

The Canton Trade

Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845

PAUL A. VAN DYKE

Published in conjunction with



澳門特別行政區政府文化局

INSTITUTO CULTURAL do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau



香港大學出版社

HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

Hong Kong University Press
The University of Hong Kong
Pokfulam Road
Hong Kong
www.hkupress.org

© 2005 Hong Kong University Press

ISBN 978-962-209-749-0 (*Hardback*)

ISBN 978-962-209-828-2 (*Paperback*)

All rights reserved. No portion of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

Hong Kong University Press gratefully acknowledges the grant from the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Macao Special Administrative Region Government which made possible the sections of colour plates.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3

Printed and bound by Liang Yu Printing Factory Ltd. in Hong Kong, China

CONTENTS

List of Tables	vii
List of Abbreviations	viii
Map of the Pearl River Delta	x
Preface	xi
Acknowledgements	xvii
INTRODUCTION	1
China Opens Its Doors to the World	
CHAPTER ONE	
Forging the Canton System	5
CHAPTER TWO	
Canton Customs Procedures	19
CHAPTER THREE	
Piloting the Pearl River	35
CHAPTER FOUR	
Compradors and the Provisions Trade	51
CHAPTER FIVE	
Linguists	77

CHAPTER SIX	
Administrative Initiatives and Shortcomings	95
CHAPTER SEVEN	
Flag Boats, Silver, Contraband and Rice	117
CHAPTER EIGHT	
Macao Trade, Junk Trade, Capital Market and Commission Merchants	143
CHAPTER NINE	
The Canton Trade in Retrospect	161
CONCLUSION	
The Root of the Problem	177
Notes	183
Bibliography	229
Index	271

TABLES

Table 1	Port Fee Calculations of the VOC Ship <i>Duijfe</i> in 1730	27
Table 2	Canton Food Prices from 1704 to 1833	65
Table 3	Prices of Provisions Charged by Tom Bull & Other Compradors at Whampoa in 1809	68
Table 4	List of Tolls Charged between Macao and Canton on the West River	103
Table 5	Canton Port Fees Paid by 1,470 Foreign Ships, 1722 to 1842	106
Table 6	Inserted Portions of the Grand Chop of Ship <i>Götheborg</i> in 1742	109
Table 7	Tidewaiters' Connivance Fees in Whampoa and Canton, 1834	129
Table 8	Estimated Exports from Canton in 1763–1764, 1766–1769	146
Table 9	Distribution of Canton Exports in 1763–1764, 1766–1769	147
Table 10	Jean Abraham Grill and Jacob Hahr's Balance of Accounts, 1768–1769	155

INTRODUCTION

CHINA OPENS ITS DOORS TO THE WORLD

THE GREAT CANTON TRADE ERA is a phenomenon that has fascinated historians and enthusiasts for 150 years. From its beginnings in the late seventeenth century, the trade grew steadily until it was forced to end in 1842. Many reasons have been given for its collapse, such as its heavy dependence on silver, widespread opium smuggling, internal corruption in Chinese administrative structures and a lack of interest on the part of the Chinese in encouraging international trade. While there is a kernel of truth in all these reasons, none can explain why the trade grew to the extent it did, for so long, despite all those negative factors.

The increasing numbers of foreigners going to Canton and the constant expansion of the overall volume of goods being handled in the port are testimony that the trade's heavy dependence on silver, and widespread corruption, did not, as might have been expected, hinder its growth. If Chinese regulators in Canton were indeed only interested in discouraging and restricting the trade, as is so often the hypothesis of modern histories, how is it that the opposite happened? Because this issue of constant growth has never been fully addressed, my aim is to identify both the strengths and weaknesses of the structure of the trade so we can begin to explain this phenomenon of growth. After we gain a deeper understanding of how the Canton System operated, we can determine better why it failed.

The strength of the Canton System was its flexibility in addressing the concerns of the Beijing court, both in controlling foreigners and trade while at the same time serving their needs. Many mechanisms were built into the port's administrative structure that allowed Customs Superintendents (more commonly known as 'Hoppos' 戶部) and governors-general simultaneously to control and foster trade. These checks and balances kept prices competitive, gave preferential

treatment to large ships and large volumes of goods, and allowed the entire system to operate on credit.

The system's major weaknesses included its inability to change policies and practices to accommodate and address the long-term viability of commerce. Funds and power were siphoned away from the central administration in the effort to accommodate local administrative substructures. This reconciliation led to inefficient management, increased corruption and rampant smuggling.

As these control mechanisms began to weaken, the coastal defence administration was also not recognizing, analyzing or responding to social and economic changes taking place in Europe, North America and Asia. As the number of foreigners entering China increased, so did smuggling. The control mechanisms and coastal defence networks became more strained and less efficient. This combination of ever more threatening inner decay and outside forces gradually led to the system being unable to sustain itself.

In the long-term, the system's strengths overshadowed its weaknesses. The increase in the volume of trade brought an increase in revenues sent to Beijing. The expansion of imperial funds camouflaged a corresponding expansion of structural weaknesses spreading throughout the lower echelons. Smuggling complemented the growth of the legitimate trade in tea, so there was a tendency for Hoppos to tolerate it rather than stop it. They preferred to leave port at the end of their three-year appointments with a well-oiled machine in place that put money into their pockets and state coffers. Because the quashing of contraband and connivances could lead to a corresponding reduction in court revenues, no effective measures were initiated to stop smuggling or to curb corruption.

Structural changes that were needed had to come from Beijing, but a lack of knowledge of the extent of the problems, and perhaps an unwillingness to upset state revenues, prevented that happening. The final blow came when two innovations were introduced to Canton: the press and the steamship. The former educated the foreign community in China and worked to unify and unite their intentions and the latter effectively shifted the balance of power away from the Hoppos into the hands of foreigners. The fact that the Chinese defence systems did not adequately monitor events in the outside world meant that they had no effective means of dealing with the new technology.

