Reports in this series were basically published regularly, some were monthly reports, some were quarterly reports, and some were annual reports.

In 1882, the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service also ordered the preparation of a decennial report. The compilation lasted from 1882 until 1931. It was mainly composed of text, supplemented by a small amount of statistics, and sometimes accompanied by a fairly detailed map to show the scope of the Maritime Customs and the mountains, rivers, traffic, cities, villages, and towns in the Maritime Customs area. The contents of the report vary from period to period, but they are quite com-

plex. For example, the third period (1902–1911) covers 21 items: trade and shipping, taxation, opium, currency and finance, population, port facilities, beacons, postal telegraph, provincial administrative and provincial councils, judiciary, agriculture, mining, manufacturing, railways and highways, education, health, immigration, prices and wages, famine, disasters and infectious diseases, army and navy, local newspapers, and so on. The decennial report details the economic, cultural, and social changes in all aspects of the provinces and districts in the past ten years, like a regional encyclopedia.

The following describes the formation, period of existence, and number of books of each part of the first series. The special issue of the first series of "*List of Chinese Customs Publications*"³ is listed first and then explained.

- 1. *"Shanghai Customs Daily Returns"* published in 1866. Among the existing types in the first series of 1920 attached to the end of the long-term publication "Trade of Returns of Production and Sale of Foreign and Domestic Articles of the ninth year of Republic of China," No. 1 is still "Shanghai Customs Daily Returns."
- 2. "Quarterly Trade Returns" published quarterly. According to the catalogue attached to the 1880 Customs Quarterly Gazette, the quarterly report was first published in 1869. No. 1 was published in the first quarter of 1869, and thereafter each edition was numbered sequentially. The publishing was terminated in 1931 and about 248 issues had been published until then.
- "Annual Returns of Trade" published in 1859, has not been seen. It is suspected to be "Returns of the Import and Export Trade 1859–1866." Currently, Harvard and China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials contain 61 issues of early period reports from 14 Maritime Customs including Xiamen, Guangzhou, Zhifu, Zhenjiang, Fuzhou, Hankou, Jiujiang, Niuzhuang, Ningbo, Shanghai, Shantou, Danshui, Tianjin, and Dagou (one issue per port per year). Following the "Returns of the Import and Export Trade 1859–1866" uses the "Beturns of Trade at the Deta in China."

was the "Returns of Trade at the Ports in China Open by Treaty, 1867–1881," one issue per year, with a total of 15 issues.

- 4. *"Reports on Trade"* printed in 1865. Note that the full name of this report is *"Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports for the Year 1864–1881."* One issue per year, with a total of 18 issues.
- 5. *"Chinese Version of Returns of Trade"* first published in 1875, and the *"Chinese Version of Reports of Trade"* first published in 1889.

Note that the "Foreign Trade Returns of Customs at Treaty Ports" which was the only Chinese publication in the statistical series, is the Chinese version of the annual "*Returns of Trade (24th–61st issue) and Trade Reports (18th–55th issue)*" (but the content has been reduced). Before 1882, Trade Return and Trade Report were published separately, and published in combination after 1882 as "*Returns of Trade and Trade Reports*," but each part continued to be the original number of volumes, and was reflected in the title. One issue was published per year up to the 38th issue of 1919.

According to the title page of the third volume of the "Native Customs Trade Returns" received in the first series of Maritime Customs publications, Trade Return and Trade Report began to be published in 1875 and 1889 respectively. In 1878 (the fifth year of Guangxu), the seal of the "Foreign Trade Returns of Customs at Treaty Ports" was printed with the "fourth volume in Chinese of translated excerpts from the 20th volume in English." It can be seen that the first edition of the "Foreign Trade Returns of Customs at Treaty Ports" was printed in 1875, and the total volume of the printed book in 1878 was the 20th volume of the English Returns of Trade printed in the same year, which was the fourth volume of the Chinese version by order. Translation into Chinese of Reports of Trade Returns started in 1889. For this reason, the general booklet before 1889 consisted only of forms and there was no written discussion. After 1889, written discussion was added (called "Sketch of Trade"). The "Foreign Trade Returns of Customs at Treaty Ports" was issued annually, and a total of 38 issues were published up to 1912.

In 1913, the general booklet was renamed as "Foreign Trade Returns of Maritime Customs at Treaty Ports," but it was still the Chinese version of the *Returns of Trade and Trade Reports*, which was written in English. It was not published after 1920 and was replaced by "*Foreign Trade of China*," one issue per year, one volume per issue, published up to 1931, with a total of 12 issues.

And publications in both Chinese and English are as follows:

"The Trade of China, 1932–1948." Two volumes per year before 1936, later increasing to a total of 60 volumes.

