

Merchants of Canton and Macao

Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade

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PREFACE

Since I wrote the first volume of this work several new studies have been completed on China's foreign trade and the Hong merchants. Fred Grant Jr.'s study *Chinese Cornerstone of Modern Banking: The Canton Guaranty System and the Origins of Bank Deposit Insurance 1780–1933* (2014) analyses the Hong merchants' system of collective guarantees and how that became an early version of present-day bank deposit insurance. This work is the first of its kind. It shows more clearly the pressures faced by the Hong merchants under the guarantee system, whereby they were responsible for paying the debts of failed merchants.¹

John Wong's 'Global Positioning: Houqua and His China Trade Partners in the Nineteenth Century' is the first exhaustive study of the famous Hong merchant Houqua (Wu Bingjian 伍秉鑑). Wong spent many years researching this topic and has made good use of the American China trade records in the New England area and the English East India Company's records in London. He has also gone extensively through the Chinese records in the British National Archive, the Number One Archive in Beijing and other records available in China, as well as various versions of the family genealogy. In the early nineteenth century, Houqua was one of the most successful merchants of the Canton trade. Wong covers in detail Houqua's extensive investments worldwide. His influence stretched far beyond the Pearl River Delta.² Two of Houqua's predecessors, Geowqua and Puiqua, are discussed in Chapter 5 of this volume.

Wang Shuo is completing her PhD dissertation on Houqua as well. It is entitled 'Wu Bingjian and His Friends: The Relations Network of a Chinese Merchant in the Early 19th Century'. I have not seen the finished product yet but, as I understand it, Wang's focus is on Houqua's social relationships and interactions rather than trade.³ It will be interesting to see how her story differs from John Wong's.

Another recent PhD study by Li Yun 李雲 is focused on the Ye family.⁴ I did not know about Li Yun's research at the time I wrote the first volume. I have a chapter on the Ye family merchants in that book. Li Yun has explored the Chinese sources very thoroughly including the Ye family genealogy. In my chapter I show that the last Ye merchant, Yanqua (Ye Shanglin 葉上林), retired to the tea lands after he quit the trade in 1804. The foreign records say this and there is an undated Chinese source showing a benefactor by the name of Ye Shanglin 葉上林 living in Wuyuan County in Jiangxi Province.⁵

Li does not agree with this outcome. He has pointed out that Yanqua was buried in Canton and therefore could not have gone to the tea lands to retire. Unfortunately, we have insufficient data to resolve these differences. Yanqua could have returned to

Canton either while still alive or posthumously—we simply do not know. Consequently, we now have two possible theories of what happened to Yanqua after he retired: he might have stayed in Canton and died there (Li's story) or he might have retired to the tea lands as planned and then at some later point (alive or dead) returned to Canton and was buried there (my story). There is little information about Yanqua's involvement in the foreign trade in Chinese sources, so Li's study does not change our understanding of that part of his life.

There are several recent PhD dissertations about the trade, which also have connections to the Chinese merchants. Jessica Hanser completed her study on British private traders involved in the Canton trade; Susan Schopp completed her dissertation on the French traders in Canton; and Lisa Hellman completed her study of the Swedes in Canton and Macao.⁶ Many of these Englishmen, Frenchmen and Swedes were loaning money to the Chinese merchants so their stories are relevant for this study. This new research adds much to our understanding of the creditor side of these transactions and the risks involved therewith.

In 2015, Maria Mok and I published a book on the *Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822*.⁷ That study is primarily concerned with artistic expression and whether or not paintings of the Canton factories can be trusted as historical documents in their own right. However, we do include quite a bit of new information about the factories and their Hong merchant owners. The more stable environment that emerged after the Co-hong was created gave rise to the Westernization of the factories and to new items being introduced into the Chinese export art market. The book covers issues such as changes in the management of the buildings and how the Hong merchants dealt with the need for more rooms to let when private traders in China began to increase in the late eighteenth century. We also discuss how Chinese artists adapted themselves to the demands of the market. Artists were also businessmen so much of that discussion is relevant to this study.

There are many other academic studies as well that were either recently completed or are currently ongoing, which have marginal connections to this study. I will not list them all here, but the authors include John E. Wills Jr., Jonathan Goldstein, Yu Po-ching, John Carroll, Thomas Cox, Gary Sturgess, Stephen Davies, Frieder Sondermann, John Haddad, Caroline Frank, Michael Block, Hanna Hodacs, Richard Grace, and numerous others. These new studies contain much data and new insights about the trade and how it operated. Research on the Canton trade has gained renewed emphasis in recent years owing partially to China's rise in importance in international commerce.

Besides new studies there are also new electronic databases that have helped advance the research.⁸ Some of these digitized records from the Qing Dynasty have references to Hong merchants. I have done many searches through these records for both the first and second volume of this study, but found nothing new that had not already been used in the past. As I pointed out in the first volume, I have also made use of the Chinese records held in the British National Archive at Kew.⁹ In recent years, there have been many scholars making use of these Chinese sources in the United Kingdom.

When doing research on the Hong merchants, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the sources. If we do not understand the nature in which documents were created, and the extent to which they can be trusted, then they will likely lead us to a misinterpretation of history. The Chinese sources are essential to understanding Beijing's views on trade. Records that were sent to Beijing, however, were often doctored and heavily censored. They do not always present a clear picture of what was actually happening in Canton.¹⁰ There is almost nothing in the records sent to Beijing about the daily activities of merchants. Numerous references can be found in the Chinese sources to Hong merchants such as Swequa, Poankeequa and Monqua, but I found nothing in the Chinese documents that add anything new or significant to their stories.¹¹

With almost all of the histories of the trade that have made use of the Chinese records, the authors have failed to acknowledge the limitations of those sources. The dependence on one work especially—the *Yue haiguan zhi* 粵海關志 (Gazetteer of Guangdong Maritime Customs)—has resulted in many historical misunderstandings. Scholars have assumed that everything they read in that document is the truth, when in fact it is full errors.¹²

One very obvious example is the list of ships at Whampoa from 1751 to 1838 in volume 25 of the *Yue haiguan zhi*. There are only a few years when the figures are actually correct. If we compare that list with Dermigny's list we see hundreds of ships missing from the data. From 1751 to 1833, Dermigny shows 4,797 ships arriving at Whampoa, whereas the *Yue haiguan zhi* shows only 4,443 ships. That is a difference of 354 ships.¹³ The new ship data that I am collecting (some of which is presented in Table 2.1) concurs with Dermigny. They show that the *Yue haiguan zhi* list is missing hundreds of ships, which the Hoppo failed to report to Beijing. There are numerous other errors in the *Yue haiguan zhi* as well, such as the operations of the Bengang Hang 本港行 and the Waiyang Hang 外洋行 (see below). Besides wrong information, one of the biggest problems with the *Yue haiguan zhi* is the omissions. The document does not tell us about the exact amounts of the administrative fees that were collected, the exactions and charges that were applied to the trade, the bribes and connivance fees that customs officers collected, and the many unwritten responsibilities of the Hong merchants such as paying for the costs of large celebrations and entertainments at Canton.

In short, if all we had was the *Yue haiguan zhi* to tell the story of the trade, we would have a grossly misrepresented history. It might tell us correctly what was supposed to happen, but fails miserably in representing what actually happened. This does not mean we should not use that document. On the contrary, the *Yue haiguan zhi* adds a lot to our understanding of the administration of the trade. We just need to acknowledge its limitations and only make use of the parts that are backed up by other evidence.

Of course, all historical documents—including those of the East India companies—need to be cross-referenced to determine their credibility. If we do not understand and acknowledge the limitations of our sources, then we leave ourselves open to being misled and to misleading others. Just because something is written in the English East India Company's (EIC) records, such as a Chinese merchant being of a questionable character or the Hoppo being overbearing and unreasonable, does not necessarily

mean that is the way it was.¹⁴ Each of those statements is simply one opinion that needs to be checked against other data.¹⁵

Genealogies are valuable resources as well, but with some limitations. The Chinese genealogies collected by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon Church) have been available on microfilm at many different world-wide locations for decades. Previous studies of the merchants, such as those of Ch'en and Cheong, did not make use of these sources. Recently these genealogies were digitized and are now accessible online. This collection includes family genealogies from all over China including Guangdong and Fujian provinces. They are important records for establishing relationships within and between families and birth and death dates. However, because the Chinese used many different names, it is often difficult to match the trade names in foreign records with names that appear in the genealogies. Another limitation is that genealogies everywhere tend to leave out negative information about family members such as crimes, debts, bankruptcies, illegitimate relationships and births, illegal activities, problems with government, and anything else that might tarnish their reputations. Chinese genealogies in general contain little or no information about the daily activities of family businesses. Moreover, only a very small percentage of the merchants discussed in this study actually have genealogies of their families in eighteenth-century Canton.

We know that Chinese merchants kept detailed records of their activities. I have shown in *The Canton Trade* and also in the first volume of this study that records were essential for them to keep track of their profits and losses. The Hong merchants handled huge volumes of trade each year, which amounted to hundreds of thousands of taels. They had extensive connections to inland suppliers; they were often involved in the Chinese junk trade to Southeast Asia; and they traded with numerous foreigners at the same time.

Contrary to what Ch'en has suggested in his studies—that the Hong merchants traded mostly in tea and that we can therefore evaluate their operations by simply looking at that single commodity—we know now this approach is much too simplistic (see below).¹⁶ The Hong merchants traded in a wide variety of products and had extensive involvements in the Chinese interior as well as in Southeast Asia. In order to keep track of all those transactions, it was essential for them to keep records. We have both visual images and written records showing them doing just that.¹⁷

However, it was not wise for merchants to keep detailed financial records longer than needed to complete the transactions. If those documents fell into the hands of officials it could result in the government extracting more revenues from the owners. The same was true for public officials such as the customs superintendents (Hoppos). Financial figures could bring about unforeseen problems for government officials and merchants alike, which help to explain why few of them have survived.¹⁸

Because there are so many unknown variables of trade it was almost impossible for foreign contemporaries in Canton to calculate Chinese net profits. To arrive at a rough estimate, they would have needed to know each man's costs, including but not limited to whatever interest he paid on loans and advances, taxes, fees, government exactions, presents to superiors, the cost of building and maintaining shops and

warehouses, connivance fees, the cost of chop boats, depreciation on fixed assets, and wages paid to employees. None of the foreigners in Canton had detailed knowledge of these particulars so, at best, all they could calculate were gross profits. Efforts have been made in the past by historians to estimate Chinese merchants' net profits but, because the historical records do not contain sufficient details, in the end all we get are a bunch of meaningless figures that tell us nothing.¹⁹

Owing to the nonexistence and/or limitations of the sources, the only way we can reconstruct the merchants' stories is by making use of the records created by their customers. This is perhaps a backward way of approaching history, but we have no other alternative. It is equally important, however, that we do not just rely on one customer, such as the EIC, to tell the whole story—as has been so often done in the past. We must make use of all the records available, including Chinese sources, the archives of other East India companies and private traders' records (such as those of the Americans). This multi-archival approach, then, is the only way to gain an overall understanding of the China trade and the influences it had on global commerce. It is also the only way to understand the multifaceted operations of the Canton merchants.

In addition to acknowledging the limitations of sources, we need to also understand that none of them are complete. Most of the previous studies have almost exclusively based their research on the British and Chinese sources. Those collections are incomplete in both chronology and content, with many important years missing and gaps in sequence. The heavy dependence on British sources has resulted in the misreading of documents and inconsequent misunderstandings of history, all of which has been passed on from one generation of scholars to another for more than one hundred years. As I have mentioned numerous times in the past, it is time to break this cycle and re-examine the evidence anew. Just because ten history books say something happened, it does not mean that those ten history books are correct—because almost all of them have based their information on the British sources. Enormous amounts of data are missing from their analyses.

Since previous authors have only used a fraction of the sources, they have also only told a fraction of the story. I am very sympathetic to the reasons why previous studies have not made use of all the available materials. However, with all the research tools that we now have available, we should no longer be limiting our studies to simply using the English and/or Chinese sources—especially with a subject like the Canton trade.

Because scholars of this history are still depending heavily on Chinese and/or English sources to tell the whole story (Ch'en 2005; 2014), and looking at the trade from the top-down (Zhao 2013; Ch'en 2014), I provide some examples below of the fallacy of this approach.²⁰ If we do not acknowledge the limitations of our sources and the approach we take to research, then we are not only deceiving ourselves but everyone else who follows our misinterpretations.

HISTORICAL MARKERS AND POLICY VERSUS PRACTICE

In this study, I employ a bottom-up approach. I started this project by collecting the minutest details I could find, such as names, costs, expenses, prices, weights of chests,

tea mixtures, exchange rates, etc. I worked my way up to trading houses, partnerships, Co-hong, government regulations, and foreign influences. I did this because I wanted to know what happened, rather than what was supposed to happen. The traditional histories of the trade and of the merchants have been largely top-down approaches. Historians have overwhelmingly focused on government policies, the actions of officials, the decisions of companies' officers, and the actions of Hong merchants, etc., to interpret what happened. All of these factors are important, but we must not ignore the minute details as they often hold the key to unlocking the mysteries of the past.

Of course, bottom-up and top-down approaches both have their strengths and weaknesses. With a bottom-up history, it is easy to get lost in the detail and forget about the big picture. Moreover, sometimes, after spending weeks collecting data, we find out that they are of little use. I have many files filled with information on this or that subject—files that are of no use to me because they reveal nothing of significance.

The bottom-up approach requires enormous amounts of time and, in the end, might produce only small amounts of usable data. This outcome is not conducive to academic expectations that require scholars to publish two articles per year. Moreover, to do a bottom-up approach of the Canton trade requires visiting many archives in many countries, which means a large amount of funding is needed. Of course, they are written in many different languages as well. It is thus understandable that scholars have primarily depended on British records and concentrated their attention on the upper management records. By limiting the source materials, authors can find and collect the data in a short time, and then produce a paper or chapter.

With top-down histories, there is a tendency to take officials and senior officers' words as if they were the *truth*, without checking the validity of their statements. Depending on these reports and correspondences to tell the story means that historians only discuss what their historical actors discuss. Everything else is considered unimportant. Even in our modern world it can be seen that the 'experts' often do not agree on the causes and effects of what happens in certain economies. It is not until decades later that all the factors are known and assembled to show us more clearly what actually happened. It is important to know changes that took place in government and business policies, but those events by themselves do not necessarily reveal to us what was actually happening in trade.

Policies and decrees were rarely carried out to the letter in Canton. Chinese officials rarely recorded what was truly happening around them. They only wrote what they thought the emperor and other senior officials needed to hear and/or would accept. Foreign supercargos in Canton had very limited access to information—especially knowledge of the operations of the Hong merchants. Supercargos knew a great deal about their own company's operations, but had only a brief understanding of what other companies in Canton were doing. Their views and opinions are very subjective and often present incomplete and skewed pictures of the world around them.

The many statements that were made by supercargos of the various East India companies, that the China trade would end and that everything would come to ruin when the Co-hong was established in 1760, is clear testimony to their myopic knowledge, understanding and insight. How can we then take their words as 'truth' and say

that what they said is what happened? Most of what they claimed would happen to the China trade never came about. This was the case because they did not have knowledge of all of the factors affecting the Co-hong's establishment. Their complaints were expressions of the fears they had of what might happen to the trade, and might have nothing to do with what actually happened.

Historians have been all too eager and/or willing to accept this or that statement from a supercargo or Chinese official as if it were fact without checking to see if there was any validity to their claims. We now have many histories telling us how corrupt everything was in the Canton trade, without anyone—until recently—asking why it continued to grow. This is a result of historians failing to cross-reference their sources with other data. I am very sympathetic to the reasons why historians of the twentieth century primarily relied on this top-down approach. I also began with a pencil and paper and could not afford to purchase a laptop computer in the early 1990s. They were just too expensive.

In the twenty-first century, we now have many more tools at our disposal that allow us to collect and cross-reference data from different archives quickly and easily. We can order digital documents, take pictures of collections and, in some cases, view the documents online free of charge. These new tools have made many of the excuses of the past irrelevant.

Another tendency of previous studies has been to divide history into eras. These partitions were largely based on changes in policy. We separate the China trade into eras before and after 1684—when China opened its doors to foreign trade. Another dividing line is the Nanking Treaty of 1842, when other ports were opened to foreign trade. These markers are very effective and help us to generalize and conceptualize large blocks of time. There were indeed very different factors affecting everything with very different outcomes before 1684 and after 1842.

Other policy-based historical divisions are less meaningful. An overwhelming majority of Chinese historians divide the history of the Canton trade into periods before and after 1757, when other ports were officially closed to foreign trade. As I point out in *The Canton Trade*, this separation makes little sense, because it changed almost nothing. It rather kept the status quo in place—that is Canton being the centre of the trade. When we impose this division on history we are suggesting that the period before and after 1757 are somehow very different, when in fact the policy hardly changed anything. All across China there are endless publications that give the impression that something new began in 1757 and everything was different before that year. In reality, however, everything continued in the trade after 1757 as it had before. In terms of understanding the trade, this division has no historical meaning and only leads to more misunderstandings.

Another division that top-down historians make is the creation of the Bengang Hang 本港行 and the Waiyang Hang 外洋行 in 1760. The junk trade to Southeast Asia was administered out of the Bengang Hang, and the foreign trade in Canton, was administered out of the Waiyang Hang. Ch'en has been a strong promoter of this division, which also makes no sense.²¹ On the administrative level, these two bodies were separate, but on the daily operation level, there was no clear division between them.

In Chapter 3, I discuss Poankeequa's involvement in the Dafeng Hang. After 1760, that firm was part of the Bengang Hang through which the junk trade to Southeast Asia was administered.²² Poankeequa and his brother, however, did much of their trade with foreigners out of this firm from the 1750s to the early 1760s. Poankeequa traded directly with Spanish merchants in Manila out of the Dafeng Hang as well, from at least the 1740s (see Appendix 3B). He and his successors continued trading with the Spaniards into the early nineteenth century. Trade continued after the Bengang Hang was established as it had before.

As I showed in the first volume of this study, many of the Canton junks of the Bengang Hang were sponsored, owned and managed by Hong merchants of the Waiyang Hang firms. Merchants connected to the Bengang firms were regularly involved in the Waiyang firms, and even communicated directly with foreigners (such as Hongsia in the first volume). Foreigners of the Waiyang firms were regularly investing in the junk voyages of the Bengang firms. The latter junks, in turn, supplied imports needed in the foreign export trade, such as woods, dyes, sago, etc. All of this was going on after the Bengang Hang was created, as it had before. This is another meaningless division that Ch'en and others have imposed upon history, and which makes no sense.²³

If we define the trade simply by its policies, then we are blinding ourselves to all of the activity that was going on between periods and groups. Scholars have not seen these exchanges in the past because they have held preconceived notions that the Waiyang and Bengang Hangs operated as separate entities. If we dig deep enough into the details, however, we begin to see that these barriers are simply fabrications that historians have placed upon us. It is like saying that there was no opium problem in China after 1729, because that was the year that the Yongzheng emperor banned its sale;²⁴ that the security merchant system did not begin until 1740, because that is when a policy was established for the same; that no foreign women went upriver to Whampoa or to the Canton factories, because they were forbidden by law from doing so; that Chinese merchants did not deal in yellow or red fabrics or in gold, because those items were forbidden to trade; that the Canton trade did not begin in earnest until 1757, because that was the year that other Chinese ports were closed to trade; that foreigners did not stay the entire year in Canton, because they were required to leave for Macao every year in the off-season; and that non-Portuguese did not rent apartments in Macao in the early eighteenth century, because they were forbidden from doing so. None of these statements are true. They are simply policy-based generalizations that historians keep replicating and that blind us to what was actually happening.

Let us take a look at the sources to see more precisely why we need to examine all the evidence. Since I wrote the first volume of the *Merchants of Canton and Macao*, I have explored quite a few more sources. In the summer of 2012, my PhD student and research assistant Susan Schopp and I went through the French records that I had not previously explored very thoroughly. We photographed some 40,000 pages of documents. If I exclude the ship journals and other documents that do not talk about China but, rather, other places passed en route, then we come up with about 20,000 single pages of documents that were created in Canton. In the past decade I have also been involved in ordering copies of tens of thousands of pages of documents for libraries and

archives in Macao and Guangzhou. The archives in Europe generally charge by the page, which makes it a simple matter to come up with a total. I have also photographed some of these collections myself. All of this activity makes possible the assembly of data shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 shows the approximate number of pages in each of the East India companies' archives that discuss various aspects of the China trade. These figures only include records that were created in Canton and Macao, such as the English East India Company's Diaries and Consultations, the Dutch East India Company's (VOC) *dag-registers*, the Danish Asiatic Company's (DAC) *negotiepotocoler*, and numerous other reports, ledgers, journals, resolutions, correspondences and documents. The figures do not include the records that were created in Europe, such as warehouse inventories, sales catalogues, instructions to officers, internal company matters, etc. The records created in China are the ones that include discussions about individual merchants, problems encountered, and everything else connected to the trade. These records are the most important for understanding what happened in Canton on a day to day basis.

The figures in Table 1.1 are approximates but are nonetheless fairly accurate. For example, we know exactly how many pages there are in the EIC Diaries and Consultations. The figures in Table 1.1 do not include ship journals. The British, Dutch and French archives have documents about China from the seventeenth century as well, but I have omitted those. I only include the documents that discuss the Canton trade from about 1698 to 1833. A list of all the records can be seen in the bibliography.

