The Milieu of Accountability of Early Companies in the Qīng Dynasty: Evidence from the Shànghǎi-based Print Media

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## Manuscript by:

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#### **Abstract**

This study looks at evidence from the Shànghǎi (Shanghai)-based print media of the accountability of early Chinese companies from the middle period of the Qīng (Qing) Dynasty when the Opium War broke out in 1840 until the imperial monarchy's overthrow in the revolution of 1911. The Qīng Dynasty is known for its technical accounting stagnation. Yet, an examination of the Shànghǎi-based print media shows the existence of a strong sense of public reporting by early companies of the Qīng Dynasty. The findings of this study indicate that the print media displayed a rich milieu of accountability of these early companies by incorporating components of Western and Chinese benchmarks of accountability expressed in commercial metrics and key financial ratios.

**Key words:** accountability; Guānlì (Guanli) dividends; early Chinese companies; Qīng Dynasty; print media.

#### Introduction

The role in which accounting and accountability plays in power and governance has considerable interest in Chinese accounting history (Guō 1988a; 1988b; Aiken and Lu 1998; 1993a; 1993b; 1993c; Lin 1992; Fu 1971) but very little has been written about the development of written financial reporting that informed this accountability in the print media during the middle period of 1840 to 1911. This point is an important one because while Auyeung and Ivory (2003) suggest that China underwent a period of accounting stagnation during the Q̄ng (Qing) Dynasty, there appears to be evidence that the Chinese print media were eager to showcase Western and early Chinese company accountabilities.

These early companies in the Qīng Dynasty operated in uncertain circumstances. A massive upheaval of the Chinese social environment arose not only due to the events of the First and Second Opium War, Sino-France War, Sino-Japanese War and during the offence of the eight-power allied forces in the China War but also due to the deep financial crises of 1883 and 1910. Despite these upheavals, commercial activity increased during the Qīng Dynasty with early Chinese companies growing in size and profits, resulting in expectations for an account of those profits using a Western form of reporting.

Although the late Qīng Dynasty's economy was characterised by government corruption and European-imposed unequal treaties, extraterritoriality and treaty ports, many reforms were initiated to improve imperial governance. The Self-Strengthening Movement, which to modernise institutions and the military, and develop communications, industry and

transportation, was undermined by the First Sino-Japanese war. The Qīng rulers lost possession of Táiwān (Taiwan) and influence over Korea. The Hundred Days Reform of 1898 attempted to reform China's cultural, educational political institutions but was rejected by the Empress Dowager Cíxī (Cixi). Fiscal and legal reforms were also introduced, including the *Commercial Code* and *Company Law Reform through Survey* in 1909, incorporating various commercial codes and company laws around the world and taking into consideration China's commercial developments (Shuài 2001). The *Commercial Code* and *Company Law Reform through Survey* were informed by precepts from British company law and the German commercial code, as well as the Japanese commercial code. Financial institutions also proliferated, including the Shànghǎi International Settlement, Shànghǎi Sharebrokers Association and the Shànghǎi Stock Exchange.

The great influx of fiscal and legal reforms brought with it the opportunity to take on introduced Western bookkeeping ideas, which was supposed to provide to Chinese organisations an improved means of measuring profits, improving accuracy and checking errors, thus making accounting records more reliable (Auyeung and Ivory 2003). Nevertheless, for a number of social and ideological reasons, the indigenous Chinese system of reporting persisted in the Qīng Dynasty, with substantial resistance to the wholesale transfer of Western forms of reporting.

One Chinese industry that appeared to welcome the trappings of Western bookkeeping, yet still retain its allegiance to the Chinese sense of accountability, was the Shànghǎi-based print media industry. During the late period of the Qīng Dynasty, the Shànghǎi-based print media reported information about early Chinese companies reporting that appears to have given readers a sense of accountability of those early companies. In this context, this study poses the following research question: During the late Qīng Dynasty, what evidence of accountability existed in the reports by the Shànghǎi-based print media reports of early Chinese companies reporting?

The paper is structured as follows. The following section considers the theory of alternative reporting models in the context of the Qīng Dynasty. A discussion is then presented on the Shànghǎi print media, in particular its development in the Qīng Dynasty and its reporting of early Chinese companies reporting. This is followed by the analysis of the results of the print media's disclosure of the early Chinese companies reporting. A reflection on early Chinese companies' accountability is then explored. Finally, conclusions of the study's findings are offered.

#### Alternative reporting models and accountability

The theory of alternative reporting models (Traditional, Western-narrow and Western-broad) recognises that different forms of accountability may exist across a broad spectrum of reporting models ranging from a Traditional reporting model based on an indigenous accounting system to Western-broad comprehensive reporting model based on civic-based practices of Western democratic countries (Brown 2011). If the indigenous Chinese system of reporting that persisted in the Qīng Dynasty is seen as closely aligned to the Traditional reporting model and the introduction of technical forms of Western bookkeeping to the Qīng Dynasty is taken as an example of the Western-narrow reporting model, then there is room to acknowledge the different forms of accountabilities that arose from each reporting model.

The Traditional reporting model focuses on deference to communal customs and conditions in contrast to the financial focus of the Western-narrow reporting model and the societal focus of the Western-broad model (Brown and Tower 2002). The traditional reporting model is characterised by an incentive to generate written reports for stewardship but there rests an 'accountability of undecided space' (Brown 2011, 172). This model contrasts with Western-narrow reporting with its focus on generating narrow, financially-based, written reports providing an accountability of agency, and the Western-broad reporting with its high values given to written accounts that inform on matters of corporate governance and social responsibility, providing an accountability of civic culture. The Western-narrow model recognised the need for timely and accurate financial information with an emphasis on income statement and balance sheet figures. According to Brown (2011), the Traditional reporting model provides selective patterns of visibility and obligations.

Gardella (1992, 317) explains that during the Qīng Dynasty, indigenous Chinese business went through 'sprouts of capitalism' and that account-keeping techniques 'were adapted to meet the basic requirements of small retail shops and the complex needs of large commercial firms and native banks' (Gardella 1992). Gardella (1982) recognised that while a sense of rational economic authority characterised Western reporting to render a distinct form of economic visibility to satisfy the needs of a modern capitalist enterprise, a pattern of traditional obligations and patriarchal authority prevailed over Chinese traditional reporting to offer 'pragmatically evolved responses to a host of highly individualised problems of managing and controlling business enterprises and households' (Gardella 1982, 61). This form of Traditional reporting was not an impediment to accountability. Rather,

...there were no inherent obstacles to rational commercial record keeping posed by Chinese mathematical techniques, and 'accountability' was necessary in the conduct everyday Chinese business activities regardless of the nature of a firm's ownership management. (Gardella 1982, 61)

#### Western-narrow accountability

At the time of the Qīng Dynasty, the introduction of the Western double-entry accounting system to China was based on the Western-narrow reporting viewpoint that financial information needed to be prepared on a timely financial basis to satisfy accountabilities of agency and stewardship. It was assumed by the proponents of Western-narrow reporting with their predilection for double-entry accounting, that it was possible to lift the early Chinese companies reporting to a Western-narrow model of reporting calculations for profitable exchange.

Foreign investment raised these expectations of profitable exchange. Before the first Opium War in 1840, British commercial interests in China, already given full expression by the activities of the East India Company, were further bolstered by a British firm called Dent Beale & Co. It set up a Chinese subsidiary called the Union Insurance Society of Canton that brought a flurry of share trading by Chinese and foreign merchants (Sūn 2008)<sup>1</sup>. This formal financial nexus between Chinese and non-Chinese investors was also given impetus by the British firm Jardine Matheson & Co.'s reorganisation of its foreign subsidiary Canton Insurance Office as the Canton Guăngdōng (Guangdong) Insurance Company (Zhào 2003; Sūn 2008). In 1836, stocks of this insurance company were quickly snapped up by both Chinese and non-Chinese investors (Sūn 2008), raising issues on how to present financial statements to these diverse groups of investors.

In the early 1830s, a dispute over opium trade emerged between China and Britain. There was a concern that British distributors in their ever-increasing motivation to swell profits had begun to corrupt Chinese distributors of opium. As a consequence, during the Opium War, new public offerings in China halted. The absence of foreign competition allowed the Union Insurance Society of Canton and Canton Insurance Company the opportunity to issue further shares in China, enabling them to strengthen their financial hold on the war torn country (Sūn 2008).