"Shanghai Annual Returns of Foreign Trade, 1936, Analysis of Imports and Exports." One book.

- 6. "Decennial Reports on the Trade, Industries, etc. of the Ports Open to Foreign Commerce, and on the Condition and Development of the Treaty Port Provinces, 1882–1931." Generally known as the "Decennial Reports," one issue every ten years, with a total of five issues.
- 7. "Native Customs Trade Returns, 1904–1907." Three volumes.

- 8. *"Monthly Returns of the Foreign Trade of China"* beginning in 1932, ending in 1948, one issue per month, about 204 issues.
- 9. "Shanghai Monthly Returns of Foreign Trade" published in 1931.

In addition to the above nine types listed in the "List of Chinese Maritime Customs Publications," the following four types are not listed, but issues that the author read at Harvard:

- "Annual Trade Reports and Returns, 1923–1928." The Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service handed these over to each Maritime Customs office, which edited them by year. There was no unified title, but the name of the Maritime Customs and year were added to the Chinese version Trade Return and the English version of "Annual Trade Reports and Returns." They were published once a year, 6 issues in total. One large volume composed of one issue during 1923–1924. And then in 1925–1928 each volume had two issues, which made 10 large volumes in total if plus the above-mentioned.
- 2. "Monthly Reports on Trade at the Ports in China Open by Treaty to Foreign Trade, 1867." One issue per month, six issues in total received by Harvard, others are unknown.
- 3. "Monthly Returns of the Foreign Trade of Shanghai." According to Zheng Youkui's research, first printed in October 1931 [Zheng 1934: 286].
- 4. "Shanghai Annual Returns of Foreign Trade, 1936, Analysis of Imports and Exports." One volume.

Considering that the daily report, monthly returns, and monthly reports have the nature of the basic report, scholars basically rely on quarterly, annual, and decennial reports for research, and the collection situation of quite a few daily reports, monthly statements of account, and monthly reports we have no way to be known. We do not have to count all reports but the quarterly, annual, and decennial reports. According to the above, there are 506 issues (volumes) in total for the quarterly, annual, and decennial reports.

In addition to the largest series, the Statistical Series, there are 6 different series. Their format is quite different from the first series. Except for a minority of them (such as medical reports), they are special reports or professional papers for a specific thing or activity. Most of them are published irregularly, but some are special reports that are published annually. Introductions to each series are listed in the following.

The second series, the Special Series, has 44 numbers. The largest cat-

egory is Medical Reports, which is a semi-annual report, and was published from 1871 to 1910 with a total of 80 issues, bound by Harvard into nine large bindings. The numbers other than medical reports are almost all in the manner of one number for one book, which are all investigative reports on various aspects. The content is varied: first of all, an investigation of the import and export of commodities such as native opium, imported opium, Jiangnan silk, northeast tussah silk, medicinal materials in the middle reaches of the Yangtze River, southern tea, northeast soybean, jute, and so on. This is followed by investigations of market conditions and traffic on the Chinese mainland, such as the commerce in Chongqing, the waterway and economy in the Yichang-Zhenjiang section of the Yangtze River, a captain's manual for the upper stream of Yangtze River, the dredging of Shanghai Wusong River, the water transportation in Guangxi, the western Yunnan trade route, etc. In addition, it also included investigations on the Yellow River dam, seafarers' notices, typhoon laws, Chinese music, and taxes on the Chinese Maritime Customs since the Revolution of 1911.

The third series is the Miscellaneous Series with 54 numbers, each of which is basically a book. Reports of exhibits by China in the early World Expos make up the largest number, including various World Expos such as Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia in 1876, Paris in 1878, New Orleans in 1884–85, Paris in 1900, Hanoi in 1902, Louisiana in 1904, and Liège in 1905. Details of the exhibits at professional fairs such as the 1880 Berlin International Fisheries, 1883 London International Fisheries, 1884 London World Health, and others are introduced. The reports on various fairs frequently use a great deal of space to introduce China's trade ports, population economy, and foreign trade.

The other categories of the third series are also extremely complicated, roughly including: geological land lists of each Maritime Customs department, the names of Maritime Customs internal publications, Maritime Customs laws and regulations, the rules and procedures of the Maritime Customs, ship cargo legislations, tariff lists for each period, import and export tax and its classification table, conversion of weights and measures, export of Chinese herbal medicines, map of China's lighthouses, Sichuan vessels, sailboats and sampans of the Yangtze River, cargo ships in Shanghai, treaties and agreements signed between China and foreign countries, treaties between Korea and major powers, the diplomatic contest of the major powers in Korea in 1876–1889, and so on. Among them, some are professional journals published continuously for decades, such as "*List of Lighthouses, Light-vessels, Buoys, Beacons, etc., on the Coast and Rivers of China*," consisting of 3,000 pages or so.