At the same time, large East India companies were losing their hold on trade in Canton. By 1834, all monopolistic companies had ceased sending ships to China, and the interests of private traders emerged as the dominant voice. With the press uniting their minds and the steamship encouraging their wills, private traders gained power and resolve to force the changes they had long wanted to make. Once foreigners undermined the foundation of the system by overcoming

the natural constraints of the Pearl River with the steamship, the system collapsed. It could not respond effectively to change because it did not have an administrative body with the initiative, will, power and information necessary to analyze its weaknesses; review the effectiveness of its trade policies and procedures; and make the changes needed to survive. Without a detailed account of all the particulars of trade and changes in the environment, there was no way to arrive at an accurate or comprehensive understanding of the problems. Without a monitoring device with which to correct and counter the weaknesses in administrative networks, policies and procedures, it did not matter that the critical information was not being collected because there was no one to make the changes anyway.

Because of these failings in administrative control, government regulators were forever treating the symptoms rather than curing the disease. Unfortunately, the regulators did not understand the depth of the problems they faced, so the corrective measures taken before 1835 were always too little, too late, and often ill-matched to the situation. This crisis-type management allowed contraband and corruption to put down deep roots within the government, which, in turn, continued to undermine its effectiveness. The lack of any adequate countermeasures allowed trade and the consumption of, and addiction to, opium to grow until it became a real threat to Chinese society. This internal disintegration, which spanned about 100 years, eventually led to foreigners being able to overcome the system.

We begin our analysis in chapter 1 by retracing the establishment of trade at Canton in the early eighteenth century. After laying down the basic foundations of the structure on which the trade could grow, we then go deeper into the administration of the trade in chapter 2. The day-to-day operations are brought to light so we can see more clearly why foreigners gained trust in the system, resulting in a dramatic increase in the numbers of ships going to China.

Chapters 3 through 5 give detailed accounts of three groups of professionals servicing the trade: pilots, compradors and linguists. Chapter 3 examines the process of piloting large ships up and down the shallow Pearl River, so we can see better how Chinese officials controlled their comings and goings. Chapter 4 turns to the maintenance of the foreigners while they were in China by retracing the structure of the provisions trade and the way in which they obtained materials and labourers to accommodate their needs. Chapter 5 looks at the bureaucratic procedures carried out by linguists that enabled customs to control and keep track of the trade so all duties and fees could be collected.

After laying the foundation upon which the trade grew, we then look at some of the changes that were made in the structures and shortcomings that developed. In chapter 6 we retrace some important initiatives introduced in the administration

in an effort to shore up the weaknesses and make the system operate more effectively. Chapter 7 wraps up the examination of the internal mechanisms by looking at the connections between silver, contraband and rice. We retrace the establishment of extensive smuggling networks in the delta, and show the inability of the system to curb the spread of the contraband trade.

Chapter 8 then turns to other factors shaping and influencing the commerce that were not part of the internal mechanisms, namely the Macao trade, junk trade, capital market and commission merchants. After identifying, describing and explaining the major components and factors controlling, influencing and affecting the commerce, we then turn to an analysis in chapter 9 of how all the elements interacted with each other to move the trade forward and define the course it was to take. The conclusion then zeroes in on the reasons why the system could no longer sustain itself and collapsed.

C H A P T E R O N E

FORGING THE CANTON SYSTEM

THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH HAD been interested in establishing trade with China since the early seventeenth century, when they first arrived in Asia. Both nations tried without success to set up a base on the South China coast, such as the Portuguese had done in Macao.¹ The Dutch managed to conduct trade with China via Taiwan after 1624, but then lost that base when the Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong and his fleet were forced to leave China and take control of Taiwan in 1662. In the next two decades the Dutch tried to open direct trade with China, but in the end decided to let the Chinese bring the goods to them in Batavia aboard Chinese junks.² The English carried on a short and limited trade with China via Taiwan and Xiamen (Amoy) in the 1670s and 1680s, but without much regularity or permanence.

Qing attitudes towards contact with foreigners changed for the better after Taiwan came under China's control in 1683. With the island now under its wing, the Imperial Court was more interested in opening up direct commerce with foreigners. In the late 1680s and early 1690s foreign merchant ships began arriving at China's ports to try their luck at establishing trade.

Gradually both parties worked out an arrangement that each could accept (or at least tolerate), which attracted more foreigners to China. These outside contacts continued to increase in conjunction with an expansion of the Chinese junk trade to Southeast Asia.³ Foreigners had to renegotiate the terms of trade with the arrival of each ship, but, by the late 1690s, some regularity began to emerge in the way business was conducted. In the early years of the eighteenth century, Canton quickly emerged as one of the most flexible places to negotiate business. While it was not what one would consider 'free' or 'open', and not always

consistent from one year to the next, the terms that could be agreed upon in Canton were almost always more beneficial than any that foreigners could find in other Chinese ports.

Chinese officials had to consider several factors when wooing foreign traders to China. Regulators had, above all, to accommodate Beijing's concerns about the maintenance of peace, security and harmony in the region. The Imperial Court needed to be assured that foreigners would be properly controlled; once those fears were assuaged, trade could be considered. Commerce, however, also had to take place in a fair and orderly manner so that all the proper taxes, duties and fees were collected and distributed to the appropriate administrative bodies — especially those funds due to Beijing. The Imperial Court had to be satisfied on all of these issues before it would permit foreign trade. Canton quickly proved to be one of the best places to accommodate those concerns.

Once Beijing was satisfied, the Hoppo had to focus on the interests and concerns of the Chinese merchants. To what degree would foreigners be allowed access to the Chinese market? Would prices be controlled and/or regulated? The Hoppo also had to establish port fees that would be charged to each ship and the import and export duties on all goods. These concerns had to be worked out in advance so that transactions were properly monitored. All these factors could affect the profits of Chinese merchants, so a compromise had to be reached before trade could commence. And of course, the stipulations had to be in line with Beijing's commercial policies.

The final concern was the foreigners themselves. If competitive prices were not maintained, if fees, duties and taxes were too high, and if mechanisms used to control trade were too restrictive, then foreigners would not return to China, and that would be the end of trade. It took many years to forge an arrangement that satisfied, or at least addressed, the interests of all parties. The Hoppo in Canton were better at accommodating all these concerns and forging compromises among all parties than those at any other Chinese port, and there were good reasons for this.