The commercial success of these foreign-owned Chinese ventures was best exemplified in 1864, when Lee Wah Bank Ltd.'s stock price rose as high as £25 after opening at a par value £10 (Zhāng 2001). In 1869, the British-owned J. P. Bisset & Co. set up operations at with substantial Chinese and foreign investment (Yáo 1919; Zhāng 2001). These successes increased the call for greater foreign-Chinese business ventures raising further amounts of capital for potential share offerings, all of which required some form of reporting that would satisfy Chinese and domestic investors. It appears that Chinese businessmen invested

substantially in foreign joint-stock companies, particularly in the industries of shipping, insurance, banking, spinning and utilities. In Shànghǎi, foreign banks and companies, such as the Shànghǎi Steam Navigation Company (established in 1862) and the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank Corporation (HSBC) (established in 1865), offered shares to local residents foreign merchants (Chén 2010).

The rise of the listed company in China brought with it expectations of a Western-narrow form of written accountability, which rendered both a stewardship and signaling function. The antecedents of these colonial accounting systems had their origins in the European medieval era through communal stewardship and Christianity, which assumed that resources were available for use by the people and that property owners had a social responsibility to look after resources for the community and God (Chen 1975). These Western standards of accountability were heightened with the advent of the Western industrial revolution, particularly with the emergence of the stock company where management owed a duty of care to look after the resources of the shareholders.

#### Chinese accountability

China's Traditional accountability in the late Qīng Dynasty was informed by a Confucian heritage and imperial governance, which was gradually being questioned by an urban elite fascinated by Western lifestyles, material goods and social practices (Rankin 2008). This imperial governance was characterised by complex bureaucratic structures, "a state that relied on a combination of extra-bureaucratic groups and formal bureaucracy" (Lufrano 2013, 98).

Past studies reveal how Traditional reporting of Chinese benchmarks of accountability were also raised at a number of levels (Gardella 1982; Guō 1988a; Fu 1989; Zhào 1992; Zhao 1987; Hsu 1991) during the Qīng Dynasty. The sìzhùfă (sizhu fa) 'four-pillar balancing method' a single-entry system to account for asset protection, while the sānjiǎo zhàng (sanjiao zhang) 'three-leg bookkeeping' used three journals - the huòqīng bù (huoqing bu, cash sales and purchases journal), the yínqīng bù (yinqing bu, cash journal) and the wǎnglái bù (wanglai bu, personal account and transfer journal) - to account for claims and transfers. The lóngmén (longmen zhang, 'dragon-gate bookkeeping'), employed by many important wide-ranging small and medium-sized entities, used a balance equation and hé lóngmén (he longmen, matching process) to sum up calculations of jìn (jin, revenues), jiǎo (jiao, expenditure), cún (cun, assets) and gāi (gai, owners' equity and liabilities) for the Jìn-Jiǎo (Jin-Jiao, Revenue–Expenditure) report and the Cún-Gāi (Cun-Gai, Asset-Equity-Liability) report. The sìjiǎo zhàng favoured by commercial entities prepared a cǎixiàng report (caixiang report, profit and loss statement) and cúngāi report (cungai report, balance sheet). Although these reports were

technically different from Western narrow reports, they offered Chinese indigenous forms of accountability to Chinese users of information.

It is important to point out that there is a contested understanding of the establishment of the lóngmén zhàng. On the one hand, a body of indigenous Chinese interpretation exists which claims that the lóngmén zhàng was an early form of indigenous Chinese double-entry bookkeeping (Guo Daoyang, 1988). On the other hand, there is a relatively recent view that this claim represents somewhat of a myth (see, for example, Hoskin, Ma & Macve, 2013). Although this study leans towards the view advocated by Gao Daoyang (1988), it is necessary to acknowledge that the assumption that the lóngmén zhàng was an early form of indigenous Chinese double-entry bookkeeping is open to question. In the context of the aims of this study, this 'east-west' debate does not in itself undermine the theory of alternative reporting models. Rather it opens up possibilities for different interpretations of the roots of the Traditional and Western reporting models.

Typically, transactions were recorded in the cǎoliú (caoliu, memorandum) using cǎomǎ (caoma, commercial) numerals, transferred them to the xìliú (xiliu, journal) using hàntǐ (haiti, standard) numerals and then posted them to the zǒngqīng (zongqing, ledger) using kuàijì tǐ (kuaiji ti, accounting) numerals before preparing accounting reports (Gamble 1931; Huáng 1934; Fu 1989; Finegan 1978).

The direct influence of capitalist economic relations on the early Qīng Dynasty served to maintain Chinese inherent double-entry bookkeeping through the lóngmén (longmen) account and the sìjiǎo (sijiao) account. Under the Traditional reporting model, these accounts provided consistency between the double-entry bookkeeping principles and bookkeeping reports, infused the accounting process with classification and scientific rigour, and maintained the division of receipts and payments as well as assets and liabilities. These Traditional reporting model-bound Chinese accounts were grounded on scientific rule-making, and faithfully attempted to record property value elements and changes of property values. The principle of double-track settlement accounts also provided a technical checking role (Guō, 2011) through the adoption of the sìjiǎo account. Here, the Chinese Zōngjié (Zongjie) took a similar shape to the Western balance sheet, while the Chinese Cǎijié (Caijie) looked very similar to the Western income statement. Accountability was maintained by the payment of guānlì dividends (guanli dividends, fixed rate of common stock) which ensured a form of cash

#### Shànghǎi print media

In reviewing the development of Shànghǎi-based newspapers in the Qīng Dynasty and its reporting of Chinese early companies reporting, it is beneficial to note the considerable influence of British newspapers on the Shànghǎi-based media. British newspapers in the nineteenth century enjoyed considerable status as a form of mass communication which could influence politics, bring about social change and influence financial matters (Lee 2012; Michie 2011; Jones 1996). The Chinese print media during the late Qīng Dynasty also had similar influences.

The ShēnBào (ShenBao) Newspaper, also known in English as *The Shanghai News*, founded by Ernest Major, an English businessman, commenced operations in 1872 in Shànghǎi. The ShēnBào Newspaper was set up for a Chinese readership, run by Chinese compradors (native born agents in China) and editors in order to extract local community news and build up circulation and advertising connections with the local community. The ShēnBào Newspaper 's relatively high circulation and advertising revenue ensured that the price of the paper was lower than that of its competitors. The ShēnBào Newspaper became influential in the Qīng Dynasty using innovative printing technology, the telegraph, and the báihuà (baihua, vernacular) to hold circulation and revenue.

Other newspapers in the Qīng Dynasty included the English *North China Herald*, which was published in Shànghǎi and featured translations of Chinese official notifications and news; the *Shanghai Almanac*, which was published by the North China Herald; the American-styled *China Press*; the English-language *China Mail*, which was founded in 1845 and run since 1872 by George Bain; and the *Shanghai Mercury*, an evening daily newspaper founded in 1879. The *North China Daily News*, edited by Moberley Bell, a distinguished war correspondent, 'enjoyed a virtual monopoly of Shànghǎi's advertising market, while presenting a stolidly imperial point of view in its editorial columns' (Thompson 2011, 141).

Higher literacy rates and densely packed populations in economically advanced areas allowed newspapers to question the complex bureaucratic structures of the Q̄ng Dynasty (Lufrano 2013). Transitional moments in printed communications in China arose with the emergence of Chinese-language and English-language newspapers, thus opening up a readership to Chinese and foreign audiences (Mokros 2012; Mittler 2004). This shift provided incentives for companies to disclose information in newspapers. For example, HSBC's success in China came about from its ability to attract capital from both Chinese and foreign shareholders and to draw savings from depositors from all walks of life (Horesh 2006).

The modern press, particularly those based in Shànghǎi, introduced a new level of public awareness of Western practices (Rankin 2008).

...the emerging news media played a defining role, intensifying the sense of alarm at foreign incursions, increasing the anger aimed at the court's policies, and stimulating the simultaneous fascination for the foreign and exotic. (Rankin 2008, 40)

Editorialists encouraged industrial development, railed against official corruption, and urged Chinese readers to familiarise themselves with Westerners and their new technologies and education system (Wang 2007). The newspaper readership expanded to include people from commercial walks of life, such as professionals, entrepreneurs, shop clerks and small merchants (Wang 2007), reaching beyond the local to the national market (Wue 2004). Even, the collapse of the Qīng Dynasty was watched closely by the commercial press and its readers (Wang 2007).