The fourth series, the Service Series, has a total of 75 serial numbers,

mainly for the long-term issue of special issues for a certain aspect of work. The largest number is the "*Inspector General's Circulars*," which were first issued in 1861 and ended with No. 5700 in 1938. They are documents of Maritime Customs departments and local Maritime Customs issued by Chief Tax Officer Hart and his successors, as well as internal letters. The content consists of administrative affairs within the Maritime Customs. In addition, there are various special issues such as "*Service List*," "*Provisional Instructions for the Guidance of Out-door Staff*," "*Lighthouse Instructions*," "*Instructions for Preparing Returns of Trade and Revenue, etc*," and so on.

In addition to the special issues, some well-known documents for studying the internal work of the Maritime Customs, such as "*Provisional Instructions for the Guidance of the In-door Staff*" and "Documents Illustrative of the Origin, Development, and Activities of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service," also belong to the fourth series.

The fifth series, the Office Series, includes 132 numbers, one number for one report. Ouite a large proportion of the literature are documents on the Maritime Customs to solve problems encountered in previous years of work, such as: Chinese immigrants in Cuba in 1876, opium trade at the trading ports and opium smuggling and Maritime Customs countermeasures in Hong Kong and Guangdong coastal areas, Kowloon Maritime Customs, diplomatic documents arising from problems such as the berthing of foreign ships and the concession in Zhenjiang in 1876, Lijin 釐金 along the Yangtze River, and in Suzhou and Hangzhou, domestic taxation of Changguan, dredging of ports, registration and management of sailing vessels, tariff revisions of 1865-1872, Maritime Customs Open Report in Yuevang, Hunan, salt production and taxes, as well as special reports on the Xinhai Revolution in 1911 and the business of each custom along the Great Wall in 1933. There are also some related to the rules of commerce and trade, such as the proposal from the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service to the ministry of foreign affairs to establish good business practices, and trade port loading and unloading regulations. There are also reports reflecting the financial situation at that time, such as the Maritime Customs port banks and local currency, the weight and value of Sycee, copper coins, and China's currency. In addition, there are some reports related to lighthouses, Customs officers, the Customs officer organization, Native Maritime Customs reports, shipping department reports, and Customs officers' travel information on the Mainland.

The sixth series, the Inspectorate Series, has 10 numbers, one number for one report, including the text of the telegraph code, the list of Maritime Customs publications, the proposal to amend the Yangtze River navigation regulations, recollections of the Maritime Customs establishment process in 1854, and the collection and expenditure of the Maritime Customs and constant tariffs since the 1911 Revolution, Hong Kong and the Chinese Maritime Customs, and notices of the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service from 1911 to 1933, etc.

The seventh series is the Postal Series. Note that Hamashita Takeshi listed ten reports of this series and no one else ever mentioned this series. Hamashita Takeshi read three of the reports: No. 3 is on provisions for the establishment of letters, parcels, etc. and postage fees in Beijing and 16 other places; No. 4 is on provisions for the establishment of the Telecom Bureau, which mainly handled communications with overseas Chinese embassies through the Shipping Merchants Bureau in 1878; No. 5 stipulates the use of romanized Chinese pronunciations in postal and telegraph services [Hamashita 2006: 801]. The author read two of the terms: No. 6 *"Index to the Postal Working Maps*," the first edition of which was published in 1903; No. 10 *"Postal Guide and List of Post Offices*," published in 1910, mainly introduces the work of various post offices and the names of post offices around the country.

It is worth noting that the cover labels of the postal reports are different before and after. No. 6 marks the book to be a Chinese Maritime Customs publication, published under the order of the Chinese Maritime Customs and the Inspector-General of the Chinese Postal Service, and No. 10 marks the book to be a China Post publication, edited by the Postal Department of the Qing Dynasty. Note that Qing Dynasty Post was founded by the Maritime Customs. On March 20, 1896 the Qing government established the "Daging Post Office" and appointed Hart as the first general officer of the Post Office in China. The Maritime Customs still maintained the postal service until 1911, when the Maritime Customs handed it over together with personnel and real estate to the Postal Department. It is evident that the title "Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service and Chinese Postal Service" was changed after Hart-who was in charge as Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Servicewas also appointed as general officer of the Post Office on March 20, 1896, from the name "Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service." No. 10 was an outcome of the Post Office being attributed to the Postal Department. It is puzzling that it was in May 1911 that the Postal Department officially took over China Post Office but the previous postal report for nearly one year was no longer using "Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service and Chinese Postal Service"-it had changed to "Post Office."