Canton had the unique experience of 150 years of controlling trade in Macao. Authorities drew heavily on knowledge gained from dealing with the Portuguese. The governors-general and Hoppo knew commerce could be continued effectively and the concerns of Beijing met if foreigners were not allowed to roam freely, but restricted to a specific area. If all the Chinese doing business with the foreign traders were likewise closely monitored and controlled, then the Hoppo could keep a tight rein on the exchanges. Stopping the flow of daily provisions to foreigners and preventing them coming and going as they wished were powerful tools of persuasion that could be employed to settle disputes that arose. The need

for daily rations, and the fear of having to lie over for a season owing to insufficient time to load merchandise and depart before monsoons changed, put great pressure on foreign traders to solve disputes quickly. These factors and control mechanisms had efficiently regulated the Portuguese trade in Macao and, in the early years of the eighteenth century, they were also employed to good effect in Canton.⁴

When foreigners first arrived in China in the late seventeenth century, they stopped in Macao to try to initiate trade negotiations. Because Macao was under Canton's control, traders had to obtain permission from Canton officials. All the merchandise came from markets in Canton, so that was where the merchant warehouses (known as 'factories') were built.

At various times, some Chinese officials considered making Macao the centre of foreign trade, but the impracticality of transshipping merchandise up and down the river via lighters (sampan), together with the many reservations of the Macao Senate about a huge influx of foreigners (who were often non-Catholics), ensured that such proposals were never realised. As late as 1733, there was still talk about making Macao the centre of the foreign trade, but it never happened.⁵

Keeping the ships in Macao would have required a much more extensive and costly network of river patrols. Customs checkpoints would have had to be established to tax and monitor the many sampans required to accommodate a foreign trade centred in the delta. The great increase in the numbers of vessels travelling from Canton to Macao would have made it much more difficult for customs to control smuggling activities. It was not a viable option at the time to establish a new base such as that which later emerged in Hong Kong. The Chinese government had no desire to allow other foreigners to stay in China permanently, so it was better to set up a system whereby they could visit to trade, but then had to leave after they received their cargos.

In the harbours near Macao, the Chinese authorities had less control over the foreign traders because there was nothing preventing them leaving. The large foreign ships with their deep draughts could not enter the shallow waters west of Macao so they anchored southeast of the city in a mooring known as 'Macao Roads'.⁶ This place was situated east of Cabrite Point on Taipa Island, and gave foreigners easy access to the open sea. They could leave Macao Roads whenever they pleased — even if the duties on their cargos had not been paid — so the place did not accommodate the concerns of Beijing well.

The only physical means of keeping foreign ships in Macao was to maintain a fleet of junks on constant patrol, which was an enormous expense. The Qing authorities could have held the foreigners to ransom by retaining some of their property, their sails or their persons until permission was granted to leave, but that was not conducive to friendly commerce. Further, there was still the problem

of finding shelter during storms. The harbours in the region that could provide safety to large ships were quite a distance from Macao, either upriver or across the delta. Thus, even if the Portuguese had been open to trade development on the peninsula, its geography ruled it out as the centre of commerce. In the end, all these factors led to trade being centred at Canton.

In the early years of this new commerce the initial negotiations between foreigners and Chinese took place in Macao Roads. It usually took a few weeks for the two parties to hammer out all the particulars. The stipulations that were finally agreed on, however, pertained only to particular ships. When new ships arrived, the supercargoes and captains of those vessels had to engage in the same hard bargaining as their predecessors.

The fact that foreigners could leave Macao whenever they pleased gave them the leverage needed to reach a compromise with Chinese administrators. In Chinese harbours where foreigners needed to hire Chinese pilots to guide them out to sea again, local authorities could pressure them to conduct some trade even if they did not agree to all the terms. In fact, officials could also press them to pay fees and administrative costs even if no trade was done.

In Macao no fees were paid until agreements had been reached on all particulars, and only then were foreigners given permission to take their ships upriver. The ships could not go all the way to Canton, but had to anchor twenty kilometers downriver on the south side of Whampoa Island (黃埔島). This mooring was called Whampoa Roads.

Sometimes the Hoppo in Canton tried to tack on additional charges or apply additional restrictions on foreigners after their ships arrived upriver, but those issues would then become part of the negotiations in the next season. Each year, when the foreigners returned, they insisted on having the freedoms they had been granted previously. With time, the two parties became more aware of the terms that each would accept, or at least tolerate, which established precedence. With precedence came regularity.

As duties collected from the trade became more uniform from one year to the next, so did the revenues sent to Beijing, which also established precedence. To protect their reputations the Hoppo needed to match the revenues of previous years, but surpassing them was, of course, even better. It was very much in the personal interests of the Hoppo and governors-general not to make drastic changes in the way that trade was conducted from one year to the next so there was no disruption in these imperial funds. This meant that, in practice, Beijing was the only authority that could make fundamental changes to the conduct of trade.

Precedence held strong sway in trade throughout the Canton era. Port procedures became regularised very quickly, which gave it stability and nurtured

trust. Foreigners continued to test the Canton authorities by trying their luck in other Chinese ports such as Xiamen and Ningbo, but they invariably returned to Canton because of better and more consistent terms obtainable there.

Unlike many other Chinese seaports, Canton was also a major inland river port, which gave it access to inland supplies of provisions, naval stores, and packaging materials. There was a good source of lumber upriver for the manufacture of chests needed to pack the goods, and the Canton hinterland afforded many of the raw materials necessary for the repair of ships and stowage of cargo. There was also a huge artisan community in Canton to service trade and make all necessary repairs to factories and foreign ships. All these goods and services were essential to a smooth, regular and timely commerce. Other Chinese ports had some of these advantages, but Canton had them all.

Its being an inland seaport also helped the Hoppo to monitor trade and to assuage Beijing's fears better than they could at any other port. After the ships went upriver, foreigners depended on the Chinese for all their daily provisions, for pilots to guide their ships and for linguists to negotiate the daily transactions. In the early years of trade, many of these lower-level Chinese came from Macao, where they had learned enough Portuguese to communicate with foreigners. Officials in other Chinese ports could request that Chinese with language skills be sent to them from Macao, but they had to go through the authorities in Canton. The Hoppo in Canton, however, could simply request Chinese in Macao to come upriver whenever they needed them, which was a great advantage in the advancement of commerce.⁷

The Hoppo could also find Chinese who had learned a little of a foreign language in Southeast Asia, in such ports as Xiamen and Quanzhou, but whether they spoke the same language as the foreign persons who arrived was an issue that changed from one ship to the next (e.g., Malay, Siamese, Dutch, English, Portuguese, French, etc.). The Chinese in Macao, on the other hand, often worked their entire lives there and, if they learned any foreign language at all, it was Portuguese. Thus, when going to Canton to trade, all foreigners needed to do was to make sure they had a Portuguese speaker aboard, which was not a difficult requirement to meet for early traders like the English, Dutch and French.

