

Social Relations in the Canton Trade:

Information Flows, Trust, Space and Gender in the Swedish East India Company

Lisa HELLMAN

広州貿易における社会関係

——スウェーデン東インド会社における情報のフロー・信頼・空間とジェンダー——

リサ・ヘルマン

Abstract

This paper studies the social relations of the employees of the Swedish East India Company 1730–1820. This is done through examining logbooks and travel writings from several different companies describing everyday life in Canton, through the concepts information, trust, space and gender. There were several different channels for information flows, but the evaluation of this information relied on the establishment of trust. Space is found to have big impact both on interaction, power relations and how information could be transferred. These four aspects of interactions illuminate how social relations connected different spheres of global interaction, and how these relations were gendered.

Key words: Swedish East India Company, Information, Trust, Space, Gender

Studying social relations

The Canton trade had big impact on both a local and global scale through economic, political, cultural changes and exchanges. But in order to properly understand this exchange, one must start with the everyday reality of the trade, and the social relations defining it. This analysis uses the concept of social relations as a system of social practices, as established by Erving Goffman.¹⁾ I separate social practices into the concepts trust, information and space, all of which will finally be re-imagined in light of gender. All of these aspects interact with and relate to each other, and together they constitute power relations, which explains some of the trade structure in Canton.

My study focuses on the Swedish East India company, for two reasons: it has not been as exhaustively studied as other trade companies, and it can prove fruitful alternative perspective to see the social relations of a party that was not among the leading ones—the Swedish East India Company was neither large nor powerful.²⁾ That said, this study must by necessity include other groups than the Swedes. The history of the Canton trade has long been written

as many separate stories, from the point of single companies or even traders (notable exceptions are Paul van Dyke and E. W. Cheong³), but in reality a lot of groups were thoroughly entangled in this society. I try to highlight the intersections and common points in this entangled history.⁴ The Swedish company employees affected, and were affected by, the other company employees, private traders and Chinese, that it would be misleading to separate these threads from the social web in which these relations were formed. So although the Swedish supercargoes are at the core of this study, and I use Swedish company material, it will be complemented by material from other companies as well as non-company sources.

At the centre of this paper lies the formation of patterns of meaningful actions, actions related to other people in the same environment—practices. A study of social relations is to study how they were formed by social practices, and which practices were important.⁵ Relations are sometimes short-term and volatile, and sometimes lifelong and stabile. I focus on the social practices of the employees of the Swedish company during one particular time—sometimes just a single occasion. In this, they are different from networks, which by necessity are formed during time, and although changing in nature not as flexible and everchanging as the social relations. Two people can have two separate relationships at the same time, which is why I will focus on the relation in itself rather than the network in which it takes place.

I use a combination of source material in this study, mostly company logbooks for everyday descriptions of trade, and travel writings for interpretations of this. The logbooks, journals and travel writings are all rife with source critical problems. They were written by the supercargoes in Canton, to be read by the Board of Directors home in Sweden. Therefore, they give an improved version of their actions and the rationality therein. However, these descriptions were also read and used by future supercargoes, and had there not been a grain of truth in their descriptions, they would not have been especially useful.

The travel writings are often entertaining, long and beautifully illustrated works. But when using them, one must ask the question why we have this formidable amount of writings? The answer is, as per usual, because someone benefited from producing them. And when it comes to the eighteenth century travel writings from China, the authors profited a great deal. Partly, China was a very popular subject, whether one saw it as an orderly ideal society or a horrendous tyranny. Partly, it was connected to natural history, which flourished in Sweden during a large part of the eighteenth century and to show one's connection to natural history could be very advantageous, in terms of money and social capital. Although the originality and objectivity of these travel journals was stressed, particularly in their own prefaces and later reprints, they are notoriously dependent on the genre in which they were written. The travellers saw what they expected to see, in the right order, and wrote it as such.⁶

The Swedish East India Company was established in 1731, by a group of merchants of which many were much involved in international trade, many of them Scotsmen. The company was based on the model of other East India Companies doing charter trade. The initial ambition of the Swedish company was to open trade both with the Bengal and with China, but after a few expeditions where they met strong resistance from already established trade companies, they focussed their trade on Canton. There they found a harbour where they could trade on the same conditions as the other European nations—in that sense, the restricted environment of Canton meant freedom from

a Swedish point of view.

Albeit the regulation of information flows, the establishment of trust and spatial strategies are intertwined aspects of an already entangled web of multinational social relations, I will focus on each of them separately in order to properly illuminate them. First when they have been studied one by one will I connect these social practices to gender, since they all constitute parts of a gendered performance.

Information flows

Access to reliable information was essential for commercial success. In 1738 the English supercargoes wrote “We are not Insensible of the Importance of Good Intelligence to men in commerce, and if you Excuse the Metaphor we’ll call it the eyes of it, because it answers many of those purposes in Trade that Eyes do in Living Bodies”.⁷⁾ The exchange of business information during early modern times was just as important as today. You would need so called propositional knowledge, that is knowledge about goods, local practices, measures etc., as well as knowledge about how to make deals, write letters and how to comport yourself.⁸⁾ You needed both to transfer information between different employees of the company, and to evaluate information given by the Chinese merchants and by other companies and private traders. The vulnerable position of the foreign traders in Canton and the cultural distance to the Chinese merchants made it indispensable to gather information, to know how, when and where to exchange it, and to be able to gauge its reliability.

The English East India Company had to rely on individual functionaries to provide information, but they produced large amounts of handbooks compiled of letters, notes and correspondence, to transmit procedures and commercial practices within the organization.⁹⁾ They also standardised the letters sent within the company around 1700, by introducing rhetorical standards, what to discuss and how.¹⁰⁾ The Swedes did not have such a big system for communicating knowledge, but they also transferred propositional knowledge through reading earlier journals and logbooks, as well as reading travel writings. The travel writings, as an example, mention a lot of things worth noting for a trader, such as the layout of the harbour, prices, and how to act in a Chinese merchant’s home, and how to greet him.¹¹⁾ Some of the business information mentioned would have been directly useful, such as knowing that when the Chinese merchants wanted to explain that goods was of good quality, they would claim that it was from Nanking, a place renowned for its good quality. That it really was from Nanking, the author warns, was far from always the case.¹²⁾ But these descriptions were also full of prejudices, misconceptions and were often contradictory, for example the expression ‘thank you’. The employees Olof Torén and Pehr Osbeck, who were in Canton at the same time, both stress the importance of knowing it, but suggest the term “Kia Kia” and “Håa Håa” respectively.¹³⁾ But it was common knowledge even then that the trustworthiness and independence of these travel writings were in question. They might not have been very widely trusted by those who went to Canton.