Given the different reporting models that existed in the Qīng Dynasty, it is of considerable interest how the accountabilities of these early companies were presented by the news media during this period. As such, this study looks at the print media reporting of early Chinese companies from the middle period of the Qīng Dynasty when the Opium War broke out in 1840 until the imperial monarchy's overthrow in the revolution of 1911.

Print media reporting of the reporting by early Chinese companies

As shown in Figure 1, a form of Western-narrow accountability was demonstrated by the written disclosure of shares and stocks in the *North-China Herald*, where prominence was given to details about paid-up capital, and the latest prices and dividends ratios (Wood 1866, 4). What is clear, in Figure 1, is not so much that the bank shares, denominated in pounds (rather than the taels of commercial companies), provided a significantly larger dividend return on investments than that offered by the commercial companies, but that a Western-narrow form of accountability was presented on the pages of the Shànghǎi-based press for existing and prospective investor groups as well as a general readership. To our view, this presentation shows that the media facilitated a transmission of financial accounting information designed to address the commercial interests of a business readership. Public display of commercial information through accounting metrics served to enhance the milieu of accountability of these early companies of the Qīng Dynasty.

<Please Insert Figure 1 here>

Western-narrow forms of accountability were not limited to lists of share prices and dividends. As revealed in Figure 2, some entities, such as the HSBC, disclosed their statements of assets and liabilities in the print media, in this case, the *North China Daily News* (Little 1869). Critically, the statements of assets and liabilities did not separate equity from liabilities, and paid-up capital and reserve fund were included in the liabilities side of the statement. Crucially, here was a demonstration of the fusion between Western-narrow and Traditional forms of reporting providing open accountability to a newspaper readership, an exposure that gave prominence to the activities of HSBC and the workings of technical accounting itself.

#### <Please Insert Figure 2 here>

In keeping with the Traditional reporting model, this form of technical accounting was not confined to the English language. As shown in Figure 3, the Shanghai Stock Quotation, was disclosed in detail in the Shanghai Daily News (Shànghǎi Xīnbào, 1871). The Shànghǎi Stock Quotation, expressed in Chinese, also placed great emphasis on the return of dividends, underlying the notion that Chinese, as well as foreign, sources of financing were sought by the Western companies in China. Consistent with the Traditional reporting model, accountabilities of entities gave deference to local language and customs. The first column of Figure 3 provides the name of the company listed for the Shànghǎi Stock Quotation and the second column presents the capital in yuán (yuan) paid per share. Information about the amount of dividends (expressed in yuán and liăng (liang)) per 100 yuán of the company's capital is shown in the third column of Figure 3. The last column depicts the current price per share of the company. Thus, for example, the France Gas Company Limited is listed as having paid-up capital share of 50 liang, paying 8 liang of dividends per 100 liang of capital, and a current price of 60 liang per share. The public display by the Shanghai-based print media reports of these summarised financial ratios demonstrates a willingness by the print media to facilitate forms of both performance monitoring and stakeholder engagement. There is more than a hint of Gardella's (1992) 'sprouts of capitalism' here. There is, in this display, a distinct form of economic and financial accounting visibility of the precepts of the Western-narrow reporting model.<sup>2</sup>

## <Please Insert Figure 3 here>

Again, consistent with the Traditional reporting model, the presentation of accounts was not exclusively foreign in format. Figure 4 illustrates the Chinese formatting of HSBC financial information in the financial pages of the ShēnBào Newspaper in 1886 (Qián 1886, 4). Here we see how HSBC adopted a Traditional Chinese financial report format to target Chinese investors. Importantly, these Chinese financial reports show that HSBC reserved funds for future dividends as a form of monetised flow of information. Figure 4 presents an example of

an HSBC declaration for the period January 1 to June 30 1886, including monetary calculations of retained earnings, net income, dividends, and extensive details of cún and gāi accounts. For the Shànghǎi-based print media readership, there is much in these accounts that provides information to analyse the current financial position of HSBC, particularly in comparing cun and gai, thus facilitating assessment of HSBC's financial position.

## <Please Insert Figure 4 here>

Clear evidence exists that, by Western-narrow and Traditional reporting model accountability benchmarks, unique forms of financial accountability developed during 1840-1911, particularly in meeting Chinese investors' appetite for dividends, which gave prominence to information flows about guanli dividends through an "Accounts Summary". The China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company (CMSN) was a typical guāndū shāngbàn (guandu shangban, where officials supervised the operations of merchants) in the sense that officials controlled the company and prominence given to the Traditional reporting Zhàngluè that provided a summary of financial position. As a matter of accounting form, the Zhàngluè (1873-1911) consisted of four parts - rules and regulations (systems), narrative of the progress of the company's business operating activities and balance sheet - but there appeared to be no audit. CMSN also provided a Căijié (Caijie, income statement) (Jiāotōngbù Cáiwù Kuàijìjú, Zhōngguó Jiāotōng Kuàijì Xuéhuì 1994)<sup>3</sup> but notably, accountability between board of directors and management was not given a narrative explanation. Perhaps most striking for the period was the fact that early Chinese companies, such as CMSN, attempted to maintain a particularly Chinese commercial form of accountability - guānlì dividends – both as a stream of income and as a source of monetised information.

#### <Please Insert Figure 5 here>

As shown in Figure 5, this unique form of financial accountability is illustrated by the case of CMSN's 1<sup>st</sup> and 13th Zhàngluè. Numerical, monetised details of CMSN's 1<sup>st</sup>Zhàngluè (Qián 1874, 3-4) reveal that gǔfèn zīběn (gufen ziben, common stock) was valued at 476,000 liǎng, guānlì dividends were valued at 47,600 liǎng (liang) and accounted for ten per cent of gǔfèn zīběn. These forms of calculations and techniques were replicated by RénJìHé (RenJiHe) Insurance Company Limited which disclosed 6% guānlì dividends rate in its 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Zhàngluè from 1887 to 1893. The China Merchants Bureau also disclosed a 6% guānlì dividends rate in its 1899 accounts summary. In a customary Western form of financial accountability, Figure 5 displays the position of CMSN's official debt, interest and accounts payable, as well as retained earnings. Items of gai are broken down by activity type and geographic area. CMSN's accounts provide newspaper readers the opportunity for an analysis

of financial performance. There is a deference to the customs of the Traditional reporting model melded with a quest for Western stewardship reporting.

## <Please Insert Figure 6 here>

As depicted in Figure 6, CMSN's 13th Zhàngluè disclosed both guānlì (guanli) dividends and yúlì dividends (Qián 1887). It can be seen here that CMSN''s gǔfèn zīběn was 2,000,000 liǎng and half-year guānlì dividends were 120,000 liǎng (liang). Importantly for users and readers of Zhàngluè information, these dividends were treated as expenses even before the depreciation and remuneration of directors and senior managers; if the firm had net income, it was possible to pay yúlì dividends (yuli dividends, which were a flexible or fixed rate of net income) to stockholders. The accounts themselves appear to bear a form of accountability of stewardship and entity. Formal sìjiǎo zhàng comprised cún to record stocks of assets and credits, gāi to record claims on assets, including capital and liabilities, jìn to record receipts of revenue and zhī to record payments of expenditure. Figure 5 shows cún and gāi suggesting that CMSN's 1st Zhàngluè did not fully follow the rules of formal sìjiǎo zhàng. However, Figure 6, which also depicts the Zōngjié and Cǎijié prepared by the sìjiǎo zhàng (sijiao zhang, 'four-leg bookkeeping'), suggests that the CMSN's 13th Zhàngluè followed the rules of formal sìjiǎo zhàng.

In a further example of the sustained accountability taking place in the Qīng (Qing) Dynasty, Figure 7 shows CMSN's Constitution Regulations (Jiāotōngbù Cáiwù Kuàijì jú, Zhōngguó Jiāotōng Kuàijì Xuéhuì 1994). CMSN's constitution regulated that CMSN's fixed guānlì dividend rate was 10% of common stock. The fixed yúlì dividend rate was 80% of net income. 20% of net income was paid as remuneration for shāngzŏng and dŏngshì rén (shangzong and dongshi ren, directors and senior managers). However, in a sign of the times, there were no regulations on minimum levels of retained earnings. After a period of time, the excessive payment of dividends caused the CMSN's retained earnings to dip so substantially that in some cases, operating losses arose. For example, retained earnings in 1877 represented a loss of -35,290.694 liăng.