By controlling all Chinese who were in contact with foreigners, the Hoppo in Canton had a stranglehold on the trade, which helped to pacify Beijing. No foreigner could eat, drink or leave China without the Hoppo's permission. And, if all else failed, the Hoppo could ask the Portuguese in Macao to step in and mediate the disputes. All these negotiating and controlling mechanisms, combined with its special relationship with and proximity to Macao, gave Canton a unique trading environment.

Consequently, there is much justification for calling the entire period from about 1700 to 1842 the 'Canton System'. This broad usage of the term is different from the way scholars have used it in the past, but for the purposes of this study it makes more sense.⁸ Because the Canton System was so heavily dependent on the special geographical, topographical and hydrographical qualities of the Pearl River Delta, and on the special relationship with Macao, it was a system that could not be duplicated in any other port. All these factors will be explained in the chapters that follow.

From meagre beginnings the Canton trade grew steadily each decade. From 1699 to 1714, the French East India Company (CFI) and English East India Company (EIC) sent one or two ships each year. Armenian and Muslim traders were already active in the trade by 1700, and other 'Country' (private) traders such as English merchants in India began sending ships annually to Canton as well.⁹ References from 1703 and 1704 show that Canton authorities were patronising and encouraging trade by offering presents to each ship that arrived, by eagerly going down to Macao to negotiate terms with foreigners, and by being fairly regular and consistent with each ship, regardless of its origin or nationality.

Specifics, such as the exact amounts of the port fees and other expenses, took several decades to become standardised, but the way in which those fees were determined was already established by 1704. The methods that customs officers used to monitor foreigners, the mechanisms used to control the flow of goods between Whampoa and Canton, and the formula used to calculate duties on all merchandise were firmly in place by that year.¹⁰

During the entire Canton era, port fees were always based on two measurements: the length and width of ships.¹¹ In the 1720s another charge was added to fees, which became known as the 'emperor's present'. In earlier years a similar charge had been applied to some ships, so this addition was probably a restructuring and formalisation of a previous practice rather than an entirely new expense.¹² In the 1720s the emperor's present became a separate and fixed amount applied to every ship. By 1830 the present had been reduced but the way it was applied and calculated remained the same. From 1830 to 1842 the amount of the present did not change and, in 1843, it was eliminated. The emperor's present and the way that port fees were calculated had no connection to the value of the cargos so they did not fluctuate with inflation. This meant that their basic structure remained the same for 140 years.¹³

The emperor's duties on imports and exports were determined by charging a fixed sum to each unit of measurement, such as a picul, a piece, or a unit of volume or length. Like port fees, duties were not directly connected to the value of merchandise. The Hoppo's portion of the import and export duties and the fees of

all his officers and servants were calculated as a percentage of the emperor's duties. Calculating the fees and duties as a fraction of those due to the emperor ensured that all parties were given appropriate remuneration — no more and no less and always in the same proportion. Besides maintaining the hierarchies of rank and file, this practice gave officials, on all levels, strong incentives to conduct their affairs in such a way that trade was not hindered, but encouraged to grow.¹⁴

After calculations were made, the emperors, Hoppo and servants' charges were added to give the total port fees due for each ship. The normal practice in Canton was for the Chinese merchants to be responsible for all duties owed. In the early years of trade, foreigners sometimes paid port fees directly to the Hoppo, but in later years those charges were passed to the Chinese merchants for collection.

Except for a few cases in the early decades, where merchants tried to use their Beijing connections to conduct business in the delta, freedom to trade with a foreign ship required the approval of either the Hoppo or governor-general in Canton.¹⁵ Permission usually required hefty payments to the authorities. Merchants were usually held responsible for foreigners with whom they traded. In later years this practice became formalised into a system in which one specific merchant or merchant house (which could be a consortium of merchants) was assigned to each ship.

In return for taking responsibility for the ship and the crew, the assigned person or consortium usually insisted on first options to the trade of that vessel, which included first rights to both imports and exports. Merchants were not allowed to monopolise the trade of the ships to which they were assigned, but they usually handled a good share of the cargoes. Those appointed 'guardians' were later called 'security merchants' or '*fiadors*' (*baoshangren* 保商人). The basic structure of the security merchant system was in place by the early 1720s.

As early as 1703 the English dealt with one primary merchant house for the majority of their company trade: Linqua, Anqua and Hemshaw.¹⁶ The EIC continued their contracts with Linqua and Anqua into the 1710s, but in the 1720s, Suqua (Chen Shouguan 陳壽官) emerged as the primary supplier to EIC ships.¹⁷ Suqua and Cudgen of the Ye (葉) family were the primary suppliers of the Ostend General India Company (GIC) from at least 1720 to 1726.¹⁸

In 1726, Robert Hewer, supercargo for the GIC, gave the following report, which shows clearly what was expected of these merchant-guardians:

Wee ... made Cudgin & Suqua undertake to be our Protectors and Guardians, for it is always necessary at this Port, in cases of any Disputes or Quarrel with the Government, or any other People, occassion'd by your trade, Sailors or other ways, to have a Principal Merchant or Merchants, who undertakes to be

answerable for all your actions, and is always ready to be called upon for that purpose.¹⁹

As major suppliers of export goods, Chinese merchants were held responsible for the payment of port fees of each ship they serviced. In 1722, for example, the English mentioned that Suqua was responsible for payment of the port fees for that year.²⁰ In 1724 Suqua was again appointed to stand 'security' for the measurement of the EIC ships, and in 1727 Ton Hunqua stood security.²¹

In the early 1730s the Dutch East India Company (VOC) also depended primarily on one merchant for each ship, Tan Tinqu (Chen Tengguan 陳騰官) or Beau Quiqua (Li Kaiguan 黎開觀).²² In 1732 the first Swedish East India Company (SOIC) ship in Canton also appointed one specific merchant to be responsible for and supply most of their cargo.²³ In 1734 the Danish Asiatic Company (DAC) was also dealing with one primary merchant or trading house for the cargo of each ship.²⁴ Thus, by the early 1730s, the practice of making one person responsible for each ship had emerged as the dominant way in which companies conducted business in Canton.