The economic historian Donald Harreld draws the conclusion that the spread of merchant manuals in the early modern period led to a significant reduction of interpersonal communication among merchants, the kind that was facilitated by, and led to, merchant networks.¹⁴⁾ But in Canton, the face-to-face meeting was still crucial. They had no choice—the handbooks were simply not good enough. There is also the fact of how hard it was to exchange

information between continents. News arrived not only late but also in confusing order. News could be carried on several different ships, arriving in Europe in a different order than that in which they left Asia, and the age of the news when arriving would vary between 110–147 days from the Bengal, a time span which would be significantly longer to and from Canton.¹⁵⁾ This made information even more valuable. The books of accounts and books with letter copies often existed in three duplicates, and the captains were prepared to throw them overboard should anything happen, since the information they contained was crucial for the success of the company.¹⁶⁾

Most of the information was thus exchanged directly, in personal meetings. Trade information exchanged in a local network was during this time seen as better and more reliable, than that through organisations.¹⁷⁾ Indeed, quite often it is striking how much and how quickly the Swedish traders know what was happening in Canton. The companies know when the ships of other nations arrive and depart.¹⁸⁾ They knew well where their trade partners and competitors were. It was noted exactly which ships were present, from which nation, and when they came and left.¹⁹⁾

How was such information exchanged? Canton had a multitude of groups involved in the trade, of different social background, ethnicity, nationality and religion, and all of them could not exchange information in the same way. Before the establishment of the newspaper *Canton register* in 1827, most information was indeed exchanged through face-to-face contacts. Looking at the logbooks, the information flowed through certain set channels, where we find notable exceptions to the face-to-face rule. The supercargoes of the Swedish company sent information through the Hong merchants to the Chinese authorities, and back again. Through letters taken by sampans order and news travelled between the factory and the company's ships—they might not really meet for months. Between the board and the company's factory in Canton letters were carried not only by the own company, but also by other company ships.²⁰⁾ In all these cases, information was conveyed in written form, with all its limitations of style, communication and secrecy.

We must remember that information about the day-to-day activities was a privilege of the few. Most of the employees of the Swedish company had very little understanding about what went on. This can be gleaned by comparing some of the tales from Canton, such as that of the midshipman Israel Reinius, the ship's priests Osbeck and Torén, and the supercargo Colin Campbell. The higher the rank, the more in depth they describe daily occurrences.²¹⁾ A part of the explanation is the spatial factor—they had very different places where they could move freely. Reinius' depiction of China is one seen mostly from within the ships, with a few trips to the French island, a recreation space for foreigners. What he knew about what was going on came in third or fifth hand. Campbell, on the other hand, took part in the life in the factories, while Osbeck and Torén moved between these spaces.

Information relied on the existence of established spaces for the exchange of it. In Europe, inns, taverns, and later coffee and tea houses were important places to swap information and share experiences, and some of these places would specifically cater to overseas merchants.²²⁾ There was a lack of these communal spaces in Canton, which meant that the same role must be filled by something else, namely dining together. They supercargoes, private traders and Chinese merchants would visit each other. Sometimes they came to each others' ships, which was also noted in the sources, together with meticulous notes of which nation was present and how they were honoured with salutes when coming and going. This was part of the social relations and kept up the rituals of respect.²³⁾ But

more important to the daily exchange of information seems to have been the dinners given in most factories with a certain regularity, as well as at the Chinese merchants' houses. Osbeck mentions when they had dinner at the merchant Tan-tinqua's, where they were packing up the company's tea.²⁴⁾ The dinners filled a function both in the interaction between different groups of foreign traders, and between Chinese merchants and the foreigners. Apparently, these dinners involved most active trade groups in Canton, and as an institution of information exchange they were long-lasting. Campbell describes in his travel account from 1732 how they dined at all the other companies within weeks of arriving. Continuing to Dutch records from the 1760s we can follow how they regularly invited the other traders to dinner. And as late as the 1820s, when the only Swedes left in the Pearl River delta were there as private traders, Henry Hayne wrote an account of when he was treated to dinner every day of his 20 day stay in Canton, and he noted the international presence at these dinners.²⁵⁾

Goffman describes how different people act together as a team, a unit that acts together to reach a common goal.²⁶⁾ These teams can shift, and the supercargoes, formed teams both amongst themselves, with other company employees, and with the Chinese merchant depending on the context. In the context of these dinners, the supercargoes of the company would constitute one team. These dinners were on the surface a social outlet for quite isolated men, but they were more than so. Through these dinners, the companies kept their fingers on the pulse of other companies, private traders of different nations, and with the Chinese merchants. One can follow in the logbooks how these dinners were used to get invaluable information from, and about, their competitors. Under the guise of harmless dinner conversation current prices, quantities of commodities and the state of different merchant's affairs were found out. The traders would rarely give up information about themselves, or assume that the other party did, so both concentrated on gossiping about a third party.²⁷⁾

Goffman notes that information control is a basic problem for any team. In his words "a team must be able to keep its secrets and have its secrets kept."²⁸⁾ Both Canton and Macao, the nearby Portuguese colony, were places rife with secrets. They were just never well kept. Part of the secretiveness was just part of the jargon. For example: when the Hong merchant Poankequa tells the Swedish supercargo Rappe that he gets a certain price on condition that he did not tell anyone, that was part of the bargaining discourse—the symbol of it being a good price was that it mustn't get out.²⁹⁾ When the Hong merchant Tsja Hunqua and the Dutch supercargo Hulle met late after dinner, they discussed the business of the Danes and the prices they got.³⁰⁾ This is something Goffman calls a free secret—a secret one can reveal without compromising one's self-image.³¹⁾ Sometimes, claiming that something was secret was just a way to establish it as trustworthy information and a good deal. Through this intricate dance of misinformation, news about prices, quantities and prices were spread, but also important world news. Through these meetings, they had a direct contact with the internal Chinese market, the vast Iberian market, the Indian trade, the Armenian trade network and indirectly with the Atlantic trade.

Another space for information exchange was the freemason's lodge. We can find freemasons meeting in Canton from the late 1750s, and these meetings seem to have become more regulated in the mid-60s. In the 1760s, there is a receipt from supercargo Jean Abraham Grill where he bought several items associated with freemasons, such as gilded and silver-plated trowels, and notes it as expenses for the lodge. For one meeting, he ordered 42

wine goblets, and although many of the supercargoes, captains and high-ranking Swedes were freemasons, there were never as many as 40 high-ranking Swedes in Canton at the same time. Looking at a list of lodge members who donated to charity, only a quarter of the names correspond to employees of the Swedish company. Others can be identified as employees, such as supercargo Michel of the French East India Company and Schartow of the Dutch, as well as some from the English and Danish company.³²⁾

The lodge worked as a social arena where the elite could socialise, exchange information and discuss future matters in a form most of them knew from Europe—a form that also there worked across national borders. They were in theory not allowed to discuss business matters in these lodges, but nevertheless it constituted a framework for keeping in regular contact. With an increase of ships and merchants present in Canton, and fluctuation in the relationships between them, the needs and structures of arenas of social interactions changed. In the late 1760s and early 1770s the Swedish lodge tried to be an open, international space, to gather different groups and thereby strengthen its own position. In contrast, in the 1780s, a formal permission to form a lodge was given, and the lodge Elisabeth was established. Its regulations stated that only employees of the Swedish East India Company could be grand masters of this lodge, showing both the increasing rift between the English and the Swedish company, and the lessened need for a common sphere for all when some nations came in greater and greater numbers.³³⁾

Most news, however, came through the Chinese traders. This included the comprador, the supplier of goods in the factory, but also the Hong merchants. It was forbidden for foreigners to learn Chinese, so information had to flow through a few interpreters, common for all, constituting yet another way of controlling the trade. It was a system of openness designed to benefit the Chinese authorities. In reality, however, the interpreters were few, often only a handful every year.³⁴⁾ During the most hectic times in the trade, the Swedish logbooks show how the foreign and Chinese merchants could meet and negotiate daily.³⁵⁾ Seeing that there were other companies there as well, and that the trade grew it would not have been possible for them to be present in every meeting.