The non-British figures in Table 1.1 include many different types of documents, some of which cannot be found in the British archives. The Dutch and Danish records, for example, contain daily entries of trade transactions similar to the British consultations, but from another point of view. In Belgian, Dutch, Danish, French and Swedish archives there are many resolutions, ledgers, daily journals (different from EIC Consultations), contracts, packing lists, invoices, stowage charts, bills of lading, expense books, manifests, receipts, and thousands of pages of correspondences. All of these documents were created in China by the respective companies' officers. There are many details in these records about Chinese merchants that cannot be found in British archives. These other companies operated very differently from the EIC and, consequently, often recorded a different side of the merchants' activities.

The British records in Table 1.1 include the Consultations and Diaries in the series G/12/1–291. In 2007, the University of Macau Library ordered digital copies of the entire G/12 collection, so we have a very accurate figure of the total number of pages (72,300).²⁵ About 6,000 of those pages, however, are from the seventeenth century, many of which do not concern China, so I have eliminated them from the figures in Table 1.1. The G/12 total for the years from about 1699 to 1833 comes to about 66,300 single pages. I have included another 3,700 pages from the R/10/3–9 series, which fill a gap in the G/12 records from approximately 1752 to 1772. The remaining R/10 records are either copies of the G/12 or instructions sent from Britain.

In all of these collections, there are duplicates of documents and blank pages with nothing on them, so these are just rough estimates. The Belgian, Dutch, Danish and Swedish records tend to have a much higher level of detail than what we normally find

Table 1.1 European China Trade Records 1698–1833 (Excluding Navigational Journals)

Nation	Years	Single pages	%	Description	Languages
Holland	1729–1830	135,000	44%	VOC, Canton, OIC, RAB, HRB and NHM collections in the National Archives, The Hague, but only the pages that discuss activities in China.	Dutch
Britain	1699–1833	75,000	25%	Canton Factory Records G/12/1–291 and R/10/3–9, all of which discuss activities in China, but only the records that cover the years from 1699–1833.	English
Denmark	1731–1806, 1820–1833	50,000	16%	DAC Negotieprotocoler, Kassehovedbogter, Regnskabsjournaler and other documents in Copenhagen, but only the pages of those books that discuss activities in China.	Danish
Sweden	1732–1816	20,000	7%	All SOIC records that discuss activities in China, including those in various libraries and archives in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Uppsala, Kalmar and the Irvine Papers in JFB (USA).	Swedish and several other languages
France	1698–1830	20,000	7%	All trade records that discuss activities in China, including those in various libraries and archives in Aix-en-Provence, La Courneuve, Lorient, Nantes, Montigny-le-Bretonneux and Paris.	French
Belgium	1723–1733	5,000	2%	All records that discuss activities in China, including the IC and other collections at the Municipal Archive in Antwerp and Ghent University Library.	French, Dutch and English
Total		305,000	100%		

in the British records. I have not included the Portuguese records here because they contain very little about the trade in Canton or the Chinese merchants.²⁶

Between the Macau Historical Archives, the University of Macau Library and Sun Yat-sen University's Department of History Library in Guangzhou, there is now almost an entire duplicate set of Dutch China trade records (records created in China—excluding ship logbooks).²⁷ I was involved in ordering many of those documents and that has enabled me to come up with this estimate. As can be seen, for the eighteenth century, the Dutch are perhaps the single most important documents for this study, with the British being second.

The Danish records are mostly bound journals, parts of which were created on the voyages out and back by the supercargos. I have only included an estimate of the pages that were actually created in China. In a 250-page journal written by a Danish supercargo, for example, there might be only 150 pages that were actually written in China and which discuss the day to day transactions. I photographed all of the 50,000 plus pages of the Danish records shown in Table 1.1 so I can attest to the accuracy of that estimate. The Belgian records provide the best details of the daily operations of company trade in the 1720s; and the private records of the Swedish company's supercargos (who were not all Swedes) provide the best details of private trade in China from the 1720s to the 1770s.²⁸

The French records, on the whole, tend to be less detailed than the British and other European records. They are nonetheless important for cross referencing. They do, however, contain information about Canton and the trade that cannot be found in other sources. For example, there is good information in those records about the factory fire of 1743; the Chinese merchants who supplied the French with cargos from the 1740s to the 1770s; the establishment and operation of the Co-hong in the 1760s and its dissolution in 1771; the Imperial Company trade in the late 1770s and early 1780s; the British attempt to take over Macao in 1802; and the private trade in Canton from 1818 to the late 1820s. Of course, there is also much discussion in the French records about the trade in general and numerous other topics.

Together, all of these non-English language sources contain an enormous amount of data about the operations of the Canton and Macao merchant houses. Much of this detail cannot be gleaned from British, American or Chinese sources. Because these non-English European records have never before been used by historians researching the Chinese merchants, we obviously have only heard part of their stories.

I did not include information about the American records in Table 1.1. At present, I am still unable to quantify those collections. Over the years, I have gone through most of the major China trade collections in Salem, Boston, Providence, Mystic Seaport, Philadelphia and several other cities. In their studies of the China trade, Ch'en and Basu included a few of the American collections in their research. White also made use of records in the Library of Congress in her dissertation on the Hong merchants.

The American records were especially helpful in piecing together information about the smaller operators in Canton such as the porcelain and silk dealers. If we could estimate the total number of documents in American repositories that discuss the China trade, it would likely be in the hundreds of thousands of pages.²⁹ There are not

a lot of documents from the eighteenth century, but the volumes of American China trade records from the nineteenth century are enormous.

In *The Canton Trade*, I mentioned that previous to that study, our knowledge of the port, and of the Chinese merchants, has come from a mere '25 to 30 percent of the commerce'.³⁰ This estimate was based on the EIC percentage of the total trade at Canton in the eighteenth century. As we can see in Table 1.1, the number of documents that have survived corresponds roughly with this estimate.

Previous studies of the merchants by Liang, Ch'en and Cheong depended very heavily on EIC records.³¹ Besides a few American records, Ch'en also went through the Chinese records in the UK and Taiwan. These previous studies have added a lot to our understanding of the merchants. But they are not histories of the merchants' businesses. They are rather very selective studies of the Hong merchants' trade with the British. A summary of the secondary literature can be found in the preface of *The Canton Trade* so I will not repeat that information here.

Every chapter in this volume contains significant new data enhancing each man's story. There has been very little written about some men, such as the porcelain and silk dealers. Jörg has discussed some of the men who are mentioned in the Dutch records in his many books and articles (see bibliography). The Hong merchants Monqua, Poankeequa, Geowqua, Tan Anqua and Tjobqua have also had quite a bit written about them in previous studies. I have added new data to all of these stories. Teunqua (Monqua's father) and Swequa (Tjobqua's brother) have been mistaken for other men, in the past, making their stories confusing. I have tried to clarify these ambiguities in the nomenclature sections in the appendixes.

As I mentioned in the first volume, the collection of data for this study began in 1996. However, the actual writing of the merchants' stories did not begin until 2002, when I was involved in the translation (from Dutch to English) and annotation of *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters* (the daily records of the Dutch East India Company in Canton and Macao).³² In the endnotes of the *dagregisters*, I wrote summary histories of each of the Chinese merchants that appeared in those records. Those stories were later expanded.

A couple of the earlier versions of these family histories were previously published in Macao. Much of the information in Chapter 10 on Weaver Suckin, for example, was published in the *Review of Culture*.³³ Both of these projects, the translation of the *dagregisters* and a few of the Chinese family histories, were funded by the Macao Cultural Affairs Bureau. These two volumes of the *Merchants of Canton and Macao* are the culmination of this work.

It is perhaps appropriate to say a few words here about the massive amount of information one needs to digest in order to put these chapters together. This second volume has taken many years longer than expected, simply because of the enormous amount of data that had to be collected, compiled, categorized and analysed, before the actual writing could begin. The porcelain and silk chapters (Chapters 6 to 10) were especially time consuming owing to the fact that there were hundreds of these men. Weeding through all of the names and selecting the ones to include in the book took many months.

It took many months to go through the 20,000 or so pages of French documents that we collected in 2012. This was necessary in order to tell Swequa and Poankeequa's stories. Both of those men were major suppliers to the French ships. The French records contain some good information about Tjobqua and a few other men as well.

The French archives also yielded new information about merchants discussed in volume one. While the new data expands our understanding of those men's operations, they do not change the outcome. The new references are few and of only marginal significance.

Because there are many records missing from the EIC Diaries and Consultations before 1775, I needed to spend time in the British Library filling in as many of the gaps as I could from other records. During several visits to the British Library from 2010 to 2014 I read through about 900 of the EIC ship journals (the L/MAR/B series) and also consulted numerous other records to fill in the gaps such as the many volumes of miscellaneous documents and letters in the D, E and H series. Some of those documents came from Canton (see bibliography).

In 2014 I discovered a letter in the British Library from the ten Hong merchants in Canton to the EIC directors (Plate 01.11). The document is dated 14 February 1770. It is a request from the Hong merchants for the directors to reduce the amount of curiosities and British fabrics shipped to China. Besides showing what was happening in the trade, the *real* significance of this letter is that it has all ten of the Hong merchants' names written in Chinese. The document shows several new names that we did not have before, including the ubiquitous Cai Hunqua. The new names shown in this document are as follows: Cai Hunqua (Cai Huangguan 蔡煌官), Chowqua (Chen Zuoguan 陳左官), Kousia (Zhang Guoguan 張果官), and Conqua (Chen Jianguan 陳江官). All of these men are discussed in the first volume. Up until now, we have not known Cai Hunqua's Chinese name so this is a significant discovery. We already had Chinese names for the other three men, but not the ones shown in this letter. Chinese usually had three or four different names, and it is important to have all of them in order to find them in those sources.

Because the British and Dutch collections are so large, I created indexes so that I could better navigate through them. These indexes have taken many years to assemble, and are enormously helpful in finding all the references to merchants. The G/12 and R/10 series of the Diaries and Consultations have now been indexed from 1700 to 1775—amounting to about 100,000 entries. I recorded every person, place and ship name, as well as commodities, with their corresponding dates and page numbers. I have also indexed many of the Dutch records from Canton (the Canton and VOC collections) covering the years from 1729 to 1835. The Dutch index now has about 44,000 entries.

There are 69 Dutch *dagregisters* from Canton and Macao that have survived. They cover the years from 1729 to 1816. Many of the *dagregisters* are missing from the 1730s to the 1750s. These records are the Dutch equivalent of the EIC Consultations. All 69 of the *dagregisters* have now been either indexed or transcribed, which means they are searchable. Three of them (1762, 1763 and 1764) have been translated into English and published with extensive annotations and indexes.³⁴

I also indexed the Jean Abraham Grill papers in the Nordic Museum Archive. That index has about 35,000 entries, which took seven years to complete. The Grill papers were written in about seven different languages but mostly in Swedish. They were vital for this research because they are the most detailed documents we have of Canton and Macao for the 1760s. All of these documents can now be searched very easily for any commodity, ship, date, event, person or place. This indexing needed to be done before I could complete these merchant histories. I had already done much of this work before I wrote the first volume. In that book, I also mentioned that I assembled name lists of all the Chinese merchants I found in the records. Those lists are separate from the indexes mentioned here.³⁵

Another helpful research tool has been the assembling of a more comprehensive list of ships at Whampoa. There are a number of lists of ships in the British and Dutch archives from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. A few ship lists from China have survived in the Belgian, Danish, French, Swedish and American archives as well. Dermigny, Rhys Richards, and others have extracted data from these lists in the past. I made copies of every ship list I could find.³⁶ The records usually include the ship names, captains, arrival and departure dates, and the company the vessels belonged to. Sometimes they also contain information about previous ports visited and destinations. The lists were usually compiled at the end of each season, so they include all ships that arrived at Whampoa each year. With all of this new data, I was able to assemble a more accurate list of ships than what we have previous had.³⁷

Dermigny's list of ships has been enormously helpful to scholars for many decades. On the whole, I have found his numbers of ships for each year to be fairly reliable. It is quite amazing that he was able to assemble such an extensive list during a time when there was not a lot of data available. My numbers of ships differ for some years, but there are many years when we have the same figures. It might be asked why one would go through all this trouble of collecting more data when we already have Dermigny's ship list?

It was important to have an accurate count of the ships each year so that I could more clearly identify the ups and downs of the trade. Because there are so many gaps in the records before 1760, and because there are very few ship lists for those early years, I went through all of the ship journals I could find from the eighteenth century. These include the EIC logbooks in the British Library from 1700 to 1800 (there are 760 of them), plus 140 journals from the early nineteenth century. I have also gone through the French ship logbooks in the National Archives in Paris; the Danish logbooks in Copenhagen; the Swedish logbooks (many of which are available online); and the Flemish logbooks in the Municipal Archive in Antwerp and Ghent University Library. I had already gone through hundreds of the American logbooks when doing the research for *The Canton Trade*. These documents often contain information about the number of vessels at Whampoa and the new arrivals and departures. I also made use of the British and Dutch diaries to extract what I could find about ship arrivals and departures. This data has enabled me to come up with a more precise list of ships than what Dermigny had assembled, with ship names, captains' names, and dates of arrivals and departures.

This new data is very important when trying to understand the pressures placed on merchants when ships did not arrive or arrived late. In 1746, for example, Dermigny shows three French ships in China, but I found none that year. In 1749, Dermigny shows no French ships in China, but I found two arrivals that year.³⁸ The Hong merchant Swequa (Chapter 1) was a main supplier of the French ships in the 1740s and 1750s. It would have made a big difference to him if there were three French ships in 1746 or no ships. He fell into debt during the years when no French ships arrived. Having a more accurate count of arrivals was essential to gain a better understanding of the pressures faced by the Chinese merchants.

For the first volume, I had already gone through the Chinese records at the British National Archive at Kew and the collections in the Caird Library at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich. All of these documents were helpful in filling in bits and pieces of data. But there are still many years before 1775 for which the British records are missing or incomplete. These gaps can only be filled by seeking out other sources such as the French, Flemish, Dutch, Danish and Swedish records.

SUMMARY OF VOLUME ONE

It is perhaps appropriate, for the sake of readers who have not seen the first volume, to provide a brief summary here of that book. In the 1720s and 1730s, the trade went through many transitions. Some foreigners, such as the Ostenders, left the trade while others, such as the Dutch, Danes and Swedes, entered the trade. Overall, there was an increase in the number of ship arrivals from the 1720s to the 1760s, but with many up and down years.

The Chinese administration began tightening up control of Macao and other initiatives to better manage the larger number of foreigners arriving each year. During the transition in the early 1730s, a scuffle broke out between two of the top merchants, Tan Hunqua and Tan Suqua (they had the same last name but, as far as we know, were not related). Both men were accused of manipulating trade for private benefits, which brought them many difficulties and excluded them from the commerce for a couple of years. In their absence, other merchants jumped in and grabbed market shares.

The outcome of this conflict was that trade become more tightly controlled. Tan Hunqua was a great advocate of free trade and did what he could to push through reforms in government policies but, in the end, most of his efforts were unsuccessful. Chinese merchants were banned from communicating with foreign entities outside of China. This became one of the fundamental factors that disadvantaged them from their foreign counterparts. Eventually Tan Hunqua and Tan Suqua were both exonerated and all charges were dropped but, when they returned to the trade in the mid-1730s, several new merchants had moved in. With all of these new players in operation, the environment had changed significantly from the previous decade.

In another section of the first volume I discuss the creation and dissolution of the Co-hong in 1760 and 1771, respectively. It was found that growth was much hindered owing to the unpredictability of the number of ships that arrived each year in the 1740s and 1750s. In some years, war between Europeans greatly reduced the number

of ships sent to China and/or the amount of silver they brought. In some years, there was as much as a 60 percent increase or decrease in trade from one year to the next. This irregularity made investing in expansion very risky. As more ships began to arrive, demand outpaced supply and resulted in numerous ships having to layover in China an entire year in order to obtain enough cargo to fill their hulls. In fact, one of the main reasons for the English attempting to open up other Chinese ports to trade in the late-1750s (which is often referred to as the 'Flint Affair') was to ensure that they could obtain sufficient cargos for their ships, at reasonable prices, so that none of them would have to layover.³⁹

With 100 to 150 men aboard each of the East India companies' ships, it was very costly paying for the crew's sustenance when ships were unnecessarily stuck in port. Of course, a layover also meant that a ship could not be used for other voyages. Chinese officials and merchants were correct to recognize that if inland production did not expand fast enough to keep up with demand, growth would be much hindered.⁴⁰

The solution to these problems was to have foreigners finance the expansion themselves by providing larger advances each year. This made perfect sense. Foreigners had the power to determine how many ships would arrive each year, whereas Chinese did not. If captains and supercargos wanted to ensure they would have sufficient merchandise to load their ships, then they should provide larger advances. In this way, foreign investments were used to finance the expansion of China's inland production.

Over time, Hong merchants came to realize that if they joined together into partnerships, they could gain more control over the foreign money advances. Those funds, in turn, gave them more control over inland supplies. One noteworthy partnership was formed in 1758 between Cai Hunqua, Swetia and Chetqua. Together this new triple alliance gained control of close to one third of the export market in Canton. As partnerships captured a greater share of the supply side of the market, those merchants could assure their foreign customers that there would be no delays.

Even though government officials were keen to maintain competition between Hong merchants, they saw the logic in partnerships. Not all Hong merchants, typified by men like Swequa and Poankeequa, however, benefitted from the triple alliance. By 1760, these two men were much in arrears to their creditors. In order to rectify the situation, they came up with a plan that government officials would agree with, which was the creation of the Co-hong. That organization limited the number of Hong merchants to ten men. The members were not allowed to conduct any trade without the Co-hong's consent. Prices, advances, exchange rates and even weights and measures were standardized. Cai Hunqua, Swetia and Chetqua were allowed to continue their partnership, but they had to submit to the Co-hong's new policies.

The Co-hong solved the problem of making foreign advances more uniform so that inland production could expand in unison with demand. At the same time, the new society kept partnerships from monopolizing parts of the trade, by ensuring that they always had competition. Once the output in the interior caught up with demand, foreigners could buy all the merchandise they wanted at market prices. The Co-hong had effectively taken away the need for foreigners to go to other Chinese ports to

trade. This provision, together with the emperor's edict forbidding trade in other ports, effectively prevented another incident like the Flint Affair from occurring.

By 1770 the environment had changed significantly. The head of the triple alliance, Cai Hunqua, died that year in May. Within a very short time, it became clear that Poankeequa would now be running everything if the Co-hong continued. With Cai Hunqua gone, he emerged as the most wealthy and powerful man in the port. With the triple alliance now in shambles, the Co-hong had outlived its purpose and was dissolved. Some of these factors are discussed further in Chapter 3 of this volume.

The first volume also contains a chapter on the uses of written contracts in trade, and a chapter on the Canton junk trade to Southeast Asia. I analyse the contents of 64 contracts that are reproduced in the plate section of that volume. The appendixes also contain cargo lists from 280 Canton junks. Some of those Southeast Asian imports were used in the export trade, all of which makes the merchants' businesses much more complex than was previously understood.

With the completion of this second volume, these merchants' stories are now more comprehensive, but they are still far from complete. Many gaps in content and sequence, which we may never be able to fill, remain. The stories are now at least more focused. Hopefully, other documents will emerge in the future that will give us new insights into the trade and the lives of the Canton and Macao merchants. I leave that work for future scholars to investigate.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

GLOBAL INFLUENCES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

The eighteenth century was an important period not only for the China trade, but international commerce in general. Over the course of ten decades East India companies saw their trade vastly transformed. It went from companies attempting to control the sources, sales and distributions of key commodities—like pepper, spices and tea—to the opening and expanding of more private enterprises. Catholic controlled ports such as Macao and Manila also saw their environments transform from restricting access to a select group of people in the early eighteenth century—based on their nationality, race or religion—to opening to all people wanting to trade. By the early nineteenth century, many of the political, cultural and religious barriers that had hindered free trade had disappeared and access to commodities and markets became open to everyone.

Because China maintained a policy throughout the Canton era (ca. 1700–1842) of welcoming all foreign traders—company and private, large and small, regardless of their race, religion or creed—it became one of the centres fostering and supporting this pulling down of trade barriers. The port even created its own language—Pidgin English—to accommodate a multiplicity of people.

Canton was one of the earliest ports to allow access to everyone. Small private ships from India and, later, Americans and others, anchored at Whampoa alongside the large East India companies' vessels. Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Parsees, and all colours of races were equally welcomed. The only exceptions were the Russians and Japanese who were not allowed at Canton, because they had been granted special privileges to trade in other Chinese ports. Asian traders from Siam, Cochin China and the Philippines traded alongside Chinese junks from Guangdong and Fujian Provinces. Canton was one of the few major ports in Asia where Europeans had no control over who came or went or what was purchased or sold.

During years when the Europeans were at war with each other, China remained neutral. There were several years in the eighteenth century when enemy traded alongside enemy at Canton. The Qing government protected them from being molested while in port. French, British, Flemings, Portuguese, Spaniards, Danes, Swedes, Greeks, Prussians, Americans, Austrians, Italians, Hungarians, Muslims, Armenians, Arabs, Indians (from India), Southeast Asians, Hawai'ians and numerous other people from Africa and elsewhere traded at Canton at one time or another in the eighteenth century and all of them were welcomed.

