

A Study on Consumption of European Red Wine in China (1680-1840): state of the art, questions, hypothesis, sources and methodology

Lei Jin (PhD/Postdoctoral Researcher at GECHEM Project, Pablo de Olavide University)

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GECEM - 679371
ERC - StG



WORKING PAPER

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¹ This research is sponsored and financially supported by GECEM (*Global Encounters between China and Europe: Trade Networks, Consumption and Cultural Exchanges in Macau and Marseille, 1680-1840*) project hosted by Pablo de Olavide University (Seville, Spain). The GECEM project is funded by the ERC (European Research Council)-Starting Grant, Horizon 2020, ref. 679371. The Principal Investigator is prof. Manuel Perez Garcia (Distinguished Researcher at Pablo de Olavide University).

**A STUDY ON CONSUMPTION OF EUROPEAN RED WINE IN CHINA
(1680-1840): STATE OF THE ART, QUESTIONS, HYPOTHESIS, SOURCES
AND METHODOLOGY**

Lei Jin

GECEM Project

Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Spain

ABSTRACT

The global history perspective and comparison research between Eurocentric and Sinocentric methods on economic history give us new perspective on the topic of European-Chinese trade during early modern period. Compared with the large number of researches on the consumption society of Western Europe around the 18th century about the goods from Eastern world like tea, silk, and porcelain, very few researches have been done about the European commodities in Eastern countries. Especially, the studies on consumption of European wine in China market during the 17th and 18th centuries is completely void. Therefore, based on the economic conditions of southern and eastern China, considered the geographical, political and cultural aspects, several questions and hypothesis are designed, including consumption groups of the European wine, the consumer volumes, consumption habits, wine market shares, the merchant groups' role, etc. The research will be down upon the cross-referencing of primary data and the materials, along with the application of database.

INTRODUCTION

Since the sixteenth century, the maritime trade connected three continents, Asia, the Americas and Europe together. The international exchanges of commerce and art influences were significant on the forms of productions and consumptions in both Old World and the New. The trade between China and Europe also developed during these centuries of time. As Marco Polo already have done a trip between Italy to China in late 13th Century, as well as the Emperor Yongle of Ming China send Zheng He as an ambassador to voyage to Southeast Asia, Western Asia and East Africa from 1405 to 1433, we have reasons to believe that it is not only because of the discovery of the America in 1492 made the continents more interconnected, but also that what left over from earlier voyages and communications that made Europe and China more connected.

My research topic will focus on the European wine consumption in China during the 1680 to 1840. The topic of wine, which is one of the European commodities in world trade, has a close relationship with relative concepts such as global history, economic history and consumption studies. This thesis will based on these studies and explore more specifically on wine consumption. Why to choose 1680 and 1840 as the starting and ending time for my research? It is a relative special period in Chinese early modern history as well as in the whole world. During this period, China has experienced five emperors of Kangxi (1662 - 1722), Yongzheng (1722-1735), Qianlong (1735-1795), Jiaqing (1795-1820) and Daoguang (1820-1850). Compared to the emperors of Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and the other earlier Qing emperors, in this period, the Qing emperors on their controlling of the sovereign power were higher. In other words, the emperor has the supreme power. The emperor's personal thoughts and abilities will have a very big impact on national policy.

The Qing government was a 'foreign minority ruler', the Qing rulers were not the majority of the Chinese population of the Han people, but were the Manchu from the

Northeast Manchuria region. For many years the Qing government is resisting the anti-Qing activities of the Han people. In order to prevent the coastal Han through the sea activities to help the anti-Qing forces, the early Qing implemented the policy of ban on maritime trade, more stringent than the Ming Dynasty. Since 1655, Emperor Jiaqing did not allow any vessel to enter the sea, as well as the residents along the coastal areas in Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, Shandong and other provinces were forced to move inland for thirty to fifty miles. On the year of 1680 the Qing government was reigning by Emperor Kangxi, even on that year Zheng Jing was dominating Taiwan, Emperor Kangxi has settled the civil strife and gained control of all the coastal areas of mainland China. Then the sea trade started to normally recovery, but with very limited ports was allowed for trade. On 1663 when Emperor Kangxi conquered Taiwan, four customs for maritime trade were set, which are Yue 粵 (Guangzhou), Min 閩 (Zhangzhou), Zhe 浙 (Ningbo) and Jiang 江 (Shanghai). The four ports have been maintained the business until 1757, the Emperor Qianlong ordered the closure of Jiang Customs, Zhe Customs and Min Customs, designated foreign merchant ships were only allowed to do the business in Yue/Canton customs – Guangzhou. Compared with Kangxi policy which relatively more open to trade with westerners than his grandson Qianlong, which is much stricter. Silk, tea and other traditional goods exports of China were more strictly controlled since Qianlong Period. There were also a number of bans issued on the Chinese merchant shipping trade. This situation continued until 1840 when the Opium War outbreak, China's sea gate was forced to open. The period from 1757 to 1842 for the time when the trade was officially restricted to Canton by the Qing government is known as “the Canton System”. Paul Van Dyke criticized in this way of defined by policies that has led to the creation of different eras and pointed that the historical maker loses significance when we focus on the day-to-day practices.² He argue the daily routines of trade and administrative networks within customs which continued after 1757 and they had before, the conduct of business went on with no change in the

² Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007),p.163.

structure, and there were no major change in the way that foreigners and trade were controlled. “The new policy did not change the fact that Canton had already established itself as the most favoured port in China, nor that the foreigners had decided that themselves...The structure of the trade and its dependence on the geographical and hydrographical qualities of the delta and proximity of Macao were unique to Canton. Because its system could not be duplicate in any other port, it is more appropriate to refer to the entire period as the ‘Canton System’.”³ This is also why I chose Macau as the starting point for this research of European and China trade. According to the importance of Canton (Guangzhou) in the maritime trade during the centuries, Macau, as the outer port of Canton, has long been leased by the Portuguese and allowed the western traders and cargo ships to remain, was an important channel to connect Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang and other coastal provinces of China.

Part I will review the relative fields of literature debates and researches, which concerns not only the concept of global history, the consumption history both in West Europe and China, along with the researches about the wine – the wine industry and the wine trade during the period. The connection between these topics and wine will be examined, then I will try to fill the scholarly void on the topic of wine, focus on the European wine consumption in China during the period. In this part I will also outline the hypothesis of my research on the topic of consumption group and classes, the consumption volume, the market strategies, etc. along with the commercial networks and structures within the “wine trade” to China. The sources and methodology of the research will also be designed in this part.

Part II, III, IV look closely to the primary sources mainly from the archives of China, and presenting the research findings, with the data of European red wine consumption in China, the social economic condition and the trade networks between European and Chinese merchants.

³ *ibid.*

PART I

Red Wine in China during Early and Middle Qing: state of the art, questions, hypothesis, sources and methodology

Scholars who analyzed the trade between European and China among the early modern period used to be primarily based on a Eurocentric version. Recently, the global history perspective and the comparison research between Eurocentric and Sinocentric methods on economic history give us new perspective on the topic of European-Chinese trade among the 17th to 19th centuries. As there were many of the researches have done about the consumption society in Western Europe, focused on the goods from Eastern world like tea, silk, porcelain, etc. while very few about the European commodities in Eastern countries have been done. More specifically, there almost no one has done research on the consumption of European wine in China during this period of time, the field is completely blank. It is hoped this study could fill part of the voids in the historiography: the analysis of the European wine consumption in early modern China, mainly in the south and east regions, with the perspectives based on relative theories. In this part it will review the connection between these research achievements and the topic of European wine consumption in China and raises the hypothesis and questions. How the hypothesis designed and what are the sources will be explicated and explained. The methodology applied in this research would also be introduced, to explain how specific problems and questions to be overcome and how they connected to the topic.

Previous Research in Relevant Fields of Global History, Consumption History and Wine Consumption in China

1.1 Global History

The concept of “global history” has been used more and more often in recent historical research, especially for those topics which refer to the international, inter-cultural, inter-regional, and which across the long period of time. For my research about the European wine consumption in China, to put this specific historical topic in a “global” frame is necessary. We cannot individually consider it just a flow of commodity issue, or only base on Sino-version national narrative when analyze the consumption situation. So what is global history? How could I apply my topic “globally”?

Sebastian Conrad tried to put his definition and opinions on “global history” that differs from earlier forms of history in his guidebook names *What is Global History?*. In his point of view, global history is emerged from the challenges that globalization brings to social sciences, to overcome the two “birth defects” of modern social sciences and humanities stand, which refer to the “methodological nationalism” and Eurocentric. It is going to change the organization and institutional order of knowledge, while to describe a form of historical analysis in which phenomena, events, or processes are placed in global contexts.⁴

Conrad raised three varieties camps of global history: global history as the history of everything; as the history of connections; and as history based on the concept of integration. First way of approaching global history is to equate it with history of everything in the world. It resulted in very different strategies in practice, the most outstanding versions are the works of large-scale synthesis that trying to capture the global reality at specific period. For example, a global panorama of a particular year, refer

⁴ Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 3-6.

the idea of “global” into planetary comprehensiveness. Similarly, historians trace a particular idea or historical construction through the ages around the world, such as the history of tea, cotton or sugar, with all-in version. Similarly, my study of wine in China can also be analyzed in this micro scale focus. The second paradigm in the field puts focus mainly on exchange and connections. The general insight of which is that there is no isolated society, nation or civilization, because of the mobility and interactions. In this way, based on the trade and religious activities, the interconnectedness of the world can be date back over centuries. The third approach, which is the most accepted one by the global historians, presumes some form of global integration. It refers to patterns of exchange that were regular, sustained and thus able to shape societies in profound ways. The operations and influences depended more on the degree of systemic integration on a global scale.⁵ In this version, historians have situated the particular cases in their global contexts. Conrad also raised Christopher Hill’s history work as an example, which among France, US and Japan in late nineteenth century, places these three nations in domestic change and global transformations.⁶ Hill practiced the challenges of historical research on these three countries since 1870s, when social upheaval and crisis happened: the Meiji Restoration in Japan, the Civil War in US and the fall of Second Empire and the Paris commune in France. Although the three states shares different domestic condition and occupied different position in the world, but all of them share a similarity situation as well: the development of interstate relations, growing international trade, capital accumulation and revolution in communication.⁷ In his argument, a national history could be explicated in a global structure, rather than emphasize a history of imperialist suppression, or base on a nation’s roots. Hill argued the “national-historical space” of modern nation was constructed with a developing modern world system of nations.⁸ It also gives me inspiration of my topic designing. To what extent the southern and eastern Chinese residents during 17th and 18th centuries identified themselves as “Chinese”? If

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

⁶ Christopher L.Hill, *National History and the World of Nations: Capital Stage, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France and the United States*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ *ibid.*

the residents preferred more regional identities for example *Chaozhou* or *Teochew people* 潮 汕人 rather than Chinese or Qing subjects? Furthermore, as China have already involved into the world trade, should we also consider of the economic and consumption history of China into a bigger background of the world? How do the Chinese historians analyze Chinese history in a “global history” version?

Moreover, the key word of “world history” often been mentioned related to “global history”, so what is the difference? Douki and Minard presented the timeline of the rising of global history study since the first pioneering book published in 1963 written by William McNeill from the United States ‘*The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community*’, which explored human history draw on the effect of different world civilizations on one another.⁹ After that, since 1980s and 90s the subject developed not only in US, but also in the countries of Europe such as Britain and Germany. In the review of the subject of history, the concept of global history and world history are not clearly distinguish and defined. They share the same meaning in some extent. Douki and Minard explained that both world history and global history share “two common goals”, first, to account all the phenomena that occur across the state borders and overcome national lines in historical research, while, the second, to write a history of world that not only dominated by a Western of view.¹⁰ However, “global” comes from the concept of “globalization”, which refers to a historical process of economic and cultural integration on a global scale. Maxine Berg claimed that “‘global history’ encompasses a new approach to historical writing which has emerged during the past fifteen years” in her edited book ‘*Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the Twenty-first Century*’.¹¹ This book brings together several articles those who have written books and articles of the historical discipline in the direction of global history with the studies in fields including empire, area studies, the arts, and technology. “It engaged them in reflection and debate

⁹ William Hardy McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963).

¹⁰ Caroline Douki & Philippe Minard, ‘Histoire globale, histoires connectées: un changement d'échelle historiographique?’, *Revue d'histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, No 54-4bis, (2007), p. 7-21.

¹¹ Maxine Berg (ed.), *Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the Twenty-first Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.1.

over what 'global' approaches to history mean, how it has changed the questions they ask, and the ways they do history. It raises the limitations and problems of this approach to history, but also opens out new perspectives.”¹² In this book we find a variety of useful developments in global history on ideas, methods, arguments, normative suggestions, etc.