So despite the regulations against it, the Chinese and foreign merchants seem to have been able to communicate without a translator in Pidgin English. Torén said that “With the Swedes they talk mostly mixed English, otherwise broken Portuguese, French and Dutch, a few also know a little bit of Swedish.”³⁶⁾ Osbeck confirmed that a few had learnt Swedish.³⁷⁾ Communication, a basic understanding each other, is of course crucial for a successful transfer of information. Respect does not, however, naturally follow. In the travel writings of Henry Hayne, he mentions how the Chinese talk English, and mock how badly they do it.³⁸⁾ Yet, little communication seems to have taken place in Chinese. That it was forbidden for foreigners to learn Chinese did not stop them from trying. It became a matter of debate in the Swedish sources, whether Chinese was hard to learn or not. Torén, for one, claimed that “The whole world knows, that the Chinese language is hard to learn”.³⁹⁾ We thus know that they could have some communication without interpreters. Then follows another matter: while they might know what the other person said, how could they trust it?

Establishing trust

As Goffman says, one of the first things one does when interacting with another person is to gauge that person's at-

titude towards oneself and their trustworthiness. That is a particularly hard when, as in the Canton trade, such trust had to be gaged and established across cultural boundaries. The individual would have had to convey certain things, such as what kind of person he and the company he represented were, and other people would have had to receive the message. While such codes can be conveyed outright, they are for the most part subconscious and non-verbal.⁴⁰ They may be hard to trace, but the establishment and negotiation of trust lied at the core of this whole interaction.

The historian of science Steven Shapin goes even further when talking about information exchange and states that without trust, truth cannot be established, and that to construct truth was complicated. Shapin connects the establishment of trust to social relations and cultural practices; truth is an agreement between different parties.⁴¹ For the eighteenth century tradesmen in Canton and Macao this need for trust was an acute problem, which became harder and more important the more intricate the trade became. Money and wares could be delivered months, years, apart—impossible without trust.

According to Shapin, establishing trust meant constructing oneself as a certain kind of person. It was only by making the persona of the educated gentleman, in the case of the experimental philosophers, that a person one could trust that the word of that person could be accepted and established as truth.⁴² In the same way, the trade relied on the fact that it was between men of a certain class—the merchant class. They never seem to refer to any discourse of nobility. That meant both that they were of a certain honourable disposition, and that they were men who knew what trade entailed, as many parts of the trade were verbal. Distrust of the lower classes was rampant in the travel writings, perhaps as part of this reasoning.⁴³ It could take weeks to finally agree on a written contract, and much important information was only transferred verbally. At one time, the Dutch tried to stay in Canton as long as possible, despite recurring orders to leave for Macao. In the end they were forced to go, but they could not read the final grand chop, the name of the Chinese permission slip to leave Canton. It was an important decision, and yet they left without being able to read the order.⁴⁴

All of the different groups in Canton would not have accepted the same symbolic actions as establishers of trust, but all needed some version of it. It seems as if most of them made an effort to adapt to the local circumstances, not the least the mandarins. Information from the mandarins was often given in a form the foreign traders would recognize and accept, the mandarins would despite their reputation as being locked in tradition do their best to be flexible when it came to communicating—within their given boundaries.⁴⁵ Connected to the establishment of oneself as a certain kind of man, it is also probable that the experienced traders adapted to the system they found in Canton.⁴⁶

Part of the idea of trust is to gage whether the other person is of the kind that can be trusted. In that evaluation, the presuppositions of the Chinese comes into play. The travel writings are full of observations and prejudices. Many of the authors note that the Chinese were loyal and subordinate, which might be an argument for reliability.⁴⁷ However, that applied only to their own superiors, and within the family, and it seemed questionable if it could translate to a commercial setting. Rather, the Chinese merchants were described as greedy and untrustworthy, and indefatigable when it came to chasing profit.⁴⁸ Torén claimed “they could have a look as sweet as sugar, if they thereby hoped to gain something”.⁴⁹ The widespread corruption, among high as well as low, was mentioned and

frowned upon.⁵⁰⁾ The view of the Chinese was not uncomplicated. They were cruel, but not uncivilised.⁵¹⁾

But this was all theoretical, and it was easy enough to condemn someone when safe home in Sweden. The real problem arose when either party was discovered to be lying, but they still had to conclude their business. In 1763, the Dutch company found it near impossible to settle on a price for tea with the Chinese merchants, since they were daily given contradicting information about what the other companies paid. Supercargo Hulle wrote “How can one actually find out what the English are paying, when the merchants give us examples daily of how they can lie without any shame?”.⁵²⁾ Distrust could be a grave matter, since a small falsehood might be enough to make one question much larger ways in which the persons might be untrue. To only fail to dress as a gentleman for dinner might not seem so grave, or only not live up to the expected behaviour, but that might mean that the person might then not be honest as a gentleman either. And the closer the person acted to the ‘real thing’, the greater is the treachery if they would fail to fully live up to the part.⁵³⁾

But even though trust was an important part of the trade, it was never absolute. Rather, there were many points where the foreign merchants openly showed their distrust, and information was rarely taken at face value. Reinius wrote a long description when coming home to Finland of all the things a merchant in Canton must consider, much of it involving personally checking packing, the quality of goods, and how to pay and when to make sure one wasn’t fooled.⁵⁴⁾ All of these actions can be seen as contradicting trust, but these were security measures to cushion the effect one wrong decision, would have, and to keep a modicum of control. There was a widespread acceptance in practice and in rhetoric that merchants could not be completely honest in their profession, a view that can be found in merchant manuals in both the west and the east.⁵⁵⁾ Even Shapin notes that in the case of merchants, in contrast to scientists, the exigencies of trade made departure from truth necessary.⁵⁶⁾

Distrust and trust can be found simultaneously in the everyday life of Canton, where all the companies were feeding each other false information, about prices and their actions. Still, they trust each other with some things, such as forwarding letters, about ships coming in, and they were constantly, even when relations were frosty, spending time together in the evenings.⁵⁷⁾ The information given by the other companies was weighed against that given by the Chinese merchants, and the word of one party did not seem to have a natural precedence over the other.⁵⁸⁾ It is important to note that not all lies were unacceptable. There were many social situations, then and now, when white lies and avoidance of uncomfortable truths were permissible to a certain degree.⁵⁹⁾ It all depends on whether one lied about a small matter, which could be condoned, or had a false presentation about one’s person, which was not, as mentioned before. Lying in line with one’s character might not be disastrous, being revealed as having trying to come off as a different person would not have been. That was why lying about prices was part of the normal interactions or trade even if they would complain about it, but lying about things outside of that realm was unacceptable.