Everyone was guaranteed entry as long as they came to trade. No prior agreements or permissions were necessary. Just show up with a ship and some merchandise and permission was granted to go upriver. Qing officials initiated policies that kept any

company, partnership or group—Chinese or foreign alike—from forming monopolies of parts of the trade. They did this by maintaining transparency with trade figures. Any foreigner or Chinese merchant could gain knowledge of their competitors by simply going to the Hoppo (customs superintendent) and ask for information about what business others were doing in Canton. This data was given freely to anyone who wanted it.

Access to Chinese merchandise was open to anyone, with no restrictions—as long as it was a legal item of trade. The captain of a small private ship could carry home the same high quality merchandise, in whatever types and varieties of tea, silk or porcelain he wanted, just like any of the large European companies. Qing officials made sure that everyone had access to everything, and that no monopolies were formed on specific products. The small private traders might be restricted in their home ports as to which items they could deal in, but in China those men could sell or purchase anything they desired as long as it was legal. All foreigners paid the same amount in export duties on the items they purchased, regardless of who they were, where they came from, or the volume they handled. A man who arrived with a pocket full of coins was just as welcomed as a captain with a ship full of merchandise. There were few maritime ports in the eighteenth century that operated with such openness to outsiders. But that was not necessarily true for the Chinese merchants themselves.

Chinese merchants in Canton and Macao did not have the same freedoms in trade as their foreign counterparts. They operated in a very different environment and with a set of cultural rules that applied only to them. Some of these restrictions were written down in edicts that spelled out what they could and could not do, while other limitations were just understood. By examining the daily activities of the Canton and Macao merchants we can see more clearly where these cultural barriers lay.

Before I begin their stories, I will briefly summarize the trading environment discussed in the first volume. This will provide a context for understanding the activities of the merchants discussed below. In the eighteenth century, there was a gradual increase in the demand for Chinese products in India, Europe and the Americas. For most of the period, the trade was very competitive and forced many Chinese merchants into debt. This was partially the result of the unpredictability in the number of ships that would arrive each year.

In the 1730s and 1740s there could be upwards of 60 percent increases or decreases in the volume of trade from one year to the next.¹ This unstable environment gradually gave rise to a small group of the largest houses doing whatever they could to restrict the trade of the smaller houses. In the mid-1750s, the hundred or so small shopkeepers known as ‘outside merchants’ were divided into groups of five. Each group was placed under the supervision of one of the licensed Hong merchants. The ranks of the licensed Hong merchants also began to shrink—from more than twenty houses in the early 1750s to ten in the 1760s.

In order to show how the ups and downs of trade may have affected the outcome, we need to know exactly how many ships were in port each year. This information is especially important for the years leading up to and including 1757, because that was the year other Chinese ports were closed to foreign trade. I have already noted in the Preface that Dermigny’s ship list is much more reliable than the one in the *Yue haiguan*

zhi. There are hundreds of ships missing from the latter list. However, there is an exception. For the 1750s, the figures in the *Yue haiguan zhi* are actually more accurate than Dermigny's. For most of those years, the Hoppo reported the correct number of ship arrivals, whereas in other years they did not.

Table 2.1 shows a comparison between Dermigny's figures, *Yue haiguan zhi*'s figures, and the new ship data that I collected for the years from 1751 to 1760. I have not included the Macao ships here because they were not counted in the Guangzhou customs reports.

In the 'New Confirmed List' of Table 2.1, I have the arrival and departure dates of each ship so we can be assured that they were actually at Whampoa that year. The records also confirm that there were no other foreign ships in port during those years. The three sets of figures in Table 2.1 are close—except the year 1757. For some reason Dermigny shows twice as many ships at Whampoa that year than what actually occurred.

We know that the number of vessels in port each year and the export volume rose and declined in unison with each other. All ships were required to leave with their hulls full of merchandise, so these numbers give us a fairly reliable picture of what was actually happening in the volume of trade. By analysing the data, we can draw some conclusions about how the foreigners and Chinese merchants might have been affected by those trends.

As can be seen, the years from 1755 to 1757 saw a sharp decline in the number of ships arriving. In the years from 1752 to 1754, there was strong demand and weak supply, which is what pushed prices up and caused the English to send James Flint to check out other Chinese ports. In the years from 1754 to 1757, there was 74 percent decline in demand, which resulted in strong supply, and lower prices. Profit margins of the Chinese merchants were severely squeezed in those years which undoubtedly contributed to Beaukeequa's insolvency in 1758.

It was at this time that Cai Hunqua (Cai Huangguan 蔡煌官) and his two associates, Swetia (Yan Ruishe 顏瑞舍) and Chetqua (Chen Jieguan 陳捷官), formed a partnership that gave them control of about a third of the export trade and an equal share of inland supplies. This partnership was allowed because it helped to channel funds to inland producers so that they would increase output. The alliance, however, made it increasingly more difficult for other merchants like Swequa (Cai Ruiguan 蔡瑞官) and Poankeequa (Pan Qiguan 潘啟官) to compete. These two men often found it difficult to acquire enough commodities to fill their ships, resulting in delays.

In busy years, some ships had to layover an entire year because there was insufficient cargo to load them. With 100 to 150 men aboard most of the East India companies' ships, it was very expensive paying the crew and tying up assets during the time they were sitting in China. Something needed to be done to increase output or the growth of the trade would be badly hindered. Partnerships pooled resources and enabled Chinese merchants to gain more control over inland supplies by channelling more foreign investment capital to producers. They could then, in turn, assure their foreign customers that the merchandise they ordered would arrive in time for their ships to leave on schedule.²

Table 2.1 Number of Ships at Whampoa 1751–1760

Year	Dermigny	Yue haiguan zhi	New Confirmed List	1754 = 0
1751	19	19	19	
1752	22	25	25	
1753	26	26	26	
1754	26	27	27	0
1755	24	22	23	-15%
1756	17	15	15	-44%
1757	14	7	7	-74%
1758	13	12	12	-56%
1759	22	23	24	-11%
1760	13	13	12	-56%

Sources: Liang, *Yue haiguan zhi*, 485; and Dermigny, *Le Commerce à Canton*, 2:522. The figures for the 'New Confirmed List' were assembled from the following sources. ANOM: C.1.10 f. 80v; ANP: 4JJ 133.48-55, 134.56-8, 134.61-2, 135.68bis-71, 135.70 'Noms Des Vaisseaux . . . Chine en 1759'; GUB: SOIC H22.1 *Hoppet* Brevkopiebok 1752-3, H22.3D *Götha Leijons* Beskrifning, H22.4A *Prins Carl* Dagbok, H22.4A *Rådplägningsbok*; KKB: *Prins Carl* Journal; BL: IOR G/12/55 p. 29, G/12/56 p. 96, G/12/57 p. 37, R/10/4, 1756.07.02 p. 42, 1756.08.01 p. 47, 1756.08.16-09.09 p. 50-51, 1759.07.19 p. 79, 1759.07.22, p. 86, 1759.07.31 p. 89; L/MAR/B/4D, 125D, 164G, 229E, 229G, 235-I, 285GG, 285HH, 293K, 297B, 317G-F, 325D, 366A, 366B, 366C, 390A, 397B, 397C, 397E, 400A, 404E, 404G, 404H, 438G, 438H, 452A, 456A, 458A, 486C, 498A, 507E, 507E, 525A, 549B, 549C, 549D, 551A, 558A, 558B, 560D, 571B, 572B, 572C, 578E, 578F, 578G, 584G, 585E, 588D, 589E, 590A, 593F, 594H, 596C, 596D, 596E, 599B, 599D, 601C, 602-I, 603B, 603D, 606D, 614B, 614C, 622E, 800A; NAH: Canton 108, Canton 117, Canton 120, letter dated 1756.08.03, VOC 4380 letter dated 1754.11.17 p. 11, report dated 1755.12.31, p. 56r, VOC 4555 pp. 348-51; RAC: Ask 896, 898, 1130-1, 1135; UUB: L183 *Success Galley* Journal; Karine Beauciel, 'La vision de la Chine en Bretagne au XVIIIe siècle 1700-1790' (MA thesis, Université de Rennes II Haute Bretagne, Centre d'Histoire, Octobre 1995), Annexe 2; Jean Boudriot, *Compagnie des Indes 1720-1770* (Paris: Collection Archéologie Navale Française, 1983), 196-99; Anthony Farrington, *Catalogue of East India Company Ships' Journals and Logs 1600-1834* (London: British Library, 1999); J. R. Bruijn, F. S. Gaastra, and I. Schoffer. *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987); Erik Gøbel, 'Asiatisk Kompagnis Kinafart, 1732-1833. Besejling of Bemanding' (PhD diss., University of Copenhagen, 1978); John Reinhold Forster, trans. *A Voyage to China and the East Indies*, by Peter Osbeck. Together with a *Voyage to Surat*, by Olof Torren, and *An Account of Chinese Husbandry*, by Captain Charles Gustavus Eckerberg (London: Benjamin White, 1771), 184; Christiaan Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 195-201; Sven T. Kjellberg, *Svenska Ostindiska Compagnierna 1731-1813* (Malmö: Allhems Förlag, 1974), 177-84; Christian Koninckx, *The First and Second Charters of the Swedish East India Company (1731-1766)* (Belgium: Van Gemmert Publishing Co., 1980), 'Expeditions'; Marion Veyssièrre, 'Les Voyages Français à la Chine. Vaisseaux et Équipages (1720-1793)' (PhD diss., L'École du Louvre, 2000), Tableau II, 132-45; and Susan E. Schopp, 'The French in the Pearl River Delta: A Topical Case Study of Sino-European Exchanges in the Canton Trade, 1698-1840' (PhD diss., Department of History, University of Macau, 2015).

The three-family alliance, however, was not necessarily good for other merchants. By 1760, Swequa, Poankeequa, and another merchant, Teunqua (Cai Yongjie 蔡永接) had built up a substantial debt, while Cai Hunqua and his partners were thriving. If we look at the figures in Table 2.1, we see that 1756 to 1758 were very lean years for the trade—reaching crisis levels in 1757. The volume recovered again in 1759 with 24 arrivals, but then dropped by 50 percent to only 12 arrivals in 1760. It was these severe ups and downs that needed to be evened out in order to bring more consistency to the collection of government revenues and more stability to Chinese merchants' businesses. The Co-hong was Swequa and Poankeequa's answer to their solvency issues, which gained government's support as well because it could help even out the ups and downs in the revenues collected.

The number of licensed merchants was reduced from about seventeen before 1760 to only ten members in the Co-hong. In order to ensure that the men offered competitive prices, the government was involved in the decision making process. The four largest merchants became the chief officers, who more or less dictated the terms of trade for the six smaller houses. The top merchants came up with a proposal each year of the terms and prices that would be offered to foreign customers, which was then passed to government officials for approval. This new administrative body helped to stabilize the trade and ensure that no merchant, or group of Chinese merchants, controlled any part of the commerce.

Up to this point, inland producers had been reluctant to invest in expansion, because the export market was too volatile. If more products were pumped out and fewer ships arrived than expected, then they would likely be big losers owing to unsold stock leftover in their warehouses. Hardware such as porcelain might retain its price from one year to the next, but tea, raw silk and other perishable products lost value over time. Those items could lose upwards of 25 to 50 percent of their value within one year.

Money that was tied up in stock also did not earn interest. Even if prices were maintained, such as with porcelain, the loss suffered from unearned interest squeezed profit margins. It was simply not economical to have warehouses full of unsold goods. In order to avoid that outcome, Canton merchants only ordered—and inland suppliers only produced—what they thought they could reasonably anticipate selling in the coming year. However, this was easier said than done. The figures in Table 2.1 show how difficult it was to make projections. No one could have guessed that there would be only seven ship arrivals in 1757, when there had been more than twice that many in previous years. Considering the volatility of the market, everyone from inland producers to merchant houses in Canton had good reasons to under-estimate future sales and keep orders to a minimum. As a result, when more ships arrived than expected, there was insufficient merchandise to load all of them, and a few had to layover. If inland suppliers did not increase output, then the overall growth of the trade would obviously be hindered.

Foreign directors, captains and supercargos had control over how many ships would arrive each year. This advantage made it less risky for foreigners to finance the expansion than for Canton merchants and inland producers. If customers wanted to

ensure that their ships were not delayed, then they had to put money down in advance for the goods they wanted. Co-hong policies stipulated that all foreigners must pay advances on certain items and in the same amounts. This money was sent to the interior in the off-season (ca. February to June) to finance the trade of the next season (ca. July to January). In this way, foreign capital was used to increase China's output in three key commodities: tea, silk and porcelain. After 1760, it was very rare to see a ship having to layover a season owing to insufficient cargo.

The Co-hong also set prices on tea and other products. This price fixing has often been confused by historians with monopolistic control, when in reality the market determined what the prices would be each year. If there was strong demand and weak supply then prices rose. If there was weak demand and strong supply then prices dropped. Government officials reviewed the terms and prices of trade each year to ensure that they were within the range of the market at the time.

In 1764 the emperor opened up 30 percent of the export tea trade to inland tea dealers. This move provided an additional gauge to help determine market levels. These tea men operated outside of the Co-hong. They were allowed to negotiate sales directly with foreigners, agree upon terms and prices, and make their contracts. They had to channel the sales through one of the ten licensed merchants in the Co-hong, who then became responsible for the duties owed. The latter men received a commission for this service. The terms and prices that these tea agents agreed upon became another means by which government officials could determine whether the Co-hong's stipulations were reasonable.

Officials were also keen to ensure that competition was maintained between members of the Co-hong. They saw the wisdom in allowing Cai Hunqua's three member consortium to continue, because it brought more stability to trade by guaranteeing that customers would receive their goods on time. As long as the Co-hong regulated the terms to which everyone had to follow, there was no fear of the three partners gaining a private monopoly over any part of the trade.

Advances, exchange rates, weights and measures and a few other factors were determined arbitrarily and not necessarily according to the market. These standardizations brought more security to the licensed merchants. They helped the trade to become more predictable and thereby lowered risks to Chinese investors. All of these factors combined resulted in more funds being channelled to the interior and the expansion of output.

Without these stabilizing factors that were initiated by the Co-hong, the overall growth of the export trade would have been hindered. Other factors, such as purchase prices of imports, sale prices of exports, interest rates on advances, demurrage fees on late shipments, reimbursements for damaged goods and breakage, etc. were all set according to what the market dictated each year. Government officials were well aware that if prices were not allowed to fluctuate according to the pressures of supply and demand then growth would not continue. Thus, rather than call the Co-hong a monopoly, which gives the wrong impression, it might be more correctly described as a market management group. Its prime objective was to initiate policies that brought

more stability to the economy—but at the same time ensured that competition prevailed so that growth would be encouraged.

The four top merchants of the Co-hong always had difficulty agreeing with each other on the terms and prices each year. Nevertheless, the Co-hong did indeed accomplish most of its objectives. By the end of the 1760s, the problems of earlier decades had largely disappeared. After the death of Cai Hunqua in May 1770 and the resulting imbalance that emerged within the Co-hong—with Poankeequa controlling everything—the organization was no longer effective. It was consequently dissolved in February 1771.

The Co-hong was an important experiment that had long term ramifications. It has been suggested in previous studies that Qing China had no foreign trade policy.³ This argument is based on there being nothing in writing showing the adoption of a specific plan or strategy. But, as I have shown in *The Canton Trade* and in the first volume of this study, just because we do not have written records does not mean something did not happen. Many things concerning the trade were never recorded or the documents that did record them did not survive. We need to look at the broader historical evidence to see what actually happened.

One example that I often cite is the Canton junk trade to Southeast Asia. For more than 100 years scholars have treated this part of the commerce as insignificant to the point of not being worth mentioning. We have dozens of studies on the history of the China trade, most of which say nothing about the junks or quickly dismiss them and move on to a discussion of the European East India companies. This was the case because we previously had no records that discussed the junks. With new data that have emerged, we now know that the Canton junk trade was just as important in terms of volume as the British East India Company's (EIC) trade in China.

In the past, we have also not known the full extent of the roles that Chinese pilots and compradors played in the trade. We have not known the extent to which high interest rates affected the trade in China or the connections that rice had to the opium trade. We have not known why most of the Hong merchants were so willing to trade in gold—despite it being illegal—because we did not understand that sales of gold helped to replenish merchants' working capital. We did not know that some of the imports that came into Canton from Southeast Asia were actually being exported again, because we did not have information about that part of the commerce. We also did not know how the outside merchants were affected by changes in government policies or that Hong merchants were financing many of the Canton junk voyages to Southeast Asia. As mentioned in the Preface, we did not know that merchants of the Waiyang and Bengang Hangs were actually working together and investing in each other's trade. None of these factors are mentioned in the *Yue haiguan zhi*, but as I pointed out in the Preface, historians nonetheless continue to use that document as if it were the bible of the trade. Very little information is available about any of these factors in history books published in the twentieth century because there was simply a lack of data about them.

These are just a few examples of many that show how important it is to consider all the evidence. Documents from the Qing government and records from foreign

companies are far from complete. They have many gaps in sequence and content. It is impossible to get the whole picture by just using one or two of those language sources. We must assemble all of the data and then examine the trade objectively from a distance, rather than subjectively from the writings of local officials and company officers. Their opinions are important and part of our analysis, but they must be cross-checked against the broader historical evidence. Even in our present day, contemporaries often do not understand the full extent of what is happening around them. It is not until decades later that we gain hindsight and can more clearly explain the outcome.

We might rightfully ask why, if Chinese merchants in Canton had their own vessels (as we know they did), they did not carry their merchandise to Europe and sell it directly. Certainly they could have purchased maps from their foreign customers and gained all the navigational knowledge needed to sail to India, Europe or the Americas. In fact, they could have hired any number of foreigners to navigate the vessels for them or have one of their junk captains go with the foreign ships to Europe and learn the routes. I argue here that it was Qing policies that prevented them from doing this. As I have shown in volume one, Tan Hunqua (Chen Fangguan 陳芳觀) and his partner Chinqua contacted British and Dutch directors in Europe in the early 1730s. They attempted to set up direct linkages. As soon as the Qing government learned of those exchanges, however, officials quickly reacted with a ban on all communication with companies or authorities outside of China.

Tan Hunqua was a great advocate of free trade and wanted to liberalize Qing policies so that they corresponded more closely with what was happening outside of China. Having been involved in the trade at Batavia for many years, he was well aware that things operated differently outside of China. Qing officials, however, saw his communications with Europe as a threat and an attempt to sidestep their authority. They consequently banned outside correspondences on pain of death. For the time being, this action effectively put an end to any thoughts of Chinese merchants in Canton sending their own ships to Europe or consigning foreign ships to carry merchandise for them.

Ng Chin-Keong has shown, through his example of Chen Yilao 陳怡老, what might happen to a merchant who went abroad on his own in the eighteenth century to do business. Chen Yilao went to Batavia, Semarang and other places in Southeast Asia, and married a Macassar wife. He traded on his own and also helped the Dutch in Batavia with commercial matters. When he returned to China in 1749, he was accused of 'sneaking out to foreign lands, rendering services to foreigners, smuggling into his native district, bringing back foreign nationals [his wife and children], and possessing a wealth'. Some Qing officials saw men like Chen Yilao as 'no difference from the barbarians'.⁴

In 1754, a change in Qing policy forgave Chinese sojourners and allowed them to return without punishment. Ng asks whether Chen Yilao would have escaped his plight had he returned after 1754, instead of before. He concludes that it 'would depend very much on how the authorities would have viewed his services under a foreign government during his sojourn in Batavia'.⁵ There was a fine line between what one could and could not do with respect to communicating with outside authorities.

The fact that none of the Hong merchants throughout the Canton era (ca. 1700–1842) attempted to send their own junks to areas outside of Southeast Asia, is testimony in itself that something was holding them back. They had vessels, they had the foreign contacts, they knew how to communicate, they knew the markets, they could get sponsors to finance voyages, and they had all the products available that the Europeans wanted. What was missing was the willpower to put the plan into motion. The reason why Chinese merchants did not make these direct linkages, in their own vessels, is probably because they feared for the safety of themselves and their families in the event that Qing officials should find out about it.

In 1757, English officers in China mentioned that it was ‘the Chinese themselves who do not chuse [sic] to send their junks’ to Europe. The British pointed out to officials in Ningbo that Chinese vessels would be welcomed in any European port.⁶ Chinese merchants often consigned cargos to foreigners on credit, which might go to India, Europe or North America. This was fine because once those goods were loaded onto the ships at Whampoa they became the possession of foreign consignees.

If Chinese merchants rented space on foreign ships and tried to send their own cargos to Europe, they would likely have been suspected of doing the same thing that Tan Hunqua had done. Officials were keen to keep the Hong merchants under their control as then they could step in if any disturbances arose. If merchants ventured off to Europe on their own, or began negotiating directly with companies in their home ports, then the Qing government lost a good deal of authority over them. In the early decades of the eighteenth century, Hong merchants often ventured off to other parts of China or to Southeast Asia. By mid-century, however, Hong merchants had much less freedom to move about. There were exceptions, but for the most part they were often expected to be in Canton during the trading season. They could go to the interior to place orders and leave for Fujian or other places to visit family, but most of these journeys were carried out in the off-season from February to June.