<Please Insert Figure 7 here>

#### Reflections of the accountability of early Chinese companies

It appears that the Traditional reporting model was helpful in engendering accountabilities in early Chinese companies' of the Qīng Dynasty. Through Chinese indigenous forms of technical accounting, common stock was treated similarly to debt, preferred stock and

common stock; and free cash flow (FCF) was used as a basis to repay the debt principal, interest and dividends. Evidence also exists that early Chinese companies, such as CMSN, used FCF to pay guānlì dividends, yúlì dividends and interest as a financial reward for investors. Financial accounting information about these dividends and interest were meticulously recorded. A positive FCF seemingly allowed early Chinese companies to demonstrate in the Shànghǎi-based print media a commercial form of accountability for future payments of these items.

Perhaps spurred on by the need for a greater sense of this unique accountability of listed companies, the Qīng regime set up the Commercial Law office in 1903 and attempted to modernise the Chinese accounting system by assimilating Western bookkeeping techniques into private and public sector enterprises (Auyeung and Ivory 2003). From 1904 to 1907 a formal legal code for commerce and industry was enacted, including the General Rules for Merchants, Company Law, and laws on chambers of commerce, company registration, bankruptcy, patent rights, government awards and newspaper publications (Auyeung and Ivory 2003).

Figure 8 presents excerpts of the 1904 Gōngsī lù (Gongsi lv, Company Law). In 1904, Clause 110 of the Gōngsī lù regulated that companies could no longer use common stock capital to pay dividends. Clause 112 of the Gōngsī lù stipulated that twenty per cent of net income had to be reserved (Gōngsī Lù 1904).

#### <Please Insert Figure 8 here>

Importantly, however, early Chinese companies still paid guānlì dividends after the 1904 Gōngsī Lù. Noticeably, CMSN paid a 10% guānlì dividend rate in 1904. The guānlì dividends rate of Chóngmíng (Chongming) Branch of Dàshēng (Dasheng) Spinner Company was struck at 8%. Moreover, Màoxīn (Maoxin) Flour Factory founded by the Róng Déshēng (Rong Desheng) family disclosed a 10% guānlì dividends rate in its 1904 New Shares Issue Declaration (Shànghǎi Shèhuì Kēxuéyuàn Jīngjì Yánjiū Suŏ 1962). The Shāndōng Bóshān (Shangdong Boshen) Glass Company also disclosed a 5% guānlì dividends rate in its 1904 New Shares Issue Declaration (The Prospectus) (Qián 1904), while the Sōngnèn Liǎngjiāng (Songnen Liangjiang) Fishing Company declared 5% guānlì dividends rate in 1907 when it issued new shares (Qián 1907).

During the initial ten years of CMSN's existence, the narrative of the progress of the company's business operating activities consisted of both annual operating activities and settling accounts in order for Hóngzhāng Lǐ (Hongzhang Li), who was Zhílì (Zhili) Governor (one of nine highest Fēngjiāng (Fengjiang) Ministers) and Běiyáng (Beiyang) Trade Minister,

to be clearly informed of CMSN's financial situation (Jiāotōngbù Cáiwù Kuàijìjú, Zhōngguó Jiāotōng Kuàijì Xuéhuì, 1994). Here, then, we see the Traditional reporting model offering a specialised alternative form of accountability directed to a confined number of state bureaucrats.

These bureaucrats had much to say about early Chinese companies' operational matters. Guāndū shāngbàn companies were initially established and financed by state investment. State bureaucrats identified influential merchants to act as company operators to attract private capital. When the companies made profits, they were ordered to repay the state's loans and interest. For example, CMSN had gōngkuǎn cún xiàng (gongkuan cun xiang, debts from the State) and gōngkuǎn xī xiàng (gongkuan xi xiang, interest for the debts from the State) items in its first Zhàngluè in 1874 (Qián 1874). The interest rate on CMSN's debt was much lower than its overall dividend rate.

It appears creditors (mainly the government), who were satisfied with early Chinese company's accountability under the Traditional reporting model, were eager to facilitate commercial loans. However, the material operating power of these early companies was controlled by a few government officers, referred to in Chinese as the zŏngban (zongban), kuàibàn (kuaiban) and bāngbàn (bangban), assigned by the state bureaucracy. These government officers came from merchants and officials, and possessed the status of semi-official and semi-merchants. Thus, the companies' development was ultimately determined by the state bureaucrats, implementing the requirements of the ruling imperial government and political system, rather than those of the shareholders. Indeed, the management of these companies was imperial in nature. Established since 1872, CMSN, Kāipíng (Kaiping) Mining Bureau, Tiānjīn (Tianjin) Telegraph Administration, Shànghǎi Machine Weaving Bureau were all run on traditional lines. These guāndū shāngbàn companies were protected by the bureaucrats but enjoyed Qing governmental privileges such as tax cuts, tax exemptions, loans, interest relief and patents. These privileges facilitate increased intervention in the operating processes of the companies by the state bureaucrats (Zhōngguó Oĭyèshǐ Biānjí Wěiyuánhuì, 2004).

From 1901 to 1911, China had established 386 modern industrial enterprises, with aggregated capital exceeding 880 million yuan (Zhāng 2001), that at times represented an uneven commercial playing field. For example, one of these industrial enterprises, Dàshēng (Dasheng) Spinner Company, was a large private textile company. In 1898, it ran spinning machines financed by the Húběi (Hubei) Government Spinner Bureau. The company repaid state interest annually, but was not liable to the state for any potential profits and losses generated. Another early Chinese company Dàshēng Spinner Company was registered as a shēnlǐng shāngbàn (shenling shangban, which were firms led by gentlemen who left official positions)

with approval from the Shāng (Shang) Bureau of the Qīng (Qing) government. In effect, Dàshēng (Dasheng) Spinner Company received a monopoly on the spinning franchise for 20 years (Zhāng, 1931) despite preparing Chinese-style Shuōluè (Shuolue, which were words description of the firms' situation) and Zhàngluè from 1900 to 1909 (Zhāng Jiǎn (Zhang Jian) Research Center, Nántōng (Nantong) City Library 1994) to account for its operations.

Elements of Western-broad reporting may also have been present in the early Chinese companies of the Qīng Dynasty with the performance of social responsibility through donations to victims of natural disasters. The First Accounts Summary of CMSN showed that CMSN donated 2,139 *liang* 4 *qian* 9 *fen* 3 *li* in aidfor natural disasters in the *Jin* district.

#### Conclusion

The print media showcased different forms of accountability maintained by a fusion of Western-narrow and Traditional reporting models. Chinese financial accountability was particularly strengthened by the firms' positive FCF to guarantee the repayment of principal, interest and dividends. Although the 1904 Gōngsī lù placed a particular emphasis on Western accountability benchmarks, Chinese reporting practices prevailed, suggesting that although Chinese and Western reporting models were distinguishable in form, much in their accountabilities was similar in substance.

The preservation of Chinese forms of reporting by early companies of the Qīng Dynasty allowed companies to demonstrate their respect for expectations of local stewardship. Gardella (1982) raised the notion that it was important for Chinese commercial enterprises to observe a pattern of traditional obligations and patriarchal authority in the Qīng Dynasty. Maintaining traditional forms of reporting fitted in with this practice. Yet it appeared that it was the Western signs of accountability of early Chinese companies that informed the reports of the Shànghǎi-based print media. Thus, prominence was given to media coverage of dividend yields, current price per share and various forms of stock quotations. Accounting summaries of zongjie (balance sheets) and caijie (income statements) provided a media readership with a snapshot of the calculation of profitable exchange.

In a city which experienced rapid change and great upheaval, Shànghǎi-based newspapers presented a singular form of communication about early Chinese companies' financial performance. The financially-bound precepts of Anglo-Saxon newspapers, which rippled across to British- and American-owned Chinese papers, energised Chinese-listed companies as centres of commerce and Chinese banks as centres of credit. The presentation of Western and Chinese benchmarks of accountability expressed in metrics and key financial ratios on the pages of the Shanghai-based press added vitality to Chinese accounting. In the late Qīng

Dynasty, this vitality saw rapid changes in the Chinese accounting system, alongside an introduction of formal legal codes for commerce and industry and enactments in newspaper publications themselves.