In addition to the above seven series, there are dozens of books edited or published by the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service but not included in any series of books, which may be referred to as "non-series books." According to the "List of Chinese Maritime Customs Publications," there are as many as 73 types outside the series.

The author found 36 types in Harvard, including the following categories:

- 1. Linguistic works, such as "Language Collection," "Nanjing Mandarin," Chinese Rhetoric Manual, English-Chinese Standard Spoken Dictionary, and Chinese Textbook.
- 2. Maritime Customs Code and Work Manual, such as a compilation of Maritime Customs regulations, the Shanghai Maritime Customs work manual, a temporary list of Maritime Customs officers, the tariffs for Maritime Customs import, export, and re-export, and a collection of documents describing the origin, development, and activities of the Maritime Customs.
- 3. Bank and currency reports, such as the Chinese currency in 1901, the banks and prices in 1905, etc.
- 4. Sino-foreign relations and Korea, such as the Chinese and foreign treaties and agreements during 1689–1886 and the Korean government of 1894–1895.

The second to seventh series above, plus the non-series books, are generally one number for one book, but there are also a small number of books that are in the manner of one number for multiple books or bound into multiple books. They are:

In the second series: "Medical Reports," 80 issues, stapled by Harvard into nine large booklets.

In the third series: "The List of Lighthouses, Light Boats, Buoys, and Street Lamps along the Yangtze River in China," stapled by Harvard into six books.

In the fourth series: "Service List, 1884–1888, 1902–1905," a total of ten books; "Documents Illustrative of the Origin, Development, and Activities of the Chinese Customs Service," a total of seven books.

Non-series books: "Language Collection," three books; "Temporary List of Maritime Customs Officers," three books; "Compilation of Tariff Cases," three books; "*Text Book of Modern Documentary Chinese for the Special Use of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service*," two books.

The second to seventh series mentioned above and the books outside series total about 504 issues (volumes). Including the first series of 506 issues

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(volumes) brings the total up to 1,010 issues (volumes). This figure does not include daily reports, monthly books, and monthly reports. Therefore, the old Maritime Customs publications may be the largest database of Chinese modern history research.

In addition to the enormous volume, Maritime Customs internal publications have many advantages that modern Chinese literature does not have.

First, they are systematic. From 1860, the Maritime Customs Service established a strict declaration and summary system. The Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service regularly edited and published reports on this basis. There are monthly reports, quarterly reports, annual reports, and special reports. Some important ports even have daily newspapers, weekly newspapers, or ten-day newspapers. This system of regular reporting and distribution was maintained until 1949, covering 80% of the years of modern China. In the various literature concerning modern China, it is estimated that there is no more systematic information than Maritime Customs internal publications.

Second, they are scientific. The data and text descriptions in the Maritime Customs publications are reported in accordance with the Western economic system and scientific standards, and are reported in a unified manner and format. They are obviously more scientific and rigorous than the casual statistics of the officials of the Qing Dynasty and the random descriptions of the scholar-officials. In fact, a large part of the economic, trade, and even scientific vocabulary that China is still using today first appeared in Maritime Customs internal publications. Since these terms are still in use today, Maritime Customs reports can be used as they are and do not have to be converted into modern vocabulary. Even medical reports are written by Western doctors in the Maritime Customs Service, using modern medical language that is still in use today, and medical history researchers can also use it directly.

Third, the content is varied and all-encompassing. Maritime Customs internal publications are not only the basic materials for studying the history of China's modern Maritime Customs and the history of foreign trade, but also a treasure trove of information on various aspects of the history of transportation, industry, politics, medicine, ecological change, as well as of regional history. The contents of the second to seventh series and the non-series books can be thought of as all-encompassing from the names of some of the reports, and the first series of Trade Returns and Trade Reports also cover everything related to trade: the economic situation at home and abroad, supply and demand of goods, conditions of industrial and agricultural production and traffic that affect China's import and export trade, political unrest and natural disasters, consumption habits of Chinese people, finance and prices, urban construction, laws and decrees, media and information dissemination, etc. Even the study of modern ecological changes would be difficult without Trade Reports. For example, the Trade Report of nearly ten ports on the Yangtze River which started from the 1860s had a graph reflecting the fluctuations of the water level in the local Yangtze River section every year. The relevant data is clear at a glance. The earliest records of temperature and precipitation in cities, the earliest city maps drawn by scientific methods, and the river maps of the Yellow River, the Yangtze River, the Minjiang River, the Xijiang River, and other rivers that were first drawn by scientific methods are often seen earlier in Trade Reports.