There have been rumours circulating in history books for many decades, and displayed on Museum websites, that Poankeequa took off a couple of years in the mid-eighteenth century to go to Sweden.⁷ So far there has been no solid evidence brought forth to support these claims. Moreover, we have substantial data showing Poankeequa in China consistently—almost every year from 1750 to his death in 1788. We know that some of the small outside merchants went abroad, on occasion, but not the Hong merchants. In fact, by the mid-eighteenth century Hong merchants had ceased their travels to the Philippines and Southeast Asia as well. Whether this change was their doing or the result of pressures from officials is unclear. We do know that they were expected to be in Canton during the trading seasons. A trip to Southeast Asia could arouse suspicion and raise serious concerns with the Hoppo or governor general, which could then put them and their families at risk.

I show in this volume that Poankeequa wrote letters to the Swedes concerning various aspects of his trade. In Chapter 3, I also discuss a letter that he wrote to the EIC directors in 1767 asking for preferential treatment in the future to make up for losses he suffered on a silk contract with that company. Fred Grant has shown that Conseequa communicated directly with persons in the United States in the early 1800s

in his efforts to collect on bad debts.⁸ Caroline Frank has also shown how the Canton shopkeeper Punqua Winchong made several trips to the United States in the early nineteenth century.⁹ One of his objectives was to collect on bad debts. John Wong has shown how Houqua invested in American enterprises in the 1830s.¹⁰

Except for Poankeequa's letter to the EIC in 1767, all of these foreign correspondences and investments were quite different from what Tan Hunqua had attempted to do—open up direct trade and communications with foreign companies. Attempting to recover debts would likely be viewed very differently by Qing officials than attempts to open up direct trade. The former action did not pose any significant threat to Qing control or authority, but the latter action certainly did. These two actions were not one and the same.

In 1770, the English East India Company's directors in London received a letter that was sent to them by all ten of the Hong merchants in the Co-hong (Plate 01.11). The letter requested that the company stop sending curiosities (clocks and other gadgets) to China because they were obliged to purchase them at a loss. They also asked that the company reduce the amount of British fabrics sent to China, because the market was saturated.

It is unclear what might have happened if the Hoppo or governor general in Canton had discovered these letters sent to the EIC directors. In the 1767 letter, Poankeequa was attempting to manipulate the market for his own benefit—which was not likely to have been looked upon favourably by officials. The 1770 letter was asking for a reduction in imports, which would presumably also mean a reduction in duties collected. Qing officials were keen to avoid any shrinkage of revenues sent to Beijing, so this request to reduce imports would have likely aroused their attention as well had they known about it.

It should be pointed out, however, in both of these letters the Hong merchants were not attempting to trade directly with Europe. They were rather trying to change the way the trade was operating in Canton. If they had gone directly to Europe themselves they could have negotiated these things on the spot. These examples again beg the question, why did they always remain in China?

In 1763, British factors at Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen, Sumatra) sent a request to the EIC officers in Canton asking them to encourage Chinese junks to sail to that port. If it would help to convince junk captains, the British officers were willing to provide details about what cargos they should bring. Chinese merchants could then be assured of a profit. As far as I know, nothing resulted from these requests.¹¹

The English were eager to encourage Chinese settlers to go to Bencoolen as well—especially Chinese from Manila. Before the British handed Manila back to the Spanish in 1764, they transported some 6,000 resident Chinese to Bencoolen. These immigrants had assisted the English in taking over Manila and feared Spanish reprisals.¹²

Many of the Chinese at Bencoolen had extended families in Fujian and Guangdong Provinces. As the following letter reveals, in 1777, a few of them tried to make commercial linkages to Canton by consigning space on the EIC ships.

1777, Jul 17: Gentlemen

Mr. Wood having wrote me from Prince Island and acquainted me of the trouble Mr. Pan Khequa [Poankeequa] met with on account of the treasure sent by the China Merchants on the *Lord Holland* Capt. Lawson last year and desiring me to acquaint them that if the[y] made any more Consignments to be careful not to direct it in their own Language nor direct it to him, but to the Council of Canton in consequence of this information they have requested of me to direct their Treasure to you three Parcels of it and enclose their Letter to Mr. Puan Khequa in this which I have accordingly done and hope it will arrive safe without trouble to you or Mr. Puan Khequa.¹³

1777, Nov 24: Wrote the following Letter to the Governor and Council of Fort Marlbro

Gentlemen

By the *Alfred* who import'd here on the 20th of August we received your Letter dated 17 July with another from Mr Hay about the money sent to the families of the Chinese which we got on shore without any trouble and delivered to Puan Khequa.¹⁴

Poankeequa obviously did not want government officials finding out about any more of these exchanges between Canton and Bencoolen. This was why he requested that no correspondences be written in 'their own Language' (Chinese). As the second letter shows, as long as everything appeared to be part of the EIC trade and not that of the Hong merchants, all was fine. These are other examples of Chinese merchants attempting to make direct linkages to outside markets via foreign ships, but they were hindered from doing so owing to contrary government policies. There may not have been a written policy in force stating clearly what one could or could not do. However, Poankeequa's apprehensive response clearly shows that government practices did indeed discourage these types of interactions.

In 1790, Chinese in Batavia suggested carrying Dutch cargos on 'European junks under Chinese flag'. Presumably those vessels would pay fewer import and export duties in China, because there was a lower rate for junks than for European ships. The Dutch, however, rejected this offer, arguing that the junks were less seaworthy and more vulnerable to pirate attacks.¹⁵ Moreover, there was also the problem that, once officials in Canton discovered that the junk cargos were actually European owned, the vessels would be charged the same rates as foreign ships. In 1783, for example, Hoppo Li Zhiying 李質穎 in Canton pressured the Hong merchants who supplied merchandise to the junk *Tayon* (泰安, Plate 08.09) to pay the European rates on its cargo. The Hoppo argued that because the vessel was carrying goods to Batavia for the Dutch, it should be treated as a foreign ship.¹⁶

Chinese junk owners were in a unique position to take part in the carrying trade during the conflicts that took place in Europe from the 1780s to the 1810s. Chinese merchants were not supposed to deal directly with Europe, but it is unclear whether the Qing government would have had a problem with those vessels if they were consigned to foreigners. The Dutch had been doing this all along with the Canton junks that sailed to Batavia each year under a Dutch flag.

As James Fichter has shown, the Americans were quite successful in the carrying trade during the war years owing to their neutral status.¹⁷ Chinese merchants were possibly in a better situation than even the Americans. The former men had access to all of the products that Europeans wanted, and they had close connections with foreign shippers in Canton. Chinese junk owners did not take advantage of these windfalls probably owing to the fear that it might arouse the anger of Qing officials.

Another factor that discouraged Chinese from financing overseas ventures in the eighteenth century was that the Qing government did not protect its nationals abroad. Nor did it make any efforts to protect the commercial interests of Chinese citizens at sea, as Europeans and Americans did. As a result, whether or not a junk was sailing under a Chinese flag or a European flag was of little consequence. I show several examples in the first volume of Chinese junks being captured in the eighteenth century simply because certain foreigners thought that their cargos might belong to a merchant who owed them money or to one of their enemies.¹⁸ In one case, the British officers in Canton even warned a Hong merchant shipping cargo to Batavia for the Dutch that his junk would be subject to attack, just like a Dutch vessel.¹⁹ Chinese who lost their junks and cargos at sea did what they could to right the wrongs done to them but they had little or no backing from the government to force captors outside of China into compliance. Qing policy allowed Chinese merchants to engage in the trade to Southeast Asia so long as they were licensed but the risks of the sea were entirely borne by the owners and sponsors of those vessels. Once the junks left China, they were on their own.

These are only a few examples, but they nonetheless show that Chinese merchants did indeed try to open direct linkages with Europe. In most of these cases, however, they were not attempting to trade directly with those places, but rather make changes in how the trade operated at Canton. As Tan Hunqua and Chen Yilao found out, it was a very risky business dealing directly with foreign powers. By 1770, the ten Hong merchants no longer feared sending a letter to Europe, but that was different from going directly there themselves.

As far as the foreigners were concerned, shipping merchandise to Europe or the Americas on Chinese vessels, regardless of what flag they sailed under, was not a viable option. Either they did not trust the junks to carry their goods, did not want to risk their goods being captured by an opportunist at sea, or they did not want to deal with the problems that might arise in Canton if they should make such an attempt. In the end, it was perceived to be more advantageous to ship their goods on foreign owned vessels.

As far as the Hong merchants were concerned, consigning space on a foreign vessel or outright hiring foreigners to carry their goods was also not a viable option. Many of them consigned cargos to foreigners, but that was different. Once those goods were delivered to the ships at Whampoa, they became the property of the foreign consignee. He was responsible for paying for the goods after they were sold. The consignee had freedom to sell the items in the best way he knew how. There is still much research that needs to be done with regard to the consignment trade. As far as we know, however,

Chinese merchants did not actually ship their own goods on foreign bottoms. Again, we must ask why?

The fact that none of the Hong merchants during the Canton era dared to open direct trade, in their own junks or on other ships, despite the fact that many of them were capable of doing this, strongly suggests that such a move was outside the boundaries of what was deemed acceptable. As I pointed out in the first volume, Qing officials in Canton had warned Hong merchants not to go to Fujian in the late 1720s as the foreigners were asking them to do. If they tried such a move, officials warned that they would be beaten and their families in Canton would be punished.²⁰ Fear for the safety of their families and of Qing reprisals is probably what kept Hong merchants from opening up direct trade.

It is important to understand these limitations because they help to define the parameters within which all Canton and Macao merchants had to operate. Those men could expand their businesses into various ports throughout Southeast Asia; they could form multiple linkages to inland suppliers within China; and they could create business connections with a variety of foreigners in Canton and Macao. I will also show an example below of an outside merchant even advertising his business in foreign newspapers. However, those were the limits of their expansion. In the eighteenth century, stretching out further into the Indian Ocean, Europe or the Americas—in their own vessels—was out of the question. It was simply too risky. The vulnerability of their vessels being attacked at sea or in a foreign port—combined with the fear that Qing officials might not look kindly upon such attempts—prevented anything from happening. These limitations were largely placed on Chinese merchants—directly or indirectly—by the Qing government. This was not written policy, but rather a cultural policy that was simply ‘understood’. Circumstantial information and the non-actions of the Hong merchants are what show us where the *real* boundaries of commerce lay.

These events can only be understood when placed in their international contexts. The establishment of the Co-hong was China’s answer to meeting the growing demand for Chinese products. The growing demand for China’s goods—which were mostly luxury items and tea—was fuelled by the rise in expendable incomes outside of China. Many of the problems and challenges faced by the Chinese merchants that are discussed on the following pages were partially the results of changes taking place in the global environment.

Internal factors within China, of course, also affected Hong merchants. They were responsible for giving expensive gifts to superiors every year for the privilege of trade. Officials in Beijing and Canton often forced merchants to finance parties, supplement insufficient budgets and underwrite military campaigns. These impositions resulted in Hong merchants trading in contraband and seeking high interest loans from foreigners to supplement their insufficient working capital. When men failed, other Hong merchants were held responsible for repaying their debts. Qing policy granted freedom to trade to a select group of individuals, but that privilege came at a high price.

Government exactions impacted smaller, outside merchants as well. In the late 1770s, the duties on many products were raised by 50 percent in order to generate more revenues to pay the arrears of failed houses. Additional surcharges were later added to

export silk. At this time, many of the outside merchants were suffering from the failures of several Hong merchants. When fewer ships arrived than expected in the 1780s and 1790s, Hoppo did what they could to generate funds from wherever possible to make up for the shortfall in revenues sent to Beijing.

The chinaware merchants were particularly affected by all of these impositions. Inland producers tried to compensate for higher prices (owing to increased duties and the rise in food costs) by cutting back on quality. At the same time all this was happening, the demand for chinaware was shrinking in Europe. Locally produced ceramics were becoming more popular there. By 1792, the EIC quit ordering chinaware owing to its warehouses being full and no buyers for the items.

There were many up and down years for the porcelain trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Overall, the porcelain market went from exporting around 20,000 to 25,000 piculs annually before 1800, to around 5,000 piculs in 1814 (Appendix 6C). By the 1820s and 1830s, the trade had levelled off at about 6,000 piculs exported annually. This was shrinkage of 75 to 80 percent from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. Of course, many porcelain dealers were pushed out as the trade declined.

Silk dealers also experienced difficulties. Their trade was restricted by imperial quotas, whereby only so many piculs of product could be exported on each ship. The rise in food costs and export duties made it increasingly more difficult for Chinese silk producers to compete with domestically produced silk in Europe and the United States. One American trader in Canton in the 1830s mentioned that ‘it is difficult to procure Silk here worth sending home for the French far excel the Chinese at this time in all descriptions of Silks—perhaps with the exception only of heavy Goods and in Embroidery’.²¹

We have the advantage today of hindsight, which enables us to place the merchants of Canton and Macao into their broader historical contexts. During their lifetimes, however, those men would have had only a vague understanding of what was actually happening around them. They had to deal with all the pressures from their foreign customers to keep prices low, without sacrificing quality; they had to deal with added impositions placed on them even while their profits and trade were shrinking. For many men, the only alternative was to take out high interest loans from foreigners to keep their businesses going. They would then hope for a windfall in the future. Of course, this practice led many men to ruin. When they failed, the remaining merchants assumed their debts.

In all of these examples, the practice of Qing officials was to maintain revenues sent to Beijing—even if it meant sacrificing a few merchants. Although growth was also encouraged, initiating policies that maintained annual revenues was more important than initiating policies that might provide long term security. It was not that the Qing government failed to encourage foreign trade, as Ch’en has suggested, but rather that its policies tended to be short sighted.²² That outcome was largely the result of the Co-hong, which showed officials that growth could be maintained so long as they kept around ten licensed merchants in operation and replaced failed merchants with new men. After the Qing adopted the policy that merchants were expendable, there

were fewer incentives to initiate policies to protect them. The accumulation of debts was always illegal and discouraged. In most cases discussed both here and in the first volume, the merchants really had no choice other than to delay their failures by taking out more loans.

Interest rates inside and outside of China remained unequal. China was well known in the eighteenth century as 'a country remarkable thro' the world for the height of its interest [rates]'.²³ The positive effect of high interest rates, of course, was that it attracted a lot of foreign capital. The more foreign investments that flowed into China, the more that trade could grow; and the more that trade grew, the more revenues that Beijing received. As far as the government was concerned, it did not matter that high interest rates were detrimental to Chinese merchants; nor did it matter that Chinese merchants were at a disadvantage in international trade, because they could not go abroad or make direct linkages to foreign markets; nor did it matter that Chinese merchants were pressured, under the practice of 'truck', to purchase foreign imports, even though they made no profits from those sales. The more import duties collected, the more revenues sent to Beijing.

It did not matter that Chinese merchants had no protection or recourse in collecting the debts owed to them by foreigners; it did not matter that Chinese merchants were penalized for all infractions committed by foreigners, even when the latter men failed to pay their duties and fees; it did not matter that Chinese merchants were forced to pay duties on ships that left without a cargo (such as those sold to Portuguese in Macao) or forced to pay import duties on goods that arrived damaged or destroyed (owing to water leakage, etc.); it did not matter that porcelain dealers were pressured to pay higher duties in the late eighteenth century even when their market was shrinking; it did not matter that silk merchants suffered losses owing to Hoppo's increasing duties on goods that they had already contracted with foreigners, which meant they could not raise the prices to cover those increased costs; and it did not matter that silk painters and embroiderers suffered when silk weavers went broke. All of them were expendable.

In the end, all that mattered was that harmony was maintained in Canton and that officials did what they could to protect the annual revenues sent to Beijing. Foreigners were given preferential treatment in trade because that was the best way to ensure the latter goal was accomplished. By the late eighteenth century, it also mattered that officials initiated policies to encourage more rice imports. Of course, if officials initiated policies that led to a decline in trade they would suffer because of it. Or if they tried to extract funds from local merchants for personal gain they ran the risk of being recalled to Beijing to give an account. But, if a couple of Hong merchants failed and a couple of outside men went broke owing to new government exactions placed on them, those failures were of little consequence.

I will show on the following pages that the Qing government's concept of 'solvency' had nothing to do with balancing assets with liabilities or credit with debit. It rather had everything to do with balancing resources and creditors. As long as merchants kept their creditors satisfied, they were considered solvent. When creditors were no longer willing to wait for their payments, merchants were declared bankrupt.

A couple of merchants discussed in this volume seemed to have operated in debt for most, if not all, of their existence. However, despite their debts they were licensed to trade and one of them, Monqua, was even promoted to head merchant. Monqua was in fact a good example for junior merchants to follow because he was an expert at keeping his creditors at bay, even while carrying a heavy debt load.

In order to understand the men discussed on the pages that follow, we need to place them not only within their local environment in China but also within their broader international contexts—otherwise our analysis does them an injustice. Now that we have many more details about their trading activities, making generalizations about their failures, such as being the result of ‘vanity and extravagance’, ‘bad management’ or ‘financial incompetence’—when all we have are a handful of details about them—are entirely unacceptable.²⁴ Historians sometimes forget that we are talking about real people with real families and reputations. Just because they lived 200 years ago does not mean their reputations are unimportant. The subjects we choose to examine should be treated with as much fairness and respect as we would want future historians to write about us. We need to take all of the factors into consideration and not just rely on the English supercargos’ varied opinions.

There are two success stories in this volume, Poankeequa (Chapter 3) and Tan Anqua (Chapter 4). Both men kept their businesses going up to their deaths, and their successors continued the trade after them. The evidence suggests that both firms were solvent when the owners died. The reasons for their success were very different. Poankeequa, on the one hand, had all the backing and personal skills necessary to manipulate the Hong merchant system to his own advantage. Tan Anqua, on the other hand, had the good sense to realize that his best course of action was not to be a Hong merchant but rather an inland tea agent and, later, an outside merchant. Even though they were both successful, their outcomes were very different—Poankeequa became rich and famous and Tan Anqua died in obscurity.

There are several points to take away from this discussion. China maintained a fairly consistent trade policy throughout the Canton era that aimed to protect imperial revenues and encourage growth. Some practices, such as high interest rates, mandatory acceptance of imports and, possibly, the fear of opening up direct trade with Western companies, favoured foreigners to the detriment of Chinese. Because these factors encouraged growth and because there were always more merchants to replace failed ones, nothing was done to correct these imbalances in the system. The Qing government’s policies concerning solvency had nothing to do with balancing credit against debit. Merchants carrying debts could continue trading for decades so long as they kept their creditors at bay. And finally, circumstantial evidence suggests that Chinese merchants did not send their own vessels to India, Africa, Europe or the Americas, because Qing policies prevented them from doing so.

LAYOUT OF THE BOOK

I begin with a discussion of five merchant families in Chapters 1 to 5. Chapter 1 is the first extensive study that has been done on Swequa and his brothers. Swequa was an

important figure in the trade in the 1750s. His story is followed by Monqua's family in Chapter 2. Previous studies have already brought out much of Monqua's story, but little has been written about his father, Teunqua. I include a section about Teunqua and have expanded the discussion of Monqua.

Chapter 3 is devoted to one of the giants of the trade, Poankeequa. In recent years, there have been numerous Chinese articles written about the Pan family. Most of these articles, however, use only the Chinese sources and Morse's *Chronicles of the East India Company* to tell his story.²⁵ I have expanded the discussion with much new information about Poankeequa and his associates.

Chapter 4 retraces the story of Tan Anqua and discusses some of the inland tea agents. Tan Anqua is one of the rare examples we have of a man starting out as a Hong merchant, changing to an inland tea merchant and, finally, becoming an outside merchant. In Chapter 5, I turn to two members of the Wu 伍 family, Geowqua and Puiqua. They began the family trade which Houqua later inherited and expanded into a small empire.

In Chapter 6, I provide a summary of the porcelain trade. This sets the background for Chapters 7 and 8, where I discuss the porcelain dealers. Chapter 7 retraces the activities of thirteen prominent dealers. These men were not necessarily the only important merchants—they are rather men for whom I had at least some data through which to tell their stories. Chapter 8 discusses miscellaneous porcelain dealers for whom I have only bits and pieces of information. I talk about them more as a group. All of the porcelain dealers are summarized at the end of Chapter 8.

In Chapter 9, I provide a summary of the silk trade, which sets the background for the silk workers discussed in Chapter 10. The latter chapter includes silk weavers, painters and embroiderers. For several of the weavers we have significant data through which to recount their activities. The painters and embroiderers are discussed more as a group, owing to the brevity of the information.

In the plate section, I include about 70 documents all of which concern the men discussed in this volume. Most of these records are bilingual, with Chinese and one European language (English, French, Dutch, Danish or Swedish). There are, of course, many other documents besides these. I simply selected the ones that were most important for the telling of each man's story. I have numbered the plates to correspond with the chapters to which they belong. Plates that are numbered 01.01 to 01.12, for example, are for Chapter 1, and Plates 03.01 to 03.26 are for Chapter 3. Zeros were added before numbers so that the computer would keep them in their proper order. This numbering system is not exact because some of the documents belong to multiple chapters and involve several houses.

The appendixes are also numbered according to the chapters to which they belong. Appendixes 2A to 2G are for Chapter 2, and so on. They are arranged in the same order as the first volume. The appendixes for Chapters 1 to 5 begin with schedules of activities. Those are followed by trade figures, and the final appendixes for each chapter are discussions of problems in nomenclature. Appendixes 6A to 8E are data that I collected about porcelain dealers. Appendixes 10A to 10D contain data that I collected about the silk trade.

Appendix 9 is an exception. It does not correspond to Chapter 9, as its numbering might suggest. Rather, it provides a breakdown of the 34 contracts that are reproduced in the plate section. I explain the reasons for including this data at the beginning of Appendix 9.