The accountability mechanisms raised by the use of both Traditional and Western-narrow forms of reporting models attempted more than simply to measure and communicate information. Through the Shànghǎi-based newspapers, their virtues laid in offering multitudinous financial stories about early Chinese companies to the varied readership interested in the financial accounting information for decision making. It is also clear that these accountability mechanisms of the Traditional reporting model may have been useful for state bureaucrats for critical decision making during the late Qīng Dynasty.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Although records of share trading is recognised by Sūn (2008), we have found no actual evidence of this trading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> An English translation of Figure 3, together with translations of Figures 4 to 8, are presented in Appendix 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The first to the 55<sup>th</sup> *Zhàngluè* of CMSN followed 12 important rules and regulations (systems): approved CMSN stocks issuance constitution (notice, manual), regulations for CMSN, regulations for warehouses, regulations for steamships, constitutions for CMSN administration, regulations for navigation letters, export charters, consulting and instructions for stockholders reporting stock certificates loss, approval for charter of stock certificates losses, preface of board of directors of CMSN, stock certificate losses constitution (Jiāotōngbù Cáiwù Kuàijìjú, Zhōngguó Jiāotōng Kuàijì Xuéhuì, 1994).

SHARES AN				
	2 76	CAND.		
Banks,	Shares	Paid up.	Latest Price.	
	£	Æ	E	R
Oriental Bank Corporation. Commercial Bank Corpora-	25	25	48	10 p.c.
tion	25	25	15	nil.
Paris				
Bank of India.	25	25	95pc.d	nil
Agra & Masterman's Bank	50	95	44	16 n.e.
Asiatic Banking Corporation.	20	10	19	Spe
Central Bank	25	25	75 dis.	++1
Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China	20	20	21	5 p.c.
Chartered Mercantile Bank				
of India, London and China	25	25	41	131p.c.
The Bank of Hindustan	000		N	100
China and Japan Hongkong and Shanghai	100	25	30	7.7
Banking Company	\$125	125	126	91 p.
The state of the s	C. Tree			
COMMERCIAL COS.	Ths.	Tls.	Tls.	1
Shanghai Dock Co	500	500	200	None
Shanghai Club	400	400		33
Shanghai Gas Co	100			>>
Hongque Wharf Co	1,000	1,000		33
Shanghai Wharf Co	1,000	1,000		33
Shanghai S. N. Co	1,000	1,000	600	13
China Fire Insurance Co		500		
North-China Insurance Co			23.5-	
S. Brick & Saw Mill Co	500			None
S. Tug & Lighter Co	850	850	25	33
*Shanghai Brick Co	100	24.00	**	>>
Shanghai Horse Bazaar,		50		
French Gas Co	\$50	50	52	33

Figure 1. The early signs and stewardship of Western accountability

Source: Wood (1866, 4).

ASSETS AND LIABILITY	RR
31st December, 1868.	EVEL
Cash and Bullion on hand Government Securities.  Billa discounted, loans and credits.  Exchange remittances.  Bank Premises  Dead Stock	. 720,000,00 . 4,379,651,66 . 12,005,148,17 . 72,537,94
Could a work a Liabilities.	\$21,450,268.92
\$125 per shars, on 20,000 shares \$2,500,000.00 First call on new Stock 500,000.00 Reserve Fund Notes in circulation \$1,110 749.08 Deposits 5,953,716.68 Exchange Acceptances. Profit and Loss Account	\$ 3,000,000.00 560,000.00 7,064,465.76 10,425,153.94 480,649.22
	\$21,4 0,268.00
RESERVE FUND.	1
To Balance 31st December, 1868	\$700,000
n 9 7 83 19 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11	\$700,000
By Balance on 80th June, 1868, Profit and Loss Account	\$500,000 200,000
C. And Company	\$700,000
The second section of the second section of	

Figure 2. Further evidence of Western accountability

Source: Little (1869, 3)

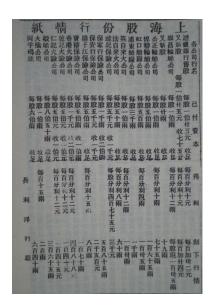


Figure 3. Shanghai stock quotation

Source: Shànghǎi Xīnbào (1871, 1)



Figure 4. HSBC financial information disclosure in Chinese format

Source: Qián (1886, 4)

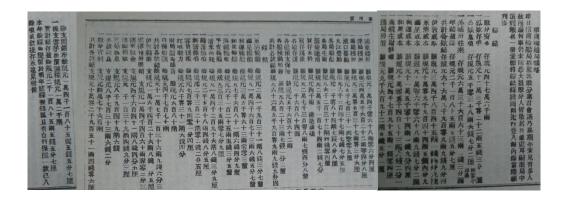


Figure 5. Early indications of Chinese companies' accountability

Source: Qián (1874, 3-4)



Figure 6. A further example of an 'accounts summary'

Source: Qián (1887, appendix)

一局內需用經費擬酌定數目以示限制也事先撙節斷難經久茲擬局內商總董事人等年中辛工飯食以及紙張雜用擬於輪船運糧攬載水腳之內每百兩提出五兩以作局內前項經費其棧內經費則酌將耗米開支船內經費則將所定船內月費開支統俟年終核計一年所得水腳銀兩除每百兩提出經費五兩又照各股本銀每百兩提去利銀十兩之外如有盈餘以八成攤歸各股作爲溢利以二成分與商總董事人等作爲花紅以示鼓勵其分派花紅之處隨時公同核議

Figure 7. Part of CMSN's constitution regulations

Source: Jiāotōngbù Cáiwù Kuàijìjú, Zhōngguó Jiāotōng Kuàijì Xuéhuì (1994)

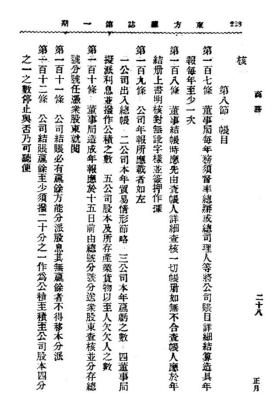


Figure 8. Part of Göngsī Lù (Gongsi lv, 1904 Company law)

Source: Göngsī Lù (1904, 213-232)

## Appendix 1 – An English translation of figures 3 to 8

This appendix provides an English translation of Figures 3 to 8 of the main text of the study.

A translation of Figure 3 below shows an excerpt from a newspaper of key financial information about companies listed on the *Shanghai* Stock Exchange.

## Shanghai Stock Quotation

	Shanghai Stock Qu	1	
Name	Capital paid	Dividends	Current price
	per share		per share
HSBC old shares	125 yuan paid	10 yuan dividends per	132 yuan
		100 yuan capital	
HSBC new shares	75 yuan paid,	10 yuan dividends per	124 yuan
	50 yuan payable	100 yuan capital	
Shanghai Steamship Navigation	100 liang paid	12 <i>liang</i> dividends per	135 liang
Co. (US)		100 <i>liang</i> capital	
Shanghai Steamship Navigation	20 <i>liang</i> paid		19 liang
Co. new shares (US)			
Union S. N. Co. (British)	100 <i>liang</i> paid	10 <i>liang</i> dividends per	75 liang
	0.1	100 <i>liang</i> capitals	Ç
Dunyu Steamship Company	500 <i>liang</i> paid	0 1	165 liang
(British)			O
Hongkou Shipyard Company	500 <i>liang</i> paid	4 <i>liang</i> dividends per	135 liang
(British)	0.1	100 <i>liang</i> capital	3.2
Pudong Shipyard Company	3,000 liang paid		1,000 liang
(British)	e,ooo mma para		1,0006
British Shanghai Gas Company	100 <i>liang</i> paid	12 <i>liang</i> dividends per	130 liang
Limited	100 mmg pand	100 <i>liang</i> capital	100 1101113
France Gas Company Limited	50 <i>liang</i> paid	8 <i>liang</i> dividends per	60 liang
Trance dus company Emineu	50 min 8 para	100 <i>liang</i> capital	oo nang
Qiongji Insurance company	1,000 <i>yuan</i> paid,	475 <i>yuan</i> per share	3,000 yuan
(US)	4,000 <i>yuan</i> payable	175 yuan per share	3,000 yuun
North-China Insurance Co. Ltd.	200 <i>liang</i> paid,		585 liang
(British)	800 <i>liang</i> payable		303 tiang
The Union Insurance Society of	1,000 yuan paid,		2,500 yuan
Canton (British)	4,000 yuan payable		2,500 yuan
,	1 2	15 liana dividende per	800 liana
Yangtsze Insurance Association	500 <i>liang</i> paid	15 <i>liang</i> dividends per 100 <i>liang</i> capital	800 liang
(US)	100 liana anid	100 nang capitai	170 1:
China and Japan Marine	100 <i>liang</i> paid,		170 liang
Insurance Co.	400 <i>liang</i> payable	10 11 1	400
Hongkong Fire Insurance	200 yuan paid,	12 <i>yuan</i> dividends per	488 yuan
Company	800 yuan payable	100 yuan capital	1.40
Victoria Insurance Co.	100 yuan paid,	12 yuan dividends per	140 yuan
	400 yuan payable	100 yuan capital	
North British Mercantile	100 yuan paid,	12 yuan dividends per	145 yuan

Insurance Co. Far Eastern	400 yuan payable	100 yuan capital	
Branch			
Barge Company (British)	850 liang paid		365 liang
Bridge Company	100 liang paid	15 <i>liang</i> dividends per	200 liang
		100 liang capital	
Olyphant Whard Co.	600 liang paid		640 liang

Figure 3. Shanghai stock quotation

Source: Shànghǎi Xīnbào (1871, 1)

Figure 4 presents the Chinese format of an accounts summary of a listed British company.