Fourth, the records are detailed and meticulous, frequently using data to illustrate the problems, which is far better than the general descriptions found in most Chinese literature. Examples of this are everywhere. On August 22 and 25, 1889, Ningbo area was hit by heavy winds and heavy rains. The fertile land was flooded and numerous people became victims of the natural calamity. The township, county, provincial gazetteer, and Maritime Customs records all recorded details about the disaster. However, a tremendous difference can be recognized in the richness and accuracy of the contents. Examples are quoted as follows:

Records of Chinese local gazetteer:

- Fenghua County Guangxu "Zhongyi Village Local Gazetteer," Vol. 20 "Auspiciousness and disaster": "Raining continued from August to October, the harvest decreased."
- Guangxu "Cixi County Local Gazetteer," Vol. 55 "Auspiciousness and disaster": "From August to October, heavy rain caused floods, the crops were drowned and rotten. The tax of grain would be reduced by 3/10 next year."
- The Republic of China "Continued Local Gazetteer of Zhejiang Province," Vol. 73 "Disasters"; Jixian, "August, heavy rain continued, water surged, and crops were damaged."

Records of Maritime Customs trade report:

"On August 22 and 25, 1889, eighth-level winds accompanied by heavy downpours caused great damage to Ningbo and surrounding areas. The rivers soared and the waters rushed, washing away two pontoons in Ningbo, flooding the foreign concession embankments, and flowing in the streets. The surrounding countryside was flooded and many people drowned. On the 24th, the rainfall reached 10 inches. More than 500 houses in Fenghua were washed away by water waves, and the harvest of rice and cotton was seriously damaged. On September 20th of the same year, heavy rain started again and continued until October 27th. Floods in many areas have caused great deaths and property loss. Most of the harvest losses have caused difficulties and worries among the people, gentry, and officials. The price of rice skyrocketed, and local bureaucrats were besieged by the villagers every day asking for a tax exemption or other assistance. Many places have been in turmoil, and some wealthy households have been robbed by resentful farmers. By the first half of November, the weather was good, and farmers got half of the harvest; things got better, and rice prices fell back. Most of the poor people are employed in public welfare. In order to relieve poverty, the emperor and the empress issued 100,000 ounces, and the vice-governor of the province took out 150,000 ounces, and with the large amount of money raised by the committee established for this purpose, they were able to survive the winter that followed, the hardships were alleviated and illegal activities were rare. After the spring of 1890, there were no more extraordinary measures" [Hangzhou Haiguan 2002: 27-28].

According to the above, the records of the township, county, and provincial gazetteer are generally simple and rough. They only mentioned the time of the rain, and the floods are simply described with a few words such as "the harvest decreased" and "the crops were damaged." Among the records of these local gazetteers, the longest was 26 words, and the shortest was no more than 11 words, and there was little quantitative analysis. However, the Maritime Customs Trade Reports of the year uses nearly 400 words and was recorded in detail. It not only records the time of wind and rain, the level of wind, the amount of rainfall and the number of pontoons washed away in Ningbo, and the number of houses washed away in Fenghua County, but also the number of stipends issued by the court and Zhejiang Province, and even mentions the local bureaucrats being besieged by the villagers, wealthy households being robbed, and the effective relief of the government greatly reducing the illegal activities.

Similar to the above, many examples can be found showing Chinese literature being simple and lacking data, and Maritime Customs reports being detailed and data-based. The author has gained such an impression on reading the Maritime Customs reports and related Chinese literature for many years: the same incident, which is recorded in the Maritime Customs report, is generally more detailed than the Chinese literature, and has records of numbers, and there is also some analysis. Therefore, in the study of modern history, where there are records in Maritime Customs documents, they should generally be read and used.

In short, the information about modern China is certainly vast, but documents like Maritime Customs publications, which cover 80% of the era of modern China, so rich in content, strictly in accordance with Western scientific systems in terms of analytical standards and statistical methods, as detailed as possible in terms of discussion and commonly used data, are quite rare. Old Chinese Maritime Customs publications can be said to be the largest, most scientific, most systematic, and most accurate treasure trove of research on China's modern economic history and even other aspects of modern times.

II. HARVARD-YENCHING LIBRARY: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COL-LECTION OF OLD CHINESE MARITIME CUSTOMS PUBLICATIONS

According to the author's preliminary research, the Harvard-Yenching Library may be the largest collection of China's old Maritime Customs internal publications.

As mentioned above, if we exclude the daily reports, monthly books, and monthly reports in the first series, all kinds of special issues add up to 506 issues (volumes). How many of these 506 issues (volumes) are Harvard's collections?