In personal understanding of global history, we might stand in a methodological version. It is often emphasize more on the rise of interdependency and processes of integration on a global scale. Global history is more like a methodology tool around social science that can enlarge the research into a planetary scale instead of the individually or divided historical watch. In contrast, “world” can only be explained as an international or transnational concept, in which world history research might not regard the process of integration necessary. Sachsenmaier showed similar opinion that he defined the idea of “global” not Hegelianism or Westerncentrism. Compared with “world”, “global” has symbolized dynamic structures such as the flow, exchanges and mutual reactions between different world regions. In addition, in contract to other conception of “international” or “transnational”, “global” does not focus on the scholarly inquiry on the nation state. “Culturally constructed boundaries are far more important than political borders.”¹³ Haneda also reviewed the idea of “world history” and “global history” based on his understanding of Olstein’s book names *‘Thinking History Globally’* which published in 2015 and agreed that to think history globally is the result of globalization.¹⁴ The world history is more expansive in size and timescale but it does not presume the preconditions of current globalized situation of the world.¹⁵ Conrad raised his opinion that global history is “both an object of study and a particular way of looking at history: it is both a process and a perspective, a subject matter and a methodology.”¹⁶ Usually it is the perspective of historians, the perspective of historical actors, and the scale of the

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Dominic Sachsenmaier, ‘Global History, Global Debates’, *Connections. A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists*, 03 March 2005, www.connections.clio-online.net/debate/id/diskussionen-582, (accessed 28 February 2017).

¹⁴ Haneda Masashi, ‘Japanese Perspectives on Global History’, *Asian Review of World Histories*, 3:2, (2015), p. 221.

¹⁵ Olstein, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Conrad, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

historical process itself.

So who are practicing this "global" method in historical research and thinking? The most famous one should be the book written by Kenneth Pomeranz names *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*, we can see an experimental and advanced practice of global historical approaching. For the question of why the "Industrial Revolution" occurred in Europe not in China, his analysis reoriented this question in a comparative global framework. He explained that his book combined comparative analysis, some purely local contingency, and integrative or global approach. With the valuable data analyzing and comparisons between parts of Europe and parts of China, India, etc., he proved that Europe had not accumulated a vital advantage in material capital prior to 1800 and was not freer of Malthusian pressures than many other large economies. Pomeranz disagreed with the five categories of arguments for European uniqueness, referring to demography, markets, luxury consumption, labor and ecology. Pomeranz emphasized not solo Europeans, but how similar those processes to other regions of the world, until 1800. Pomeranz used the evidence to prove that Industrial Revolution did not grow out of European superiority, but the luck of England. With the comprehension between England and lower Yangzi delta of China since 16th to 18th century, it is the geological advantages on coal supplies, along with the unexpected windfalls like silver, timber, sugar and cotton from new world made England a "fortunate freak".¹⁷ Intercontinental comparisons worked throughout the whole book. The contents of his book used are mostly second-hand information, and there is no specific case study. However, Pomeranz's fully understanding on Western Europe, China and Japan makes his argument credible. We can also see this book stands out of Eurocentric; the factors that Pomeranz considered in analyzing the problem were comprehensive. In addition, he also paid more attention to regional characteristics, such as China's Jiangnan region rather than the whole of China.

¹⁷ Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 207.

In the study of historical research, many studies labeled as global history cannot actually practice such global perspective and method as mentioned earlier. The research habits along with the educational and cultural background of the historians often determine the perspective of what they use to look at the concept of “global”. For example, Haneda Masashi examined the Japanese way of perspective on global history, which is called *gurobaru hisutori* from the Japanese pronunciation. He explained that *gurobaru hisutori* in Japan is not equivalent to Olstein's global history he reviewed.¹⁸ It has the characters that summarized by Mizushima Tsukasa: “a long time scale, an expansive spatial scale, a goal of relativizing the interpretation of European and modern histories, emphasis on the interconnectedness of countries and regions, and the introduction of new topics and themes including environmental history and big history.”¹⁹ Often the world is divided geographically into several civilizations or regions. Each of them has its own independent tube-like history, from ancient time to the present.²⁰ This kind of situation derived from the longstanding Japanese historiography culture in world history research. If we only review from the previous definition and description, the global history in Japan is here do “worldwide and with large scale”, but we are uncertain if it is “globalized enough”. *Gurobaru hisutori* is attempts to review and reexamine the existing framework explain the world history (*sekaishi*). *Gurobaru hisutori* here is similar to *atarashii sekaishi* (new world history).

Currently, the Global history studies in Japan, as well as in Russia and China, are more national narrative, it is more like a national history than global one. Manuel Perez Garcia have reviewed the current problems which global historians from different background now facing. Although global history is very popular in Anglo-Saxon historiographies, it focuses more on Great Britain for its national history and colonies due to the attention more on the studies of European core economic areas.²¹ While, the southern European

¹⁸ Diego Olstein, *Thinking History Globally*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

¹⁹ Mizushima Tsukasa (ed.), *Gurobaru Hisutori-no Chousen*, (Yamakawa Shuppansha Ltd., 2008), cited in Haneda Masashi, ‘Japanese Perspectives on Global History’, *Asian Review of World Histories*, 3:2, 2015, p.222.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ Manuel Perez Garcia (ed.) & Lucio De Sousa (ed.), *Global History and New Polycentric Approaches: Europe*,

historiographies from Spain, France, Italy or Portugal, with long influenced Marxist ideology, the the ideological conquests of May 1968 and the Annales School, along with the Anglo-American modernization theories, which made it has a mindset inherited from Anglo-Saxon historiography and not give enough emphasis to global history.²² In other words, the historiography in Europe is more Eurocentric. Compared with it, the Chinese historiography in global history has just been recently introduced. Because any research centre in Chinese universities much follow the ‘One Belt, One Road’ policy whose goal is to present a new national history of China, which make the world history to be like a history of nations and territories outside China.²³ In addition, there is no clear distinction between global history and world history to Chinese historiography. Liu XinCheng from China Normal University tried to outline the current debates in Chinese historian circle about whether they should accept the global history, and how to build a Chinese way of world history. Global history is an imported approach to Chinese, “like world history, which found its way into China at the beginning of the 20th century, global history also comes from the West, a civilization that was once strongly scornful of the Chinese civilization. The Chinese antagonism to Western importation—including historiography concepts—is almost instinctive.”²⁴ For many historians think it is unnecessary to follow all what the theories from Western and Chinese should create and follow its own method and concept. Some argued since the first half of the twentieth century, many Chinese historians have taken particular care to use western resources to study the formative process of the Chinese culture and nation, to answer from multiple perspectives the question of 'how China became the China.'²⁵ So in some extent the Chinese historians have already practiced the historical approach “globally”? Such debates continue, but currently we can see there global history in China is not that widely accepted, and the historical researches are Sinocentric, and also in patriotic narrative.

Asia and the Americas in World Network System, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p.3.

²² *ibid.*

²³ *ibid.*, p4.

²⁴ Liu Xincheng, ‘The Global View of History in China’, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 23, No. 3, (2012), P. 505

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.506.

Sachsenmaier suggested the most worldwide debate on global history is conditioned by local factors so it can be understood as a “glocal” phenomenon. “This global neglect of global approaches is rooted in the local bias of historiography as a distinct disciplinary culture.”²⁶ Therefore, working as an global historian is not easy. Multi-polar and global perspective on history research is necessary, while the historians should also remain sensitive for the local. Debates on methodology are based on how to balance the gains of global perspective with potential losses in local sensitivity. Douki and Minard also claimed to be more “sensitive” on many different forms of contacts, interconnection and regions varieties are necessary.²⁷ Sometimes we should pay more attention to the ways of living, working, consuming, as well as gender, cultural and religious practices, rather than always focus on the economic determinism perspective.

I cannot say "global history" is the most advantaged perspective and methodology or I am now clearly know how to practicing my historical research “globally”, but no doubt that this theory is more applicable to the status of today's globalized world situation, and can be utilized in practice. As I am a Chinese native, with British education background and currently work in GECCEM project, I would try to use my knowledge and cognitive to put the case study of “red wine in China” into this more bigger “global perspective”. It would help me understand the problem more comprehensively. When counting about the this problem we should try to avoid regard it as a simple regional commodity, but also to take it into account the nature of its exotic, the role it played in different cultural and economic exchanges, the significance of it in the global trade, etc.

1.2 Chinese Economic History

When starting my research of European red wine consumption in China, it is necessary to have the knowledge of global perspective, but also know more about the local. The basic concepts and cognition of Chinese economic history is essential. So what is

²⁶ Sachsenmaier, *op. cit.*

²⁷ Douki & Minard, *op. cit.*

economic history? Robert C. Allen explained the subject of economy history directly using the title of Adam Smith's great book: *The Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Compared with the economists who are seeking the 'causes' in a timeless theory of economic development, the economic historians find them in a dynamic process of historical change. 'Why are some countries rich and others poor?' is the question that often be asked.²⁸ As the economic historical research becomes more globalized in recent years, a big challenge is faced by the historians on how to explain the huge differences in wealth between rich and poor countries that emerged after Western world's industrialization. Many questions are often asked such as "Why did China fail to sustain its technological lead over Europe after 1400" or "Why did it fail to cultivate an endogenous industrial capitalism despite its own premodern economic success?" These questions are often defined as "Eurocentrism" or "Eurocentric" that look for those "unique" traits set Europe apart from China and rest of the world, which means, with one existing assumption that, Europe already had some internally generated advantage over Asia. This kind of debates questions has dominated historical comparative research on Europe and China for long times.²⁹ However, a group of world historians led by Jim Blaut, Jack Goldstone, Kenneth Pomeranz, Bing Wong, Andre Gunder Frank, James Lee and Li Bozhong, most of whom are defined as "California school" has showed their differed argument about this Eurocentric model. In the case of Chinese economic history, it is more specifically described by Pomeranz in his book *The Great Divergence*, that there was little difference in economic structure or per capita income between Europe and the most commercialized regions of China (more typically the Lower Yangtzi regions or China, or so called Jiangnan regions) before the British industrial "Britain's head start in industrialization to cheap coal and superior access through its colonies to land-intensive goods rather to any advantage linked to political, legal, or other

²⁸ Robert C. Allen, *Global Economic History: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 1.

²⁹ Ricardo Duchesne, 'Between Sinocentrism and Eurocentrism: Debating Andre Gunder Frank's Re-Orient: Global Economy in the Asian Age', *Science & Society*, Vol. 65, No. 4, (2001/2002), p. 428.

institutional factor."³⁰ The Jiangnan region and its economic condition would also be one of my research objects. This view of global economic history research inspired a wide range of controversy, and also made the historians paid more attention to China's economic history no more in a narrowly specialized field but to a concern of global historical studies.

The field of study on Chinese economic history has been led and dominated by the Western scholars. Kent G. Deng explained two approaches to work on Chinese economic history, one is "Sinological approach" which refers to China only - it tried to find out China's achievements and when or how it made them; another is "comparative approach" which seek to understand why premodern China was not industrialized.³¹

The 'Sinological approach' could be categorized under five headings: 1) China was superiority in premodern Eurasia in science and technology, agriculture productivities and military power; 2) China achieved a high degree of commercialization and urbanization; 3) China protected and nurtured producers' incentives with reasonably well-defined property rights; 4) some long-term patterns of China's premodern growth have been established during the Song period (960-1279) that after which no significant progress took place; 5) although China's population experienced a rapid rise after the seventeenth century, some studies have suggested that average standards of living in the advanced south-eastern region such as Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Hunan and Guangdong provinces matched standards in western Europe during the eighteenth century, which is well supported by evidence from travelogues and commentaries of Europeans. Levels of education and popular literacy also remained high.³²

Loren Brandt, Debin Ma and Thomas G. Rawski review these achievements that China's

³⁰ Loren Brandt, Debin Ma, and Thomas G. Rawski, 'From Divergence to Convergence: Re-evaluating the History Behind China's Economic Boom', *London School of Economics: Working Papers No. 158/12*, (2012), p. 5.

³¹ Kent G. Deng, 'A Critical Survey of Recent Research in Chinese Economic History', *The Economic History Review, New Series*, Vol. 53, No.1, (2000), pp.1-2.