## **HSBC Declaration**

HSBC Declaration		
This declaration mainly disclosed the 42 <sup>nd</sup> accounts summary from January 1 to June 30,1886.		
Last retained earnings	63,800 yuan 3 jiao 8 fen	
Net income (01/01/1886-30/06/1886)	547,001 yuan 5 fen	
Total net income	610,801 yuan 4 jiao 3 fen	
Withdrawal from cash for future dividends (interest	st) accounts 300,000 yuan	
Total	910,801 yuan 4 jiao 3 fen	
Dividends (60,000 shares) 2 pound per share	533,333 yuan 3 jiao 3 fen	
Dividends premium considering the exchange	255,707 yuan 7 jiao 6 fen	
Directors' remuneration	10,000 yuan	
Retained earnings	111,760 yuan 3 jiao 4 fen	
Cun Capital	7,500,000 yuan	
Cun Additional paid-in capital (Reserve)	4,500,000 yuan	
Cun Future dividends (interests) preparations for s	stockholders 500,000 yuan	
Cun Marine insurance accounts	250,000 yuan	
Cun Cash for one week turnaround	4,431,025 yuan 9 jiao 5 fen	
Cun Merchants deposits	69,668,853 yuan 4 jiao 6 fen	
Cun Bills payable	14,213,932 yuan 3 jiao 9 fen	
Cun Total net income	610,801 yuan 4 jiao 3 fen	
Total Cun	101,674,613 yuan 2 jiao 3 fen	
Gai Cash (silver)	13,827,274 yuan 9 fen	
Gai British national bonds (3% rate)100,000.00 pc	• •	
Gai Loans from India 150,000.00 pounds		
Gai Above two items exchanged into	1,398,073 yuan 8 jiao 2 fen	
Gai India Rupee loans (4% rate) 7,099,500.00 Ru	•	
Gai Bills and loans	37,716,186 yuan 4 jiao 6 fen	
Gai Bills receivable	44,936,241 yuan 5 jiao 2 fen	
Gai Buildings	571,131 yuan 6 fen	
Gai Investments	110,398 yuan 2 jiao 5 fen	
Total Gai	101,674,613 yuan 2 jiao 3 fen	
HSBC General manager and Directors declared		

Figure 4. HSBC financial information disclosure in Chinese format

Source: Qián (1886, 4)

Note:

1 Cun (to record liabilities and equity), Gai (to record assets and credits)

2 Money unit: 1 yuan = 10 jiao = 100 fen

The CMSN's balance sheet and income statement are shown in Figure 5.

## The First Accounts Summary of CMSN Zongjie (Balance Sheet)

Capitals	Cun 476,000 liang
Official debts	Cun 123,022 liang 5 qian 3 fen 11i
Official interests	Cun 5,038 liang 6 qian 7 fen 2 li
Current accounts (Accounts payable)	Cun 63,663 liang 2 qian 3 fen 4 li
Retained earnings	Cun 2,185 liang 5 qian 5 fen 7 li
Total Cun	Cun 669,909 liang 9 qian 9 fen 4 li
Yidun steamship costs	Gai 34,845 liang 1 qian 4 fen 9 li
Yongqing steamship costs	Gai 109,944 liang 5 qian 4 fen 9 li
Fuxing steamship costs	Gai 106,068 liang 9 qian 7 fen 2 li
Liyun steamship costs	Gai 115,014 liang 1 qian 9 fen 4 li
Hezong steamship costs	Gai 105,473 liang 6 qian 2 fen 1 li
Haijin steamship investments repair	Gai 4,795 liang 1 qian 4 li
Headquarters Buildings	Gai 9,692 liang 5 qian 5 fen 1 li
Pudong warehouse	Gai 24,068 liang 6 fen 4 li
Jinju warehouse	Gai 45,622 liang 4 fen 8 li
Hankou warehouse	Gai 30,537 liang 3 fen 6 li
Hankou barge	Gai 9,731 liang 9 li
Jiujiang barges	Gai 6,347 liang 7 qian 7 fen 5 li
Subsidiaries barges	Gai 1,084 liang 7 qian 8 fen 8 li
Subsidiaries investments	Gai 6,232 liang 4 qian 4 li
Sacks	Gai 25,174 liang 2 qian 7 fen
Timbers	Gai 4,000 liang
Coals	Gai 27,308 liang 7 qian 4 fen 8 li
Coals of various steamships	Gai 1,684 liang
Advance insurances of various steamships	Gai 5,662 liang
Prepayments of various steamships	Gai 623 liang 7 qian 1 fen 2 li
Total Gai	Gai 669,909 liang 9 qian 9 fen 4 li

## Caijie (Income statement)

Yongqing steamship	Yu 21,931 liang 8 qian 3 fen 7 li
Fuxing steamship	Yu 14,673 liang 6 qian 5 fen 7 li
Liyun steamship	Yu 35,063 liang 3 li

Hezong steamship	Yu 7,681 liang 6 qian 4 fen 9 li
Haijin steamship	Yu 6,125 liang 5 qian 3 fen 5 li
Pingan steamship	Yu 335 liang 7 fen 9 li
Water transportation rice loss	Yu 14,296 liang 8 qian 3 fen 9 li
Su Water transportation Miscellaneous	Yu 2,518 liang 4 qian 8 fen 5 li
Zhe Water transportation Miscellaneous	Yu 2,320 liang 2 qian 2 fen 5 li
Warehouse rents revenues	Yu 709 liang 1 fen 4 li
Carrying goods and barge forces	Yu 6,031 liang 6 qian 4 fen
Terminal charges	Yu 680 liang
Steamships self-insurances	Yu 4,770 liang
Total Yu	Yu 117,136 liang 9 qian 6 fen 3 li
Yidun steamship loss	Zhi 16,426 liang 8 qian 1 fen 5 li
Shanghai and Tianjin warehouse expenses	Zhi 14,460 liang 2 fen 3 li
Warehouse rents expenses	Zhi 4,641 liang 8 qian 4 fen 5 li
Donations for aids of natural disaster in the Jin District	Zhi 2,139 liang 4 qian 9 fen 3 li
Interests	Zhi 8,949 liang 6 qian
Official debts interest	Zhi 8,733 liang 6 qian 2 fen
Gufen guanli dividends	Zhi 47,600 liang
Total Zhi	Zhi 102,951 liang 4 qian 6 li
Net profits	14,185 liang 5 qian 5 fen 7 li
Depreciation	12,000 <i>liang</i>
Retained earnings	2,185 liang 5 qian 5 fen 7 li

## Figure 5. Early indications of Chinese companies' accountability

Source: Qián (1874, 3-4)

Notes:

- 1. *Cun* (to record liabilities and equity), *Gai* (to record assets and credits), *Yu* (to record receipt of revenue), *Zhi*(to record payments of expenditure)
- 2. Silver weight sunit:1 liang=10qian=100 fen=1000 li

In the Qing dynasty, the unit of silver weights was used as the silver (money) unit.

Another accounts summary of CMSN is depicted in Figure 6 below.