I now turn to Chapter 1, which is the story of Swequa. He was instrumental in establishing the Co-hong in 1760, and the story helps to lay the foundation for the following chapters.

INTRODUCTION TO APPENDIXES

As mentioned in the introduction, the appendixes are numbered to correspond with the chapters to which they belong. Appendixes that begin with number 1, for example, contain data for Chapter 1, and so on. The only exception to this rule is Appendix 9, which does not correspond to any chapter. Chapter 9 had no corresponding data to include in an appendix, so, rather than jump from Appendix 8 to 10 I put the contract data in Appendix 9 (explained below). All references that appear in the appendixes are in their shortened versions and/or their abbreviated forms. The full citations are listed in the bibliography and on the abbreviations page.

Appendixes 1A to 5F contain data that correspond to Chapters 1 to 5. In each of these chapters I discuss one merchant and/or family. The appendixes for these chapters are divided into three basic types: (1) schedule of activities; (2) trade figures; and (3) nomenclature sections.

(1) Schedule of Activities. Appendixes 1A and 1B list, in chronological order, all source materials for the merchants discussed in Chapter 1. The data include biographical information, such as trade names, births, deaths, relatives, associates and businesses. I have marked all sources that contain a signature, the name of the business, and/or a chop in Chinese. These sources are noted with a bracketed superscript ^(s) such as VOC 4381^(s) which indicates a signature; ^(b) for a business name; ^(s/b) for a signature or business name; or ^(c) for a chop. A source that is followed by all three ^(s/b/c) indicates a signature, business name and chop in Chinese. Entries such as IC 5921^{bis} have a superscript without parenthesis, which is part of the archive number. With this information, researchers should be able to find every document that has a Chinese signature or chop, in the event that an identity needs further investigation.

(2) Trade Figures. Appendixes such as 1C to 1E show trade, rent, and loan figures with the Danish, Dutch and Swedish East India Companies (DAC, VOC and SOIC, respectively). These companies list each merchant's trade separately, making it possible to see their total trade each year. The only SOIC figures that have survived are for 1752. The other companies' archives have merchants' figures for many years. The English, French, and Portuguese records do not have figures for each of the Chinese merchants.

Some American records have trade figures for each merchant. However, those numbers are few and the ones that are available are recorded in such an inconsistent manner that it is very difficult to assemble meaningful figures for this study. In almost all of the tables in the appendixes, there are gaps in the data and/or only partial information available. Thus, figures in these tables are important for what they tell us, but

do not give the whole story of each man's or each family's business activities. Unless specifically noted, all monetary figures are in Chinese taels.

Figures in the Danish companies' records are by far the easiest to work with and to reproduce because they are complete in content for each year and consistent in the way that the data were recorded. All accounts with the Chinese were listed under their names for each ship or, in later years, for each year. Data in other companies' records are more problematic. Cargo data in the Dutch companies' records usually include various expenses that were incurred in Canton or during the voyage, loans that were given or taken out, and other exchanges that were not necessarily trade related. The most complete Dutch data for exports are not listed in Chinese taels but rather in other currencies, such as piastres or florins. Because exchange rates varied over time, coins varied in their alloy content, and different weights were used in different periods to measure silver, I have chosen to use only figures that are given in Chinese taels in the original documents. There may be a few exceptions where figures were converted from reals or piastres to taels in order to complete a run of data. If that happened, then it is noted. All other figures were listed in Chinese taels in the original.

The Dutch trade figures are given as percentages of 'total receipts', rather than as percentages of the cargos of each ship, which requires some explanation. The Dutch did not ship all of their exports on VOC bottoms. Some goods were purchased in Canton from the Chinese merchants and then shipped to Batavia on Portuguese ships from Macao or Chinese junks from Canton. This means that we do not get the whole picture if all we look at are the figures for each VOC ship.

The Dutch trade figures include expenses, loans, and rents that were paid to merchants, which are not always possible to identify. We know that all export merchandise was purchased from the Chinese merchants, because no other persons were allowed to sell goods in Canton. Thus, by adding all of their receipts each year, we can arrive at a sum of their total transactions. These figures include cargo that was shipped on non-Dutch vessels as well. This method presents a much truer picture of the merchants' trade than if I had taken the amounts they supplied to each ship.

Only one year (1752) has survived of the Chinese merchants' accounts with the Swedish company. 'Total receipts' was also used for this one voyage for the same reasons as mentioned above (Appendix 1C). Unfortunately, detailed data of the Chinese merchants' accounts with other companies and traders are not available.

The appendixes also include data about loans and rents that were paid to Chinese merchants. The loan data was extracted from the Jean Abraham Grill papers in the Nordic Museum Archive in Stockholm. These data require some explanation. Some appendixes, such as 1D, 2E, and 2F, show foreign loans given to Chinese. The entries in Grill's account books, however, are inconsistent, with some items recorded several times and not necessarily on the correct dates. Sometimes the figures include only Grill's part of the transactions and other times the figures include money from associates which was then given to Chinese. A figure might include only the principal or the interest on a loan in one entry, but then include the principal and interest in another entry, without mentioning why. For some of these transactions, it is very difficult to figure out if all or part of the loans were settled on time, if only interest was paid on the

loans and principle carried over, or if interest and principle remained unpaid. It is not always clear what is supposed to be debit or credit in the Grill records, as the entries sometime appear in a left column, sometimes in a right column, and sometimes in no column. Rather than trying to figure all this out, I simply reproduced all the figures in Grill's papers, under the date they are listed, and tried to put the numbers in the most logical column (left or right, credit or debit). Because of these inconsistencies and ambiguities, the loan data should be used only as a general guide, rather than as specific transactions that took place on a particular day. Rent data in Appendix 1E are also incomplete. They were included because they help to show another aspect of Chinese businesses, so we can see more clearly the complexity of their operations.

(3) Nomenclature Sections. The schedules and trade figures are followed by nomenclature sections. Appendixes 1F, 2G, and 3E, for example, discuss problems connected to establishing merchants' identities in those respective chapters (1, 2 and 3). Each chapter from 1 to 5 has a corresponding nomenclature appendix. I discuss inconsistencies and ambiguities in the historical literature (primary and secondary), and the rationale and methodology employed to overcome these problems.

Appendixes 6A to 6D reproduce overall export figures from 1760 to 1814. The purpose of this data is mainly to show the relationship between tea, porcelain and silk. Some of these figures were copied from secondary sources, such as Pritchard's studies, while other figures were taken from primary sources. I included these data in order to show how silk and porcelain fit into the overall volume of exports in Canton, which has not been clearly established in previous studies.

Appendixes 7A to 8E are a mixture of schedules and trade figures for the porcelain dealers discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. I have tried to include all data and names of porcelain dealers that I have found in the records. I include references to each entry, so that if any questions arise in the future about these men, researchers will be able to find the corresponding documents.

Appendix 9 provides a breakdown of 34 trade contracts that are reproduced in the plate section. These documents are written in Chinese, Swedish, Danish, Dutch and French. An English summary is provided to make them more useful to researchers (as I did in the first volume Appendix 2). The Plate section also includes documents written in Spanish and English. However, they are not contracts—so none of those records appear in Appendix 9. Between the first volume (Appendix 2, 64 contracts) and this volume (Appendix 9, 34 contracts), there is a total of 98 contracts explained in detail.

There still remains perhaps another fifty or so contracts in the Danish, Dutch and American archives that I have not included in either of these two volumes or in *The Canton Trade*. There may also be more Chinese contracts in the French and/or British archives. I have selected the more important ones with extensive details to include in this study. The remaining ones mostly repeat content and terms that are the same or similar to what is shown in these 98 contracts—or they deal with persons whom I have not included in this study. A few of the remaining contracts are very brief in content and not worth the trouble to translate. Many of them also have signatures and/or chops in Chinese.

Appendixes 10A to 10C are trade figures for silk workers discussed in Chapter 10. Appendix 10D reviews some of the nomenclature problems connected to those men. I also list the names of other silk workers that I found mentioned in the records but that were not included in this analysis. Either the information about them was too brief to justify mentioning them, or they are from the early nineteenth century and fall outside of the scope of this study.

APPENDIX 1A: Swequa's Schedule

Aliases: Cai Ruiguan 蔡瑞官; Cai Guohui 蔡國輝

Trade Names: *Swequa*, *Suiqua*, *Ziuqvoa*, *Zouqvoa*, *SuiKoa*, *Lam Siuqua*, *Lan Sinqua*, *Zauqvoa*, *Svikva*, *Ziuqvoa*, *Zuqua*, *Siuqua*, *Tsoi Sweequa*, *S. Sweequa*, *Tsoi Suequa*, *Suiqva*, *Lan Suyqua*, *Suyqua*, *Long Svicqva*, *Suiqva*, *Zey Swiqua*, *Svicqva*, *Swiqa*, *Lon Siuqua*, *Long Svicqva*, *Sway Sweequa*, *Suah Sweequa*, *Swaa Sweequa*, *Swiqa*, *Sviqa*, *Chai Suequa*, *Tsoi Suequa*, *Suequa*, *Tsoi Suequa*, *Zay Swiqua*, *Lange Suyqua*, *Suyqua*, *Chai Suequa*, *Tsoi Suequa*, *Tswaa Suyqua*, *T'Swaa Suyqua*, *Tswaa Suya*, *Tswaa Suicqua*, *Lang Suiqua*, *Lang Souqua*, *Lono Suyqua*, *Long Suqua*, *Long Souqua*, *Suah Swequa*, *Long Swequa*, *Tzwaa Suiqua*, *Tzwaa Suiqua*, *Twaa Suyqua*, *Lono Suyqua*, *Long Suyqua*, *Cheo Swiqa*, *Lange Suyqua*, *Suyqua de Lange*

Biographical data	Date	Sources
Death	15 July 1761	R/10/5, 1761.07.15, p. 4; CMD 1763, 13 July, p. 72

Brothers	Mandarin	Chinese	Sources
Sequa	Cai Xiguan	蔡璽官	Plates 01.02 ^(s/b/c)
Tjobqua	Cai Yuguan	蔡玉官	Plate 01.07 ^(s/b/c)

Business	Mandarin	Chinese	Sources
	Jufeng Hang	聚豐行	Plate 01.01 ^(c)

Year	Partners	Hong	Co.	Products traded	Sources
1741			EIC	P, H	G/12/50
1741			SOIC	H	JFB: Irvine
1742			CFI		C.1.10 pp. 16–18
1743			CFI	Nk	C.1.10
1748			SOIC		UUB: L185, p. 27
1750			EIC	B, H	G/12/53–54
1751			DAC	B, P, HS	Ask 1129
1751			EIC	ld, w, B	G/12/56
1751			VOC	G, spw, B	Can 15, 16
1752		Jufeng	DAC	see Appendix 1C	Ask 1130 ^(c) , 1131, 2205, 2206; Plate 01.01
1752			SOIC	see Appendix 1C	GL: A406

Weaver Suckin

There were at least two other persons in Canton who went by the name Suckin (or something similar), which can be confusing. Two prominent porcelain dealers were also called 'Suchin' (Appendixes 7G and 7H). One of the SOIC house servants in Canton in the 1760s was called 'Loyin Suchin' or simply 'Suchin' (NM: F17 p. T1_01667 and T1_01686). The Swedes sometimes loaned Loyin Suchin money, which makes him appear as though he might be a merchant (see examples in NM: F17 p. T1_06628 and T1_06636).

Because we know Weaver Suckin was connected to the Shenghe Dian 生和店 and Yuelai Hao 悅來號, we might expect to find one of these names on the Jinlun Huiguan (silk guild) steles. I have found no name like 生和 but there is a Chen Yuelai 陳悅來 carved into the 1778 and 1793 steles. I have found no connections with that man and Weaver Suckin (The names on the Jinlun Huiguan steles are reproduced in Guangzhou shi Wenhua Ju 廣州市文化局, *Guangzhou Jinlun huiguan zhengti yiwei baohu gongcheng ji* 廣州錦綸會館整體移位保護工程記. Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2007).

Weaver Tiqua

There are several Tiqua's who appear in the foreign records in the eighteenth century. Only one of them was a weaver, but the entries in the records are not always clear. Other Tiquas sold silk as well, but it was not their main occupation.

Tacqua Amoy, who was in operation from at least 1731 to 1766, was also known as Tiqua, Tyqua, Twyqua, Tequa and by other spellings similar to Tiqua. He shows up in the Dutch, Danish, English and Swedish records. Fortunately, this man sold other products as well, and he often appears with the name Amoy attached to his name, both of which help to separate him from Weaver Tiqua. Tacqua Amoy's story is told in Chapter 11 of the first volume of this study.

In the 1730s, the officers of the English East India Company (EIC) sometimes called the Hong merchant Texia, Tiqua as well (MCM vol. 1, Chapter 9). There are a couple of other Tiquas (with various spellings) that appear in the English records in the first four decades of the eighteenth century. Fortunately, all of those references are several decades before Weaver Tiqua emerges.

Even though the Dutch mentioned in 1780 that Weaver Tiqua was supplying the EIC with many of their silks, I have found no reference to him in those records (NAH: Canton 43, doc. No. 2, 1780.02.02). The English usually ordered their silks through Hong merchants and these men then contracted with the weavers, so the latter men's names rarely appear in the EIC records.

The last reference I have found to Tiqua is in the Dutch records of 1789, and then he disappears. I have found nothing in the American records that comes close to his name.

Weaver Conqua

There were several Chinese merchants with a name like Conqua. The Portuguese records in Macao show a name like this from the 1750s to 1770s. We know that Weaver Conqua was from Macao and that his mother lived there. There are references in the Portuguese records from about 1754 to 1764 to a Chinese merchant by the name of Conqua or Chonqua. His Chinese name was Wu Huanguan 吳環官. There are other references to names like Conqua, but with no Chinese names recorded (Carl T. Smith's unpublished papers entitled '18th Century Chinese Merchants' and '19th Century Chinese Merchants'). Unfortunately, I have found no clear evidence to show that the Conquas in the Portuguese records were the same men as those in Canton. Moreover, one of the Hong merchants was called Conqua and he would likely have done business in Macao as well. We know that this man was from the Chen lineage, so he was different from Wu Huanguan. Moreover, it is unclear whether all the Conquas in the Portuguese records were the same man. As I point out in Chapter 10, Weaver Conqua seems to have entered in trade with the Portuguese sometime around 1780, which does not fit with the references that appear earlier.

There are many references in the various East India companies' archives to the Hong merchant Conqua. He died in 1781, but his name still appears several years thereafter in reference to the debts that he left behind. Like other Hong merchants, this Conqua also dealt in silk, which means care needs to be taken not to confuse him with Weaver Conqua (MCM vol. 1, pp. 118–20 and Appendixes 6C and 6D).

It is not until 1781 that we have clear references to Weaver Conqua in the Danish records. He shows up in those records up to 1785, and in the Dutch records up to 1793. His name then disappears.

Weaver Samqua

There were several merchants with a name close to Samqua in the late eighteenth century. Gau Semqua (also spelled Samqua) was a Hong merchant and active up until 1774 (MCM I: Chapter 7). The porcelain dealer Lisjoncon, who is discussed in Chapter 7, also went by the name Lie Samqua, or just Samqua. The Hong merchant Shy Kinqua had a brother by the name of Samqua (BL: IOR G/12/82, 1786.03.04, p. 14).

Because we know the Chinese name for Samqua's business, Yuansheng Hao 源盛號, we might expect to find it mentioned on one of the steles in the Jinlun Huiguan. The steles dated 1765, 1778 and 1826 show an Ou Yuansheng 區源盛; the 1826 stele has a *yuanshengyunji* 源盛雲記 and a *yuanshengyunjin* 源盛雲進; the 1840 stele shows *huangyuanshengjinjinji* 黃源盛進津記; and the 1851 stele shows *changyuanshengguiji* 昌源盛桂記 and *changyuanshengyuanji* 昌源盛垣記. All of these names contain the two characters *yuansheng* 源盛. Unfortunately, I have no way of determining whether any of these names are connected to Weaver Samqua. (Guangzhou shi wenhua ju, *Guangzhou Jinlun Huiguan zhengti yiwei baohu gongcheng ji*, 2007)

Silk Dealer Assing

Aside from a brief mention of Assing in the American records, he seems only to appear in the Danish records. The Dutch had a comprador with a name similar to Assing, but I found no silk merchant with a name like that in those or other records.

Weaver Lochop

Weaver Lochop only appears in the Dutch records. In the early 1790s, there was a Hong merchant by the name of Locqua (MCM 1: Chapter 10 and Appendix 10D). His name is the closest to Lochop, but the different spellings and products they handled, make it rather easy to distinguish between them.

Other Silk Dealers and Workers

There were, of course, numerous other silk dealers and workers active in Canton in the eighteenth century for whom we have little or no information. These other men sometimes appear in the records just once or twice, and then disappear, without any further details. I include the names of other silk men here, with the year of when they appear in the records in parenthesis. Most of these men were weavers, but the entries are not always explicit. I picked out the men who seem to have been mostly focused on silk.

Some of the men below have numerous references to them, such as Namqua, but owing to confusion with other merchants with similar names it is difficult to sort out their stories. Some men that appear in the American records might be listed as 'silk merchants' but in fact were Hong merchants. I only list below men who seem to have been focused mostly on silk.

There are many references in the American records to some of these silk men, such as Eshing and Washing, but almost all of these entries just show a dollar amount or an item purchased from them with no description. If there is a description, it is often just a few words or a sentence. The brevity of the entries does not allow for any type of examination of their businesses or activities. I list their names here for the sake of future research, in case new documents should emerge someday.

American records: Eshing (1784–1821), Cooshing (1817–1828), Keetching (1817–1821), Namshing (1801–1822), Yingshing (1821–1822), Hipshing (1815–1825), Washing (1795–1844), Thonshing (1819), Thinshing (1821–1824, possibly the same as Thonshing?), Hinchong (1828), King Woo (1828), Kinglun (1801–1821), Loonshong (1809–1819), Imhing (1831), Kinqua (1801–1835)

Danish records: Tinqvoa (1740), Linqa (1779–1783), Seequa (1780–1790)

Dutch records: Houjouw (1750), Lamqua (1757), Namqua (1760s), Tetqua (1806), Lumshing (1828)

English records: Cetqua (1759), Shunqua (1775–1776), Focklong (1802)

Swedish records: Namqua (1760s)

NOTES

Preface

1. Frederic D. Grant Jr., *The Chinese Cornerstone of Modern Banking: The Canton Guaranty System and the Origins of Bank Deposit Insurance 1780–1933* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
2. John D. Wong, ‘Global Positioning: Houqua and His China Trade Partners in the Nineteenth Century’ (PhD diss., History Department, Harvard University, 2012).
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5. Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*. Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011) (hereafter referred to as MCM 1), Chapter 11 and Plates 11.18–20.
6. Jessica Hanser, ‘Mr. Smith Goes to China: British Private Traders and the Interlinking of the British Empire with China, 1757–1792’ (PhD diss., Department of History, Yale University, May 2012); Susan E. Schopp, ‘The French in the Pearl River Delta: A Topical Case Study of Sino-European Exchanges in the Canton Trade, 1698–1840’ (PhD diss., Department of History, University of Macau, 2015); and Lisa Hellman, ‘Everyday Life in Canton: The Case of the Swedish East India Company 1730–1830’ (PhD diss., Department of History, Stockholm University, 2015).
7. Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822: Reading History in Art* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015).
8. Sun Yat-sen University Library has the following digital collections which I made extensive use of: *Zhongguo fangzhi ku* 中國方志庫, *Ming Qing shilu* 明清實錄, and *Zhongguo leishu ku* 中國類書庫.
9. MCM 1:xvii.
10. See, for example, my review of Gang Zhao, *The Qing Opening to the Ocean: Chinese Maritime Policies, 1684–1757* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2013); *Journal of Asian History* 48, no. 1 (2014): 124–27. Zhao’s study is based almost exclusively on Chinese records and shows the great disparity between what officials in Beijing thought was happening in the trade and what was actually happening in Canton.
11. See the bibliography for a list of the Chinese sources in the British National Archives.
12. Liang Tingnan 梁廷楠, *Yue haiguan zhi* 粵海關志 [Gazetteer of Guangdong Maritime Customs] (1839; reprint, Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2001), 496.
13. Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l’Occident: Le Commerce à Canton au XVIII^e Siècle 1719–1833*, 3 vols. and Album (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), 2:521–24.
14. For examples, see Ch’en Kuo-tung Anthony 陳國棟, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760–1843*, 2 vols. (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990); and Ch’en Kuo-tung

Anthony 陳國棟. *Qingdai qianqi de yue haiguan yu shisan hang* 清代前期的粵海關與十三行 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2014). This latter book is not new, but rather a collection of previously published articles and Ch'en's MA thesis from 1979. Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony 陳國棟, 'Qingdai qianqi de Yue haiguan' 清代前期的粵海關 [Maritime customs of early Qing dynasty 1683–1842] (MA thesis, Department of History, National Taiwan University, 1979). Ch'en did not cross-reference the data he found in the British or Chinese records with other sources, and he did not update the discussions with new research that has been done, so even his recent 2014 book is now much out-of-date.