³² Deng, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-6.

advanced regions reached before the Opium War. Based on the expansion of markets and commerce under the Song Dynasty (960-1279), some of which declined during the Yuan (1279-1368), the Ming and Qing era (1368-1912) witnessed renewed expansion of commerce and growing commercialization of agriculture. Local and inter-regional trade expanded. There were studies showed that the Qing trend toward deepening domestic commercial networks, for example G. W. Skinner (1964) showed to consist of nested hierarchies of marketplaces, differentiated according to the periodicity of market sessions the scale of activity and array of products and services transacted, that extend from large cities to distant and humble villages.³³ Numbers of towns and markets were surrounding the Lower Yangtze River regions and near Guangzhou port. Even most of the demand and sales are mainly domestic transactions. China is always involved into the international trade before 1800s. China's international trade during were mainly intra-Asia, with China shipping commodities like porcelain, silk and tea by sea and overland to Southeast and Central Asia while importing timber, spices, and monetary metals by sea and horses.³⁴ Since the arrival of European traders in the early 16th century it emerged the new European and Asian trade network. China's luxury exports expanding new market in Europe. Europe also export its own luxury products such as window glass, clock and coral to China. China's continued merchandise trade surplus has also brought a lot of imported silver from the New World. Furthermore, In the long history of local and long-distance commerce, many informal networks and institutions played an important role. Market network supported increasingly population settlement in trade-oriented regions like Jiangnan area, where raised large numbers of cities and towns. Moreover, the commercial activities in Ming and Qing China drew support from both formal and informal finance. For example the "native" banks (*qian zhuang* 钱庄), from which the most famous one is the 'Shanxi banks' that name with their roots in Shanxi province. It is specialized in managing official funding and transferring funds over

³³ G. William. Skinner, *Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China*. (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 1964), cited in Brandt, L., Ma, D., & Rawski, T. G., 'From Divergence to Convergence: Re-evaluating the History Behind China's Economic Boom', *London School of Economics: Working Papers No. 158/12*, (2012), pp. 12-13.

³⁴ Brandt, Ma & Rawski, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

long distances. These privately-owned institutions also face to unlimited liability, accepted deposits, issued loans, arranged interregional remittances and originated bank notes.³⁵ Moreover, the financial supporting organizations are various, for instance, the "money shops" which is specialized in currency exchange between copper and silver, notes and hard currency, local and trade-specific bookkeeping currencies; some shopkeepers, tradesmen and individuals served as regular sources of personal loans; the relatives and friends provided funds; etc. "This system, especially its informal components, contributed substantially to the prosperity and expansion of China's economy during the Ming-Qing era, providing sufficient funds to support gradual expansion of monetization and agricultural commercialization as well as substantial and growing volumes of local and long distance trade."³⁶ Nevertheless, China's Qing farm economy is a "dual system combining farming and handicrafts for household consumption and for commercial sale"³⁷ Villagers were deeply involved in marketing: individual villagers could easily adapt to the trade, they would start to have commerce with no prior accumulation of wealth, only with the help of brokers or other reliable individuals, native-place and kinship tied them together.

Here we come back to another approach that used in Chinese economic history studies that listed by Kent Deng. Compared with the Sinological approach mentioned above, the 'comparative approach' is more complicated and controversial. The main debate is why China failed to advance further from its outstanding achievement since Song. Very similar to what the famous "Needham Question" asked: "Why did modern science, the mathematization of hypotheses about Nature, with all its implications for advanced technology, take its meteoric rise only in the West at the time of Galileo (but) had not developed in Chinese civilization or Indian civilization?"³⁸ There are debates existed, which reviewed by R. Bin Wong, that the studies of Chinese economic practice between

³⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁸ Joseph Needham. *Science and Civilisation in China*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954).

1500 and 1900 usually proceed in one or two ways: a Chinese difference from Europe and label is the key differentiating factor, for China has its unique economic condition in rural industry; or the similarities to European-style success but did not deliver to China, for the reasons of the Chinese state obstructed process to protect its power, the imperialism wraps Chinese economic changes to serve Westerners interests, and the "feudal" powerholders anxious to defend their elite positions against change.³⁹ The "Darwinian species" is can be used to explain it in some extent, for philosophically the growth in west Europe was "Darwinian positive", and it also used to measure China's condition. While Wong argued Darwinian was survival in itself not growth and development.⁴⁰ Many of these theories, as well as Marxism, are used to explain and measure the factors in China as well.

In the historical research of comparing Europe and China, Deng agreed in some extent that the convertibility of Chinese economic performance to indices of west Europe performance can be made in a comparison which includes a long list including per caput outputs and incomes, man-to-land ratios, crop yields, population densities, degrees of commercialization or urbanization, and standards of living. To measure by ranking in a technical, economic and military pecking order is easy and justifiable to use Western Europe as a benchmark in some extent.⁴¹ With the regional studies are strong growth, long-term and empire-wide studies are becoming an endangered species so Deng claimed that "these two approaches are largely complementary and Chinese economic history needs both".⁴² China as a case, "it had a nationwide market, a single government (which was active in maintaining food supply, famine relief, and price control), a standardized written language, a uniform calendar and system of weights and measures, a dominant Confucian code of conduct".⁴³

³⁹ R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), p.14.

⁴⁰ Deng, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² Deng, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁴³ *ibid.*

The Maddison Project is typically such a "long-term and empire-wide" research database. Maddison's interpretation of the historical conjuncture is based on comparisons between China and Europe of his estimates for GDP per capita. Base on a statistical basis since year one to the common era of our current time. As Deng and O'Brien summarized, Maddison advocates that data suggest that it is around the 1600 that the average standards of living in China and in the West diverged and that the gap widened continuously down, until very recent decades the Chinese economy began to deliver increasing standards of living for its population at levels that continue rapidly be close towards those afforded by Western economies.⁴⁴ Maddison recognized that complementary historical statistics that could also serve to represent the economic performance of the Chinese Empire under the Ming and Qing period were needed to carry conviction. He found support for his speculations from Dwight Perkins of Harvard and Gilbert Rozman of Princeton from their historical research and analysis that from Tang to Qing Dynasties, and he thinks there had been little change in the proportion of the population living in towns.⁴⁵ However, personally think that his large data has very limited reference value, in addition to China' different regional economic characteristics, it's difficult to make sure if his data sources are reliable, and the currency he used in calculation - dollar - might not explain the specific historical conditions of price standard in China.

I agree with Deng's idea, for my research on wine consumption in China both regional and empire-wide, while both Sinocentric and Eurocentric should be considered. It should be in both a global historical version and Sinological approach. According to theories listed above, here I am mainly talk about my own concern. Firstly, the traditional Eurocentric version would not be avoid, on the case of wine I would also examine the export of commodities from Europe and its influence of the capitalism in China. Besides, the Sinocentric version would more be suitable here to understand the local

⁴⁴ Kent Deng & Patrick O'Brien, 'China's GDP Per Capita from the Han Dynasty to Communist Times', *World Economics*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2016, p. 83.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

Chinese markets. I would not chose the “big data” for example the GDP in this research. The regional data with specific case studies would be more valuable. Just as the “California School” reviewed the economic development among Lower Yangtze River region, we see the similarity between Western Europe and China, along with the regional difference within China. The more developed province definitely shows higher consumption level and their involvement in global trade might influences on their consumption behaviours. More debates will be down in later part of question design, and here my concern in how could I stand my point of view both globally and locally, Eurocentric and Sinocentric, connected and individual, etc.

1.3 Consumption History: Europe and China

My research is about the consumption of wine, while global history gives me a new perspective on how to consider this problem. My object study might mainly focus on the Chinese market, but the consumption environment and history of both European and Chinese society must be concerned. So what is consumption? Frank Trentmann in his book names *‘The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption’* suggested that “Consumption is a mirror of the human condition. Our understanding of how people consume has always reflected our views about how they ought to live.”⁴⁶ Trentmann claimed that the study of consumption is usually interface with anthropology, sociology and geography, directly stimulated new directions in cultural, global and material history, while historians have been prompted to think about the production, presentation and circulation of things, and about the production, representation and circulation of things, as well as the nature of symbolic communication, material practices and identity formation.⁴⁷

According to the chronological preoccupations there were two period of the history of consumption, one is the ‘consumer society’ after the Second World War, the other is

⁴⁶ Frank Trentmann (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.1.

⁴⁷ *ibid*, p.2.

original birth pangs in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Consumer society refers to the America's main export to Western Europe in the era of the cold war, in which the affluence had moved the United States onto a new historical route where consumption were stimulated growth, defined identities and shaped public and private life.⁴⁸ Later it has widely accepted almost a matter of historical truism that a large and rapid increase in the consumption of consumer goods such as tableware, curtains, pictures, and cutlery, which happened before the Industrial Revolution, both in England and elsewhere in northern Europe, during 1600-1750 was regarded as the Consumer Revolution. The research on it was led by the British historian Neil McKendrick, for the birth of this social formation. He found it in middle of 18th Century of England the frame image of an affluent America set in 1950s and 1960s. The decisive ingredients were choice, markets, fashion and the rise in discretionary income.⁴⁹ "For the consumer revolution was the necessary analogue to the industrial revolution, the necessary convulsion on the demand side of the equation to match the convulsion on the supply side.... The consumer revolution was a turning point in the history of human experience."⁵⁰ In his research not only showed how porcelain, tea, cotton and other commodities were consumed by the 1760s, but also the role of fashion magazines and the marketing strategies pioneered by Josiah Wedgwood as early instances of how advertising created.⁵¹ There is an opposing strand of historiographical research that does not accept the application of Consumption Revolution concept, for it does not properly explain the economic transformations that occurred on the demand side. Traditional research based on Consumer Revolution usually not take into account consumer decisions, the buying power and wealth suffer alterations, the transformation of their demands, the new strategies of marketing, etc.⁵²

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Neil McKendrick, 'The Consumer Revolution of England of Eighteenth-Century England', in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), pp. 9-33.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Trentmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

⁵² Manuel Perez-Garcia, *Vicarious Consumers: Trans-National Meeting between the West and East in the*

Trentmann did not quite agree with the traditional historical studies of a fragmentation way. There are studies of individual nations, cities, streets, shops and good while comparative efforts are rare. Historians are usually work on the particular concerns of a nation or region, in a particular time period, for example, seeking for the origin of European consumer societies, primarily consider the case in England when examining economic transformations. “Fragmentation also, however, reveals a genuine analytical difficulty in moving between the concrete level of empirical research and a more general level of interpretation and abstraction.”⁵³ What counts as consumption depends on the observer. Scholars did number of researches about the Consumer Revolution of the early modern period, not only in Britain, but also other regions of eastern and southern Europe, or try to connect the world by a comprehensive and wider perspective to see the problem, such as the origin and nature of technological, socio-economic, political and cultural transformation. Later research challenged to formulating the questions and hypothesis within a global context. In 1980s, many historians associated the idea of consumption with shopping, then border into the act of purchase, the creation of desire through the use of things, waste, recycling, etc. Trentmann argued that it should also related to different mental and physical actions and involve different relations and institutions. “Consumption is a shorthand that refers to a whole bundle of goods that are obtained via different system of provision and used for different purposes.”⁵⁴ In his edited *Handbook* Trentmann has constructed a broad spectrum of ideas in consumption history, with scholars’ work who are mostly from Europe and North America, where the historical analysis of consumption is most fully developed, in an insight into key developments, connections and disconnections in both history and historiography of consumption. Jon Stobart in his reviewed pointed that, in this book only five chapters focusing specifically on other parts of the world: China (two chapters), Japan, Africa and ‘modern colonialism’, as well as it focused more on twentieth century development, a

Mediterranean World (1730-1808), (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), p. 9.

⁵³ John Brewer and Frank Trentmann (eds.), *Consuming Cultures, Global Perspectives: Historical Trajectories, Transnational Exchanges*, (Oxford: Berg, 2006), cited in Frank Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 2.

⁵⁴ Trentmann, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

narrowing of the time-frame risks losing important connections with earlier developments, debates and practice.⁵⁵ There is a strong undercurrent running throughout the book, which stresses the politics of consumption. “Consumption is about more than simply shopping, but the daily routines and spaces of acquiring as well as disposing of goods still remain important.”⁵⁶

As during the 17th and 18th centuries consumer revolution and the material culture formed in Western Europe, the idea not only making the English mass consumers by definition but also making them into a nation of shoppers. The need to purchase frequently small quantities of tea, sugar, and tobacco spurred the proliferation of shops which marked eighteenth-century England.⁵⁷ Oriental commodities’ consumption in the European community is widely documented and discussed while Western goods in the Chinese market consumption are rarely recorded before the Opium War. Although there is no large number of imported goods, some areas of China also formed a consumer society, with local and regional exchange of goods.