# The 13<sup>th</sup> Accounts Summary of CMSN *Zongjie* (Balance sheet)

Gai Capital	2,000,000 liang
Gai Official debts	832,274 liang 5 qian 1 fen
Gai Official continual debts	337,947 liang 1 qian 5 fen 9 li
Gai Insurance capital	600,000 liang
Gai Guichi capital	209,904 liang
Gai dividends for Guichi capital	6,696 liang 9 qian

Gai Foreign debts	578,101 liang 1 fen
Gai Merchants debts	82,641 liang 1 qian 9 fen 3 li
Gai Transactions deposits	316,826 liang 7 qian 4 fen 6 li
Gai Interests preparation	20,268 liang 2 qian 6 fen 8 li
Gai Dividends preparation	140,000 liang
Gai Selling stocks	2,629 liang 6 qian 2 fen 5 li
Gai Steamships self-insurance	90,456 liang 2 qian 6 fen
Gai Retained earnings from the Caijie (income statement)	131,960 liang 4 qian 1 fen 5 li
Total Gai	5,349,706 liang 8 fen 6 li
Cun Guichi appropriation payable by Kaiping mine	38,967 liang 4 qian 9 fen 4 li
Cun Money units current accounts	96,995 liang 8 qian 2 fen
Cun Accounts receivable	31,817 liang 4 qian 2 fen 8 li
Cun Transactions accounts receivable	93,572 liang 7 qian 3 li
Cun Tongwen bookstore southern warehouse mortgages	70,000 liang
Cun Interests receivable	22,172 liang 7 qian 7 fen 8 li
Cun Conscription advances	24,796 liang 8 qian 4 fen 8 li
Cun Foreclosure goods remittance preparations	10,192 liang 7 qian 7 fen
Cun Coal	36,557 <i>liang</i> 7 <i>qian</i> 6 <i>fen</i> 6 li
Cun Investments Kaiping mine	210,000 liang
Cun Loans to Korea	210,000 liang
Cun accounts, stocks, buildings receivable	367,271 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li
Cun Cash(silver)	68,361 liang 1 qian 9 fen 4 li
Total Cun	1,280,706 liang 8 fen 6 li
Cun Yongqing steamship	55,000 liang
Cun Fuyou steamship	90,000 liang
Cun Rixin steamship	60,000 liang
Cun Baoda steamship	76,000 liang
Cun Fengshun steamship	76,000 liang
Cun Jiangkuan steamship	114,000 liang
Cun Jiangyong steamship	114,000 liang
Cun Zhendong steamship	75,000 liang
Cun Haiyan steamship	95,000 liang
Cun Haichen steamship	90,000 liang
Cun Haiding steamship	95,000 liang
Cun Jiangtian steamship	110,000 liang
Cun Jiangbiao steamship	33,000 liang
Cun Jiangfu steamship	114,000 liang
Cun Jiangtong steamship	40,000 liang
Cun Yongning steamship	12,000 liang
Cun Jiangping steamship	14,000 liang
Cun Zhiyuan steamship	120,000 liang
Cun Gongbei steamship	62,000 liang
Cun Tunan steamship	130,000 liang

Cun Puji steamship	75,000 liang
Cun Jiangyu steamship	190,000 <i>liang</i>
Cun Fushun steamship	180,000 liang
Cun Guangli steamship	180,000 liang
Cun Meifu steamship	90,000 liang
Total Cun Steamships	2,300,000 liang
Cun Ferry 6 <sup>th</sup>	6,000 liang
Cun Barges 11 <sup>th</sup>	115,000 liang
Cun Barges at each port	3,000 <i>liang</i>
Total Cun Ferry and barges	134,000 <i>liang</i>
Cun Shanghai eastern warehouses	8,000 <i>liang</i>
Cun Shanghai northward warehouses	260,000 liang
Cun Shanghai central warehouses	120,000 liang
Cun Shanghai southward warehouses	600,000 liang
Cun Shiliu commercial real estate	14,000 <i>liang</i>
Cun Tianjin warehouses	170,000 liang
Cun Tongzhou warehouses	5,000 <i>liang</i>
Cun Yantai warehouses	2,000 liang
Cun Yichang warehouses	2,000 <i>liang</i>
Cun Hankou warehouses	186,000 <i>liang</i>
Cun Jiujiang warehouses	70,000 liang
Cun Wuhu warehouses	20,000 liang
Cun Zhenjiang warehouses	50,000 liang
Cun Ningbo warehouses	10,000 liang
Cun Wenzhou warehouses	4,000 liang
Cun Fuzhou warehouses	28,000 liang
Cun Shantou warehouses	7,000 liang
Cun Aomen warehouses	5,000 <i>liang</i>
Cun Xianggang warehouses	20,000 liang
Cun Timbers for coast defense houses	22,000 liang
Cun Timbers for Shunan houses	12,000 <i>liang</i>
Total Cun warehouses and timbers	1,615,000 liang
Cun Cash for Investments of subsidiaries	10,000 <i>liang</i>
Cun Rice and sack	20,000 liang
Total Cun	30,000 <i>liang</i>
Total above Cun	5,349,706 liang 8 fen 6 li
Caijie (Income Statement)	
Jin Revenue of various steamships	498,554 liang 8 qian 2 fen 5 li
Jin Revenue of Dagu barge	6,821 liang 1 qian 2 fen 5 li
Jin Revenue of water transport bureaus	13,014 liang 8 qian 6 li
Jin Revenue of various steamships water transport labors	16,675 liang 1 qian 1 fen
Jin Revenue of northward warehouse	21,247 liang 2 qian 3 fen
Jin Revenue of warehouses rents of guests goods	52,356 liang 6 qian 7 fen 5 li
Jin Revenue of rents of commercial estates	41,936 liang 5 qian 4 fen 9 li