In most situations they had no choice but to trust the Chinese. The Europeans were dependent on the Chinese from the off. To even get into the Pearl River delta, they would have to hire a Chinese pilot, and for their everyday supplies they depended on a comprador to get them what they needed. Several authors mention these two, and the important role the pilot and the comprador played.⁶⁰⁾

Trust also plays into the relation between the local factory and the board at home. There was a constant

struggle between the cost of transferring information and the will to keep some centralised control, since the cost of agency rises as the cost of information transfer falls. The point where the company servants held the most authority was in relation with persons outside the firm, native brokers, creditors, suppliers of goods etc. There, they had no choice but to trust their employees.⁶¹⁾ This made it important for the employees to stress in their letters to the board that they make good use of this trust, and that their relations to these third parties was as good as it could be, which benefited the company. Thus there was a tension between establishing yourself as someone who gets the right information out of the locals, and one whose loyalty was still to the company. Being trustworthy in both of these worlds required some verbal acrobatics. An example is the Swedish supercargo Johan Peter Bladh, who in his letters complained how the other supercargoes badmouthed him to the Chinese merchants, as the ultimate sign of their disloyalty to the company, since estranging Bladh to the Chinese merchants would make it impossible for him to trade. Later, in personal letters, he did claim that he had excellent relations to several merchants, so that his friends back in Sweden would trust him to take care of their business in Canton.⁶²⁾

Such special trust and favours was part of the social game. Looking at the logbooks, most show the same symptom as Bladh, stressing the good relations with the Chinese. A lot of them even go so far as to say that they had better relations with the Chinese than others. One could argue that all nations thought they were most favoured nations. As can be seen from the choice of words in the Swedish, Dutch and English East India Company, they thought they were special.⁶³⁾ Several nations seem to have at some point claimed that they carried special favour with the Hong merchants. It was a tactic of the Chinese merchants and officials to make them all think that they had a special relationship. Through this strategy they made sure that their trade partners felt favoured, and wanted to trade again. A problematic effect is that such claims in the source material has been reproduced as facts. As late as 2007, a Swedish history researcher writes “in Asia it seems that Swedes indeed received a warmer welcome than other European traders. This meant that the Swedes were often allowed glimpses into Asian life and its natural world that would not have been possible for representatives for other nations”.⁶⁴⁾ This drives home the point that that in order to understand the Canton trade one must compare sources from more than one company. Also, one must not assume that the traders themselves had the full picture of how the trade worked, or felt the need to convey that to the board of investors back home.

Trust was crucial for the company to work as a team. In the English company, they had weekly meetings with 8–11 senior servants where they discussed all important trade matters.⁶⁵⁾ The Swedes had meetings of their three supercargoes, who all had to agree for a decision to be made. This sometimes became a problem, for example for Bladh, who came to Canton with orders to get this council work better, but the disagreements just continued.⁶⁶⁾ For the communication with other teams to work, a team needs outwards unity. Conflicts must be solved in meetings such as these, that Goffman would specify as a behind-the-scenes negotiations, or back regions.⁶⁷⁾

It was not only the company that was interested in consensus. Blussé mentioned for the case of Batavia how important it was for stability, in all matters, for these merchant.⁶⁸⁾ The same seems to be true in Canton. In order to make the interaction work, they would do their best to establish what Goffman calls a working consensus.⁶⁹⁾ That is not to say an agreement on all matters, but a mutual avoidance of conflicts and acceptance of the other party so

as to achieve certain goals. This kind of cooperation, he writes, can lead to double talk. That is, two teams need to retain an impression of being hostile to each other, while both realise the mutual profits of cooperation.⁷⁰⁾ That explains the negative and prejudiced travel writings published, even by those who lived several years in Canton, and how they contrast with the relatively effective everyday interaction.

Spatial strategies

Lately, space has come to be seen as more and more important in the understanding of human interaction, and one of those who argue for its introduction into historical research is Karl Schlögel. He argues that space is crucial—through space, he writes, we read time.⁷¹⁾ Goffman stresses the importance of where things take place, the geographical confines as the very basis of the limits of social interactions.⁷²⁾

He introduces the difference between the scene, and behind the scenes, the back regions.⁷³⁾ We have already discussed how the weekly meetings of the supercargoes would be such a place behind the scenes. The freemason's lodge was be a scene for the interaction between the different supercargoes, each company constituting one team, but it was also a back region for consolidating a European team towards the Chinese merchants and officials. Spaces play an important part in the formation and activities of a team. When a member of a team makes a mistake, the other team members must often suppress their criticism until they are without an audience.⁷⁴⁾

The social interaction begins and ends in time. If the initial definition of a character defines the following social interaction then that would explain why the first measuring of the ship, to estimate the harbour fees, was so ritualised—it was a mutual measurement of the interaction that was to come.⁷⁵⁾ Goffman: “those who would use a particular setting as part of their performance cannot begin their act until they have brought themselves to the appropriate place and must terminate the performance when they leave it.”⁷⁶⁾ The thoughts go to how the Hoppo would bring a table, complete with tablecloth and supplies, to the ship, to demonstrate and perform his position.⁷⁷⁾ One could argue that he brought his office, and his authority with it, to the ship, and thereby changed that space. When leaving the ship, he took his own space with him.