It is widely accepted by Chinese historians that the consumption culture in early modern China is different from those of in Europe. Jiang Jianguo in his review of theories of consumption have claimed that the consumer research must be combined with social and cultural studies together, learn each other from a number of specific research, and grasp the historical details or specific historical environment.⁵⁸ In Ming and Qing China, there was not a consumption revolution which apparent as what happened in 17th and 18th centuries of Europe, but the traditional consumer culture was gradually changing among late Ming and early Qing Dynasties. In the seed of capitalism, the prosperity of business and industry in some areas such as Jiangnan Region, along with the emergence of

⁵⁵ Jon Stobart, ‘The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption, ed. Frank Trentmann’, *Engl Hist Rev*, 130:544, (2015), pp. 798-800.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Cissie Fairchilds, ‘Consumption in Early Modern Europe. A Review Article’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Oct. 1993), p. 854.

⁵⁸ Jiang Jianguo, ‘Xi Fang Xiao Fei Wen Hua Li Lun Yan Jiu De Fa Zhan, Yan Bian Yu Fan Si’, *Consumer Economics*, Vol. 6, (2005), p. 85.

mercantilism that made the traditional consumer culture challenged.⁵⁹ Conservatism is the mainstream concept of consumption in ancient China, based on the peasant economy and the symbiotic relationship of man and nature, and the Confucianism ideology, which determined the mainstream view of consumption in China, reflected in “Consumption should be frugal, to make plans for the long term”.⁶⁰ However, this traditional concept of frugality in some extent has prevailed only among the lower or civilian class, while the extravagant spending habits have always existed for the aristocracy. The significance of consumer transition in late Ming and early Qing is the rising of the new consumer group – the merchants.⁶¹ For thousands of years in China, merchants were the lower class, which means even they might have treasure, but have no advantaged status in society. According to the consumer habit determined by class, the merchants in ancient China could not consumer as the aristocracy did. This consumption concept changed and collapsed since late Ming, while the group of businessman and handicraftsman increased quickly not only in their wealth but also the scale.⁶² For example, the famous *Lianghuai Salt Merchants* 两淮盐商 who are active during Qing, was the largest commercial capital group in the country. They monopolized the entire circulation of salt produced in the salt land at Lianghuai. They seized a huge amount of monopoly profits during the salt water transportation and sales.⁶³ Except for bribing officials, engaging in government and purchasing daily necessities, the vast wealth owned by these salt merchants along the Huaihe River Area is mainly used for luxury living expenses.⁶⁴ As a record of the imperial edict announced by Emperor Yongzheng which described and criticized the consumer habit of these salt merchants: “Salt merchants everywhere, reality empty inside but appears luxurious, they are extremely extravagant in clothing and houses; ingenious in food and tableware; comedians and singing girls are

⁵⁹ Zhao Jilin, *Study of Consumer Culture Change in China*, PhD Thesis, (Southwestern University of Finance and Economics, 2009). p.74.

⁶⁰ He Xiaoqin, *The Tracing and Comparing of Mainstream Concept of Consumption Culture between China and the West*, Master Thesis, (Lanzhou University, 2010), pp. 52-55.

⁶¹ Zhao Jilin, *op. cit.*

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ Xiao Guoliang, ‘Qing Dai Liang Huai Yan Shang De She Chi Xing Xiao Fei Ji Qi Jing Ji Ying Xiang’, *Historical Research*, Vol. 4, (1982), p. 135.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.136.

invited to performed, holding ceremonies and parties every day; they treat golden, money, jewelry just as silt; even their servants are pride and fierce; their daily living and clothing are just equal to the officials, behavior unruly, never have self-examination; they are extravagant and dissipated, learn from each other and make their living style become a fashion. The salt merchants behave similarly everywhere, especially those who live in Huaiyang region.”⁶⁵ Huaiyang is the area that near Huaihe River and Lower Yangtzi River, current Yangzhou, Zhenjiang, Yancheng and Huai’an regions. We can see that the merchants’ luxury conspicuous consumption.

Compared with the rich merchants’ consumer habit, the consumption of ordinary residents and peasants during Qing Dynasty are still considering priority for subsistence or survival consumption, including food (staple food mainly cereals; non-staple food including cooking oil, salt, sauces, vegetables, wine, etc.), clothing, housing and fuel, which reached the percentage of all consumer spending of 76% to 83%.⁶⁶ Beyond that, the extra consumption spending of ordinary households are education, festival and marriage celebration, as well as religious sacrifice.⁶⁷ Compared with northern residents of China, the Lower Yangzi Region families have relative higher living standards. Connect to my research, both the consumer of non-staple food and ceremonies include wine. For the wine consumption in China I will examine in next parts, while the European wine, an exotic and imported commodity that possibly to be an luxury product, might not be the consumed by common people. More researches need to be done later, and currently I cannot find the research on the expenditure of households of ordinary town and rural residents on luxury.

⁶⁵ Liang Tingyu (ed.), *Huang Chao Wen Xian Tong Kao Juan Er Shi Ba*, cited in Xiao Guoliang, ‘Qing Dai Liang Huai Yan Shang De She Chi Xing Xiao Fei Ji Qi Jing Ji Ying Xiang’, *Historical Research*, Vol. 4, (1982), p. 135. Original text in classical Chinese: 各处盐商, 内实空虚而外事奢侈, 衣物屋宇, 穷极华靡, 饮食器具, 备求工巧, 俳优妓乐, 恒舞酣歌, 宴会嬉游, 殆无虚日, 金钱珠贝, 视为泥沙, 甚至悍仆豪奴, 服食起居, 同于仕宦, 越礼犯分, 周知自检, 骄奢淫佚, 相习成风, 各处盐商皆然, 而淮扬尤甚。

⁶⁶ Zhang Yan, ‘Shi Ba Shi Ji Qian Hou Qing Dai Nong Jia Sheng Huo Xiao Fei De Yan Jiu’, *Ancient and Modern Agriculture*, Vol. 4, (2005), pp. 83-86.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 86-88.

In studying the history of Chinese consumption, we should also try to look at these issues from a more comprehensive perspective, from different regions, classes, culture backgrounds, geography, regional policies, special events, etc., as well as compared with those of Europe. “Economic and cultural regulations restrict the consumer culture, while consumer culture clearly reflect into the economic and cultural.”⁶⁸ When in approaching the historical consumer problem, we cannot avoid the "fragmented" and "nationalized" methods, it is still a good entry point.

There is another concept I think would be necessary to mention here is Conspicuous Consumption, which is the spending of money on and the acquiring of luxury goods and services to publicly display economic power—of the income or of the accumulated wealth of the buyer. To the conspicuous consumer, such a public display of discretionary economic power is a means of either attaining or maintaining a given social status.⁶⁹ “Consumption is evidence of wealth...the utility of both (conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption) alike for the purpose of reputability lies in the waste that is common to both. In the one case it is a waste of time and effort, in the other it is a waste of goods. Both are methods of demonstrating the possession of wealth, and the two are conventionally accepted as equivalent.”⁷⁰ There is a ‘demonstration effect’ between the households that they care not only about their own consumption level, but also about their consumption level relative to those of other households in their “reference group”.⁷¹ They would suffer felicity loss when other’s consumption levels rise because it means their relative consumption now declines.⁷² Veblen claimed that “the scheme of life in vogue in the next higher stratum, and bend their energies to live up to that ideal. On pain of forfeiting their good name and their self-respect in case of failure, they must conform to the accepted code, at least in appearance... no class of society, not even the

⁶⁸ Zhao Jilin, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁶⁹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*, originally published in 1899, (reprinted London: George Allen & Unwin, 1925).

⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁷² Kenneth J. Arrow & Partha S. Dasgupta, ‘Conspicuous Consumption, Inconspicuous Leisure’, *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 119, No. 541, (Nov. 2009), p. F497.

most abjectly poor, foregoes all customary conspicuous consumption”.⁷³ Individual incomes are unobserved and admission to a club is based on the inference of an individual's capacity to contribute to the public good. By entering in a club, individual also gains a certain social status. This inference in turn is based on the signal emitted by spending on a conspicuous good.⁷⁴ Club is a modern concept and Veblen's theory comes after the historical period my research I would work on, but the relationship between income and consumption could be referenced. At present we have no evidence shows that the during 17th century to mid-19th century in the China that the imported wine is exact the commodity for conspicuous needs or daily needs, or if there was a “race of consumer” among the higher class, in next parts of this thesis will take into account this factor.

1.4 Studies on History of Wine Industry and Wine Culture

Humans have cultivated vines for the production of wine for thousands of years. The origins of viticulture lie in the Black Sea and Caspian Sea regions and could date back to 4000 B.C.E to 6000 B.C.E. It is a product has a long history with a productions process that remained few changes.⁷⁵ Before the beginning of the Christian Era grapes and wines were think highly by the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean peoples, not only for its high caloric value for easily stored and transported, but also for the effects of alcohol can made the people to forget their life difficulties. The use of wine in ceremonials was prominent in all early religions and adapted itself naturally to the Christian religion. Since the first century of the Christian Era the Greeks made wine as commercial products and spread the culture of the vine far west to Spain and east to Black Sea. “The Romans built upon Greek civilization and it was agreed that the first good classifications of grape varieties should owe to the Roman, especially Pliny, who classified grapes as to color,

⁷³ Veblen, *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ Fernando Jaramillo, Hubert Kempf & Fabien Moizeau, ‘Conspicuous Consumption, Social Status and Clubs’, *Social Interactions and Economic Behavior* (Jul. - Dec. 2001), p. 321.

⁷⁵ Unwin, T. *Wine and the Vine: A Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), cited in Karl Storchmann, 'Wine Economics', *Journal of Wine Economics*, Vol. 7, No. 1. (2012), p.1.

time or ripening, diseases, soil preference and types of wines which might be produced.”⁷⁶ The Roman developed the technical of making wine and carried vine culture into western and eastern France and north of Germany, south of England, as well as the Roman colonies.⁷⁷ The need of Church for wine was one of the most important fact in the preservation of wine industry through the Dark Ages. Then to the Middle Ages the politic became more stable and trade developed. There are evidences show that even in the Dark Age there are wine trade between Bordeaux and England while the international trade of wine started in 14th and 15th Centuries.⁷⁸ During the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries, the middle class whose living standard improved demanded more wine. Therefore the vineyard acreage increased rapidly in Europe, especially in France and Germany. The trade between England and the southern European and Mediterranean countries was especially important.⁷⁹

By 1850 the wine industry was well established in all part of Europe and exported particularly from France, Spain, Portugal and Madeira to England and elsewhere, as well as from Germany to the northern. The trade of port from Portugal to England was particularly important. During the 1670s, the British merchants and Portuguese wine producers started to bring Douro wine to British consumer, in which Douro region was a producer of good wines for local consumption for centuries, which afterwards widely recognized as port wine or Porto wine. When port wine’s growers and shippers was in their best years from 1700 to 1797, the number of growers grew from 1,977 to 3,257 while wine production increased from 35,505 to over 56,000 pipes. From the mid-1730 to the early 1800s, the Portuguese wine supply about 70% of British wine imports.⁸⁰ For the international trade demands on wine, quality and storage became an important issue to be work on. “The European producers were all trying to improve the quality of their

⁷⁶ M. A. Amerine & V. L. Singleton, *Wine: an Introduction for Americans*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), p.16.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 20.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸⁰ Norman R. Bennett, ‘The Golden Age of the Port Wine System, 1781-1807’, *The International History Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2, (1990), p. 225.

wine, as there was intense competition among them for customers, especially in the profitable British market.”⁸¹ Furthermore, “The international trade in wines had an important effect on standardization and classifications of wines...The fortification of port, dating from the eighteenth century, led to the aging of these wines and their popularity for the English connoisseurs.”⁸² The Portugal were started to develop the technique for maintaining and quality guarantee. It is found that they were best achieved in this field by adding brandy, while the sweet Douro wine with high alcohol content. The port trade of wine between Britain and Portugal made them closely connected both in economy and politics. There overseas colonial business is also closely linked to each other. As Macao is rent by the Portuguese since mid-16th Century and with many Portuguese residents, unfortunately I cannot find the source of the wine transported to Macau whether it follow British quality standards or not. More researches need to be down upon the Portuguese international wine trade and it will be clearer with my later work in archives.

In recent years, the historians and economists have analyzed the social and economic effects of wine from various perspectives and thus derived numbers of subdivision theories. Wine economics as a discipline analyses wine-related issues as its main focus. It emerged as a growing field both in agricultural economics and adjacent fields such as finance, trade, growth and environmental economics. Fine wine has the characteristics that differed from other beverages or agricultural commodities which make economists fascinated. It can regularly fetch bottle prices extremely expensive; can be stored a long time and can increase in value with age; the quality and prices are extraordinarily sensitive to fluctuations in the weather and the year which the grapes were grown; along with the unexpected sense for it is an experience good. Consumers therefore often rely heavily on "expert opinion" regarding quality and maturation prospects.⁸³ The wine economics research has reach well beyond the issues and keeps on developing.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 224.