15. If lawyers investigated their clients' cases—as some historians have done in researching the China trade—believing everything they read, there would be no justice in the courtroom. Likewise, if journalists investigated their stories as some historians have done, by believing whatever is written in government and corporate records, connivances and scandals would never be revealed.
16. Ch'en, *Insolvency*, Chapter 2. See also Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony 陳國棟, '1760–1833 nianjian Zhongguo chaye chukou de xiguan zuofa' 1760–1833 年間中國茶葉出口的習慣做法, in Ch'en, Kuo-tung Anthony 陳國棟, *Dongya haiyu yiqian nian* 東亞海域一千年 [One thousand years of maritime East Asia] (Taipei: Yuanliu chuban gongsi, 2005), Chapter 10.
17. MCM 1: Plate 10.09 is a painting of the inside of the Hong merchant Chowqua's tea warehouse. It shows a Danish officer and one of Chowqua's writers both recording the chests of tea and their weights in their respective account books. Many written references attest to the accuracy of this scene, and that Chinese merchants did indeed keep detailed records.
18. For references to the Hoppo's books, see the indexes in Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005; reprint, 2007); and MCM 1.
19. Ch'en attempted to estimate Hong merchant profits and came to the conclusion that 'Hong merchants' trade was basically profitable'. Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 103. Regardless of all the figures he assembled and all the estimates he presented, in the end we are still left with the historical fact that the overwhelming majority of Hong merchants failed. The problem with Ch'en's analysis is that there are too many variables missing from his equation. This outcome is perhaps the result of Ch'en treating the EIC as if it were the most important part of every Hong merchant's business. Because of this prejudice, the British viewpoint tends to dominate his discussion. Ch'en failed to take into full consideration all of the other aspects of a Hong merchant's operation, such as the other East India companies, the private traders, the Macao and Manila trade, the junk trade to Southeast Asia, and the many different products they were handling (besides tea, woolens and cotton, which he does discuss), etc. We cannot explain Hong merchants' failures by simply looking at one of their main customers or by analyzing the trade of a couple key commodities they handled. That approach is similar to trying to calculate the profits of a large department store by only looking at the purchases of people from one district and the sales of a couple key products. In the end, all we have are a bunch of figures that tell us nothing. In order to calculate a meaningful figure for 'profits', we must look at all of the customers in the department store, all of the purchases that the store made, all of the sales that the store generated, all of the operational and overhead costs involved, and all of the depreciation factors on fixed assets, etc., and then we can come up with a reliable estimate. Anything short of that is meaningless. Ch'en, *Insolvency*, Chapter 2 'The Profitability of Trade'; Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony 陳國棟, 'Lun Qingdai zhongye: Guangdong hangshang jingguan bushan de yuanyin' 論清代中葉：廣東行商經管不善的原因, in Ch'en, *Dongya haiyu yiqian nian*, 365–94.
20. Ch'en, *Dongya haiyu yiqian nian* (2005). Even though Ch'en has not done any original research on the Canton trade for many years, he continues to uphold his incomplete and

- inconclusive findings which are now much out-of-date. See also Gang Zhao, *The Qing Opening to the Ocean* (2013).
21. Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 10–12.
 22. Liang, *Yue haiguan zhi*, 496.
 23. There are many examples in the first volume of this study of Hong merchants and foreigners being involved in the junk trade to Southeast Asia. MCM 1: several chapters, but especially Chapter 9. For an explanation of the importance of sago imports in the foreign export trade, see Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Packing for Success: Sago in Eighteenth Century Chinese Trade', in *Kuayue haiyang de jiaohuan 跨越海洋的交換 [The transoceanic exchange]* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2013), 167–92.
 24. Ch'en states that 'Although the second kung-hang did not last long, the exclusion of merchants other than members of the wai-yang-hang in trading with the Europeans did persist.' Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 11. This division that he sees between these two administrative bodies comes from looking at policies to the exclusion of practices. In another place Ch'en states that 'During the time of the second kung-hang (1760–1771), only merchants of the wai-yang-hang were allowed to trade with foreigners. Merchants of the peng-kang-hang were not. After the dissolution of that association, some members of the peng-kang-hang came to take a part in the foreign trade.' Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 186. As I have shown extensively in the first volume, there was never a clear division between these two groups. There was always interaction between the junk traders and the trade with foreigners in Canton. Ch'en was unaware of these activities because those details are not contained in the British or Chinese sources. MCM 1: see especially Chapter 9, section discussing Hongsia.
 25. The Macao Historical Archives, University of Hong Kong Library and Sun Yat-sen University Library in Guangzhou all have copies of the G/12/1–291 records from the British Library.
 26. One just needs to look at the index to the *Chronicles of Macau* to realize how little information about the Canton and Macao merchants is contained in the Macao records. Very few of the merchants discussed in this study (volumes one and two) are mentioned in the index. The persons that are mentioned in these six volumes are simply quotes from Chinese documents cited in this study or they are quotes from my books and articles. There is almost nothing in this compilation about the majority of Chinese merchants who were operating in Macao in the eighteenth century. There is also almost nothing about the Portuguese who were going to Canton every year to purchase cargos. If all we had to consult were the Macao records, there would be nothing write here. Wu Zhiliang 吳志良, Tang Kaijian 湯開建, Jin Guoping 金國平, eds., *Aomen biannianshi 澳門編年史 [Chronicles of Macau]*, 6 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2009).
 27. Because funding was always limited and insufficient to order the entire collection, I made sure that the Dutch documents available in Macao were different from those that were ordered in Guangzhou. Between the two cities, there are about 130,000 pages of Dutch China-trade documents available for researchers to use. As of October 2014, we are only missing about 5,000 pages.
 28. Most of the Swedish East India Companies' records are available online and can be downloaded free of charge, at these two websites: <http://www.ub.gu.se/samlingar/handskrift/ostindie/> and <http://ostindiska.nordiskamuseet.se/>. The former website is also searchable. When I was working in the Danish and Belgian archives, they allowed digital cameras so I was able to photograph many of the Ostend Company records.
 29. Dilip Kumar Basu, 'Asian Merchants and Western Trade: A Comparative Study of Calcutta and Canton 1800–1840' (PhD diss., Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, 1975); Ann Bolbach White, 'The Hong Merchants of Canton' (PhD diss., Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1967); and Ch'en, *Insolvency*.

30. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, 180.
31. Liang Jiabin 梁嘉彬, *Guangdong Shisan Hang kao* 廣東十三行考 [Study of the Thirteen Hongs of Canton] (1937; reprint, Taipei: 1960; reprint, Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1999); Ch'en, *Insolvency*; and Weng Eang Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade, 1684–1798* (Copenhagen: NIAS-Curzon Press, 1997).
32. Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters, 1762* (Macao: Macao Cultural Affairs Bureau, 2006); Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters, 1763* (Macao: Macao Cultural Affairs Bureau, 2008); and Cynthia Viallé and Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters, 1764* (Macao: Macao Cultural Affairs Bureau, 2009) (hereafter these published *dagregisters* are referred to as CMD 1762, 1763 or 1764).
33. Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Weaver Suckin and the Canton Silk Trade 1750–1781', *Review of Culture*, International Edition no. 29 (2009): 105–19.
34. CMD 1762, 1763 and 1764. These translated *dagregisters* are still in print and can be ordered from the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Macao S.A.R. Government at this address: <http://www3.icm.gov.mo/gate/gb/www.icm.gov.mo/deippub/publicationE.asp> [accessed 23 December 2014]. See also <http://www.gcs.gov.mo/showNews.php?DataUcn=30741&PageLang=E> [accessed 23 December 2014]
35. MCM 1:xvi.
36. Dermigny, *Le Commerce à Canton*, 2:521–24; and Rhys Richards, 'United States Trade with China, 1784–1814', *The American Neptune* 54: Special Supplement (1994).
37. Dermigny, *Le Commerce à Canton*, 2:521–24.
38. Dermigny, *Le Commerce à Canton*, 2:521–24.
39. British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR) R/10/4, 1757.12.02, pp. 47–49; and MCM 1:53–56.
40. Since I wrote the first volume, I have found another couple of ships that had to layover an entire season in China owing to insufficient merchandise being available in Canton. The French ship *Comtesse de Ponchartrain* arrived at Whampoa in December 1717 and remained there until January 1719. BL: IOR L/MAR/B/0656A, 1718.08.05. The EIC ship *Essex* laid over an entire year from 1719 to 1720. BL: IOR L/MAR/B/667B, 1720.07.24.

Introduction

1. For the number of ships in China in the 1720s, 1730s and 1740s, see Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident: Le Commerce à Canton au XVIII Siècle 1719–1833*, 3 vols. and album (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), 2:521–24.
2. I have listed the ships that had to layover in China in Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*, Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011) (hereafter referred to as MCM 1), 53. I also mention a couple other ships in the Preface of this volume. In short, the number of ships that had to layover for a year in China owing to insufficient merchandise to load them was as follows: 1718 one French ship, 1719 one English ship, 1741 one Swedish ship, 1747 one Swedish ship, 1749 one Swedish ship, 1752 one Swedish ship, 1754 one Prussian and one Swedish ship, 1759 one Swedish ship, and 1761 one Swedish ship. In addition to these layovers, the departures of quite a few other ships were delayed for a month or more in the 1740s and 1750s owing to insufficient cargo to load them. There were likely many other ships that were delayed owing to insufficient cargo, for which I have no data. After the Co-hong was created in 1760, the departures of all ships became much more regular.

3. With regard to the Qing trade policies, Ch'en states that 'Perhaps appropriately we can say that there was no foreign-trade policy at all'. Ch'en Kuo-tung 陳國棟, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760–1843*, 2 vols. (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990), 252. Ch'en did not analyse Qing practices—only policies so he is unaware that the government did indeed have a consistent practice with respect to the foreign trade.
4. Ng Chin-Keong, 'The Case of Ch'en I'lao: Maritime Trade and Overseas Chinese in Ch'ing Policies, 1717–1754', in *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, C. 1400–1750*, ed. Roderich Ptak and Ditmar Rothermund (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 373–400.
5. Ng, 'The Case of Ch'en I'lao', 390.
6. British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR) R/10/4, 1757.12.02, pp. 47–49.
7. Dermigny, *Le Commerce à Canton*, 2:828–29; and Sven T. Kjellberg, *Svenska Ostindiska Compagnierna 1731–1813* (Malmö: Allhems Förlag, 1974), 96–97 (see caption under painting of Poan Key-qua). In 2007, the Gothenburg City Museum changed its website and acknowledged that the rumour of Poankeequa visiting Sweden in the mid-eighteenth century may be inaccurate. 'Uppgifterna om att mandarinerna varit bosatt eller ens vistats i Göteborg har senare forskning kunnat avvisa som oriktiga (2007, 1 Intendent LarsOlof Löf)'. <http://62.88.129.39/carlotta/web/object/32946> [accessed 15 November 2014]
8. Frederic D. Grant Jr., *The Chinese Cornerstone of Modern Banking: The Canton Guaranty System and the Origins of Bank Deposit Insurance 1780–1933* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
9. Caroline Frank, 'A Cantonese Merchant Sails to Federal America: National Discourses of Maritime Practice' (unpublished paper presented at the international conference entitled 'Material and Textual Studies in a Cross-Cultural Background: A Chinese Historical Perspective and Beyond', held at Sun Yat-sen University, 6–7 December 2014).
10. John D. Wong, 'Global Positioning: Houqua and His China Trade Partners in the Nineteenth Century' (PhD diss., History Department, Harvard University, 2012).
11. BL: IOR R/10/4, letters from Fort Marlborough dated 1763.08.27, pp. 4–5 and 1763.07.22, pp. 10–11.
12. Cynthia Viallé and Paul A. Van Dyke. *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters 1764* (Macao: Macao Cultural Institute, 2009) (hereafter referred to as CMD 1764), 12 September, pp. 199–200.
13. BL: IOR R/10/8, doc. No. 10, letter to the EIC committee in Canton from Robert Hay at Fort Marlborough, dated 1777.07.17, p. 19.
14. BL: IOR R/10/8, doc. No. 51, letter to the Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough from the EIC committee in Canton, dated 1777.12.14, p. 78.
15. National Archives, The Hague (NAH): VOC 4445, letter dated 1790.12.11, paragraph 39.
16. NAH: VOC 4425, report dated 1784.02.01, paragraph 30.
17. James Fichter, *So Great a Proffit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-American Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 284.
18. See, for example, MCM 1:75.
19. MCM 1:133–34.
20. MCM 1:81–82.
21. Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP): 1878 Sword Family Papers, Box1, letter to Miss Mary Parry, dated in Canton 27 January 1836, typescript, p. 2.
22. Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 252.
23. BL: IOR G/12/31, 1732.01.03, p. 215.
24. Ch'en, for example, states that 'as failure did occur to the Hong merchants so often, it can only be attributed to their bad management'. Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 42. See also pp. 43, 106, 251, and 308. This statement reveals how little Ch'en understands the system in which the Hong merchants operated. Such generalizations do the Hong merchants an injustice given the fact that Ch'en only had information about a small fraction of their business activities.

This is one of the problems of academicians writing about things in which they have had no experience. They are unable to see the holes in their analysis.

25. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966).

Chapter 1

1. The following Chinese document mentions that Swequa was from Fujian. National Archives, London (NAL): FO 233/189, doc. No. 49, p. 15. The following Dutch reference mentions that his home was in 'Tschin Tchou' (Quanzhou). National Archives, The Hague (NAH): Canton 76, 1767.06.25.
2. Cheong suggests that the 'Chequa' who appears in the English records in 1728 might be a reference to Swequa. I have found no clear connection between these two men so I have not used this reference. Weng Eang Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade, 1684–1798* (Copenhagen: NIAS-Curzon Press, 1997), 86 and 120n1.
3. British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR) G/12/50, 1741.10.15, p. 26; and University of Minnesota, James Ford Bell Library (JFB): Charles Irvine Papers, Letter Books and Account Books.
4. Aix-en-Provence, Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer (ANOM): C.1.10, 1742.07.23, p. 17v and 1743.08.13, p. 39v.
5. Kungliga Vetenskaps-akademiens Bibliotek, Stockholm (Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences, KVB), 'Dagbok under resan från Giötheborg til Canton 1748–1749', map entitled 'Cantons Förstad'. This Swedish map is reproduced in Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Karwing Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822: Reading History in Art* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), Figure F27; and Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*, Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011) (hereafter referred to as MCM 1), Plates 02.01 and 02.02.
6. The present-day location of Swequa's factory would be a little south of the farmer's market Dongchuan Xinjieshi 東川新街市 on Heping Dong Lu 和平東路. According to the Swedish map, in the eighteenth century, tailors were congregated in this area. The north-south street where Swequa's factory was located was east of the present-day Xinglong Bei Lu 興隆北路.
7. NAH: VOC 4381, *Rapport*, doc. No. 24, pp. 220r–v.
8. Chinese merchants tended to favour one company over another in order to gain access to the silver that company brought to China. MCM 1:19–21.
9. For the number of French ships in China each year, see Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident: Le Commerce à Canton au XVIII^e Siècle 1719–1833*, 3 vols. and album (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), 2:521–22. For a more current list, see Susan E. Schopp, 'The French in the Pearl River Delta: A Topical Case Study of Sino-European Exchanges in the Canton Trade, 1698–1840' (PhD diss., Department of History, University of Macau, 2015).
10. Many of the Hong merchants were involved in smuggling gold out of China. For a discussion of the advantages of partaking in that trade, see MCM 1:18–19 and other pages shown in the index of that book.
11. NAH: Canton 7, letter dated 1752.11.07 and Canton 17, doc. dated 1752.06.27.
12. NAH: VOC 4381, *Rapport*, doc. No. 24, 1758.01.19, pp. 220r–v and doc. No. 29, dated 1758.01.19, pp. 281–82. Wan Tang Ju is called a 'Hannist' in this source, which suggests he was a Hong merchant. I have no references to a merchant with a name like this.
13. NAH: Canton 19, letter dated 1754.07.08, which includes the trade report for 1753. The Chemqua who is mentioned in the Dutch records as one of the owners of their factory

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- Coll. 238 William Goddard Papers 1800–1880. Trade document, papers, and logbooks from various ships.
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Midas (steam schooner) Papers 1844–1845.
 Miscellaneous 1792–1797. Documents concerning the China trade.
 Morse Papers 1719–1843. Trade and Shipping Documents.
 Perkins, Thomas H. Papers 1789–1892. Miscellaneous documents; Log of ship *Astrea* 1804.
Polly (Snow) Logbook, 1800–1802.
 Pulsifer, Robert Starkey. Papers 1765–1859.
 Putnam, George. Journal of Voyage 1850–1851.
 Sea Letters 1810–1881.
 Story, Horace C., Papers 1842–1844. Log of ship *Probus* 1843.
 Sturgis, William, Papers 1799–1804. Journals from China Voyages.
Sultan (ship) Account Book 1815–1819.
Surprise (ship) Logbook 1850–1861.
 Suter, John, Papers. 1804–1848. Miscellaneous documents relating to the China Trade.
 Thacher Family Papers. Correspondences Concerning the ship *Alliance*, to China in 1788.
 Trotter, William. Letter/Journal 1797.
 Wolcott, Bates and Company. China trade Cashbook 1851–1854 and Journal 1851–1855.
 Woodard, Marcus L. Letters 1855–1862.

Massachusetts: Phillips Library (PL), Peabody Essex Museum (PEM), Salem

- Aeolus* (ship) Logbook 1805–1806.
Akbar (ship) Logbook 1839–1840.
Aleatus (ship) Logbook 1844–1845.
Alert (ship) Logbook 1819–1820.
Ann and Hope (ship) Logbook 1835.
 Andrews, John Hancock, Papers. Mss 2. Bark *Patriot* Papers 1811–1824.
Antelope (ship) Logbook 1864.
 Barton Family Papers. Mss 110. Ship Papers.
Barwell (ship) Logbook 1785–1786.
Bizar (ship) Logbook 1843–1844.
Brookline (ship) Logbook 1833–1834.
Caroline (ship) Logbook 1803–1805.
Charlotte (ship) Logbook 1841–1842.
China (ship) Logbook 1817.
Clarendon (ship) Logbook 1844.
Concord (ship) Logbook 1799–1802.
 Congress (Frigate) Logbooks (2) 1819–1820.
 Cox, Benjamin. Papers. Mss 168. Ship Papers.
 Derby Family Papers. Mss 37. Ship *Astrea* Papers 1789–1790, 1791–1794, 1799; Ship *Light Horse* Papers 1788–1795; Ship *Grand Turk* Papers 1780–1782, 1787–1791.

- Derby* (ship) Logbook 1804.
- Diana* (ship) Logbook 1799–1802.
- Dorr Family Papers. MH-21. Miscellaneous documents relating to the China Trade.
- Dromo* (ship) Logbook 1807–1809.
- Eclipse* (ship) Logbook 1831–1832.
- Eliza Ann* (bark) Logbook 1845–1848.
- Eugenia* (ship) Logbook 1805–1806.
- Follensbee, Mrs. (wife of Capt. Follensbee) Journal kept aboard the ship *Logan* 1837–1838.
- Francis* (ship) Logbook 1818–1820.
- Friendship* (ship) Logbook 1819–1820. Together with the Logbook of ship *Paragon*.
- Governor Endicott* (brig) Logbooks (2) 1819–1822.
- Gustavous* (Snow) Diary written by John Bartlett aboard several ships from 1790 to 1793. It is incorrectly catalogued as the Logbook of ship *Massachusetts*.
- Hale Family Papers. Mss 117. Ship *Geneva* Papers 1837–1847.
- Hamilton* (ship) Logbooks (2) 1809–1815, 1822.
- Heber* (ship) Logbooks (2) 1844–1846.
- Heraclide* (ship) Logbook 1835–1836.
- Herald* (ship) Logbook 1804–1805.
- Hercules* (ship) Logbook 1835–1836.
- Hindoo* (ship) Logbook 1838–1839.
- Hunter* (ship) Logbook 1809–1810.
- Indus* (ship) Logbook 1802–1803.
- Inn* (ship) Diary written by John Bartlett aboard several ships from 1790 to 1793. It is incorrectly catalogued as the Logbook of ship *Massachusetts*.
- Joseph Peabody* (brig) Logbook 1838–1840.
- Kinsman, Nathaniel, Papers Mss 43: Ship *Zenobia* Papers 1839–1843.
- Lady Washington* (ship) Diary written by John Bartlett aboard several ships from 1790 to 1793. It is incorrectly catalogued as the Logbook of ship *Massachusetts*.
- Leander* (brig) Logbooks (2) 1827–1829.
- Levant* (bark) Logbook 1835–1838.
- Logan* (ship) Logbook 1837–1838
- London* (ship) Logbook 1836–1837.
- Louisa* (ship) Logbook 1826–1829.
- Lurat*. [This ship is incorrectly catalogued. It should be ‘*Surat*’.]
- Mandarin* (ship) Logbook 1809–1810.
- Martain, William, Papers. Mss 123. Miscellaneous documents relating to the China Trade.
- Martha* (ship) Logbook 1831–1833.
- Massachusetts* (ship) Logbook 1790–1793.
- Mentor* (ship) Logbook 1824–1825. Together with the Logbook of ship *Nautilus* 1823. There is another Logbook for 1829–1830.
- Merchant* (ship) Logbook 1834.
- Midas* (ship) Logbook 1818–1819.
- Misc. Journal Excerpts 1800–1803.
- Monsoon* (ship) Logbook 1834–1837.
- Nautilus* (ship) Logbook 1823. Together with the Logbook of ship *Mentor* 1824–1825.
- New Hazard* (ship) Logbook 1811–1812.
- Packet* (ship) Logbook 1824–1825.
- Pallas* (bark) Logbook 1800–1804 Together with the Logbook of ship *John* 1795–1798. There is another Logbook for 1832–1834.
- Paragon* (ship) Logbook. Together with the Logbook of ship *Leander*.