Total Jin  Zhi Rents paying to Shanghai lands  Zhi Rents paying to Shanghai lands  Zhi Various repair costs  Zhi Various fees paid  Zhi Various fees paid  Zhi Various interests paid  Zhi Various interests paid  Zhi Various interests paid  Zhi Stocks guanli dividends  Total Zhi  Net income after the Jin less Zhi  Last Caijie retained earnings  Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  Total Zhi  Net income for various steamships  Total Zhi  Net income for remunerations  Total Zhi  Net income for various steamships  Total Zhi  Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  Total Zhi  Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  Total Zhi  Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  Total Zhi  Net income for various steamships  Total Zhi  Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  Total Zhi  Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  Total Zhi  Net income for various steamships  Total Zhi  Total Zhi	Jin Old materials	1,566 liang 1 fen
Zhi Various repair costs74,689 liang 8 qian 4 fen 3 liZhi Various fees paid85,214 liang 4 qian 6 fen 6 liZhi Various interests paid143,709 liang 8 qian 8 fen 8 liZhi Stocks guanli dividends120,000liangTotal Zhi451,025 liang 7 qian 8 fen 3 liNet income after the Jin less Zhi201,146 liang 5 qian 4 fen 7 liLast Caijie retained earnings115,733 liang 1 qian 9 fen 2 liNet income for depreciation and Yuli dividends316,879 liang 7 qian 3 fen 9 liDepreciation for various steamships157,974 liang 3 fen 9 liStocks Yuli dividends20,000 liangNet income for remunerations138,905 liang 7 qianRemunerations for executive secretary and clerks6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Total Jin	652,172 liang 3 qian 3 fen
Zhi Various fees paid  Zhi Various interests paid  Zhi Various interests paid  143,709 liang 8 qian 8 fen 8 li  Zhi Stocks guanli dividends  120,000liang  Total Zhi  Net income after the Jin less Zhi  Last Caijie retained earnings  115,733 liang 1 qian 9 fen 2 li  Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  Depreciation for various steamships  157,974 liang 3 fen 9 li  Stocks Yuli dividends  Net income for remunerations  138,905 liang 7 qian  Remunerations for executive secretary and clerks  6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Zhi Rents paying to Shanghai lands	27,411 liang 5 qian 8 fen 6 li
Zhi Various interests paid143,709 liang 8 qian 8 fen 8 liZhi Stocks guanli dividends120,000liangTotal Zhi451,025 liang 7 qian 8 fen 3 liNet income after the Jin less Zhi201,146 liang 5 qian 4 fen 7 liLast Caijie retained earnings115,733 liang 1 qian 9 fen 2 liNet income for depreciation and Yuli dividends316,879 liang 7 qian 3 fen 9 liDepreciation for various steamships157,974 liang 3 fen 9 liStocks Yuli dividends20,000 liangNet income for remunerations138,905 liang 7 qianRemunerations for executive secretary and clerks6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Zhi Various repair costs	74,689 liang 8 qian 4 fen 3 li
Zhi Stocks guanli dividends120,000liangTotal Zhi451,025 liang 7 qian 8 fen 3 liNet income after the Jin less Zhi201,146 liang 5 qian 4 fen 7 liLast Caijie retained earnings115,733 liang 1 qian 9 fen 2 liNet income for depreciation and Yuli dividends316,879 liang 7 qian 3 fen 9 liDepreciation for various steamships157,974 liang 3 fen 9 liStocks Yuli dividends20,000 liangNet income for remunerations138,905 liang 7 qianRemunerations for executive secretary and clerks6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Zhi Various fees paid	85,214 liang 4 qian 6 fen 6 li
Total Zhi  Net income after the Jin less Zhi  Last Caijie retained earnings  Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  Depreciation for various steamships  Stocks Yuli dividends  Net income for remunerations  138,905 liang 7 qian 8 fen 3 li  201,146 liang 5 qian 4 fen 7 li  115,733 liang 1 qian 9 fen 2 li  316,879 liang 7 qian 3 fen 9 li  20,000 liang  Net income for remunerations  138,905 liang 7 qian  Remunerations for executive secretary and clerks  6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Zhi Various interests paid	143,709 liang 8 qian 8 fen 8 li
Net income after the Jin less Zhi  Last Caijie retained earnings  115,733 liang 1 qian 9 fen 2 li  Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  Depreciation for various steamships  157,974 liang 3 fen 9 li  Stocks Yuli dividends  20,000 liang  Net income for remunerations  138,905 liang 7 qian  Remunerations for executive secretary and clerks  6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Zhi Stocks guanli dividends	120,000 <i>liang</i>
Last Caijie retained earnings  115,733 liang 1 qian 9 fen 2 li Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  316,879 liang 7 qian 3 fen 9 li Depreciation for various steamships  157,974 liang 3 fen 9 li Stocks Yuli dividends  20,000 liang Net income for remunerations  138,905 liang 7 qian Remunerations for executive secretary and clerks  6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Total Zhi	451,025 liang 7 qian 8 fen 3 li
Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends  316,879 liang 7 qian 3 fen 9 li  Depreciation for various steamships  157,974 liang 3 fen 9 li  Stocks Yuli dividends  20,000 liang  Net income for remunerations  138,905 liang 7 qian  Remunerations for executive secretary and clerks  6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Net income after the Jin less Zhi	201,146 liang 5 qian 4 fen 7 li
Depreciation for various steamships  157,974 liang 3 fen 9 li Stocks Yuli dividends  20,000 liang Net income for remunerations  138,905 liang 7 qian Remunerations for executive secretary and clerks  6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Last Caijie retained earnings	115,733 liang 1 qian 9 fen 2 li
Stocks <i>Yuli</i> dividends 20,000 <i>liang</i> Net income for remunerations 138,905 <i>liang</i> 7 <i>qian</i> Remunerations for executive secretary and clerks 6,945 <i>liang</i> 2 <i>qian</i> 8 <i>fen</i> 5 <i>li</i>	Net income for depreciation and Yuli dividends	316,879 liang 7 qian 3 fen 9 li
Net income for remunerations 138,905 liang 7 qian Remunerations for executive secretary and clerks 6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Depreciation for various steamships	157,974 liang 3 fen 9 li
Remunerations for executive secretary and clerks 6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li	Stocks Yuli dividends	20,000 liang
·	Net income for remunerations	138,905 liang 7 qian
Caijie Retained earnings 131,960 liang 4 qian 1 fen 5 li	Remunerations for executive secretary and clerks	6,945 liang 2 qian 8 fen 5 li
	Caijie Retained earnings	131,960 <i>liang</i> 4 <i>qian</i> 1 <i>fen</i> 5 li

## Figure 6. A further example of an 'accounts summary'

Source: Qián (1887, appendix)

Note:

- 1. *Cun* (to record stocks of assets and credits)(stocks), *Gai* (to record claims on assets, including capitals and liabilities)(claims), *Jin* (to record receipts of revenues) (receipts), *Zhi* (to record payment of expenditure)(payments)
- 2. silver weights units:  $1 \ liang = 10 \ qian = 100 \ fen = 1000 \ li$ In the Qing dynasty, the unit of silver weights was used as the silver (money) unit.

A translation of Figure 7 outlines the import of CMSN's constitution.

#### Part of CMSN's constitution regulations

CMSN's various types of expenses should be limited. It was essential for every department to be frugal.5% of revenues of steamships that transported food and people were to pay for meals and miscellaneous expenses of directors and senior managers (*shangzong* and *dongshi ren*). Rice expenses were the main expenses of directors and senior managers (*shangzong* and *dongshi ren*) if the rice was in the warehouses. If the rice was on the steamships, their monthly expenses should be limited and be settled at the end of year. All revenues of transport should be used to pay the *guanli* dividends of common stock capital at the rate of 10%. The fixed *yuli* dividend rate was 80% of net income.20% of net income was paid as remunerations for directors and senior manager (*shangzong* and *dongshi ren*). CMSN would discuss the specific payments of remuneration.

Figure 7. Part of CMSN's constitution regulations

Source: Jiāotōngbù Cáiwù Kuàijìjú, Zhōngguó Jiāotōng Kuàijì Xuéhuì (1994)

The translation of Figure 8 provides a glimpse of the clauses of the Gongsī Lù.

#### Part of Göngsī Lü (Gongsi lv, 1904 Company Law)

Clause 107: Board of directors should annually supervise and lead general officers and general managers to prepare the annual reports after detailed settling the company's accounts.

Clause 108: After the auditors audit all accounts and sign without errors, directors could then settle the accounts.

Clause 109: Company's annual report should include: company's *chu* (payments) and *ru* (revenues) ledger; summary of company's current year business situation; company's current year profits or losses; interests and dividends determined by the board of directors and reserves (retained earnings); company's claims including common stock capital and accounts payable, assets and accounts receivable.

Clause 110: Annual reports prepared by the board of directors should be sent to the company headquarter and subsidiaries' offices before the 15<sup>th</sup> of the month and for stockholders to review.

Clause 111: Company could no longer use common stock capital to pay dividends and pay dividends only when the company had profits.

Clause 112: 20% of net income also had to be reserved (retained earnings) until the retained earnings reached the value of one fourth of common stock.

## Figure 8. Part of Göngsī Lü (Gongsi lv, 1904 Company law)

Source: Göngsī Lù (1904, 213-232)

Appendix 2 – Glossary of terms used in the study

Chinese Term	English Term	Definitions
Qīng	Qing	Chinese dynasty overthrown by the revolution of 1911
guānlì	guanli	a special form of Chinese dividend, fixed rate of
		common stock
Cíxī	Cixi	Empress Dowager
Guǎngdōng	Guangdong	a region of China
sìzhùfă	sizhu fa	four-pillar balancing method
sānjiǎo zhàng	sanjiao zhang	three-leg bookkeeping method
huòqīng bù	huoqing bu	cash sales and purchases journal
yínqīng bù	yinqing bu	cash journal
wănglái bù	wanglai bu	personal account and transfer journal
lóngmén zhàng	longmen zhang	'dragon-gate bookkeeping' method
hé lóngmén	he longmen	matching process
jìn	jin	revenue
jiǎo	jiao	expenditure
cún	cun	assets
gāi	gai	owners' equity and liabilities
Jìn-Jiǎo	Jin-Jiao	revenue-expenditure
Cún-Gāi	Cun-Gai	asset-equity-liability
sìjiǎo zhàng	sijiao zhang	'four-leg bookkeeping' method
căixiàng report	caixiang report	profit-and-loss statement
cúngāi report	cungai report	balance sheet
căoliú	caoliu	memorandum
căomă	caoma	commercial numerals
xìliú	xiliu	journal
hàntĭ	haiti	standard numerals
zŏngqīng	zongqing	ledger
kuàijì tǐ	kuaiji ti	accounting numerals
Zōngjié	Zongjie	balance sheet
Căijié	Caijie	income statement
báihuà	baihua	vernacular
guāndū shāngbàn	guandu shangban	officials supervised the operations of merchants
gŭfèn zīběn	gufen ziben	common stock
yúlì dividends	yuli dividends	flexible or fixed rate dividends
shāngzŏng and	shangzong and	directors and senior managers
dŏngshì rén	dongshi ren	
Gōngsī lù	Gongsi lv	1904 C ompany law
gōngkuǎn cún	gongkuan cun	State debt
xiàng	xiang	
gōngkuǎn xī	gongkuan xi xiang	interest of the State debt
xiàng		
zŏngbàn	zongban	government officers

kuàibàn	kuaiban	government officers
bāngbàn	bangban	government officers
shēnlĭng	shenling shangban	firms led by gentlemen who left the government
shāngbàn		
Shuōluè	Shuolue	narrative description of the firm's situation