⁸² *ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

⁸³ Karl Storchmann, 'Wine Economics', *Journal of Wine Economics*, Vol. 7, No. 1. (2012), pp. 1-7.

Large aggregation of studies on wine has been done by James Simpson. His research has followed the growth and development of wine production from mostly small-scale family operators in southern Europe to a worldwide concern, with large-scale industrial producers using scientific wine making methods and modern marketing techniques mainly focus on 1840 to 1914. As a matter of fact, by 1914 about nine-tenths of wine was produced in Europe, with France, Italy and Spain alone accounting for almost three quarters of world output. According to Simpson, six distinct but interrelated variables causes the wine diversities: terroir (influences the production conditions), tradition (or path dependency), technology, the nature of market demand, political voice of small producers and political organization in each country. Wine production in Europe mostly dominated by small vineyards and cooperative wineries, while in the New World viticulture and viniculture are highly concentrated and vertically.⁸⁴ The divergence are explained by the differences in resource endowment and the highly favorable growing conditions in the New World, and the political strength of growers to influence government policy in Europe.⁸⁵

Similarly, China has long history of making and drinking wine that can date back to 5500 B.C.E. to 2500 B.C.E. on the *Yang-shao* Neolithic. Different from European wine mainly use grapes as raw materials, the most produce forms of wine in China were made from grain. In *Qi Ming Yao Shu* 齐民要术, the earliest agriculture handbook written by *Jia Sixie* 贾思勰 around 533 A.D. to 544 A.D. in the Northern Wei Dynasty, several chapters were devoted to the discussion of various methods of wine making.⁸⁶ The making of Chinese wine mainly use grain such as rice and sorghum as raw materials, it is necessary to add the distiller's yeast. *Qi Min Yao Shu* recorded the methods of how to make distiller's yeast and described clearly about more than 40 ways of making wine.⁸⁷ The production process and preservation methods are very different while the Western wine

⁸⁴ James Simpson, *Creating Wine: The Emergence of a World Industry, 1840-1914*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. xxxi-xxxii.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 263.

⁸⁶ Jia Sixie, *Qi Min Yao Shu*, ed. by Miao Qiyu, (Beijing: China Agriculture Press, 1998).

⁸⁷ Wang Jianguo, 'Jie Du Qi Min Yao Shu De Zhi Qu He Niang Jiu Gong Yi', *China Brewing*, Vol. 16, (2008), p.107.

using grapes that can self-ferment.

In ancient China, wine has many purposes. It is used to invite the blessing for royal ancestors and to pray for rain or good harvest the gods. For secular ceremonies, it was also an essential for religious offerings, funerary rituals, marriage and adulthood ceremonies.⁸⁸ Furthermore, wine has its medical treatment in traditional Chinese medicine, while Taoist regarded it as one of the ingredients for making longevity elixirs.⁸⁹ Besides, its main use is always as a daily drink, for any class of people. For example, since Ming Dynasty, wine became the necessities of life for common people who live in the south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River (Jiangnan areas). It was not only for daily drinking and cooking, but also for festival ceremonies.⁹⁰ Compared with European wine, Chinese wine has similarities with it, as well as with its unique characteristics. Chinese distillate spirits' production process close to the Western brandy, while rice wine is similar to red wine in producing, only need to ferment not distill.

China also has a long history of drinking grape wine. The viticulture was introduced to China by Zhang Qian during when he was sent by the Han Emperor a mission to the west (138 B.C.E. -119 B.C.E.). The grapes in China came from Tashkent region then planted in Northern China and some other areas. For about thousands of years grape wine is highly welcomed, especially among the nobilities and literati, many valuable poems left. However, in ancient China large-scale viticulture is not encouraged, the land were required to plant grains and high-productivity vegetables, which makes the grape wine in China cannot became widely popular while viticulture techniques failed to retain. In fact, the regulations restricting the production of wine aim to all kind of wine. Even China has large cultivated land, the population is large and nature disasters often occurred. "The moral cultivation/action dilemma in disaster management was never

⁸⁸ Mu-Chou Poo, 'The Use and Abuse of Wine in Ancient China', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 42, No. 2, (1999), p. 134.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 139-142.

⁹⁰ Huang Jingbin, *Min Sheng Yu Jia Ji: Qing Chu Zhi Min Guo Shi Qi Jiang Nan Ju Min De Xiao Fei*, (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2009), p. 20.

solved on a theoretical level during the dynastic era.”⁹¹ In different dynasties paid attention to disaster prevention and mitigation, as well as conducting heaven-appeasing rituals. Lots of measures to improve agricultural production were taken, such as irrigation works, reservoirs, and levies were constructed to protect against drought and flooding.⁹² In consideration of population feeding and sake preventing, as well as the slow improved productivity, the implement of regulations restricting the wine production origins from Han Dynasty to Qing dynasty. During Qing, Emperor Kangxi, Yongzheng, Qianlong and Xianfeng all had issued alcohol prohibition policies (jin jiu ling 禁酒令), often the reasons were waste the grain or drunk easily leads to social unrest.⁹³ Under such logical, we can easily understand why grape planting was not encouraged in China and there were no large-scale grape growing in China. Until Ming and Qing dynasty, viniculture method in China had almost lost. In early Qing, due to the opening of the maritime ban, variety of western wine into the China that make Chinese wine cognition to be updated. The authentic method of wine therefore introduced to China.⁹⁴

1.5 The Foreign Wine Consumption in China during Qing Period

Who, when and how was the European wine were introduced into early modern China? We will count it back into the trade routes. In 1513, the earliest European colonial state Portugal's ship first voyage to Chinese southern coast. During the hundreds of years before 1850s, no matter how the Chinese dynasty replaced and how the policy changed, Macau, with its unique geographical advantage, was undisputed the center of the trade of South China Sea. Three main routes are usually used by the Portuguese and other European merchants (see Map 1):

1) Macau-Goa-Lisbon Route, this route through Macau, Malacca, Calicut, Goa, Cape of

⁹¹ Lauri Paltemaa, *Managing Famine, Flood and Earthquake in China: Tianjin, 1958-85*, (Oxon: Routledge), p.6.

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ Fan Jinmin, 'Qing Dai Jin Jiu Jin Qu De Kao Cha', *Research In Chinese Economic History*, Vol. 3, (1992), pp.92-97.

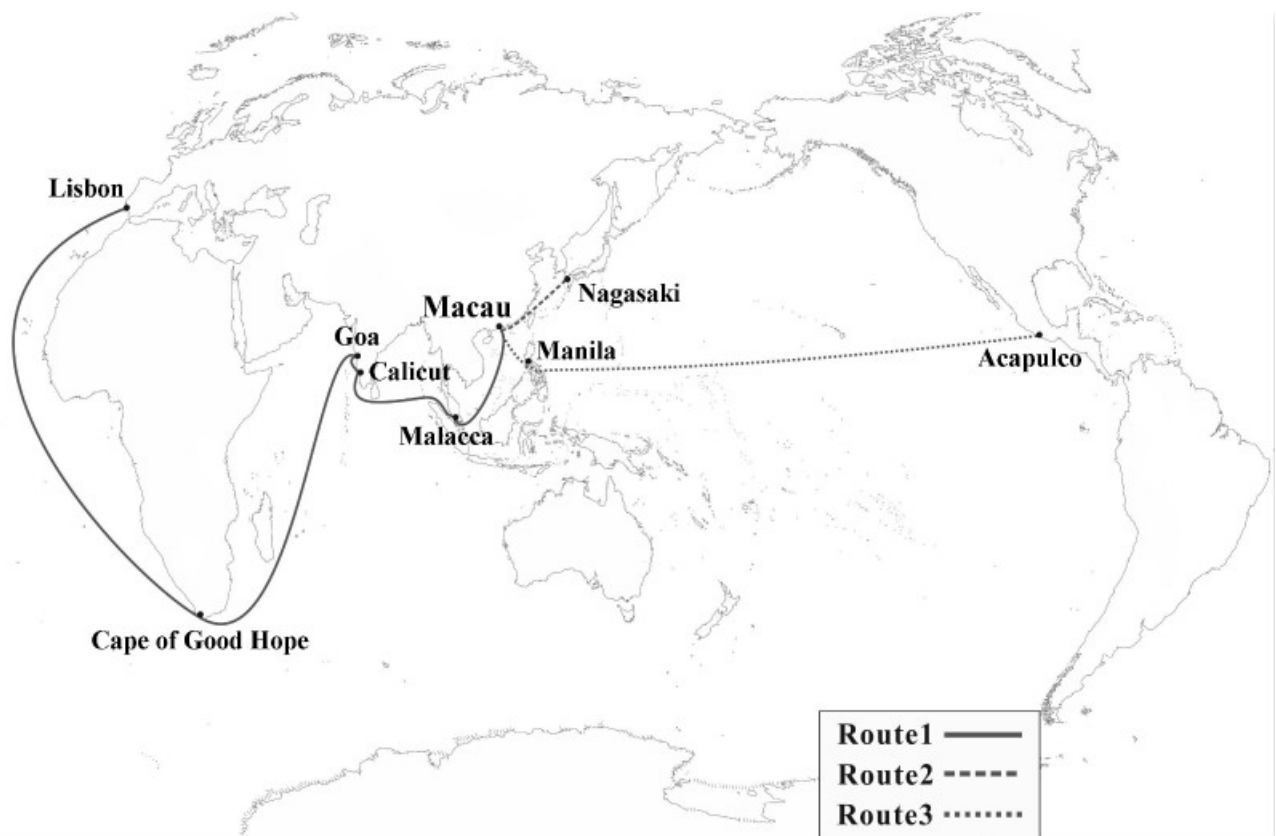
⁹⁴ Wang Shizuo & Huang Ping, 'Discussion on Grape Wine Culture in China', *Liquor-making Science & Technolog*, No. 11, (2009), pp. 136-140.

Good Hope and Lisbon, connected Portugal's main Eastern strongholds together. The ships cargoes textiles, glassware, clocks and grape wine exchanged the spice in Goa and Malacca, then trade with Chinese in Macau.

2) Macau-Japan Route, Portuguese brought gold, raw silk and silk fabrics in China, changed for wheat, lacquer ware and silver in Japan.

3) Macau-Manila-Central America Route, this route began in 1580 when Spain annexed Portugal, was the extension of the Spanish Galleon trade.⁹⁵

MAP 1: THE THREE MACAU CENTERED MARITIME ROUTES



Gradually, the Britain, France, Netherland and other European countries are also

⁹⁵ Zhang Guogang, 'Ming Qing Zhi Ji Zhong Ou Mao Yi Ge Ju De Yan Bian', *Tianjin Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, (2003), p.125.

participated in the maritime trade with China. Macau became a full thoroughfare of the Chinese and foreign trade that propelled the transformation from the Chinese traditional foreign trade to the modern one.⁹⁶ It is no doubt that the current grape wine making technology and consumption habits in China is not the one left over from ancient China but from early modern period that introduced by the European missionaries and merchants. The Portuguese who lived in Macau were the first ones who consumed the European wine in China. As a port city where Eastern and Western culture meet, inhabitants with different nationalities, races and religions are engaged in commercial activities or in missionary work. They have settled in this area or travelled frequently to Macau, with different ways of consumption. According to the data in 1809, there are about 8000 Chinese lived in Macau, while the population of Portuguese there was 4963. The resident in Macau mixed with Chinese, Portuguese, British, Hollander, Luzon, etc. Many of them were mixed-bloods.⁹⁷ Numbers of westerners' consumer goods are imported from overseas. Chinese and Western culture exchange also made Chinese citizens had a voguish understanding of Western consumer goods.

Several books during Qing mentioned when the Portuguese Settled in Macau, they brought their original consumption habits of clothing, food, living and entertainment into China. In 1684 when an officer from Beijing named Du Zhen visited Macau, the Portuguese hold a banquet in honor of him. After that Du Zhen wrote what he saw in *Yue Min Xun Shi Ji Lue* 粤闽巡视纪略 (A Brief History of the Inspections of Guangdong and Fujian Provinces): "They keep food in glass plate with porcelain holding, they offered me several fruits and cakes, all of which origin from West, with unique sweat and fragrance."⁹⁸ It reflected that since Macau opened to outside world, the imported consumer goods were popular so that their original consumption habits

⁹⁶ Qi Hong, 'Analysis of the Macao Trade in the Ming-Qing Dynasties', *Journal of Xuzhou Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*, Vol. 25, No. 4, (Dec 1999), p.78.

⁹⁷ Zhu Junfang, *Research on Population of Macau during the Ming and Qing Dynasties*, Master Thesis, (Jinan University, 2005), p.15.