- Peabody, Joseph, Papers. Mss 19. Ship *China* Papers & Account Books 1824–1828.
Pearl (ship) Logbook 1810.
- Peele Family Papers. MH-5. Ship *Rachel* Papers 1802–1805.
Perseverance (ship) Logbook 1796–1801.
- Phillips Family Papers 1636–1897. MH-4.
- Pickman, Benjamin, Papers. Mss 5. Ship *Derby* Papers 1805–1807.
Potomac (ship) Logbook 1835–1837.
- Roscoe (brig) Logbook 1827–1829.
- St. *Crouse* (Portuguese ship) Diary written by John Bartlett aboard several ships from 1790 to 1793. It is incorrectly catalogued as the Logbook of ship *Massachusetts*.
- Saphire* (ship) Logbook 1834–1835.
- Shreve, Benjamin, Papers. MH-20. Miscellaneous documents relating to the China Trade 1793–1848. This collection contains many journals, correspondences, logs, account books, and ship papers.
- Silsbee Family Papers. Mss 74.
- Sumatra* (ship) Logbooks (3) 1830–1831, 1834–1835, 1835–1836.
- Surat* (ship) Logbook 1835 [incorrectly catalogued as ship ‘*Lurat*’].
- Talent* (brig) Logbook 1829–1831.
- Theodore* (ship) Logbook 1836.
- Tilden, Bryant P. MH-219 Journals (Typscript) 1815–1837.
- Tremont* (ship) Logbook 1833–1836.
- Tucker Family Papers Mss 165: Ship *Concord* Papers 1802.
- Union* (ship/schooner) Logbook 1802–1803.
- Ward Family Papers. Mss 46. Ship Papers.
- Waters Family Papers MH-12 & Mss 92: Ship *Mariposa* Papers 1835–1837.
- Wigglesworth, Thomas Jr. Papers. MH-6.
- William & Henry* (brig/ship) Logbook 1786–1790.
- Zephyr* (ship) Logbook 1829–1830.

Minnesota: James Ford Bell Library (JFB), University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

- Index: *The James Ford Bell Library. An Annotated Catalog of Original Source Materials Relating to the History of European Expansion 1400–1800*. Minneapolis: James Ford Bell Library, 1994.
- 1732 flr. Charles Irvine (d. 1771) Papers. Archive of papers relating to the Swedish East India Company: 1724–1774.
- 1801 sh. Journal of ship *Arat* bound for China 1801
- 1801 sh. Logbook of ship *Ganges*, Boston to Canton 1801
- 1801 fTr. Logbook of ship *Taunton Castle* of Deptford 1801–1802
- B 1758 fNe. Dagregister in de Ned. Factory Canton 1758 en Onkost Reckening voor het Schippen *Velzen en Renswoude* 1758

Pennsylvania: Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP), Philadelphia

- Index: *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1991
- Am 8650 Chinese Justice
- 136 Clifford Family Papers
- 227A Edward Carey Gardiner Papers
- 250A Simon Gratz Papers

687 Waln Family Papers
734 Wood Family Papers
1242 Chinese Manuscript
1341 Brown Family Papers
1691 John W. Rulon Papers
1729 William Redwood Papers
1860A Claude W. Unger Papers
1929 Edward F. Corson Papers
1934 Drinker Family Papers

Pennsylvania: Independence Seaport Museum (ISM), Philadelphia

Barry-Hayes Papers
Benjamin Etting Papers
Henry Grier Bryant Papers
John S. Whitall Papers
Samuel Archer Letters
Walsh Family Papers

Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Library (UPL), Philadelphia

Ms. Coll. 499 F. Molineux's Accounts of Purchases at Canton. 'Receipts' for 1784–1786

Rhode Island: John Carter Brown Library (JCB), Brown University, Providence

Brown Papers. The following files:

B126 Ship Papers 1797
B493–497 Ship *Arthur* Papers 1802–1809
B546 Ship *General Washington* Papers 1787–1792
B579 Ship *John Jay* Papers 1792–1799
B655–657 Ship *Ann & Hope* Papers 1800–1821
B658 Ship *Arthur* Papers 1803–1809
B659–660 Ship *Asia* Papers 1822–1827
B663 Ship *Isis* Papers 1805
B664 Ship *John Jay* Papers 1800–1802
B670 Ship *Rambler* Account Book (1818?)
B671 Ship *Washington* Papers 1819–1826
B715–717 Ship *Ann & Hope* Logbook 1798–1806
B720 Ship *Ann & Hope* Logbook 1816–1817, 1823–1826; Journal of Benjamin C. Carter, Surgeon aboard ship *Ann and Hope* 1798
B721 Ship *Ann & Hope* Logbook 1823–1824
B722 Ship *Arthur* Logbook 1803–1804
B737 Ship *General Washington* Logbook 1788–1790
B1131 Ship *John Jay* Papers 1797–1798; Account Book of supercargo John Bowers 1797
Stephen Dexter Journal 1800–1803

Rhode Island: Rhode Island Historical Society (RIHS), Providence

Carrington Papers. The following files:

B139	Ships <i>Trumbull</i> , <i>Baltic</i> , and <i>General Hamilton</i> Papers 1806–1811
B149–150	Ship <i>Edwards</i> Papers 1831
B151–152	Ship <i>Fame</i> Papers 1819–1825
B153–156	Ship <i>Franklin</i> Papers 1823–1836
B157–158	Ship <i>General Hamilton</i> Papers 1818–1824
B159–160	Ship <i>George</i> Papers 1818–1827
B161	Ship <i>John Brown</i> Papers 1819–1821
B162–163	Ship <i>Grafton</i> Papers 1841–1847
B164	Ship <i>Lion</i> Papers 1817–1820
B165–166	Ship <i>Integrity</i> Papers 1817–1824
B169–170, 172–174	Ship <i>Lion</i> Papers 1824–1844
B175	Ship <i>Mary Ann</i> Papers 1815–1822
B178–179	Ship <i>Nancy</i> Papers 1815–1824
B181–187	Ship <i>Panther</i> Papers 1818–1843
B190, 192–194	Ship <i>Providence</i> Papers 1825–1839
B196–197	Ship <i>Trumbull</i> Papers 1816–1825
B198–199	Brig <i>Viper</i> Papers 1815–1821
B204	Ship <i>Zypher</i> Papers 1815–1820

Other records consulted at RIHS:

Franklin (ship) Accounts, 1824–1825
George (ship) Accounts, 1821–1823
Grafton (ship) Disbursements, 1841–1844
 Journal A 1802–1804
 Journal B 1804–1806
 Journal C 1806–1811

Miscellaneous Archives. The following files:

Mss 312. John Brown Papers 1770–1829. Ship *General Washington* Journal and Account Book 1788–1789
 Mss 336. Carter-Danforth Papers
 Mss 776. WardFamily Papers. Ship *General Washington* Papers 1788–1789
 Mss 828. The following logbooks:
 Ship *Ann & Hope* Logbooks 1798–1836
 Ship *Asia* Logbook 1804
 Ship *Canton* Logbook 1799
 Ship *Eleonora* Logbook 1804
 Ship *Essex* Logbook 1810–1812
 Ship *Fame* Logbook 1824
 Ship *General Washington* Logbook 1787–1789
 Ship *George Washington* Logbook 1794–1795
 Ship *Hope* Account Book 1802–1804
 Ship *Hope* Logbook 1802–1803
 Ship *Isis* Logbook 1804
 Ship *John Jay* Logbook 1804–1806
 Ship *Lion* Logbooks 1826–1833
 Ship *Panther* Logbooks 1819–1833

Ship *Patterson* Logbook 1803–1804

Ship *Resource* Logbook 1800–1802

Ship *Superior* Logbook 1824–1826

Ship *Susan* Logbook 1797–1798

Mss 997. James Warner Papers. Ship *Ann & Hope* Logbooks 1797–1800.

Nightengale-Jenks papers

'Trader's Book' for Canton, 1797–1808

Washington, DC: National Archives

Despatches from United States Consuls at Canton, 1790–1906 (USCC)

AUSTRALIAN CHINA TRADE RECORDS

(Listed alphabetically by city/archive)

Canberra: National Library of Australia (NLA)

Milius, Pierre Bernard. 'Voyage aux Terres Australes (1800–1804).' Handwritten Manuscript on microfilm.

Smyth, Arthur Bowes. Manuscript on microfilm of his voyage from Australia to Canton in 1788.

This manuscript was published as Fidlon, Paul G. and F.J. Ryan, eds. *The Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth: Surgeon, Lady Penrhyn 1787–1789*. Sydney: Australian Documents Library, 1979.

DANISH ASIATIC COMPANY RECORDS (DAC)

(Listed alphabetically by city/archive)

Copenhagen: National Archives (RAC, Rigsarkivet)

[Several ships in this series did not go to China and are incorrectly included in this section.]

Ask 206a	Diverse indkomne breve 1737–1845
Ask 234–238	Indkomne breve fra faktoriet i Canton 1773–1791
Ask 879a–995	Skibsprotocoler for skibe til Kina 1738–1834
Ask 996–1115	Skibsjournaler for skibe til Kina 1733–1829
Ask 1116–1229	Negotieprotocoler for Kinafarere 1735–1833
Ask 2190–2239	Kasse og hovedbøger fra kinaskibene 1734–1772
Ask 2240–2271	Hovedbøger for expeditioner til Kina 1782–1833
Ask 2272–2304	Regnskabsjournaler for ekspeditioner til Kina 1782–1833
Lin 5893:1	Supercargo Lintrup Private Bog 1739–1741
Soe 368B	Journal for Skibet <i>Cron Printz Christian</i> på rejsen til Kina 1730–1732

Copenhagen: Royal Library (KBC, Kungelige Bibliotek)

Nye Kong. 512, 8° Dag-Bog holden paa skibet *Kron-Printzen* paa Reysen til Canton i China Aarene 1802 & 1803. (Also covers 1804 and 1805)

Thottske 512 Extract of adskillige skibsjournaler 1677–1743

Kallske. 362, 4° Reglement Hvorefter Tolden udi Provicerne Canton og Tsche=kiang i Keyserdommet China bereignes ved accurat Translation samlet af Niels Fursman, Canton i China den 30 Decembr 1759

NKS 346 c folio 37 tegninger af Chinesiske Skibe og Fahrtoyer, tegnede i Canton af Chineseren Ju-Qua

DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (VOC) AND OTHER DUTCH CHINA TRADE RECORDS

(Listed alphabetically by city/archive)

Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum

Inv. No. NG-1052

The Hague: National Archives (NAH)

Indexes: Raben, R. *De Archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. The Hague: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1992; Parani, Julianti. *Inventaris van het archief van de Nederlandse Factorij te Canton, 1742–1826*. Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 1972; and Balk, G. L., F. van Dijk and D. J. Kortlang, eds. *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

- AW 1.11.01.01 Aanwinsten: generaal rapport, missiven, bylagen en diverse stukken betreffende de China handel 1758–1779
- CANTON 1.04.20, 1–390 Documenten van de Nederlandse Factorij te Canton 1676–1828
- COI 2.01.27.06 Comptabiliteit Betreffende Oost-Indische Bezittingen 1795–1813
- HD 2.01.27.05 Hollandse Divisie bij het Ministerie van Marine en Koloniën te Parijs 1810–1814
- HOPE 1.10.46 Hope familie archief 1630–1769
- HRB 1.04.17, 71–140 Hoge Regering van Batavia: brieven, contracten, minuut, secrete brieven, papieren en bylagen betreffende de China handel 1755–1812
- MIN 2, 6, 11, 25, 57, 59, 61 Ministerie van Koophandel en Koloniën: stukken betreffende de China handel 1798–1813
- MK 2.10.01 Ministerie van Koloniën: stukken betreffende de thee handel 1745–1851
- NED 1.10.59 Nederburgh familie archief 1790s
- NHM 2.20.01 Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij archief: brieven van Canton in China beginnende met 1830 tot 1838
- OIC 2.01.27.01, 193–198, 238A&Q Comité Oost-Indische Handel en Bezettingen Commissarissen, Generaal, Gouverneur-Generaal en Raden en Supercarga's en Commerce-raad te Canton, aan de Eerste Advocaat der compagnie en aan gecommiteerde den uit de Heren XVII en uit het Comité tot de directe vaart en handel op China, met bijlagen van 29 Nov. 1793 tot 31 Dec. 1798.
- OIT 2.01.27.07 Oost-Indische Troepen 1799–1807.
- OS 2.01.27.04 Commissarissen-Genereaal van Ned. Indie en Kaap . . . Hoop 1791–1793.
- RAB 2.01.27.02, 140–142, 404–405 Raad der Aziatische Bezettingen en Etablissements sloopspapieren, ladingen, cognoscement, factuur, notitie, missiven, en diversestukken betreffende de China handel 1796–1806.
- RAD 1.10.69 Radermacher familie archief 1670–1796.
- VDH 1.10.39 Van der Heim familie archief 1727–1793.
- VELH 269–311 Kaarten van het zuiden van China en de Canton rivier.
- VG 1.10.31 Van Ghesel familie archief 1769–1771.

- VHVR 1.10.45 Van Hoorn en Van Riebeeck familien archieven.
 VOC 1.04.02, 2346, Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie Archief: Overgekomen Brieven
 2410, 4374–4447, and Papieren uit China 1729–1790
 4554–6, 4576–7,
 8714–24, 11204,
 11207, 11485
 WIS 2.21.176 Collectie Wiselius: stukken betreffende de China handel 1769–1845

Leiden: Leiden University Library, Department of Western Ms. (DOOZA, universiteitsbibliotheek)

- BPL 617 stukken betreffende de Chinahandel en de China commissie 1750–1765
 BPL 621 register op de brieven naar China 1758–1778
 BPL 2177 verslag van Ambassade Titsingh naar China 1794–1795

Leiden: Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV)

- DA 8, 1 Map of Hong Kong and territory
 DH 434 Chinese kaart van de Chinese zee
 DA 7, 3 Kaart van cust te Macao
 DH 661 Inv. van het archief van de Ned. factorie te Canton
 DH 417 Groenevelt 'De Nederlanders in China'
 M 3c 92 'An Authentick Account of the Weights, Measures, Exchanges, Customs, Duties, Port-Charges, &c . . .' (London: C. Hendersen, 1763)
 Mo 319 Oost-Indies geldmiddelen: Japan en China handel van 1817 op 1818, door P.H. van der Kamp (Nyhoff, 1919)
 Mww 247 John Francis Davis 'Sketches of China . . .' (London: Charles Knight & Co., 1841)
 Mww 287 Anonymus. 'Description of the City of Canton . . . Chinese weights and measures, and the imports and exports of Canton' (Canton, 1839)
 Mww 413 'From Hong Kong to Canton by the Pearl River' (1902)
 Mww 650 'The "Fan Kwae" at Canton'
 Ts 1720 k72d 'The Canton Miscellany' vol. 1 (Canton, 1831)

Rotterdam: Maritime Museum (MMR)

- C. H. Gietemaker 't Vergulde Licht der Zeevaart ofte Const der Stuerlieden . . . Negotie der Europeane op China' 1731
 P 1711. Album te China

ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY (EIC) RECORDS

(Listed alphabetically by city/archive)

Greenwich: National Maritime Museum, The Caird Library (CL)

- BGR/36 Ship *Hindostan* Account Book 1799
 HMN/1–153 Hamilton Family Papers 1793–1820 (all papers pertaining to the China trade were consulted)
 LOG/C/64 Ship *Cirencester* Logbook 1802
 LOG/C/65 Ship *Royal Charlotte* Logbook 1762

PHB/14 Ship *Ceres* Logbook 1743–1744
 WEL/46 Ship *Prince of Wales* Logbook 1736

London: British Library (BL), India Office Records (IOR)

B/61–62, 82 Court Minutes 1730–1734, 1767–1768
 D/19 Correspondence Reports 1727.04–1736.03
 E/1/2 Miscellaneous Letters Received 1710
 E/1/21–25, 49, 53 Miscellaneous Letters Received 1730–1734, 1767, 1770
 E/3/101 China supercargoes' instructions copybook 1722
 E/3/105 Despatch Books 1730–1732
 E/3/109 China supercargoes' instructions copybook 1746
 G/12/1–17 Extracts from the China trade 1596–1759
 G/12/18–20 Miscellaneous documents relating to the China trade 1753–1815
 G/12/21–291 Diaries and Consultations from the Canton factory 1721–1840
 H/154–55 Miscellaneous Letters 1779–1781
 H/434 George Smith's Letters 1781–1791
 H/MISC/75 Thomson's Journal 1732
 L/AG/1/5/11–12 The Accountant General's Cash Journals 1720–1728
 L/AG/1/6/8–12 The Accountant General's Commercial Journals 1714–1735
 L/MAR/A/LIX Ship *London* Logbook 1633
 L/MAR/A/CLII Ship *Rising Sun* Logbook 1700–1703
 L/MAR/A/CXLIX Ship *Seaford* Logbook 1700–1702
 L/MAR/A/CXXIII Ship *Macclesfield* 1699–1700
 L/MAR/A/CXXIV Ship *Dorrill* Logbook 1699–1701
 L/MAR/A/138 Ship *Trumbal* Logbook 1699–1702
 L/MAR/B/1–800A Ship Logbooks 1700–1833 (ca. 900 logbooks from ships that sailed to China were consulted including the 760 logbooks from the eighteenth century)
 L/MAR/C/902 Papers on Lascars 1793–1818 (includes Chinese)
 Ms 21106 Ship *Lion* Logbook 1793
 Mss 02902 Sloane. China Trade Booklet 1700
 Mss 15855 Orders and Letters of Commodore George Anson 1740–1743
 Mss Eur B 0408 Letter book of Charles Millet, supercargo at Canton 1824–1827
 Mss Eur B 0420 Letter book of Captain Charles Besly Gribble 1815–1840
 Mss Eur C 0283 Letters of Lt. John Macdonald 1803–1808
 Mss Eur C 0425 Private trade book of Captain William Hambly to China 1780–1783
 Mss Eur C 0483 Papers of Patrick Begbie, merchant to China 1773–1775, 1782
 Mss Eur C 0555 Ship *Lowthan Castle* Logbook 1831–1832
 Mss Eur C 0606 Nautical Journal of ship *London* to China 1767–1769
 Mss Eur C 0619 Chinese calendar boards and list of ships arriving in Canton 1822–1829
 Mss Eur C 0721 Diary of ship's surgeon Edward Bucknell to China 1849–1851
 Mss Eur D 0675 Remarks in the *Brittania* bound for Madras and China 1757
 Mss Eur D 0963 Trade-Currency Book 1757
 Mss Eur D 1051 Robert Williams and Company Accounts of 5 East Indiamen 1782–1797
 Mss Eur D 1106 Plowden Papers, miscellaneous documents on the China trade 1805–1853
 Mss Eur D 1160 Prinsep Papers, memoirs, and miscellaneous documents 1794–1870
 Mss Eur D 1199 Journal of accounts of Capt. John Hamilton to Canton 1800–1801
 Mss Eur E 0286 Nautical Journal of ship *David Scott* to China 1810–1811
 Mss Eur E 0318 Account of the Wreck *Halsewell* 1786–1814

- Mss Eur F 0110 Paper of John Pybus concerning gold and silver standards in the Indies
 Mss Eur F 0140 v. 37 Amherst Collection 1789–1835
 Mss Eur Ph 377 Photocopy of abridged journal of James Rodgers of the ship *Forbes*, first steam vessel in China 1830
 R/10/3–9 Diaries, Consultations and Letter Books from the Canton Factory 1741–1777
 R/10/33-66 Orders and Instructions from the Court of Directors 1784–1833
 R/10/67 China Records, Miscellaneous 1771–1792

London: British Map Library (BML, in the British Library)

- Add 16358A 'Map of Canton showing the extent of the fire in 1822'
 Maps.K.Top.116.23 Detail of a View of Canton (centre)
 MAR vi 26 'A Survey of the Tigris, from Canton to the Island of Lankeet', by J. Huddart, 1786
 983g22 (1–7) Dalrymple, Alexander. 'A Collection of Charts and Memoirs' (London: 1772)

London: British Museum (BM)

- 1877.0714.401–501 Album
 1877.0714.503–603 Album
 1877.0714.793–818 Album
 1877.0714.1497–8 Album leaves, Street Scenes of Canton

London: National Archives (NAL)

- Index: Pong, David. *A Critical Guide to the Kwangtung Provincial Archives, Deposited at the Public Record Office of London*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975.
 C 111/95-6 Thomas Hall, merchant, correspondences and account books (a few of these concern the China trade) 1724–1726
 FO 233/189 Collection of Chinese language documents, 1759–1810
 FO 931/1–1954 Kwangtung Provincial Archives: Documents of the Chinese Administration in Kwangtung 1835–1842. The former archive number was FO 682.
 FO 1048/1–20 Collection of Chinese language documents, 1793–1835

London: Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A)

- No. E.56-1910

FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (CFI) AND OTHER CHINA TRADE RECORDS IN FRANCE

(Listed alphabetically by city/archive)

Aix-en-Provence: Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer (ANOM)

- Index: Ferry, Ferrèol de. *La série d'extrême-orient du fonds des archives coloniales conservé aux archives nationales*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1958.
 C.1.7–20 Chine Correspondences, mémoires et documents concernant l'Inde, Compagnie de la Chine, la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, consulat de Canton et documents relatifs au commerce entre la France et la Chine, 1658–1803

La Courneuve: Affaires Étrangères Archives Diplomatiques (AEAD)

Index: 'Mémoires et Documents'

- 8MD Asie 16–21 Correspondences, mémoires et documents concernant l'Inde, la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, consulat de Canton et documents relatifs au commerce entre la France et la Chine, 1773–1827
- 15MD Chine 16 Organisation diplomatique et consulaire, 1794–1850
- 15MD Chine 17 Mémoires sur la Chine, 1793–1855
- 15MD Chine 21 Commerce, douanes, exportations en Chine, 1814–1846

Lorient: Service Historique de la Défense (SHD)

Index: Legrand, A., and Félix Marec. *Inventaire des Archives de la Compagnie des Indes*. Paris: Imprimerie de la Marine, 1978

- 1P299 Correspondance diverse et documents relatifs à la ville de Lorient.
Liasse 31: Lettres de fonctionnaires de la Compagnie en Chine et dans l'Inde, 1754–1762

Montigny-le-Bretonneux: Archives Départementales des Yvelines (ADY)

- E 3056 Lettres de Robien, de Canton et de Bretagne (1767–1780)

Nantes: Archives Départementales du Loire-Atlantique (ADLA)

- E 1245 Lettres de François Terrien, de Canton (1775–1778)

Nantes: Archives Municipales (AMN)

Indexes: Boisrouvray, Xavier du. *Inventaire des Papiers Dobrée (1771–1896)*. Nantes: Bibliothèque Municipale, 1968; and *Voyages à la Chine 1817–1827. Collections Thomas Dobrée*. Nantes: Musées Départementaux de Loire-Atlantique, 1988.