This policy appears to have developed out of private preference rather than being forced upon the traders by the Hoppo. Chinese merchants could be persuaded to offer better terms if they were granted exclusive privileges to a large share of the ships' imports and exports, but in some cases the Chinese did not want the entire import cargos. If that happened, then foreigners might insist on taking imports in exchange for the privilege of supplying a good share of the exports. In other cases, the Chinese insisted on first rights to the imports, so the practice varied from year to year and from ship to ship.

The granting of special privileges to the cargos of each ship was a common tool used by both the foreign supercargoes and the Chinese merchants to negotiate the best terms. By the late 1730s the customs administration had incorporated the practice into its own policies by insisting on a 'security merchant' for each ship. This requirement remained in force until the end of the system in 1842.

This policy was also in agreement with other practices in the administration. Merchants, linguists, compradors (provision purveyors) and pilots were all expected to monitor the foreigners during their stay in China and report any troubles that arose. Their specific responsibilities will be explained in the chapters that follow, but it is important to mention here that this personal responsibility-management structure was a fundamental aspect of the control of trade from the beginning.

The 1730s saw a good deal of restructuring within the customs network. In 1731 the vice-magistrate from the Xiangshan County (香山縣) seat was moved to a military garrison (Junminfu 軍民府) at Qianshan (前山). The new location

gave customs a better watch over the trade and foreigners in Macao so that, if any trouble arose, they could quickly move in and take control. This was also the year linguists and compradors were officially licensed and brought more clearly under their respective administrative units.²⁵

By the 1740s Customs had tightened the collection of many of the transaction fees, so that almost all costs connected to trade had become regularised. In February 1741 all foreigners were required to move to Macao in the off-season, which further helped to minimise conflicts (see Plate 2).²⁶ Because the documentation from the 1740s and 1750s is incomplete, there has been considerable confusion about when the foreigners were ordered to leave Canton. The regular flow of Portuguese going to Canton and *Hong* merchants going to Macao has also been much underrepresented in the historical literature.

One of the possible reasons for foreign residents not showing up in the Macao records in these decades is because it was illegal for citizens to rent houses to outsiders before 1757.²⁷ No applications would have been sent to the Macao Senate asking for permission, and therefore no records would have been generated. It is also possible that the records simply did not survive, because many of the early Macao documents are missing.²⁸ Because of these uncertainties and confusion, we will point out a few references below (there are others) that help clarify these issues.

In 1737 several Dutch officers remained in Canton year-round, and the French supercargoes spent the off-season from May to July in Macao. In this year, two Manila ships arrived at Macao, and the captains and supercargoes went to Canton and stayed there from February to May (which means their crews were in Macao during that time).²⁹ The Danish, Dutch, English and French supercargoes spent the off-season in Macao in 1741, after they were ordered to leave Canton in February.³⁰ In 1744, the French, Danish and Swedish supercargoes moved to Macao in the off-season and returned to Canton when their ships arrived.³¹ In 1748, Macao resident Miguel Pedro Heytor rented a room to Armenian Gregorio, who was probably in China to trade.³²

In 1755, the French and English supercargoes were in Macao from April to July, but the Swedish officers remained in Canton year-round. Portuguese supercargoes from Goa, who had arrived at Macao on July 12, were in Canton from July 22 to November 9 purchasing their cargo.³³ In the same year, governor-general Li Shiyao reiterated the requirement to leave Canton in the off-season, which suggests that some foreigners (like the Swedes) were ignoring it.³⁴ In 1757, Armenian Antonio Baptista rented a house in Macao, and Armenians continued to stay in Macao each year to the end of the century.³⁵

Despite the many years missing from the data, the examples suggest that foreigners were probably staying in Macao fairly regularly, perhaps every year. As

long as it was a temporary stay, they were allowed (unofficially) to reside in the city before 1757 even though it was illegal to rent houses. But there were concerns among Macao merchants that these outsiders would bring more damage to the trade, and, of course, many of them were non-Catholics so there was opposition to allowing them to stay there.³⁶ In early-1759 after the James Flint affair the emperor again reiterated strict compliance with the requirement to leave Canton, but some foreigners continued to procrastinate.³⁷ It was not until 1765, that the move to Macao became routine.³⁸

As far as the Portuguese traders in Macao were concerned, they were, of course, going to Canton each year to purchase their cargos. Spanish traders from Manila (some of whom were consigned by Manila Chinese) were allowed to bring their ships to Macao and they went to Canton as well. The Portuguese supercargoes stayed in apartments provided by the *Hong* merchants with whom they did business, and did not rent out separate factories like the other foreigners. For much of the eighteenth century, the Spanish appear to have had a similar arrangement, but in 1785, they also began renting a factory in Canton.³⁹

When the *Hong* merchants went to Macao to examine the imports that had arrived, they either stayed in apartments provided by the Portuguese and Spanish or in the residences of their agents and relatives living there. They would typically stay a week or two negotiating that business. These were private arrangements, which is why they do not show up in the Macao records.⁴⁰

As we can see, besides foreign ships and Asian junks going up and down the river, there was a steady flow of officers, merchants and cargo sampans making the trip each year. All foreign movements between the two cities were closely monitored by the Yuehaiguan (粵海關) so Hoppo knew where everyone was at all times. Even though the Portuguese and Spanish merchants paid their port fees and duties in Macao, Canton kept track of ships arriving there, because the Yuehaiguan had to give permission for the Macao merchants to come upriver and for the *Hong* merchants to ship their goods between the two cities. All other foreigners paid their port fees and duties in Canton.