⁹⁸ Du Zhen, *Yue Min Xun Shi Ji Lue*, vol.2, cited in Chen Weiming, loc. cit., p. 24. Original text in classical Chinese: “其贮菜用玻璃瓿，承以磁盘，进果饵数品，皆西产也，甘芬绝异。”

proudly retained. *Daoguang Xiangshan Xian Zhi* 道光香山县志 (Gazetteer of Xiangshan County in Daoguang Reign) mentioned a book named *Wai Guo Ming Jiu Ji* 外国名酒记 (A Record of Foreign Wines), which listed dozens of foreign wines, not only the European ones but also those from Southern Asia and America.⁹⁹ Unfortunately I cannot find more information such as the author or written date about this specific book in the gazetteers, and also, all these foreign wine's names are transliterating into Chinese by their pronunciation which are different from current Chinese translation regulation. I cannot make sure what these wines are. But one thing could be proved that there did have several of foreign wine in Guangdong Province before middle Qing. Documents showed these foreign wines are imported through the foreign trade channels in Macau. For instance in December 1823, a certificate issued by a western director that in one of the small ship there were goods of: ten barrels of wine, three boxes of hats, ten buckets of beef intestine, twelve bags of ropes ten bucket of milk cookies.¹⁰⁰

Compared with residents from mainland China who were frugal, Macau's foreign residents had a greater power of consumption. Chinese residents tended to consume most of the practical consumption, in other words, the idea of anti-hunger is more common. While foreign residents pursuit more to the hedonistic or luxury consumption. The foreign residents were fond of alcohol and preferred to the wine with good quality and tasty so that they are definitely the main consumer crowd of imported wine. With centuries of social change, the Portuguese in Macau also appeared in class differentiation. The rich classes are businessmen, doctors and teachers. In middles are soldiers, sailors, helmsmen, brokers and agents that with jobs. There are also Portuguese who are poor like beggars.¹⁰¹ Regardless of their consumption level, they consumed both Chinese and foreign wine and the pursuit of wine has become an indispensable part of life. Some

⁹⁹ Zhu Huai, *Xiang Shan Xian Zhi*, (Zhongshan Wenxian, 1836), cited in Chen Weiming, *Qing Dai Ao Men She Hui Sheng Huo Xiao Fei Yan Jiu (1644-1911)*, (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Press, 2009), pp. 23-25.

¹⁰⁰ Liu Fangji & Zhang Wenqin, *Qing Dai Ao Men Zhong Wen Dang An Hui Bian*, (Macau: Macau Foundation, 1999), pp. 204-205, cited in Chen Weiming, *loc. cit.* Original text in classical Chinese: “.....今将顶补第四号船货物开列呈阅。计开：洋酒十小桶，番帽三箱，牛小肠十小桶，绳事儿包，牛奶饼十桶。”

¹⁰¹ Zhu Junfang, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-124.

scholars even considered that wine was an important factor in many Portuguese families decline.¹⁰²

The Chinese who lived in Macau began to show their interests in Western wine and regarded it as a fashion.¹⁰³ Similarly, the residents in Guangdong region also began to recognize the Western food and wine because of frequent foreign trade. As a result of the Qing government monopoly of trade, Western consumption patterns initially only for the Thirteen-Hong merchants who are the only brokers for Western-China trade, as well as a very small number of open local officers to understand. In 1769 a Thirteen-Hong merchant Pan Qiguan 潘启官 had held a three-day banquet at home, one day is Chinese and the other days full of Western style food.¹⁰⁴ Apparently he was in order to meet the living habits of foreigners at that time. In addition, according to *Qing Bai Lei Chao* 清稗类钞, edited by Xu Ke 徐珂 (1869-1928) during the late Qing, recorded that in 1828 an officer from Beijing visited Guangzhou and was very surprised by the customs of foreigners. He wrote in diary that: "After the meal we went to a foreign building, with wonderful view...had cups of foreign wine which are in very beautiful color and with sweet taste. Even I didn't meet any foreign people but still feel really surprised of it."¹⁰⁵ Up to the late 19th century, western food and wine was popular among the rich merchants and became a consumption fashion in Guangzhou.

Moreover, western wine is not only consumed by foreigners and Guangzhou merchants, it was gradually introduced to other regions of Chinese. Several Chinese scholars reviewed the documents, books and records of Qing period to prove it. For example, there is an event also recorded in *Qing Bai Lei Chao* about in a winter day of some year in Jiaqing period:

¹⁰² Chen Weiming, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-76.

¹⁰³ Xian Jianmin & Lu Jinling, 'Ming Qing Shi Qi Ao Men Zhong Xi Yin Shi Wen Hua De Jiao Liu', *Guangxi Social Sciences*, Vol. 11 (2005), p. 125.

¹⁰⁴ Jiang Jianguo, *An Exploration into Cantonese Consumer Culture in Late Qing Dynasty*, PhD Thesis, (Jinan University, 2005), p. 135.

¹⁰⁵ Xu Ke, *Qing Bai Lei Chao*, (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1984), cited in Jiang Jianguo, *loc. cit.* Original text in classical Chinese: "广州府请饭后, 登鬼子楼,凭栏一眺, 极目青苍,饮鬼子酒数杯, 五色味甘。楼上无一夷人, 盖有司先期遣也。"

Renhe scholar Hu Shunong made a banquet, a younger generation from his family names Wang Xiaomi from Qiantang attended as well, drank gui zi jiu (foreign wine). Next day, Yan Oumeng gave Wang Xiaomi two bottle of gui zi jiu as presents so Xiaomi wrote 40 line of poems to thank for it. Gui zi jiu is an imported good, it might be the western wine like brandy, whisky or liqueurs. When few people know western language, named westerners gui zi, so called the western wine gui zi jiu.¹⁰⁶

Jiaqing Emperor was in power from 1796 to 1820, while Renhe is a region in Sichuan and Qiantang is in Zhejiang so this literature showed before 1820 in main land China the consumption of Western wine not only limitedly consumed among the southern coast area consumers but also in other regions of China. Because few local Chinese residents know western language, the name and produce method of the foreign wine did not recorded. Nevertheless, this book of *Qing Bai Lei Chai* is an unofficial history. I am not sure how much it credible. There are also poetry and novels mentioned about the European wine in early and middle Qing, more specifically, these wines are grape wine. Poet Zha Shenxing 查慎行 (1650-1727) who came from Zhejiang wrote a poem named *Xie Yuan Zhang Hui Xi Yang Pu Tao Jiu* 谢院长惠西洋蒲桃酒 (Thanks Dean for sending me Western wines), in the poem he describe the good taste and the colour of western grape wine, showed he was fond of this exotic product.¹⁰⁷ The traditional Chinese novel *Hong Lou Meng* 红楼梦 (A Dream in Red Mansions) written by Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (1751-1763) describe the life of a noble family, in which he mentioned that the

¹⁰⁶ Xu Ke, *Qing Bai Lei Chao*, (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1984), cited in Guo Xu, *The Research of Alcohol Industry Development and Social Cultural Changes in Modern China*, PhD Thesis, (Jiangnan University, 2015), p.59. Original text in classical Chinese: “嘉庆某岁之冬至前二日，仁和胡书农学士敬设席宴客，钱塘江小米中翰远孙亦与焉，饮鬼子酒。翌日，严沅盟以二瓶饷小米，小米赋诗四十韵为谢。鬼子酒为舶来品，当为白兰地、惠司格、口里酥之类。当时识西文者少，呼西人为鬼子，因强名之曰鬼子酒也。”

¹⁰⁷ Zha Shenxing, *Jing Ye Tang Shi Ji*, Vol. 38, cited in Ouyang Jiangnan, ‘Wo Guo Gu Dai Cong Ou Zhou Shu Ru De Jiu’, *Xun Gen*, Vol. 05, (2015), pp. 38-39. Original text in classical Chinese: “《敬业堂诗集》卷三十八《谢院长惠西洋蒲桃酒》：妙酿真传海外方，龙珠滴滴出天浆。醍醐灌顶知同味，琥珀浮瓶得异香。直可三杯通大道，谁教五斗博西凉。平生悔读无功记，误被村醪饮醉香。”

protagonist also drinks western grape wine, and the colour of it is like rouge.¹⁰⁸ From these we could make sure that among the upper class and the intellectuals, they did have a consumer behavior of European wine, including grape wine or red wine.

In spite of the higher and affluent class, there was no evidence showed that before 1850s the mass had already tried foreign wine. Until late Qing period, after the 1850s in Guangzhou, eat western-style food and drink foreign wine became fashionable. Many restaurants transformed for local food and Western food together or specialized in western food. At the same time, few Chinese ordinary people had the opportunity to taste foreign wine. When they tried were soon fond of it. Guo Xu cited two cases in his research, that among the Second Opium War, when a soldier shared his bread to a local, the local people loved it a lot. As well as that a Qing soldier loved so much the English bitter which was brought by a British doctor.¹⁰⁹ This shows even in early modern era, The Qing residents' attitude towards the foreign wine is always open and welcomed.

To sum up, we can definitely say in Qing period there already have European wine consumption in China, but the current researches on it are general and rough. More researches need to be done while the problems of consumption of wine in China should not be considered individually only takes a view to a specific region or a special group of people. Both the accesses to data and the comprehension work are necessary. In the next part I will raise my hypothesis and detail the questions.

¹⁰⁸ Cao Xueqin & Gao E, *Hong Lou Meng*, (Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 1982), p. 836. Original text in Chinese: “芳官拿了一个五寸来高的小玻璃瓶来，迎亮照看，里面小半瓶胭脂一般的汁子，还道士宝玉吃的西洋葡萄酒。”

¹⁰⁹ Guo Xu, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

PART II

Questions and Hypotheses

After reviewing the relevant theories and historical research on approach of global history, economic history, wine consumption and wine culture, we know the current research achievements, not only the new perspectives, but also the economic and social condition information about regional development in south and east China, along with the consumption environment and habits of wine. Hereby it is necessary to indicate the main focus of this thesis: the analysis of red wine consumption in China - which imported from Europe - includes its consumption volume, the consumer class, consumption channels, consumption habits and wine market shares in different regions of China, as well as the relative commodities such as the Krystal cup and glassware. As my hypothesis mostly base on the population, policy, property system, transportation and culture, more factors should be considered such as market, positivity, local resources, nature environment, war and militarization, the degree of bureaucratic and corruption. All of them would relate to the economy and might have significant causal effects on the specific period and regional history.

Among them, several questions I will also concerned about when building the hypothesis:

Firstly, the Chinese documents during Ming and Qing Dynasties often recorded these foreign wines as *gui zi jiu* 鬼子酒 without very accurate classification. The proportion of red wine in it is one of the important issues that I need to study on, which generally might be analyzed on the producing area and characters of the wine. I would also research on the other foreign wine (*gui zi jiu*), which might refer to other clarification of wine, produced from Western Europe such as Netherlands, England, France, Spain and Portugal, as well as others might come from Middle and Southern Asia or America. How to identify the origin and type of the wine is always a problem. Where the wine came

from? What were they? Were they Port wine that same as what Portuguese exported to England? Or they were French wine or Spanish Wine? What was the import volume and percentage red wine taken? What were the other wines? So I firstly have to do is to identify what were these commodities. I also have to research more on the linguistic pattern of translation of the 17th and 18th centuries between in China, for the Qing Chinese translated the products' names in the way totally different for what we are using now.

Secondly, who were the merchants that import and distribute the wine into China? Were they Portuguese, Spanish, British, Netherlander or French? I assume if there were merchant or business groups who have their trade networks and how the network operated? As the foreigners only allowed doing the business in Macau, and several days in Guangzhou per year, what was the Chinese merchants' role played in these period of wine marketing making? Both European and Chinese merchant groups should be concerned, especially those famous Chinese business groups (*shang bang* 商帮). Since Ming dynasties there are ten merchants groups formed, depends on the kinships and geographic factors: 1) Shanxi merchants from Shanxi Province; 2) Huizhou merchants from Anhui Province; 3) Shaanxi merchants from Shaanxi Province; 4) Ningbo merchants from Zhejiang Province; 5) Shandong merchants from Shandong Province; 6) Guangdong merchants from Guangdong Province; 7) Fujian merchants from Fujian Province; 8) Dongting merchants from Jiangsu Province; 9) Jiangyou merchants from Jiangxi Province; and 10) Longyou merchants from Zhejiang Province.¹¹⁰ In which, the Shanxi merchants were the most influential businessmen around China. The Lianghuai salt merchants I mentioned in literature part were mostly from Shanxi, they have a lot of capital; operated a number of projects such as salt, silk, grain, cotton; invested the lands, contacted closely to the officials; and funded banks (*qian zhuang*) to provide financial services, etc.¹¹¹ More close to my topic, these merchants also transported wine for sale

¹¹⁰ Cao Tiansheng, 'Jiu Zhong Guo De Shi Da Shang Bang', *Min Jian Wen Hua*, Vol. 03, (1999), pp. 45-48.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 45.

across the country and set up wine shops and restaurants in Beijing during Ming and Qing.¹¹² Here the researches about their wine distribution activities are mainly the local rice wine, so can we assume they also sell the foreign wine? Moreover, compared with Shanxi merchants, should we pay more attention to the Guangdong merchants, who are active on the maritime trade since Ming. There are two groups of Guangdong merchants, one is Guangzhou merchants and another is Chaozhou merchants.¹¹³ These merchants were maritime traders, local brokers in Guangzhou, and provided long distance transport wholesaler across China.¹¹⁴ Compared with Shanxi merchants who are mainly “land transport”, the Guangdong merchants, especially the Chaozhou merchants were more rely on “sea business issues” and have more opportunities to get contact with Western traders.¹¹⁵ Were they the market maker of European wine? What they did in creating the new wine market? What was their trade network? How the network runs? Similar attentions should pay on also Fujian merchants and Ningbo merchant for they also engaged in maritime business. In addition, all these merchants, not only the Portuguese but also these Chinese merchants, are they also the main consumers of European wine as well? If they brought wine to China just for personal daily drinking or had the purpose to create a new wine market? Did they use any method to do the promotion of it?