The factory was another place that was both back and front regions. It was the scene on which the Chinese and European merchants play their respective roles of trust and distrust, of forming bonds and networks. But it was also the place where the supercargoes conferred with each other about strategies and everyday planning, in short took care of in-group behind-the-scenes matters. And during the recurring dinners, teams changed and formed. The feminist geographer Linda McDowell has demonstrated how the house and the body were intimately linked. The house worked as a prime agent of socialisation—it showed who a person was, and took part in making the person. It was both performance and construction.⁷⁸⁾ Seeing a house as a part of the identity formation makes it interesting to note that for much of the eighteenth century, the factories were built in the Chinese style, on the outside and the inside. It makes for an adapted in-between space, and served as a reminder for the Europeans that they were there as an exception. It also gives another layer of meaning to the fact that later, when the factories burned down, they were rebuilt in the European style.⁷⁹⁾

To continue this line of thought, it makes it interesting to note which merchants were invited to the houses of

the Chinese merchants, and in which situations. Some who were parts of diplomatic missions were, such as the aforementioned Hayne, but also just normal foreign traders.⁸⁰ That implies a certain level of intimacy. Additionally it follows that inviting someone to their house could be a way of demonstrating one's person, and showing trustworthiness. As mentioned before, that was a key to a successful partnership. Far from all the foreigners ever went to a Chinese home. Torén, the ship's priest, mentioned Chinese homes and how they look in his travel writings, but it rather unlikely that he ever saw the inside of one.⁸¹ When the supercargoes were invited to the Chinese, that mostly meant their house in the foreign quarters. Many merchants seem to have had a second or third house in modern day Guangzhou, in the city proper. That makes for at least one whole house, a whole space, where the Europeans were not welcome. The houses had a compartment for the women, that the Europeans normally did not even visit. There was not supposed to be any interaction between European men and Chinese women, which was solved with these spatial restrictions: no foreign women in Canton, and no Chinese women in the foreign quarters. There were simply very few areas where their roads would meet.

The historical actors were not unaware of these restriction. Torén noted on his trip when he was forced to stay on board, but reflected that it was part of a sailors' life to be restricted, and nothing out of the ordinary. Few people, he noted, had the freedom to move around.⁸² But in Canton, the high-ranking officers would also be unusually restricted, not only the common sailors. There were limits for everyone.

Some of these limits were obvious. When coming to Canton, the ship's priest Hjortberg's narrative lingers over the city wall surrounding the foreign quarters. He talks at length about the material it was constructed of, its height and width, and he even walks the length of it—1856 feet.⁸³ And it was not only Hjortberg, other writers also made much of the wall.⁸⁴ This can be attributed to its role as a fortification and Hjortberg's and the other's will to note everything important, but the Swedes had no military ambitions in Canton, and that he described the wall so much, and the rest of the town so little, might depend on other things. The wall defined Canton, in his view, and summed up their experience of China. There was the delineation of their freedom of movement, beyond it a Chinese world in which they were not welcome, where they were "greeted with stones and abuse". The wall defined the border for what was 'them' and 'us', and the 'us' would include a great many nationalities and groups. It would be a constant reminder of their conditions of trade.

The wall was not only a hindrance, it was also a protection. Many of the writers claimed to have felt threatened as soon as they left the city, and Osbeck described how stones and sand was thrown at them when walking into the land. He stresses the vulnerability and fear he felt, being outside.⁸⁵ One can find the same fear in Reinius' depiction.⁸⁶ It was thus not strictly forbidden to leave the city, some of the restrictions were of the foreigner's own making. Their fear of the Chinese kept them in the foreign quarter, the only place where their safety was guaranteed by a strong authority—ironically, the Chinese. When leaving the city together with Chinese, those people created delimitations of spaces. When Osbeck wanted to go outside the city, he had to bring a linguists or comprador, who according to him "much lessened his pleasure and hastened the return trip".⁸⁷ By bringing the linguist or compradors, they were kept in line—the restrictions of Canton followed them.

Considering these spatial restrictions, there was much need for an outlet, somewhere where they could move

freely. This was the French island, a place where many nationalities could kick back, relax, and more often than not get drunk. Osbeck said “when the people want to amuse themselves on the holidays on Chinese soil, then they go here, where they have some security from the violence of the Chinese”.⁸⁸⁾ But not even here were they completely free, or completely safe. Torén wrote “But one musn’t go too far on one’s own, as soon it may happen, that one becomes robbed to the very skin. The impertinence and curiosity of the Europeans is not be excused. But the people in the country looks like, they would not need any pretext to violate the foreigners, when they can be their superiors.”⁸⁹⁾ Something to note here is that spaces always had different restrictions and possibilities for movement and actions for different ethnic groups. Although they moved in a geographically small area, there were ways in which this area was divided further, and they only met rarely and in certain multinational spaces.

The island was a common space as an international resting ground. Osbeck said that the Swedes, French, Dutch and English buried their dead on the French island, the Danish on the Danish island, and that both these islands also had Chinese graves.⁹⁰⁾ At one time, when the Dutch supercargo Robert dies, all the supercargoes and captains of the other nations attended the funeral.⁹¹⁾ The final space was one that they shared, both with the Chinese as with their trade partners. Sharing crucial spaces like that made for awareness that in Chinese eyes, at times, they were all the same. And that meant, in some ways, to become closer.

A key matter for these spaces is indeed the move between them. The factory and the ship were two of the spaces available for the tradesmen of the Swedish East India Company, and the log books dutifully recorded of who was in which space at which point, which shows the importance given to this matter.⁹²⁾ If the supercargoes went upstream, and lodged in the factory, they would change the factory-team. The same goes for the ship, whenever the supercargoes came aboard, it was noted.⁹³⁾ The salute given can be said to be a symbolic action, changing the conditions of the ship as a space. This salute was that later when the number of ships increased was exchanged for a set number of hurrahs, but the symbolic action remained.

The ship’s priest was another person who moved between spaces. He was sometimes on board, sometimes in the factory, since he preached in both places. He shows, and was part of constructing, the hierarchy between these places, since the priests were much disgruntled when they were sometimes ordered to stay on board. Especially since it seems the ship was the most common place for them to be in.⁹⁴⁾ Noting in the diaries or logbooks where they were also meant saying what they did there. Going to the French and Danish island, or into the factory, was self-explanatory, since every space had an expected activity.⁹⁵⁾

Spaces are not static, nor are people’s placement in them. The Chinese merchants were just as aware of the spatial restrictions on the foreigners as the foreigners themselves, and they knew to make use of it. If a sticky situation developed, say if the a company merchant ask them to do something they would rather not, they could make themselves unavailable for appointments for days, just by going to their house in the city, and the foreigners could do little but to keep coming to their house in the foreign quarters and ask for them. Just by a simple displacement tactic they could buy themselves days or week, and also advantages in the trade.⁹⁶⁾ When the supercargo Olof Lindahl describes a conflict between the Chinese authorities and the European merchants in Macao, their geographical isolation is striking. The moment their Chinese servants and trade partners no longer come to their factory, they

go from having been integrated in everything that went on in Canton to sitting as stranded on an island.⁹⁷⁾

When an English sailor was extradited, accused of manslaughter of two Chinese, he was kept in jail in the Chinese part of the city, and could as well have been on the other side of the world. He was executed without having seen any familiar face. It is noteworthy how changing spaces could be used as demonstrating authority in conflict situations. When the European supercargoes were summoned to see the authorities, Lindahl describes how they were taken through the city gates, which were flanked by guards, who then slammed the gates shut behind them. Having the supercargoes leave their factories and walk, not being carried or being in a carriage, through these massive gates and to the audience chamber forced them out of their comfort zone and reminded them under whose authority they traded.⁹⁸⁾

The importance of space does not only include possibilities and restrictions about how to move, it also include knowledge about the placements of other. The Europeans merchants seem to have almost always known where the Chinese officials were, and in the logbooks it was noted when the high officials entered and left Canton.⁹⁹⁾ If the officials left Canton, the merchants' link to Beijing left too, and thereby the European's link. Knowing where the Chinese merchants and officials were could have a massive impact on their lives and decisions, so it is not strange that this was recorded so meticulously. This demonstrates the closeness of the different spheres in Canton, but more importantly, it shows how these spheres were always kept separate. Blussé has called Batavia a patch-work quilt of a society, that is the different colours of the quilt do not fade or blend, but accommodate and accept each other while keeping their identity and protecting their own interests.¹⁰⁰⁾ The same can be said for Canton. They mingled, but never merged.