- 1. "Quarterly Trade Returns *1869–1931*," about 248 issues. Harvard University has a total of 239 quarterly reports from the first issue of the first quarter of 1869 to the first quarter of 1929, except for 1882, 1883, and the first quarter of 1922, bound into 67 books.
- 2. "Returns of the Import and Export Trade *1859–1866*." In the 61 reports the author has seen, Harvard has 36 issues which are bound into 14 books.
- 3. "Returns of Trade at the Ports in China Open by Treaty *1867–1881*," a total of 15 issues; Harvard has all of them, filed into 15 books.
- 4. "Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports for the Year 1864–1881," a total of 18 issues, all at Harvard, packed into 17 books.
- 5. "Trade Returns" No. 24–61 and "Trade Reports" No. 18–55, a total of 38 issues, all at Harvard, bound into 45 books.
- "Foreign Trade Returns of Customs at Treaty Ports," a total of 38 issues. The Harvard collection includes the general booklet of the fourth to 34th years of Guangxu (1878–1908), but is lacking the 31st year of Guangxu, a total of 30 books.

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- 7. "Foreign Trade of China," a total of 12 issues; Harvard has all of them, bound into 12 books.
- 8. "The Trade of China *1932–1948*," a total of 60 books; Harvard has all of them.
- 9. "Shanghai Annual Returns of Foreign Trade," one book, which is at Harvard.
- "Decennial Reports on the Trade, Industries, etc. of the Ports Open to Foreign Commerce, and on the Condition and Development of the Treaty Port Provinces, 1882–1931," a total of 5 issues; Harvard has all of them, bound into eight large booklets.
- 11. "Regular Report 1904–1907," three volumes; Harvard has all of them, bound into one book.
- 12. "Annual Trade Reports and Returns 1923–1928," a total of six issues; Harvard has all of them, bound into ten large booklets.
- 13. "Shanghai Annual Returns of Foreign Trade," the author saw among Harvard's collections, which is bound into one book.

In summary, of the 13 reports of the first series, the Harvard collection has 464 issues (volumes), accounting for 91.7% of all 506 issues (volumes), which are bound into 281 books. It can be said that Harvard has most of the basic part of the first series. Of the 504 issues (volumes) including the second to seventh series and the non-series books, according to the author, Harvard received 212 issues (volumes), accounting for 42%, which are bound into 142 books. It can be said that Harvard also has a certain amount of the second to seventh series and the non-series books.

In China, old Maritime Customs publications had long been deeply hidden in some archives, and researchers were not easy to access. Since the 1990s, some provinces where the original Maritime Customs were located have translated and internally published the annual Trade Reports and decennial reports on local ports for internal research on local history, and a few have been published. In 2001, Jinghua Publishing House photocopied and published 170 large booklets of "China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials." However, this set of materials only includes photocopies of the annual Trade Returns, annual trade reports, and decennial reports in the Statistical Series. It did not include the other parts of this series, let along any part of other series. Therefore, "China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials" actually only included a small part of Maritime Customs publications.

Some of the annual Trade Returns and Trade Reports of the first series received by Harvard were not included in *China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials*. They are:

- "Returns of the Import and Export Trade 1859–1866," which is China's earliest annual trade book, missing: Shanghai, 1861, Vol. 10; Tianjin, May–December 1861, 1862, Vol. 14; Shantou, July–December 1860, Vol. 12; Xiamen, 1865, Vol. 1; Hankou, 1865, Vol. 6; Tamsui, 1865, Vol. 13.
- 2. "Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports for the Year 1864–1881," a total of 18 issues.
- 3. "Foreign Trade Returns of Customs at Treaty Ports," lacking contents for the years 1878, 1880, 1881, 1885.
- 4. "Annual Trade Reports and Returns1923–1928," a total of 10 books.
- 5. The annual reports for the three years from 1920 to 1922 were not published separately, but were placed in the reports for the fourth quarter of each year. Harvard has all of them, while *China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials* does not include.

Regarding the above annual Trade Returns and Trade Reports, there are almost 40 copies that are received by Harvard but not included in *China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials*, covering 33 years: 1859–1881, 1885, 1920–1928, accounting for 37.5% of all statistical years of the old Maritime Customs of China. It can be said that, without referring to the annual publications of the above years, around one-quarter of the history of foreign trade in modern China is not easy to understand, and lacks quite a wealth of information on social economy, politics, culture, and natural change.

Why did *China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials* not include these annual publications? Can the reason for the omission be that the Second Historical Archives, which published *China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials*, had not collected such information? Some publications not being included may be because the editors had no knowledge of these publications. For example, *China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials* did not have the annual reports for the three years from 1920 to 1922. It is likely that the editors did not know that the annual reports for the three years were placed in the quarterly report, so they were not included in the annual report, not necessarily because the books did not exist. Of course, we also have reason to believe that some of the books not being included was really because they were missing. I did not find the relevant directory of old Maritime Customs information directory in the Second Historical Archives.