Thirdly, I will also consider the role that European missionaries played in the early wine market formation during the period. Wine often has religious purposes, both in Europe and in China. According to Chen Weiming, until 18th century there already numbers of Christians lived in Macau, large percent of it was Chinese local.¹¹⁶ So what was the missionaries’ intension in introducing wine? How much they consumed every year? Did they encouraged the believers to consume wine as well? More readings and researches and need around the topic of “wine consumption in religious”.

¹¹² Fan Jinmin, ‘Qing Dai Shan Xi Shang Ren He Jiu Ye Jing Ying’, *Historical Research in Anhui*, Vol. 01, (2008), pp. 26-27.

¹¹³ Cao Tiansheng, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Chen Yunni, ‘Chao Shang Yan Bian De Wen Hua Gen Yuan’, *Chaoshan Businessman*, Vol. 03, (2010), p. 55.

¹¹⁶ Chen Weiming, ‘Qing Dai Ao Men De Zong Jiao Xiao Fei 1644-1911’, *Studies in World Religions*, Vol. 01, (2010), p. 21.

Forthly, I would also examine to what extent the European consumer culture and habit influenced on Chinese locals? Or in other words, how the Chinese local westernized their consumer behavior? In Macau, it is accepted that there was a clash of civilizations, between the Christian West and the Confucian Chinese.¹¹⁷ Zhidong Hao examined the Chinese attitude towards Europeans since Ming Dynasty was “somewhat ambivalent”. They felt the Westerner were unfathomable, killed the Chinese and therefore could not be trusted. However, they admired the latter’s cultural materials like clocks, ships and weapon.¹¹⁸ The different between political, ideological and culture existed, but many Chinese tried to negotiate those differences. From the researches reviewed above we could make sure in Macau, the negotiation and integration showed on food culture and the Chinese residents did showed the fond of European wine. How often the Chinese consumed it? If it was accepted and consumed by mass, or only consumed by the higher class of Chinese?

Besides, Macau has the historical data of glass tableware. Although in other areas there were very few records of crystal and glassware, we can assume that the wineglass and wine bottles are imported to China at the same time. The traditional Chinese intellectuals always have a cultural idiosyncrasy of "drink right wine with right cup". For example, in ancient China grape wine was often drinking in a semitransparent jade cup, with which can see some of the beautiful color of wine. Compared with it, the European crystal and glass performed much better in diaphaneity and is the perfect match for red wine. The question about crystal and glass wine sets should be research on. How the glassware transported to Macau? If there did have a market of glassware in other regions of China? Did the European wine customers also consume glassware?

Upon the above, we can make sure that there did have wine consumption in Macau, Guangzhou and several other Regions, but we cannot determine the consumption volume and specific consumer groups and behaviors. According to the economic

¹¹⁷ Zhidong Hao, *Macau History and Society*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), p.92.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*

development degrees of the coastal provinces, we have reason to suspect that there is also imported wine consumption in these areas and that is my assumption stands. I would assume that the following areas (see Map 2) did have some extent of imported wine consumption behavior in early and middle Qing.

In order to make the my analysis more clearly, it could possibly divide the research based upon the three regions, and I establish all the questions and hypotheses geographically base on it: 1) Macau, 2) Guangdong Province, especially Guangzhou city and 3) other provinces in south and east China like Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian and Anhui. My classification hypothesis is not only based on the social economic condition, but also the political policy environment during Qing era before the Opium War.

MAP 2: THE SOUTH AND EAST PROVINCES OF CHINA – JIANGSU, ZHEJIANG, FUJIAN, ANHUI, GUANGDONG (INCLUDES GUANGZHOU/CANTON AND MACAU) AND THE FOUR CUSTOMS OF



CHINA -YUE 粤, MIN 闽, ZHE 浙, JIANG 江

I will explain the reasons for my classification here. Firstly, Macau, as a port that had been rented by the Portuguese from the 16th century, was completely open to the westerners. The population structure of it is complex while the social economic condition differed much from in mainland China. In Ming and early Qing the ban on maritime trade or intercourse with foreign countries did influenced the development of Macau. However, the topic I would work on is since 1684, when Qing government cancelled the maritime ban. Since 1757 the "Single port commerce system" was implemented so that trade work in China could only take place at south port of Canton, the Guangzhou port. Macau's unique advantages not appeared in its natural geographical feathers - the port berth condition and monsoon sail effects, more of its was the long time stable trade supply that offered from South China though Guangzhou port which made it no doubt flourishing in commerce. The prosperity of commodity economy, the increasing of the population and the division of the labor, along with the improvement of the social material conditions had stimulated the further expansion of the living needs of Macau society.¹¹⁹ When considering the consumption of wine in Macau, both the economic and population structure should be analyzed. From available studies we know that the imported wine in Macau were variety but my research will focus on the European wine especially red wine, which may be imported from the Portuguese residents' hometown. How different class of people consume the red wine will be one of my research emphasis, both the Chinese and Portuguese. In addition, very few researches pointed to the Chinese residents' red wine consumption behavior. Chinese people have long history of consume alcohol, mostly the local rice wine. With hundreds of years in the open cultural background, if the Chinese people's consumption habits began to westernized? Is it possible to do a comparison between local wine and imported wine consumption in Macau?

Secondly, I assumed that the wine consumption situation in Guangzhou is different from other regions of Guangdong Province. Guangzhou is the place where Canton Customs

¹¹⁹ Chen Weiming, *op. cit.*, p.1.

located, in hundreds of years it was an open trade city of China, especially since the 1757 it became the only opened port. The frequently trade and open atmosphere would make Guangzhou more like a city or market area than other traditional agricultural regions. Will the Guangzhou residents more gradually accept the Western culture and to have Western consumption habit? Compared with Macau, Guangzhou did not allow foreigners to stay in non-trade seasons so its main residents are the Chinese locals instead of the foreigners. However, as a port-trade city its residents structure is different from most of mainland Chinese regions which often with a predominantly agricultural population. My question is where and how much these Guangzhou local citizen consumed red wine? What is the population occupational or class structure? The *Hongs 行*, known as *lan tou* 揽头 which means the brokers and contractors since Ming dynasty, will be my main study object. The Qing government required the Western traders must work through Chinese merchants who could guarantee their good behavior and tax obligations. These merchants were after known as the *Thirteen-Hong* 十三行 in Guangzhou.¹²⁰ Their identity is multiple - the traders between Macau and Mainland China, the brokers trading with foreigners, the guarantor of foreign goods, tax and behavior, as well as the bridge between foreign businessmen and local officials. Some of them are also the landlords and owners of the warehouse. They are a group of people who were in direct contact with foreigners and with a lot of wealth. Whether they were fond of Western culture or just politely respecting foreign partners, they were more susceptible to Western influences and more possibility to be the wine consumers. In addition, it would a possibility that the red wine buyers and consumers may not be the same group of people. Chinese have a tradition and culture of presenting gift, will red wine a kind of luxury gift? Who are the actual consumers? Besides, there have another question is whether the imported red wine was kind of mass consumption during the period? This assumption could be confirmed if there is a record that public sell of red wine in the wine houses and restaurants.

¹²⁰ Zhao Liren, 'Zai Lun Ming Qing Zhi Ji De Shi San Hang Yu Ao Men Mao Yi', *Maritime History Studies*, Vol. 2, (2005), pp. 62-64.

Thirdly, my working hypothesis is designed to determine whether the residents of other regions of Southern and Eastern China consumed imported red wine. There is no existing research result can be proved at that time in other places of Guangdong, Fujian, Anhui, Zhejiang and Jiangsu already have the red wine consume behavior. But I assume it exists. This hypothesis based on the Hongs merchants, are usually ancestral home in Chaozhou region of Guangdong province, Huizhou of Anhui province and Quanzhou of Fujian province.¹²¹ The consumption habits may be introduced by the merchants to their hometown. Besides, from 1684 to 1757, Jiang Custom in Shanghai, Zhe (Ningpo) Custom in Zhejiang, Min Custom in Fujian and Yue (Canton) Custom in Guangdong are opened for foreign trade. China's South-East coastal areas were all involved in the maritime trade cycle. It is probably that imported goods had become popular during this area, including wine, especially in the group of merchants who have the opportunities to contact the Western commodities.

The last and the most factor I considered here is the economic condition in these areas, especially in Jiangnan region (lower Yangtze River), had developed a mature commodity economic environment, or in other words, already in early capitalistic period. These regions are located at the south of the Yangtze River, currently Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai, including eight prefecture centers: Suzhou, Songjiang (Shanghai), Changzhou, Zhenjiang, Jiangning (Nanjing), Hangzhou, Jiaxing and Huzhou. Li Bozhong did numbers of research on its economic condition. Li indicated that in early and middle Qing (1644-1850) the economic environment in Jiangnan is similar to Europe and China was in "Early Modern". Jiangnan's overall economic level was improving, in the rural areas labor productivity had stagnated or declined and the agricultural and household handicraft production was low. However, labor productivity in cities and towns was increasing rapidly. Jiangnan economy was already a "dual economy" and the urban economy was in dominant position.¹²² With the commodity production developing, the

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p. 63.

¹²² Li Bozhong, *An Economic History of Jiangnan in Multi-Perspectives, 1250-1850*, (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2003), pp. 315-317.

circulation of goods was spectacular and the merchants were active. Highly developed economies also bring cultural prosperity. In spite of the cultural goods and arts, the businessmen from all around China keened to build the chambers of commerce and to make friends with the celebrities and bigwigs.¹²³ For example the Lianghuai Salt Merchants who lived in Yangzhou built their luxury diet and food culture. Their diet consumption had characteristics of: grand scale, nice environment, music to entertain, with gorgeous tableware and newfangled food.¹²⁴ Whether European wine was new and attractive enough for them? If the merchants' diet habits influenced the ordinary residents in consume the food? Furthermore, Jiangnan region has a better educational environment, in the elite education some Western science and technology and culture while in the mass education was business related, which makes Jiangnan people had a more open mind to new things. Last but not the least, Jiangnan people were always loved fine wines and had a luxurious consumer preference. Based on the above points, we have reason to speculate that the southeast area of China, especially the Jiangnan region was one of the major consumer markets of European wine.

To sum up, my questions and hypotheses raised base on the economic conditions of southern and eastern China, considered also the geographical, political and cultural aspects. In next parts I will design how to work these questions, the sources and methodology.

¹²³ Fan Jinming, 'Ming Qing Di Yu Shang Ren Yu Jiang Nan Wen Hua', in Li Bozhong & Zhou Shengchun, (eds.) *Jiang Nan De Cheng Shi Gong Ye Yu Di Fang Wen Hua 960-1850*, (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2004), pp. 95-116.

¹²⁴ Huang Weiwei, 'Qing Dai Liang Huai Yan Shang Yu Yang Zhou Yin Shi', *Journal of Sichuan University of Science & Engineering (Social Sciences Edition)*, Vol. 06, (2006), pp. 17-18.