Gender performance

The social relations affected and were affected by several different aspects, such as trust, information flows and different spaces. All of these different aspects were affected, and did in turn affect, a fourth one, and that is gender. Since gender is performative, this performance was a part of every contact, and this performance is even stronger when encountering differences. That all the traders were men is an excellent reason to consciously gender them, so that they will not become an uncomplicated norm. These days one does not naturally separate sex from gender, rather the latter is subsumable in the former. Gender is the social organization that establishes meaning for bodily differences, and these meaning has been shown to be specific for western cultures or even specific groups within it.¹⁰¹⁾

To begin with information, it is connected to gender and language. Formulating certain ways of conveying information, and finding accepted channels for it, meant to gender information. The curious thing for Canton was that most of these channels excluded women, or at least it was not acceptable to admit that it had involved them. The established ways of exchanging information, through dinners, in the freemason's lodge etc., were all male. Through reading travel writings, by men, the male gaze so much mentioned by Mary-Louise Pratt was in place before they even left port in Gothenburg.¹⁰²⁾

This makes for a contrast to other contemporary multinational harbour environments. Women played an im-

portant role in the local society in Batavia, in terms of linguistic and cultural go-betweens, and marriage with Asian women was encouraged. It was through women that colonial customs and norms got hold of the local society, and these widows of foreign men could have a comparatively good position in society.¹⁰³) The crucial role of women in integrating the traders to local trade networks and transferring local knowledge has also been established for Calcutta.¹⁰⁴) But in China there was a strict policy on keeping the foreigners from integrating into society. To bar foreign women from entering Canton, and forbidding contact between Chinese and European women, was a part of this effort. So while native women often worked as go-betweens for foreign traders in Asia, that was not the case in Canton.

In place of the female go-betweens, homosocial relations became extra important. Homosocial relations are often seen as an important factor in constructing masculinity, since the recognition and liking of their male peers is crucial for many male environments.¹⁰⁵) In the trade environment of Canton, having the right kind of masculinity—being the right kind of man—was a presupposition for acquiring trust. Shapin established that to become trustworthy and be seen as truthful, one needed to demonstrate that you were a particular kind of person. Donna Haraway has taken this line of reason further, and has shown that the experimental philosophers needed to be a particular kind of *man*.¹⁰⁶)

At this point, it might be worth pointing out that the use of the word strategy here is not to be interpreted as the actors necessarily being aware of their performances, or the constructive parts of it. Returning to Goffman, there are examples of how both extremes are possible: both the person completely unaware of possible subliminal reasons for his actions, and the person utterly conscious of what they are doing and why.¹⁰⁷) The truth might lie somewhere in between. While they might have known that acting in a certain way make them seem trustworthy, that is not to say that a eighteenth century supercargo reflected on the gender construction that power struggle entailed.

The traders in Canton adapted, consciously or not. Some stayed in Canton for many years, and needed to learn how to interact with others. An interesting hypothesis by the sociologist Raewyn Connell links global contacts to global gender construction by looking at men working in multinational corporations. She has shown how there is a particular kind of masculinity needed, made and manifested in a life led in the crossroads of these global trade networks. These employees adapt to the masculinity needed where they are, and the most successful have what she has called ‘adapting masculinities’.¹⁰⁸) The East India Companies have often been compared with today’s multinational corporations, and it becomes natural to then consider that the type of masculinity might have been needed for the eighteenth century traders, who also lived in the intersection between different cultures and trade networks. Establishing oneself as a man worth his name in Canton might not have been about throwing one’s weight around, but rather about fitting in with a multitude of groups.

Gender and space are also closely connected. Questions about gender and space relate to who lives where, which gender acts in the periphery or margins, and whether women and men have separate, common or overlapping spaces in which to move and act.¹⁰⁹) Sometimes gendering a spaces is showing how the men and women have different access to it, sometimes how they experiences the same spaces differently. To gender a space is also to understand the gender construction in it—gender as material social relations and as a symbolic construction cannot

be separated. In short, where you ‘do’ gender affects how you do it.¹¹⁰ In Canton, it is obvious that different groups moved and acted according to very different circumstances, and that it must have affected which masculinities and femininities were constructed, and how they related to each other.

First of all, almost all travellers to Canton commented on the fact that they were not allowed to meet Chinese women.¹¹¹ One might think that this fact wouldn’t be so strange for the travellers, since it can be likened to a separation between work and home, where the women belonged in the home, a process which did quicken in Europe by the end of the eighteenth century.¹¹² But still in late eighteenth century Sweden, women were seen as an active part of these business ventures, a merchant house was a family activity.¹¹³ Additionally, the Chinese merchants did not only strive to keep the women away from the public, but even more so away from the foreigners. This restriction the travellers seem to have felt acutely, judging by how much attention it was given.

It was a homosocial environment without their choosing, and much slander falls upon the Chinese for this restriction.¹¹⁴ Much of these negative descriptions focus on how ill the Chinese treat their women, and how well the women would and do indeed like the Europeans.¹¹⁵ That is nothing new, but a classic orientalist way of vilifying the other by making their women into mistreated victims.¹¹⁶ The restriction also produces comments closer to pure wonder, as Osbeck writing “Strange people in this land, who consider foreign women little different than contraband”.¹¹⁷

Not having women in Canton, of any nationality had far-reaching consequences. The ideas of woman and home were so closely intertwined that it is possible to question whether a place without a woman can ever be a home.¹¹⁸ The men living in Batavia and Calcutta did often settle down with a woman, since marriages were seen as a condition for the survival of the colony.¹¹⁹ That is of course different with Canton, since it never was a colony, but it quite possible that even those who stayed in the region for years ever did consider it a proper home. The perceived lack of women affected what they thought possible to do with their lives there.

In Macao, the Portuguese colony at the mouth of the Pearl River delta, there were more women than men, and there were long-term relations between the traders and the women there. But even though Canton and Macao were close and have many similarities, here is a difference. Since Chinese women were forbidden to have any contact with foreign traders, it meant that even if they did have contact, it is improbable that it would have benefited their trade. In Macao, they could form relations with women, Macanese and Chinese, but that was an environment where the company traders in theory were not permitted to trade. So in one area there were women but no trade, and in another trade but no women.¹²⁰ This is another example of how spaces acted as divisions on many levels in Canton and Macao, and also how the division between Canton and Macao acted as a control mechanism on the trade. The gendered spaces affected the whole trade organisation.