The "Foreword" of *China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials* explains the source of the book: in 1980, the General Office of the State

Council issued a notice to the whole country, and the archives of the central government of the old regime were transferred to and stored in the Second Historical Archives of China. Old Maritime Customs archives which were originally placed in archive center of the General Administration of Maritime Customs in Huaxian County, Shanxi Province, the Tianjin Maritime Customs, and the Shanghai Maritime Customs, were centralized and stored in the Second Historical Archives and were organized there. During the arrangement, still some omissions were found. Therefore, when the China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials was being edited, they also searched some libraries and archives in Jilin, Liaoning, Beijing, Tianjin, Shandong, Jiangsu, Shanghai, Zhejiang, Hunan, Jiangxi, Guangdong, Guangxi, and other provinces and cities to make up the supplement. Despite this, Maritime Customs information for some years (especially during the Puppet Manchurian period) has not yet been collected. It seems that the old Maritime Customs archives collected by the Second Historical Archives of China should be the most comprehensive and complete in the country, and the editorial team of the China's Old Maritime Customs Historical Materials could spare no effort to collect Maritime Customs information. Those annual publications that failed to be included must be part of those that were not received in these Archives nor found in the country. Therefore, the annual publications of the old Maritime Customs of the Harvard collection are not only quite complete, but there may be some missing from the Second Historical Archives of China.

Regarding the old Chinese Maritime Customs publications collected by Harvard, are there any books among the sections other than the annual publications of the Statistical Series and other seven series that are not easily seen in other famous libraries? The answer is yes.

The School of Oriental & African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London is one of the UK's largest collections of China's old Maritime Customs information. It can be seen by searching the bibliography of *Papers Relating to the Chinese Maritime Customs*, 1860–1943 compiled by the university library in 1973, that the library's collection of China's old Maritime Customs information should not be as good as Harvard. In the books I have examined, No. 2 "Medical Report" and No. 41 "China's Customs Revenue since the Revolution of 1911" of the Special Series, No. 81 "Salt: Production and Taxation" of the Office Series, No. 2 "Trade Statistics of the Treaty Ports for the Period 1863–1872" and No. 46 "Catalogue of Maritime Customs Publication" of the Miscellaneous Series are all owned by Harvard, while the School of Oriental & African Studies does not have them.

The Center for Chinese Research Materials, affiliated to the Association of Research Libraries (ARL) in the United States, used old Chinese Maritime Customs publications in the Harvard-Yenching Library in the 1970s to produce a microfilm of "*Chinese Maritime Customs Publications*," which has a total of 100 volumes. Since then, some universities in Europe and the United States have also purchased this microfilm, which has been the main Maritime Customs information for some foreign experts to study on modern China,⁴ but this microfilm only accounts for a small part of the Chinese Maritime Customs publications collected by Harvard. In this analysis, the Harvard-Yenching Library is undoubtedly the unit that collects the most Chinese Maritime Customs publications in the United States.

Prof. Hamashita Takeshi says that he has been using the internal publications of old Chinese Maritime Customs collected by Japan to study the modern economic history of China: "Since it is impossible to browse all the Maritime Customs publications at a certain collection agency, this catalogue refers to the products of many collections," which includes those of Toyo Bunko, Hitotsubashi University, and the University of Tokyo. The bibliography attached by him lists the names of collectors of the book, and shows us one aspect of the collections of old Chinese Maritime Customs publications in Japan. For example, for the first series, which scholars use the most, there are some special issues that are completely preserved by certain institutions, but a considerable proportion of the special issues are scattered in different libraries. For example, for the "Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports for the Year 1864–1881," the different parts are collected by Toyo Bunko (1866-1867, 1868, part I-1880, part I, 1881, part I), Cabinet Library (1873-1880), and the National Diet Library (1876, part I, 1878, part I, 1879, part I). The special issues listed by Prof. Hamashita are all available at Harvard, with only one or two exceptions of special issues. In the second to seventh series and the non-series books, there are only 69 types from the listed institutions, far less than the 106 types at Harvard. Prof. Hamashita Takeshi is certainly looking for information for his own research, so those that are not related to his research may not be included in the bibliography. However, there are still quite a few of the Maritime Customs reports that Harvard has but he has not seen in Japan that are actually useful for his research. If they could be found in Japan, he would certainly have seen them. It can be seen that the collection of old Chinese Maritime Customs publications in Japan is not only less than Harvard in general, but also scattered in different libraries.