Because import and export duties were not connected to the value of the merchandise, the only way they could be adjusted to accommodate a rise in prices was to change the fixed rates. Hoppo, however, were reluctant to introduce new pricing structures because if such a move led to a reduction in the volume of goods being traded, they would be criticised by Beijing. Beijing was also reluctant to interfere with pricing structures for the same reason. As a consequence many of the fees, duties and charges levied on foreigners remained constant for long periods, and even when some were raised it was done infrequently. This regularity helped to create uniformity, which nurtured trust.

The tolls and fees for linguists, compradors and river pilots were all fairly uniform in these early decades. The river tolls between Whampoa and Canton were charged according to the number of visits to each tollhouse; linguists' fees were charged at one percent of the ship's cargo plus additional fixed fees for other services; compradors' prices for provisions were always set according to their unit of measure in the local market, which was usually calculated by weight, but could also be tabulated by the piece or the length; and Macao pilots' fees were charged according to the size of the ships and how long it took to guide them upriver (two or three days).

If pilots hired additional boats or helpers to assist them, or if foreigners wanted to employ pilots to transport passengers from ship to shore or deliver messages, then those expenses were listed separately. All these fees were well established by the time the Europeans began trading in Canton because Asian junks were already using their services.⁴¹ Tollhouse keepers, linguists and compradors had long been servicing the Portuguese and Spanish trade in Canton, Macao and Manila, so it is not surprising that those fees were consistent.

Specific freedoms afforded to foreigners during their stay in Canton were renegotiated each year, but their basic parameters were already established by 1704. Foreigners insisted on the freedom to choose their merchants, linguists, compradors, pilots and the factories they rented for the season. They requested that prices be allowed to float according to the forces of supply and demand, and they asked that their silver be allowed to land on shore free of duties. While foreigners were never granted any of these freedoms to the extent that they desired, the Canton authorities did partially accommodate their demands.

Just like the Portuguese in Macao, there was never a time when the foreigners in Canton could associate with whomever they desired, but they were allowed a choice within a select group of individuals. There were always several linguists, compradors and pilots to choose from. There were also several factories that foreigners could choose to rent in Canton, but they were all situated within a specific area outside the city walls. Access to Chinese markets was always restricted to a few select merchants, but, for the most part, the Hoppo and/or the governor-general ensured that there were several of them to choose from who competed with each other for the privilege of that trade.

The competition that prevailed within each select group of merchants, linguists, compradors, pilots and landlords helped lower the prices and costs of their goods, services and rents. Thus, even though it was not an entirely 'open' or 'free' market, there were measures built into the structure to accommodate the foreigners' demands. On the whole, prices fluctuated according to the pressures of supply and demand. There were times when Chinese merchants attempted to

monopolise the trade of one company or form a cartel to set prices, but such efforts were always short-lived.

If monopolising and price-setting had been allowed to continue in Canton, then the foreigners might have been reluctant to return. If the foreigners did not return, then the Hoppo and governors-general might be summoned to Beijing to give an account of their actions, so it was not in their interests to encourage cartels that could control access to markets or set prices. The fee structures gave Chinese officials on all levels incentives to encourage the trade to grow, so there were several reasons why they would not want prices to be fixed.

Because of the advantages that Canton offered to foreigners, from 1700 to 1842, traders rarely refused to return to Canton because they were unable to negotiate 'acceptable' terms. There were many foreigners who thought the terms were barely 'tolerable', but they rarely reached a point where they were considered 'intolerable'. This accommodating spirit was a prominent characteristic of the trade in Canton — much more so than other Chinese ports. Sometimes the negotiations took several weeks or months to iron out, but Canton administrators were sufficiently flexible and knowledgeable to come up with terms that both the foreigners and Beijing could accept.

It was not until 1757, when the English tried to establish trade at Chusan, that another Chinese port formed any kind of threat to the dominance of Canton. Once the emperor caught wind of this development, however, he quickly intervened by restricting all foreign trade (except Russian and Japanese) to Canton. Because of this move we will never know if Chusan could have competed with Canton at balancing the concerns of the Imperial Court, while at the same time accommodating and encouraging trade to grow. The emperor's harsh and rapid response to the intrusion suggests that Chusan could never have pacified Beijing as well as Canton did.

From 1757 to 1842 Canton was officially designated China's centre of foreign trade.⁴² In reality, however, the decree only put into writing what was already fact. The expertise of the Canton merchants and officials in negotiating and conducting trade, coupled with the other advantages enjoyed by Canton, compared with other Chinese harbours, meant that the port had already become the centre for foreign trade by the early eighteenth century.

As far as the control and administration of foreigners were concerned, there were other reasons why the Chinese government preferred to keep trade centred in Canton. The restricted access of a long shallow river that deep-draughted foreign ships could only navigate with the flow and ebb of the tides gave administrators the assurance they would always be in control of their guests. The Hoppo had a say over who would be allowed up the river and when they would be allowed to

leave. Even if a small foreign vessel with a shallow draught tried to enter or leave Canton illegally, it could still only move with the ebb and flow of the tides. This allowed the Hoppo time to learn of their illegal manoeuvres and to dispatch patrols to block their passage.

Whampoa was a good, safe anchorage that provided protection against the typhoons in the South China Sea. The harbour had nothing of significance that the foreigners could damage or threaten, and it was out of sight and out of gun-range of Canton. As long as foreign ships were restricted to Whampoa, they were at a safe distance from both the local provincial centre of government and the central political administration in Beijing. All these factors combined to make Canton the obvious centre of China's foreign trade.

From 1717 to 1732 the GIC sent ships to Canton, and in 1727 the Dutch dispatched a small sloop to try out the trade.⁴³ In 1729 the first VOC ship arrived; in 1731 the first Danish ship went upriver; and in 1732 the first SOIC ship anchored in Whampoa. By this time private English, French, Indian, Armenian, Muslim and other traders were visiting Canton on a regular basis.⁴⁴ Portuguese and Spanish ships were, of course, still trading with Canton via Macao, so the overall volume of trade expanded dramatically in its first 30 years.

By the mid-1730s, enough regularity had been built into the procedures that foreign supercargoes and captains no longer waited in Macao to negotiate the terms, but sent their ships directly upriver as soon as their permits were obtained. They had gained enough confidence in the system that they did not feel the need to negotiate the terms in advance. Of course, they still complained unceasingly about some of the restrictive measures and the 'high fees' charged, but those prejudices can be found in business regardless of where or when it is conducted.