That is not to say that there were no women involved in this trade. Current research has been remiss in shedding light on the women of the Canton trade, because it was not as one-gendered as has been suggested. Part of it was also a myth, they would have seen underclass women and a few mention them. But the fact that women in their class were barred from meeting them became a sore point for those who stayed in Canton. In another society with an uneven sex ratio, Batavia, prostitution was rampant, also between different ethnic groups, such as Christian

women selling sex to Chinese and Islamic merchants.¹²¹⁾ That seems to have also been the case with Canton. There seems to have been a constant presence of ‘flower boats’, floating brothels. These all catered to different groups, so that those flower boats who welcomed foreigners would not be visited by the travelling Chinese merchants.¹²²⁾ It is another area where the abstract separations can be found in spatial divisions.

Women did however constantly figure in the travel writings. Torén once even mentions an Englishman who brought his wife to Canton and how the Chinese found her dress odd.¹²³⁾ Most probably, it is probably urban legends of the time, to illustrate what the Chinese might think of western women, or what they’ve seen in pictures. The women of the other cultures were part of the discussions of the men here in Canton, both foreign and Chinese. In the tributaries scroll of the Qianlong emperor from the mid-eighteenth century the Swedes, men and women, were mentioned and described.¹²⁴⁾ There were some women who were there, but whose stories we lack, and there were women who were never there, but became a focal point of the narrative.

The constant talk about the isolation of Chinese women, and their conditions, can as mentioned be seen as an oriental strategy, where one stresses the ill-treatment of Chinese women at the hands of their husbands to construct the Chinese man as a cruel tyrant. But it is also comparable to the attention given to the city walls of Canton. This was something that occupied an important place in their lives in Canton. That the Chinese women were not there was something to be commented upon, that they often and at length reflected over, which says something about early modern harbour environments.

The historian Maria Sjöberg has demonstrated how women in early modern times might have been present in greater numbers in places where one might not earlier have thought they would be. She uses the examples of the non-fighting military support unit in early modern warfare, which would include wives, craftsmen, and female day labourers.¹²⁵⁾ The women were, contrary to one’s ideas about the gender divide in early modern times, possibly a natural part of the trade environment, the city environment and the harbour environment in many places. That is why the fact that they were not present became something extraordinary. That is why they were so obsessed with writing about a group that is not there, and with whom they have no contact. The prostitutes occupied roughly the same place and role as in other places and other cities, which makes it normal and normative, and one can speculate whether that is why it is so absent from the sources.

To sum up

The place between land and sea makes for a fluid culture, a place where categories and actions can be changed or questioned.¹²⁶⁾ The social relations is one way in which to pinpoint the conditions and norms of this particular place, and better our understanding of how the trade really did take place.

Looking at the Canton trade through social practices reveals an intricate net of rules, interactions and negotiations. It is by understanding these that the everyday reality of the trade can become understandable. Information and misinformation flowed as quickly as each other, trust was built and lost in a constant negotiation, and the sheer spatial conditions were at the forefront of both Chinese and foreign trader’s minds. These aspects are all connected to the gender roles of the traders in Canton and Macao: information flows went through certain accepted channels,

trust relied on accepted masculinity constructions, and the city was built and lived in according to rules much concerned with the separation of gender.

How does that relate to the global context? Doreen Massey argues that the twentieth century localities are global, and she has shown how one can combine the local and the global in order to reassert the place. The emphasis is put on the interrelationships between scales, producing the specificity of places.¹²⁷⁾ In this case, that would mean that Canton become Canton just by and because of its relationship with Beijing, the inter-Asian trade network and the European trade networks. All of these connections reflect on the local social practices, firmly set in one space. Such socio-spatial practices define spaces, and these practices result in overlapping and intersecting places with changing boundaries. The importance of scale is not so much between different places as different *kinds* of places. But defining them does not mean saying that constructing them only involves practices on a single scale.¹²⁸⁾ The three aspects information, trust and space used here all show different ways in how this overlapping takes place, and how the social practices in a local place connects different scales of global interaction. The final aspect of my study shows how the moving between these scales always had a gendered nature.

Notes

- 1) Erving Goffman, *The presentation of self in everyday life*, London: Penguin, 1990.
- 2) The two main studies of the Swedish company are Sven Kjellberg, *Svenska Ostindiska Compagnierna, 1731–1813: kryddor, te, porslin, siden*, Malmö: Allhem, 1974 and Christian Koninckx, *The first and second charters of the Swedish East India company (1731–1766): a contribution to the maritime, economic and social history of north-western Europe in its relationships with the Far East*, Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1980.
- 3) Paul Arthur Van Dyke, *The Canton trade: life and enterprise on the China coast, 1700–1845*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005; Weng Eang Cheong, *Hong merchants of Canton: Chinese merchants in Sino-Western trade: [1684–1798]*, Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997.
- 4) Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond comparison: histoire croisée and the challenge of reflexivity,' *History and theory*, 45, 2006, pp. 30–50.
- 5) For further discussion, see De Certeau. *The practice of everyday life*, p. xiv.
- 6) Hanna Hodacs and Kenneth Nyberg, *Naturalhistoria på resande fot: om att forska, undervisa och göra karriär i 1700-talets Sverige*, Stockholm: Nordic Academic Press, 2007.
- 7) British Library, East India Company Records, (henceforth BL, EIC Records), China Factory Records, G/12/43, *Diary for the ships Sussex and Winchester*, p. 66.
- 8) Donald J. Harreld, 'An education in Commerce: Transmitting business information in early modern Europe in Information flows,' in Leos Müller and Jari Ojala eds, *Information flows: new approaches in the historical study of business information*, Helsinki: Finska litteratursällskapet, 2007, pp. 63–64.
- 9) Harreld, 'An education in Commerce,' p. 67.
- 10) Ann M. Carlos and Santhi Hejeebu, 'Specific information and the English chartered companies, 1650–1750,' in Leos Müller and Jari Ojala eds, *Information flows: new approaches in the historical study of business information*, Helsinki: Finska litteratursällskapet, 2007, p. 154.
- 11) Olof Torén, 'En Ostindisk Resa til Surat, China & c. från 1750 April 1. til 1752 Jun. 26. Förrättad af Olof Torén, Skepps-Predikant wid Ostindiska Companiet, Uti Bref översänd Til Archiat. Linnaeus,' in Per Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa åren 1750, 1751, 1752, 1757*; reprint Stockholm: Rediviva, 1969, p. 98. This and the following quotes have been translated from Swedish.
- 12) Torén, 'En Ostindisk Resa,' p. 103.
- 13) Per Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa åren 1750, 1751, 1752, 1757*; reprint Stockholm: Rediviva, 1969, p. 169.