Papiers Dobrée 1771–1896

- 2-A-113 Une lettre datée de Canton, 20 December 1818
- 2-A-118 Correspondances adressée de Canton, 1820–1826
- 8Z 394–403, 407, Mémoires, instructions, équipage, cargaison, connaissements, factures, journaux de bord des navires, correspondances et d'autres documents relatifs au commerce entre la France et la Chine, 1817–1827
- 412–14, 501,
- 506–7, 509–11

Nantes: Bibliothèque Municipale (BMN)

- MS 1172 Six contrats chinois

Paris: Archives Nationales (ANP)

Index: Bourgin, Georges. *Inventaire des Archives de la Marine*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963

- 4JJ 129–41 Voyages en Chine. Journaux de bord, 1698–1788

Archives des Colonies (Col), Ministère de la France D'Outre-Mer, Série CI Extrême Orient.
(These are microfilm copies of the documents listed above in ANOM)

- C.1.7 Chine, mémoires divers.
- C.1.10–16 Correspondance de Chine, 1732–1803

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationales (BNP)

l'album du thé: RESERVE OE-78-PET FOL. RC-B-07235-84 (Folios 1–50)
ID No. IFN-52504111/103, fig. 47

OSTEND GENERAL INDIA COMPANY (GIC) AND OTHER CHINA TRADE RECORDS IN BELGIUM

(Listed alphabetically by city/archive)

Antwerp: City Archive (SAA, Stadsarchief)

Index: Prims, Floris. *Inventaris op het archief der Generale Indische Compagnie (Compagnie d'Ostende) 1723–1777*. Antwerp: Stad Antwerpen, 2000

- IB 2562 Comptes du Comprador du hang à Canton. Expense Boek voor het Factorie en Imp. Schip *Prince de Kaunitz* 1779–1780
- IC 5682 *L'Aigle* et S. *Elisabeth*. Journal concernant le commerce fait par *l'Aigle* et la Ste. *Elisabeth* à Canton 1724
- IC 5684 Casse Boeck, Journael, Groot Boeck. Negotiatie van de laedinghe van den *Arent* en heylighe *Elisabeth* tot Canton anno 1724
- IC 5687 Copey boeck *Marquies de Prié* 1724 Dagboek op het Schip *Marquis de Prié* gehouden 1727. Daarna: de copie van brieven van Capt. Rijngoedt, Canton 1727
- IC 5688 Journal de Laville Pichard, lieutenant du vaisseau *L'Aigle* 1724. Journal pour le service du sieur de Laville Pichar . . . d'Ostende à la Chine, sorti du port le 10 févr. 1724. (Microfilm: MF 002 K)
- IC 5689^{bis} Scheepsjournaal, 'Particulier journaal van Gerard de Bock' 1724
- IC 5690–5692 Grand Livre et Journal du commerce du *Marquis de Prié* a Canton à la Chine 1725. Journal of affairs transacted by . . . supercargoes
- IC 5695 Journael Groot-en Cas Boeck 1727 . . . van de negotie ghederigeert tot Canton door de supercargoes van de *Leeuw*, den *Tiger* en den *Arent*
- IC 5696² Chine. Journal de Waele 1726–1727. Journael van het schip 'den *Arent*'
- IC 5697–5701 Journaalen, Groot Boecken, en Resolutien van de scheepen *Tiger*, *Marquis de Prié*, *Concordia*, en *Leeuw* gedestineerd naer Canton 1726–1727
- IC 5704–5710 Journaalen, Grootboecken, Dagverhaal, Daegelyksche Aenteekeninghe, en Brieven van de scheepen *Concordia*, *Marquis de Prié*, *Apollo*, en *Duc de Lorraine* gedestined naer China 1727–1732
- IC 5710^{bis} Brieven uit Canton aan de directeurs, 1723–1729
- IC 5740–5741 Pakboeken en consumptieboeken – Canton 1724–1732
- IC 5744 Expensie Boeck in de factorie Canton. Anno 1727 . . . van de twee K.I.C. schepen de *Concordia* en *Marquies de Prié*
- IC 5752–5753 Chine. Résolutions, Contats, et Journal par de *Lyon*, *Tiger*, *Eagle*, *Concorde*, et *Marquis de Prié* i Canton 1726–1727
- IC 5757 A Diary of Transactions by Robert Hewer in Canton 1726 (Microfilm: MF 002 K)
- IC 5921^{bis} St. *Joseph* Canton 1723. Encaissage du thee. (Microfilm: MF 002 K)
- IC 5922 Varia Documenten, Brieven, en Papieren van het Indische Compagnie 1720–1734

Antwerp: Plantin-Maretus Museum (PMA)

- 479 Boek Gehouden in Canton
 1214–1215 Dossiers Commerciaux 1650–1787 (1–20)
 1416 Grootboek van Schilder-Maretus 1730–1755

Ghent: University Library (GHL, Universiteits Bibliotheek)

- Ms 1837 Extrait du Journal du Capne Jacobus Larmes Commandant le Vaisseau le *Lion* 1726
 Ms 1839 *Tygers* Journall Ghehouden door my vierde Steerman Jacobus Laurence Cleere. Capn. Michiel Pronckaert 1726 en 1727
 Ms 1840 Journael Gehouden op het Schip genaemt den *Tyger* 1726
 Ms 1845–1846 Journaelen Gehouden op het Schipgenaemt de *Marquis de Prié* 1727
 Ms 1847–1850 Journaelen Gehouden op het Schip genaemt de *Concordia* 1727
 Ms 1883 Resolutie en Contracten van het Scheepen *Leeuw, Tygher* en *Arent* 1726
 Ms 1920 Extract Journal van het Schip *Arent* 1724
 Ms 1923 Journael Gehouden op het Schip genaemt de *Marquis de Prié* 1725
 Ms 1925 Journael Gehouden op het Schip genaemt de *Concordia* 1727.
 Ms 1926 Journael Gehouden op het Schip genaemt de *Le Duc de Loraine* 1732
 Ms 1927 Journael Gehouden op een Schip naer Canton in China 1733
 Ms 1928 Journael Gehouden op het (SOIC) Schip genaemt de *Coninck Frederick* 1738
 Ms 1930 Journael Gehouden op het (SOIC) Schip *Fredericus Rex Suesie* 1744
 Ms 1985 Dagregisters Gehouden in het (VOC) Factorie ter Canton in China 1791
 Ms 1987 Trieste Compagnie Documenten van vijf scheepen vaerende naer China 1771–1784

PORTUGUESE RECORDS RELATED TO MACAO AND CHINA

(Listed alphabetically by city/archive)

Lisbon (documents on microfilm in the Macao Historical Archives)

- Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon (AHU): Macau
 Microfilm 0240, cx. 3, doc. no. 74, 1733.01.07
 Microfilm 0379, cx. 6, Doc. 18, 1770.10.27, Rezumo particular do Commercio da China com as Naçoens Europeas

SWEDISH EAST INDIA COMPANY (SOIC) RECORDS

(Listed alphabetically by city/archive)

Gothenburg: Gothenburg University Library (GUB, Universitetsbibliotek Göteborg)

- Svenska Ostindiska Kompaniets Arkiv (arkivnr saknas):
 Journal för Skeppet *Cron Prins Gustaf* 1781–1783.
 Journal för Skeppet *Gustaf III* 1791–1792.
 Journal för Skeppet *Gustaf Adolph* 1797–1800.

Svenska Ostindiska Kompaniets (SOIC) Arkiv:

- H 22:1 Hoppet Brevkopiebok 1751–1754
 H 22:1 Forsaljning av kompaniets magasinshus i Goteborg
 H 22:1 Förteckning över kompaniets skepp under 1 och 2 oktrojerna 1732–1768
 H 22:1 Förteckning över skeppsexpeditioner under 4 oktrojen 1786–1804
 H 22:1 Förteckning över kompaniets skepp under 4 oktrojen 1786–1806
 H 22:1 Förteckning över laster med utländska fartyg
 H 22:1 Förteckning över skeppslaster 1803–1805
 H 22:1 Liggare över infört och utskäpat nankinstyg 1810–1813
 H 22:1 Orsakerna till kompaniets obestand efter 1786
 H 22.3B Journal of sundry transactions . . . Colin Campbell 1732–1733
 H 22.3C Journal of the voyage by Colin Campbell 1735–1739
 H 22:3D Beskrifning på Skeppet *Götha Leijons* resa till Surat och åtskillige andre
 Indiske Orter 1750–1752. C. H. Braad
 H 22:4A Dagbok för skeppet *Rikens Ständer* 1760–1762
 H 22.4A Journal för skeppet *Prins Carl* 1750–1752 (by Pehr Osbeck)
 H 22:4A Dagbok för skeppet *Prins Carl* 1753–1756
 H 22:4A Journal för skeppet *Adolph Fredrich* 1776–1777
 H 22.4A Rådplägningsbok för skeppet *Götha Leijon* 1750–1752 (och Cassa Bok 1765)
 H 22:4B Journal för skeppet *Terra Nova* 1777–1779
 H 22:5 Brev från Carl von Linne 1763
 H 22:9 Brev från superkargören Anders Ljungstedt till en av kompaniets direktörer
 1807
 H 22:9 Relation beträffande handeln på Batavia, Isle de France och Kanton (19th c.)
 H 22:12 Avräkning med superkargören i Kanton Gustaf Palm 1807
 H 22:13 Skeppet *Factura* 1768–1786 & 1800–1804
 H 22:15–6 Balansräkningar och andra bokslutspapper 1772–1814.

Skeppsredicanten C. C. Ströms papper. H 21:1

- 1148 Journal över Resan till *Fredrik Adolfs Vrak* (1761)
 1149–50 Bärningen från Skeppet *Fredrik Adolfs Vrak* (1761–1762)
 1151 Kontrakt ang. Inköp av Te (1767)
 1152 Promemoria med Råd om Te Inköp (1761)
 1153 Kontrakt ang. Inköp av Te (1767)
 1154 Inköpsräkning ang. 100 kistor Te (1767)
 1155 Uträkning över Diverse Sålde Varor (1767)
 1156–57 Uträkning över Sålte Bly (1767)
 1158–59 Beräkningar till Skeppsritning (1771)
 1160 Intyg ang. Skeppsbesiktning (1771)
 1161 Skeppet *Adolph Fredrichs* last (1777)
 1162 Skeppet *Gustaf III's* Last (1780)
 1163 Skrivelse från superkargören Peter Johan Bladh (1782)
 1164–65 Anmärkningar ang. Rapport till Kejsaren av Kina (1780)
 1166 Edikt av Mandarinen Fou Yune-Lhy (1781)
 1167 Förteckning över Växlar (1781–1782)
 1168 Rulla för skeppet *Sophia Magdalena* (1792–1794)
 1169 Journaler över resor med Skeppen *Gustaf Adolph* och *Sophia Magdalena*
 (1794–1796)
 1170 Brev till Direktionen (1795)

- 1171 Anteckning om Kinesiska Mynt och Vikter (1796)
 1172 Skeppspredikantens persedlar (1796)
 1173 Befattningshavare på Skeppet *Gustaf III* (1796)
 1174 Skattsedel (1797)
 1175 Proviant på Skeppet *Gustaf III* (1797–1798)
 1176–77 Kontrakt ang. Inköp av Te mm. (1797)
 1178 Proviantlistor (1797–1798)
 1179 Omkostnader för Faktoriet (1797–1798)
 1180–82 Utdrag ur Skeppet *Gustaf III*'s Loggbok (1798)
 1183 Skeppet *Sophia Magdalenas* last (1799)
 1184–85 Förteckning över skeppspredikanten C. C. Stroms varor (1799)
 1186 Omkostnader i Kinesisk Hamn (1797)
 1187 Befattningshavare på Skeppen *Drottningen* och *Sophia Magdalena* (1800)
 1188 Förteckning över varor till försaljning i Göteborg (1804)
 1189 Förteckning över kompaniets skepp under 1 och 2 oktrojerna (1732–1768)
 1190 Jämförelsetabell över Kinesiska och Svenska Längdmått och Vikter
 1191 Förhållningsregler Ombord på Kompaniets Skepp
 1192 Befattningshavares Löner
 1193 Skrivelse ang. orlogsskepp
 1194 Bytesavtal. Kinesisk text

Gothenburg: Provincial Archive (GL, Landsarkivet)

Öjareds säteris arkiv A 406. Seriesignum F III.

- 1–5 Förteckning över Svenska Ostindiska Companiets skepp under gamla och nya octroyen, och en kort berättelse om göromålen i Canton med packningslista, kina prisbok u.å., 1720–1764.

Östadsarkiver Privatarkiv A 152

- 57 Räkenskaper för kompaniets affärer I Kanton 1743–1747. Handlingar rörande Ostindiska Kompanier och Chrijstian Tham.

Gothenburg: Maritime Museum (GMM, Sjöfartsmuseum)

Arkivnr saknas: Journal med skeppet *Sophia Magdalena* åhren 1781 och 1782

- SMG 6131 Journal hollen under resan till Canton uti China Skieppet *Cronpritcessan Lovisa Ulrica* 1748–1750

SMG 17993 Journal med skeppet *Finland* åhren 1777, 1778 och 1779

Gothenburg: City Museum (GCM, Stadsmuseet)

Chinese Sea Pass. Yuehaiguan waiyang chuanpai

- 1815 Jiaqing ershi nian shi yue ershiwu ri. Issued to Captain Jianchen. Ruiguo (Sweden). 25 Nov 1815.

- 1860 Xianfeng shi nian jiu yue shiliu ri. Issued to Captain Dideshi. Mugu (probably short for Linguo = Sweden). 29 Oct 1860.

Göteborg Allmänt. Handel och Sjöfart.

I Diverse Papier öfver Svenska Ostindiska Kompaniet

Handel SOIC. 1–6 Sven Kjellberg's notes on the Svenska Ostindiska Kompaniet

Kalmar: City Library (KSB, Stadsbibliotek)

Ms 81 Dagbok med Respective Ostindiska Compagniets Skepp *Adolph Fredrich* under Resan till och från Canton i China under 1768, 69, 70.

Karlskrona: City Library (KKB, Stadsbibliotek)

Journal Hollen På Respect Svenska Ost Ind. Compag. Skiepp *Printz Carl* För åhren 1753, 54, 55 & 1756

Lund: University Library (UBL, Universitetsbibliotek)

Ostindiska kompaniet dokumenter, correspondence, breven, listjen, pamphleter.

Stockholm: National Archives (RAS, Riksarkivet)

UD Huvudarkivet E 2 FA.

13 Skrivelse från konsuler 1809–80. Amoy, Canton, Chefoo, Newchwang, Ningpo. 1847–69.

Handel och Sjöfart: Ostindiska Kompagnier.

54 Ostindiska Kompagnier Documenter 1740–1799.

55 Ostindiska Kompagnier Documenter 1800–1813.

Stockholm: Royal Library (KBS, Kungliga Biblioteket)

C.VI.1.24 Wallenberg, Jacob. Min son på Galeian eller en Ostindisk Resa 1769–1771
Kine. ms14 Yuehaiguan yangchuanpai (Chinese Customs Sea Pass). Qianlong liu nian shier yue shiyi ri. Issued to Captain Yashimeng (Askbom) of Ruiguo (Sweden). 11 Jan 1742.

M 270 Dagbok anteckningar under en Resa till Ostindien 1767–1769.

M 278 Journal hållen ombord på Skeppet *Gustaf III* till och från China 1799–1801.

M 280 Dagbok hållen ombord på Skeppet *Götha Lejon* af Carl Johan Gethe 1746–1749.

M 281a& b Dagbok hållen på resan till China af Gustaf Fridrich Hjortberg 1748–1753.

M 285 Lindahl, Olof. I Korthet war Handelsen 1784.

M 286 Dagbok för Skeppet *Freden* på Resan till China 1746–1747.

M 287:1–2 Osbeck, Pehr. Dagbok öfver en Ostindisk Resa åren 1750, 1751, 1752.

M 288 Dagbok för Skeppet *Ricksens Ständer* på Resan till China 1760–1762.

M 289 Journal ombord på Skeppet *Prins Carl* till China åren 1763–1764

M 292 Dagbok ombord på Skeppet *Götha Lejon* af Carl Fredrich von Schantz 1746–1749.

M 294 Ost. Indisk resa till Canton uti China af Mag. Ternström 1745–1746.

M 295 De Frondat. Journal du Voyage du Perou en Chine 1708–1710. This Journal is published in Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages*, 1901 (see full citation below).

X 948:1–2 Angerstein, Reinhold R. Discourse over Trade.

X 988 Tabelier öfver Coopvardie Siömån och Fartyg för År 1783.

Stockholm: Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences (KVB, Kungliga Vetenskaps-akademiens Bibliotek)

RLF 50 Map of Canton River

- Ms. Braad, C. H. Berättelse om Resan med Skeppet *Hoppet* under Capitaine Fr. Pettersons Commando från Götheborg till Canton i China 1748–1749
- Ms. Braad, C. H. Beskrifning på Skeppet *Götha Leyons* Resa till Surat och åtskillige andre Indianske Orter 1750–1752
- Ms. Dalman, J. F. Dagbok under resan från Götheborg til Canton 1748–1749.
- Ms. Ekeberg, C. G. Dagbok under Resan till och ifrån Canton uti China 1746–1749.
- Ms. Ekeberg, C. G. Kort Dagbok öfver Resan med Skeppet *Hoppet* 1751–1754.

Stockholm: Nordic Museum Archive (NM, Nordiska Museet Arkivet)

Godegårdsarkivet. Ostindiska Handling.

- F17:1–17 Ostindiska Kompagnier Documenter and Private Trade Documents of Jean Abraham Grill 1744–1767. Skepps instruktioner, kassabokföring, protokollsutdrag, och inventarieförteckning. Bokföring med Compradoren 1762–1766. The digital page numbers T1_00001 to T1_07458 are used in this study.

Uppsala: University Library (UUB, Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek)

Handskriftsavdelningen.

- Ihre 186 Christopher Järnström. Journaler förda under Resa till Ostindien.
- L 133 Handlingar om Svenska Handeln. (1734 to end of century.)
- L 181–182 Ost Ind. Handl. Journaler, skeppsladdningar, kopierad, utdrag och anteckningar för diverse Ostindiska skeppen 1727–1762.
- L 183 Journaler öfver flere Skepps Resor til och ifrån Ost Indien 1732–1765.
- L 184 Journal öfver Resan med *Stockholms Slott* till och från Canton i China 1765–1767.
- L 185 Handlingar Rorande Swenska Handelen til Ost Indien Häftad med Lösa Blad 1754–1756. C. H. Braad.
- L 185a Journal på Skeppet *Hoppet* under Resan till och från Canton 1748, Dagelige Anmärkningar öfver Ost Indiske Handelen (1750s–1760s) och Rese Beskrifning till China 1748. C. H. Braad.
- L 186 Diverse anteckningar om Svenska Ostindiska Kompagniets Handel, Räkningar 1759–1761. C. H. Braad.
- L 190 Räkning för Skeppet 1760–1762.
- Westen 163 Anteckningar och Bref af Assessor Christopher Henrik Braad under dess Resor till Ostindien åren 1748–1762.
- X 388 Journal hållen på Resan till Canton i China 1745–1748 af Israel Reinius. [This journal is available in print].
- X 389 Berättelse om resan med Skeppet *Hoppet* från Göteborg till Kanton 1748, 49. Med utsikter af passerade orter. Af C. H. Braad.
- X 390 Berättelse om Resan med Skeppet *Hoppet* under Capitaine Fr. Pettersons Commando 1748–1749. C. H. Braad.
- X 391 Annotationsbok under Resan. C. H. Braad.
- X 392 Resebeskrifning ifrån Sverige till Chinesiska Staden Canton. C. H. Braad.
- X 433 Journaler och Dagbok hållen om Bord på Engelska Skippet Bolton af Carl Leonard August Fries 1838–1839.

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