When we analyse the Canton trade from the records of foreign supercargoes, we need to look past all these complaints about how expensive and restrictive the trade was and consider the wider historical evidence. Businessmen and women are always battling with those in charge of regulating commerce in order to have restrictions removed so that trade will expand. It does not necessarily matter whether their complaints are justified or whether the way trade is being conducted is fair and mutually advantageous. All that matters is that in some way constant pressure to remove or modify existing restrictions is placed on regulators.

Constant downward pressure also needs to be maintained on the costs of services and prices of commodities so they do not rise. Again, it also does not matter whether or not the costs or prices are already at a fair rate. The primary responsibility of all supercargoes trading at Canton was to negotiate the figures down to the point at which they maximised profits. For this reason alone, we need to look at the wider historical evidence.

In Canton's case, we can see that the authorities experimented with many different policies and practices until they found something that worked. By the mid-1730s, the foreigners had gained sufficient trust in the system, and with trust came growth. The fact that traders continued to return year after year and that more ships arrived with each passing decade is testimony that they were content with the way trade was being conducted in China, despite their endless complaints.⁴⁵

Chapter 2 goes into greater detail on the specific nature of the daily transactions of the trade so we can see more clearly why foreigners gained trust in the system.

NOTES

PREFACE

1. Here is a partial list of subjects and authors covering different aspects of the history during the Canton era. 1) American trade with China: Morison (1921), Dulles (1930), Dermigny (1964), Goldstein (1978), Christman (1984), Lee (1984), Grant (1988), Dudden (1992), Downs (1997); 2) Chinese *Hong* merchants: Cordier (1902), Liang (1932), White (1967), Ch'en (1990), Cheong (1997), Huang and Pang (2001), Van Dyke (2004); 3) Portuguese trade with China: Boxer (1948, 1959, 1969), Manguin (1984), Souza (1986), Guimarães (1996), Do Vale (1997), Ptak (2004); 4) Spanish trade with China: Chaunu (1960), Souza (1986), Lourido (2002), Legarda (1999); 5) Danish trade with China: Larsen (1932), Rasch and Sveistrup (1948), Bro-Jørgensen and Rasch (1969), Gøbel (1978), Diller (1999); 6) Dutch trade with China: Van der Kemp (1919), Mansvelt (1922), Du Hullu (1923), Glamann (1958), Jörg (1982), Bruijn and Gaastra (1987, 1993); 7) English trade with China: Eames (1909), Morse (1926), Pritchard (1936), Costin (1937), Greenberg (1951), Dermigny (1964), Chaudhuri (1978), Ch'en (1990), Cheong (1997), Le Pichon (1998); 8) French trade with China: Madrolle (1901), Sottas (1905), Cordier (1908), Conan (1942), Dermigny (1964), Manning (1996), Cheong (1997); 9) Belgian trade with China: Degryse (1974), Parmentier (1996); 10) Prussian trade with China: Cordier (1920); 11) Swedish trade with China: Hellstenius (1860), Nyström (1883), Olán (1920), Lind (1923), Kjellberg (1974), Koninckx (1980), Johansson, ed. (1992); 12) Armenian trade with China: Smith and Van Dyke (2003, 2004); 13) Muslim trade with China: Smith and Van Dyke (2004); 14) Parsee trade with China: Guo (2001, 2003), Smith (2004), Thampi (2004), Saksena (2004).
2. A workshop on the *Hong* merchants in October 2003 at the Harvard Fairbank Center also brought out many new aspects of their lives. Here are a few of the recent studies and collections of articles that have helped to expand the work: Steven Miles, 'Local Matters: Lineage, Scholarship and the Xuehaitang Academy in the Construction of

- Regional Identities in South China, 1810–1880' (Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Washington, 2000); Huang Qichen (黃启臣) and Pang Xinping (庞新平), *Ming-Qing Guangdong Shangren* (明清广东商人 Guangdong Merchants in the Ming and Ching Dynasty) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Jingji Chuban She, 2001); Huang Qichen, ed. *Guangdong Haishang Sichou zhi Lushi* (广东海上絲綢之路史 History of Guangdong's Maritime Silk Road) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Jingji Chubanshe, 2003); Zhang Wenqin, et al, eds. *Guangzhou Shisan Hang Cangsang* (广州十三行滄桑 The Thirteen Hong in Guangzhou) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Ditu Chuban She, 2001).
3. Here is a partial list of subjects and authors. 1) Porcelain: Jörg (1982), Howard (1994); 2) Silk: Li (1981), So (1986); 3) Tea: Fortune (1857), Witham (1947), Hatano (1952), Whitbeck (1965), Chaudhuri (1978), Lin F. (1982), Lin Z. (1982), Mui and Mui (1984), Chen C. (1984), Hao (1986), Ch'en (1989), Gardella (1994); 4) All the above, plus lacquerware, export paintings, etc.: Bro-Jørgensen and Rasch (1969), Lee (1984), Wirgin (1998).
 4. Here is a partial list of authors. Opium & Opium Wars: Collis (1946), Waley (1958), Dermigny (1964), Fay (1975), Beeching (1975), Wakeman (1978), Downs (1997), Trocki (1999).

CHAPTER ONE

1. For an account of the English and Dutch trying to open up the China trade, see Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defense (1620–1622): Prelude to the Dutch Occupation of Taiwan', in *Around and about Formosa : Essays in honor of professor Ts'ao Yung-ho*, ed. by Leonard Blussé (Taipei : Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, [Dist. SMC Publishing Inc., Taipei], 2003), 61–81.
2. Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company* (Providence: Foris Publications, 1988); and John E. Wills, Jr., *Pepper, Guns, & Parleys. The Dutch East India Company and China, 1622–1681* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974). See also Jonathan D. Spence and John E. Wills, Jr., *From Ming to Ch'ing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); John E. Wills, Jr., *Embassies and Illusions, Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi, 1666–1687* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); John E. Wills, Jr., 'China's Farther Shores: Continuities and Changes in the Destination Ports of China's Foreign Trade, 1680–1690', in Roderick Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund, eds., *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400–1750* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991), 53–77.
3. Wills, *Pepper, Guns, & Parleys*, 196.
4. K. C. Fok, 'The Macao Formula: A Study of Chinese Management of Westerners from the Mid-Sixteenth Century to the Opium War Period' (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Hawaii, 1978).
5. Fei Chengkang, *Macao 400 Years* (Shanghai: The Publishing House of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, 1996), 133–4; Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834*. 5 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966), 1:198; and Tereza Sena, 'The Question of "Foreigners" Entering Macao in the 18th Century: Macao, a Metropolis of Equilibrium?', in *Culture of Metropolis in Macao* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2001), 159–76.