In summary, the Harvard-Yenching Library is undoubtedly the largest collection of old Chinese Maritime Customs publications. If the unpublished part could be published, it would greatly facilitate their use by scholars from all over the world, and open the largest, most reliable, most systematic and scientific treasure trove for the study of modern Chinese history. With the support of the Harvard-Yenching Library, the "Unpublished Old Chinese Maritime Customs Historical Materials collected by Harvard University Library of the United States" was edited by the author and published by Guangxi Normal University Press, which selected Maritime Customs publications not published in China or foreign countries, about 109 types and 278 books—more than 150,000 pages in total. It will be available in late 2012 or 2013, and will surely become a major event in the publication of research materials on modern Chinese history.

III. THE MAIN SOURCE OF OLD CHINESE MARITIME CUSTOMS PUBLICATIONS IN THE HARVARD-YENCHING LIBRARY

On the back cover or title page of the old Chinese Maritime Customs publications collected by the Harvard-Yenching Library, there are generally the phrases "Gift of ...," "From ...," etc., which indicate the source of the book and the date of the gift. I used these texts for statistical analysis and acquired the following impressions:

In 17 special issues of the first series, except three less important special issues ("Monthly Returns of the Foreign Trade of China 1932–1948," "Monthly Returns of Foreign Trade of Shanghai 1946," and "*Yearly Returns of the Foreign and Interport Trade of Canton*"), the remaining 14 types were received as gifts.

Among the second to seventh series and the non-series books, only 23 types indicate the presenters' names and times of giving, accounting for only 21.7% of the 106 types Harvard has. For the second to seventh series and the non-series books that did not indicate the names of the presenters, there is no way to check whether Harvard received them as gift and for some reason did not pay enough attention to names, or they were not presented as gifts at all. If you consider that most of the first series comes from gifts, the possibility that quite a large part of the second to seventh series were received as gifts cannot be denied.

The old Chinese Maritime Customs internal publications at Harvard were mainly presented by the Chinese Maritime Customs Office in London led by Edward B. Drew (1843–1924), J.D. Campbell, or other inspectors, and the bookkeeping office of the Inspector-General of Customs, Shanghai; later on came gifts from H.B. Morse, Archibald C. Coolidge, S.G. Dexter, and the Fairbank Library. Due to the relatively narrow sales channels of old Chinese Maritime Customs publications, they were sold in only one bookstore in a few cities worldwide. Without the enthusiasm of the above individuals or units, Harvard probably could not have found so many books.

This is probably the reason why Harvard has the largest number of old Chinese Maritime Customs publications in the world.

Among the above-mentioned presenters, the identity of S.G. Dexter is unclear, Archibald C, Coolidge was a historian. The Fairbank Library is the famous library of the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, and the rest are from the institutions or staff from the old Maritime Customs. The institutions that presented books are basically the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service or its London office. The individuals who sent books were all important staff members of the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service. Among them, Edward B. Drew and H.B. Morse had served as the heads of the bookkeeping office of the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service in charge of publication, and J.D. Campbell had been the head of the Chinese Maritime Customs Office in London, and maintained a good personal relationship with Hart, the head of the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service. I also found some old Maritime Customs publications presented by Hart himself. Obviously, if the contributors had not come from such backgrounds, it would have been impossible for Harvard University to continuously obtain relatively complete old Maritime Customs publications for as long as 90 years.

Among the above-mentioned presenters, Edward B. Drew, the first contributor, was invited by Hart to join the Inspectorate-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service after obtaining Bachelor's and Master's degrees from Harvard University. Another major presenter, H.B. Morse, was British but also graduated from Harvard University. They had good personal relationships with J.D. Campbell and Hart. Their feelings for Harvard or their friendships might have been one of the main motivations for them to send books to Harvard University.

NOTES

- * This article is the English translation of [Wu 2011]. The original article is the result of the 2011 Shanghai Social Science Planning Special Research Project "Collection, Organization, and Research of Old Chinese Maritime Customs Internal Publications and Related Materials." I am indebted to Dr. Tan Jiawei for his careful checks of the English.
- 1 There are many discussions on this aspect, such as [Chen 2002].
- 2 [Chen 2002] refers to the names of various publications. Compared with this article, it lacks an Inspectorate Series and Postal Series, while the Statistical Series only includes "Trade Returns."
- 3 Appendix of "Documents Illustrative of the Origin, Development and Ac-

tivities of the Chinese Customs Service," No. 69 of the fourth Series "Service Series" of old Maritime Customs publications.

4 I once consulted with Prof. Hamashita Takeshi about which countries' libraries he had used to access Maritime Customs reports in his study of modern Chinese history. In his letter of reply, he informed me of the names of those libraries one by one, and specifically pointed out: "The main Maritime Customs information that I used was the 100-volume film edited by the Center for Chinese Research Materials of the Association of Research Libraries."

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