PART III

Methodology and Sources

The study of red wine consumption in China 1684 to 1840, through the analysis of historical archives, gazetteers and databases, enables to answer the key questions such as the consumption volume, classes and habits in different regions of China. I would clarify the research by regions to: Macau, Guangzhou (individually from Guangdong Province), Guangdong, Fujian, Anhui, Zhejiang and Jiangsu (Shanghai was included in Jiangsu during Qing), by collecting the primary sources. The following materials and methodology will be referenced:

3.1 Cross-referencing of the data and the materials

- Local taxation

The regional or local taxation of the province listed below will be important references to concerning the regional economic condition and commercial activities. In fiscal administration of Qing, the highest department was the Board of Revenue (Hu Bu 户部) and with various of departments under its jurisdiction, forming a centralized structure which extended into the provinces and localities. However, the flow of financial resources was decentralized and provinces had considerable fiscal autonomy.¹²⁵ The local governments firstly taken out enough to cover their own expenditures then pay to Board of Revenue. The financial commissioner (Buzhengshi 布政使) was formally responsible for financial administration in each province and only report to the provinces governors (Zongdu 总督 and Xunfu 巡抚) not the central Board of Revenue. Although every year the record of both national and local revenues and expenditures were carefully recorded, it provided little information about actual financial flows, concentrating instead on

¹²⁵ Takeshi Hamashita, Linda Grove (ed.) & Mark Selden (ed.), *China, East Asia and the Global Economy*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2008), pp. 27-28.

officially balancing the accounts.¹²⁶ Therefore, it is better to focus more on local than the center, for different provinces might have different methods on taxation.

There are five taxes in early and middle Qing that collected by the Qing government: land tax, tribute grain, salt tax, customs duties and miscellaneous taxes including a fish tax, tea tax, mineral taxes, etc.¹²⁷ There are two types of wine taxes charged on wine: commodity tax named *you jiu shui* 油酒税 (oil and alcohol tax), and the custom duties.¹²⁸ The commodity taxes belong to miscellaneous taxes while the Qing government did not impose much consumption or commodity taxes on wine. Early Qing's management of alcohol mainly reflected in ban or prohibits the wine industry and the taxes issued on the registered wine producers.¹²⁹ The tax policy of wine modified several times, mainly in late Qing since 1853, because of Qing government's financial crisis after the Opium War. In early and middle Qing the count on commodity tax of wine is very low, especially since Qianlong Period, viewing by appearance, because making wine is forbidden, the central government didn't required for it. In some region far away from Beijing, for example, in Sichuan Province, to charge the alcohol wine became a way for local official to "earn money and to put in their own pockets".¹³⁰ Therefore, compared with seeking the central government data of wine, focus on more to regions will help me get more valid data of wine consumption on reality. Currently I am not sure if the local officials will record this income, but we will find the method to calculate it.

For example, Li Bozhong calculated that on 1850 the consumption quantity of rice wine in Jiangnan region is 7.2 million *dan* 石, approximately equal to 201.6 million kilograms. This data is estimated base on the number of consumption of rice in making wine in Suzhou, with no direct evidence of rice wine consumption.¹³¹ It is an "estimated value".

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ Ni Yuping, *Customs duties in the Qing Dynasty, ca.1644-1911*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p.19.

¹²⁸ Xiao Junsheng, 'Wan Qing Jiu Shui Zheng Ce De Yan Bian Lun Xi', *Social Science Journal*, Vol. 03, (2008), pp. 150-155.

¹²⁹ Guo Xu, *op. cit.*, p.191.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ Li Bozhong, *Agricultural Development in Jiangnan, 1620-1850*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), p.22.

There might be with error, but allowable. However, on my research of European wines, which are not made in China, the local government might possibly not charge the commodity taxes on it. My research on miscellaneous will try to prove it, while, to focus on local taxation will also help me understand better the regional economic developing condition and residents' daily consumption. It will be an important reference source for me.

- The custom duties data

Compared with miscellaneous taxes, which the wine tax that probably not recorded, the data of custom duties would be more close to my topic and it will show useful data. Qing China had a custom system of *Changguan* 常关 (ports and gates serving domestic trade) and *Yangguan* 洋关 (ports serving foreign trade).¹³² In Qing China the domestic wine had formed a regular network, mostly transport by waterway shipping, usually will pass the Changguan customs.¹³³ In Qianlong Period, the tax rate on wine is not high, which charges 2 cent of silver every 10 *tan* 坛 (wine jar) of wine. Currently I cannot make sure if the imported foreign will would also need to pay the custom duties in Changguan, with primary documents reviews I will know it. Moreover, the Yuanguan definitely charges the import duties. These data will be necessary and important for me. The number of imported wine and tax rates will be documented. As the officers reported to the central government usually the taxes amounts rather than specific goods, these data could only be collected from the local archives where the custom located.

The four customs of Yue, Min, Zhe and Jiang will have the data of the imported commodities. I will pay more attention on the Yue Custom, which located in Canton. On 1685 Emperor Kangxi established this custom and it with 7 general ports including: Dagan, Macau, Huizhou, Chaozhou, Gaozhou, Qiongzhou and Leijian port, and with more than 40 subordinate, with which recorded all the import and export goods and

¹³² Ni Yuping, *op. cit.*

¹³³ Xu Jianqing, 'Qing Dai Qian Qi De Niang Jiu Ye', *Studies in Qing History*, Vol. 03 (1994), p.48.

ships go through Guangdong.¹³⁴ The Yue custom charged three kinds of taxes: 1) shipping tax, count according to the size of ships; 2) commodity tax, count upon the weight of commodities; and 3) additional tax.¹³⁵ My object of study of wine will be counted in commodity tax and I will try to find the data of it.

- The merchants' documents

In addition, the imported data might be more possible to collected from the Hong merchants' documents. As I reviewed above, according to the Qing policy, Hongs who are the brokers were responsible for all the foreign trader's activities in Guangzhou. The custom duties and the following sale work will all be done in China only by the Chinese merchants, not the foreigners. Therefore, these Chinese merchants might calculate and record the data of the trade, including contracts, good lists, tax receipt, as well as the letters communicated with Macau traders. It is also possibly that the Chinese merchants themselves are the importer of the foreign wine. I will try to find as much as these historical records in the archives of China. It is also have a possibility that these data doesn't keep anymore in China, some maybe in Japan or Taiwan.

- The gazetteers of each county

Zhong Guo Di Fang Zhi 中国地方志 is the integration of various local gazetteers and chronicle and it will be an important source. It classified by provinces, has collected the data from Han Dynasty (202 B.E.C -220 B.E.C.) to the end of Republic of China (1949). It contains each county of their environment, land, population, taxes, education, military, officers, elections and some other information. Because the government intervention in commodity trading is low, we cannot directly get accurate business consumption figures of red wine consuming, but the local behavior and cultural affairs would be recorded. From which we would know if there were squires, local nobles and officials consumed

¹³⁴ Li Jinming, 'Qing Dai Yue Hai Guan De She Zhi Yu Guan Shui Zheng Shou', *The Journal of Chinese Social and Economic History*, Vol. 04, (1995), p. 28.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 31-34.

European wine in ceremonies or weddings, as well as the mass. The custom of the region will also be studied.

3.2 Application of SNA and GECEM database

In spite of the sources I listed that will be used and the way how I would get these data, the following steps of how to integrate and analysis the data is also important. My work of research will be done rely on our GECEM database, which would record all the related historical comprehensive sources from Europe, America and China that could be analyzed. This database would build base on social network analysis (SNA) logic, which is not only means the digital and online networks but also such networks like face-to-face relationship, political associations and connections, economic transactions among business enterprises, and geopolitical relations among nation states and international agencies, which is advanced and with strong practicability.¹³⁶ SNA is a set of methodological techniques that aim to describe and explore the patterns apparent in social relationship that individuals and groups from with each other.¹³⁷ The social network analysis seeks to beyond the visualization of social relations to an examination of their structural properties and their implications for social action.

Historians also use many of these social network analysis approach and methodology to solve the problem and display the historical phenomenon. "Data bases have been built by Historians in order to gather a large number of data sources and therefore allowing this information to be analyzed with new computational tools. Most of these tools have been developed for digitization and geo-referencing of historical maps; reconstruction of past boundaries; and geo-referencing of historical microdata (such as census or parish records)." ¹³⁸ Many software and application were chosen, for example, the Geographically-Integrated History (GIS) Application. Pinto, Nogueira, Wachowicz and

¹³⁶ John Scott, *Social Network Analysis: 4th Edition*, (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2017), p. 2.

¹³⁷ Scott, *op. cit.*

¹³⁸ Sara Pinto & Miguel Nogueira & Monica Wachowicz & Amélia Polónia, 'Mapping 16th Century Trade Networks: a GIS Application for Historical Data Sources', *13th AGILE International Conference on Geographic Information Science*, (2010).

Polónia, for example, presented their 16th Century Trade design for a network analysis of historical data sources based on the GIS application. They revealed the mechanisms of cooperation among merchants that tied together the self-organizing commercial networks of the First Global Age (1400-1800), particularly about the network of Simón Ruiz, an important Iberian merchant in the 16th Century. The GIS application developed for supporting the spatial visualisation and subsequent exploration of the nodes of such a network, their orientation, extension and intensity is explained. Their result is a good practicing of GIS development in support. Many other types of software are also used in solving historical problems.

Our GECEM database will also be a practicing of SNA and all the data collected by our team member will be record into it, not only the European wine data from China, but also the porcelain, tea, silk, etc. all involved in. The traders' name, their geographical trade area and routes, kinship and networks, the structure, commodity distribution, along with the information about manufacturers, brokers, agents, consumers, etc. will be recorded in this huge database. Base on this theory and the relative software such as Microsoft Access, Filmmaker and ArcGIS, the data could not only be recorded, but also make my analysis visualized. This database would be a practice of integration for the cross-referencing sources, help us to search later, and with software to find the inner link between different commercial groups or merchants.

Besides, it is also a good practicing of global historical research of teamwork in our GECEM project, similar to Sachsenmaier's advices of "work in team". Experts from different background develop a shared set of questions, in which the methodological multi perspectives can produce multiplex framework in global historical analysis. People's educational background and environmental experience will make him or her has cognitive limitations, so we may be able to consider a more interdisciplinary and cross-cultural cooperation. The researchers with different knowledge systems and ways of thinking rely on a certain technical means, with which a number of historical data

could be used for horizontal comparison and contacting. Our attempt of team work based on this logic, for our team mates have Spanish, Mexican and Chinese; speaks English, Spanish, Chinese, French and German; with different education background of history, international relations, economics, mathematics, management and marketing; been educated and have research experiences in China, Spain, Italy, Mexico and Britain. Our knowledge in different field and our diversified background and thinking mode will make the research result have a height that in individual work definitely cannot reach. My research result of European wine consumption in China will also not be just focus on wine, it will reflect more on the consumption and economic history, and maybe can have new findings.

In spite of the design of the ideal methodology, there are also predictable difficulties that we will meet. For my research of European wine consumption, based on my question design, I see the problems:

Firstly, the research of the period crossed 3 centuries, from 1680 to 1840, which cover the 160 years, and my study area covered 5 provinces of China, as well as Macau, the scope of the study is very large. I could not account data from every counties or each year. How to select the most useful data, how to design a sampling method is very important. I should learn how to set priorities.

Secondly, as the Chinese do not like to accurately record the value, before I go to archives I cannot predict whether the data will be recorded as accurate value, or just a very general description. There are many reasons for the Chinese did not document the information in detail. For example, there is a serious corruption in Yue Custom. The officers did not follow the uniform tax collection standards. They are free to increase taxes, arranging their families to work in the Custom department, and collecting tax repeatedly. It was even a cause of Opium War between China and Britain.¹³⁹ In this atmosphere, officials are likely to choose not to record, or record less tax revenue, which

¹³⁹ Li Jinming, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

will produce data bias. Besides, some Chinese businessmen are accustomed to using the argot or code to record commercial information to prevent the leakage of their commercial secrets. And some businessmen even have many different names when they doing the trade, in order to avoid the Qing government's personal control.

Thirdly, there might be the possibility that some documents are lost. China experience many wars and after People's Republic of China established in 1949 there also many revolutions and movements. The traditional commercial system was broken and restructuring. All of these will result in that the historical sources of consumption and business will be damaged. Maybe we could only do is to rely on the data I could find and trying to restore the truth of history.

In conclusion, the research on Early and Middle Qing red wine consumption in China is almost blank. It does not mean this piece of content has no research value but because the selecting and analyzing of data is very difficult. It makes me feel the research meaningful. I will try my best to approximate and make estimations by "cross-referencing" diverse sources, the taxes records, the merchants documents, the gazetteers, as well as, the data selected by other GECHEM team members from the Archives in Europe; by comparison and connection; with the help of the database; stand on a more global perspective and concern in versions both Eurocentric and Sinocentric. There must have new findings. If this study can finally obtain the specific data and analyzed this "very early European wine market in China" and reflect the consumption societies of early modern China, its economic historical meaning is significant. At the same time, I will also try to make a possibility in improving the relevant theories and research methods, as well as to make some more innovations.

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