- 14) Harreld, 'An education in Commerce,' p. 81.
- 15) Seija-Riitta Laakso, 'In search of information flows—postal historical methods in historical research' in Leos Müller and Jari Ojala eds, *Information flows: new approaches in the historical study of business information*, Helsinki: Finska litteratursällskapet, 2007, p. 98.
- 16) A Ann M. Carlos and Santhi Hejeebu, 'Specific information and the English chartered companies,' p. 146.
- 17) Harreld, 'An education in Commerce,' p. 68.
- 18) Israel Reinius, *Journal hållen på resan till Canton i China ...1745 till dess Slut Åhr 1748...*, Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1939, p. 204.
- 19) Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa*, p. 116.
- 20) Reinius, *resan till Canton*, p. 171; BL, EIC Records, China Factory Records, G/12/43, *Diary for the ships Sussex and Winchester*; BL, EIC Records, China Factory Records, G/12/46, *Diary for the ships Houghton, Walpole and Harrington*; Transl- & ann. Paul A. Van Dyke, revisions Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters – 1762*, Macau: Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau, 2006, p. 74.
- 21) Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa*; Torén, 'En Ostindisk Resa'; Reinius, *resan till Canton*; Colin Campbell, *A passage to China: Colin Campbell's diary of the first Swedish East India Company expedition to Canton, 1732–33*, Göteborg: Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, 1996.
- 22) Harreld, 'An education in Commerce,' p. 64.
- 23) Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa*, p. 119.
- 24) Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa*, p. 250.
- 25) Van Dyke and Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters – 1762*, p. 100; Campbell, *A passage to China*, p. 94; Macao Historical Archives, Duke University (henceforth MHA, Duke Univ.), Sources from William R Perkins Library, Reel 19, *Diaries of Henry Hayne 1797–1828*.
- 26) Goffman, *The presentation of self*, p. 79–85.
- 27) Transl- & ann. Paul A. Van Dyke, revisions Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters – 1763*, Macau: Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau, 2008, pp. 22–23; BL, EIC Records, China Factory Records, G/12/40, *Diary for the ship The Richmond*.
- 28) Goffman, *The presentation of self*, p. 141.
- 29) The Swedish Royal Library, The Manuscript Collection (henceforth KB, Manus), M. 288, Baron Carl Rappe, *Dag-Book För Skept. Rycksens Ständer på Resan til Surat och Canton Åhr 1760, 61 & 62*.
- 30) Van Dyke and Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters – 1762*, p. 11.
- 31) Goffman, *The presentation of self*, p. 143.
- 32) Andreas Önnersfors, 'Swedish Freemasonry in East India: the lodges of Canton,' in *Acta Masonic Scandinavica* 2012.
- 33) Pether Bäversjö, *Under fyra sekel: 250 år med S:t Johanneslogen Salomon à trois serrures. Och mer därtill*, Göteborg: Göteborgs frimuraresamhälle, 2009.
- 34) Van Dyke, *The Canton trade*, pp. 77–82.
- 35) KB, Manus, M 288, Baron Carl Rappe, *Dag-Book För Skept. Rycksens Ständer på Resan til Surat och Canton Åhr 1760, 61 & 62*.
- 36) Torén, 'En Ostindisk Resa,' p. 96.
- 37) Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa*, p. 173.
- 38) MHA, Duke Univ., Sources from William R Perkins Library, Reel 19, *Diaries of Henry Hayne 1797–1828*.
- 39) Torén, 'En Ostindisk Resa,' p. 95.
- 40) Goffman, *The presentation of self*, pp. 1–2.
- 41) Steven Shapin. *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994, p. 8.
- 42) Shapin. *A Social History of Truth*, p. 65.
- 43) Kenneth Nyberg, *Bilder av Mittens rike: kontinuitet och förändring i svenska resenärers Kinaskildringar 1749–1912*, Göteborg: Historiska institutionen Göteborgs Universitet, 2001.

- 44) Van Dyke and Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters – 1763*, p. 60.
- 45) James L. Hevia, *Cherishing men from afar: Qing guest ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.
- 46) Raewyn Connell, 'Globalization, imperialism, and masculinities,' in M. Kimmel, J. Hearn, and R.W. Connell eds., *Handbook of the studies on men and masculinities*, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005, pp. 72–80.
- 47) See for example KB, Manus, M 285, Olof Lindahl, *Ett superkargkrig i Canton*.
- 48) Torén, 'En Ostindisk Resa,' p. 101; Reinius, *resan till Canton*, p. 206.
- 49) Torén, 'En Ostindisk Resa,' p. 92.
- 50) Torén, 'En Ostindisk Resa,' p. 110.
- 51) Torén, 'En Ostindisk Resa,' p. 94; Also Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa*, p. 172; Reinius, *resan till Canton*, p. 206.
- 52) Van Dyke and Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters – 1763*, p. 43.
- 53) Goffman, *The presentation of self*, p. 59.
- 54) Reinius, *resan till Canton*, pp. 223–234.
- 55) Richard John Lufrano, *Honorable merchants: commerce and self-cultivation in late imperial China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997; Richard Grassby, *Kinship and capitalism: marriage, family, and business in the English-speaking world, 1580–1740*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- 56) Shapin, *A social history of truth*, p. 95.
- 57) Campbell, *A passage to China*, pp. 90–95.
- 58) KB, Manus, M 288, Baron Carl Rappe, *Dag-Book För Skept. Rycksens Ständer på Resan til Surat och Canton Åhr 1760, 61 & 62*.
- 59) Goffman, *The presentation of self*, p. 62.
- 60) Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa*, pp. 113–114; Reinius, *resan till Canton*, p. 169.
- 61) Ann M. Carlos and Santhi Hejeebu, 'Specific information and the English chartered companies,' pp. 141–149.
- 62) Lunelund, *Peter Johan Bladh*, pp. 25–27.
- 63) Johan Brelin, *En äfventyrlig resa til och ifrån Ost-Indien, Södra America och en del af Europa åren 1755, 56 och 57, 1758*; reprint Stockholm: Rediviva, 1973, p. 55; Van Dyke and Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters – 1763*, p. 95; BL, EIC Records, China Factory Records, G/12/40, *Diary for the ship The Richmond*.
- 64) Christina Granroth, 'Flora's Apostles in the East Indies—Natural History, Carl Linnaeus and Swedish Travel to Asia in the 18th Century,' *Review of Culture*, 21, 2007, p. 152.
- 65) Ann M. Carlos and Santhi Hejeebu, 'Specific information and the English chartered companies,' p. 151.
- 66) Lunelund, *Peter Johan Bladh*, p. 25.
- 67) Goffman, *The presentation of self*, p. 108.
- 68) Leonard Blussé, *Strange company: Chinese settlers, mestizo women and the Dutch in Voc Batavia*, Dordrecht: Foris, 1986, p. 4.
- 69) Goffman, *The presentation of self*, p. 10.
- 70) Goffman, *The presentation of self*, pp. 194–195.
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