6. Macao's inner harbour and the inner anchorage on Taipa Island were continually becoming shallower owing to silting. In the eighteenth century, vessels with draughts of eighteen feet could not enter those harbours. By 1835, American vessels with draughts of sixteen feet were also warned that the waters near Macao were too shallow for them. *Canton Register* (24 November 1835).
7. References from the early eighteenth century show the linguists speaking Portuguese, and by the early 1730s, switching to pidgin English. Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690–1845' (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Southern California, 2002), 304–5; and Kingsley Bolton, *Chinese Englishes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 146–9.
8. Most histories of the China trade focus on policy rather than practice, and as a consequence they refer to the 'Canton System' as the period when the trade was 'officially' restricted to Canton (from the Flint Affair in 1757 to the end of the system in 1842). However, by the early eighteenth century, the trade was already centred in Canton. As far as the day-to-day transactions and the basic structure of the trade are concerned, there were no significant changes before or after 1757. Thus, as far as this study is concerned, the change in policy in this year is not a marker between two periods. The entire period from 1700 to 1842 will be referred to here as the 'Canton System'.
9. Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Armenian Footprints in Macau', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No. 8 (October 2003), 20–39; and Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Muslims in the Pearl River Delta, 1700 to 1930', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No. 10 (April 2004), 6–15.
10. There are very few detailed records from this early period. The best and most extensive account of the trade in 1704 is found in Lockyer, but Hamilton has also left us with some detail for 1703 and Barlow for 1702. Lockyer stated that the private Madras traders preferred Canton to Amoy because of the 'extravagant Demands, Charges, and Abuses of the Mandareens' in the latter port. Charles Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade in India* (London: S. Crouch, 1711), 98–9; Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies ... from the year 1688–1723* (London: 1739; reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995), 2:216–35; and Alfred Basil Lubbock, ed., *Barlow's Journal of his Life at Sea in King's Ships, East & West Indiamen & other Merchantmen from 1659 to 1703*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1934). The early French voyages to China can be found in C. Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français à la Chine. La Compagnie de la Chine 1698–1719* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1901); and E. A. Voretzsch, ed., *François Froger. Relation du Premier Voyage des Français à la Chine fait en 1698, 1699 et 1700 sur le Vaisseau 'L'Amphitrite'* (Leipzig: Asia Major, 1926).
11. The port fees for the French ship *L'Amphitrite* in 1699 were determined with only the length and width measurements. Voretzsch, ed., *François Froger*, 103. There are many more records for the later years, and they clearly show that there was no change in the practice until 1842.
12. In 1702, for example, the Hoppo in Canton pressured each foreign ship to give him 'a present of 2,000 in moneys, besides several other gifts out of our goods and cargo' before he would allow any merchandise to be bought or sold. This could be an early

- reference to what later became the ‘emperor’s present’. Lubbock, ed., *Barlow’s Journal*, 2:538.
13. For a more thorough analysis of the calculation of the port fees, see Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, chapter 1.
 14. Many lists have survived of the import and export duties and the way they were calculated. For a couple of early and later examples see Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:93–4; Oriental and India Office Library, London (OIO): Mss Eur D 0963 ‘Trade-Currency Book’ (1757), 84–6; and Robert Morrison, *Notices Concerning China, and the Port of Canton* (Malacca: Mission Press, 1823), 39–49.
 15. Merchants who used their connections to the imperial family to trade in Canton were called ‘Mandarin’s Merchants’ or ‘Emperor’s Merchants’. Several examples can be seen in Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 1.
 16. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, 2:228–9.
 17. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 1.
 18. Paul A. Van Dyke, ‘The Ye Merchants of Canton, 1720–1804’, *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No. 13 (January 2005), 6–47, and Jan Parmentier, *Tea Time in Flanders* (Ghent: Lundion Press, 1996), 101. The GIC records that were consulted are listed in the Bibliography.
 19. Stadsarchief (City Archive), Antwerp (SAA): IC 5757.
 20. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:173.
 21. OIO: G/12/25–26. Morse mentions that the ‘security merchant’ system did not begin until 1736. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:247. However, other references suggest that it began earlier. National Archives, The Hague (NAH): VOC 4374, 4375, 4376, 4377.
 22. NAH: VOC 4374–4378.
 23. Paul Hallberg and Christian Koninckx, eds., *A Passage to China*, by Colin Campbell (Gothenburg: Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, 1996), 90 n.170, 156.
 24. There are no Danish trade figures available before 1734. Rigsarkivet (State Archives), Copenhagen (RAC): Ask 2190–2203.
 25. Zhao Chunchen (趙春晨), ed. *Aomen Jilüe* (澳門記略 A Brief Record of Macau), by Yin Guangren (印光任) and Zhang Rulin (張汝霖) (1751; Macau: Aomen wenhua sidu 澳門文化司睹, 1992), 2–3.
 26. Plate 2 is the Danish account of this declaration. On 5 February 1741, the linguists were ordered by the governor-general (Tsiun Touck), Nanhai County magistrate (Namheyhjen) and the Hoppo to inform all foreigners still in Canton they had to leave if they did not have a ship in China. From this time forward, all foreigners were required to leave Canton in the off-season. RAC: Ask 1120. It is not clear what triggered the February 1741 proclamation. We know it had nothing to do with Lord Anson and his flagship *Centurion*, because he did not arrive in China until November 1742. The edict may have had something to do with the Dutch massacre of Chinese in Batavia in October 1740. There was much concern about this tragedy among Canton Chinese when they heard of it, and word of the incident would have probably reached China by November or December. In July 1741, the Dutch were restricted to Macao because of the massacre, but were later allowed to go to Canton again. Fei, *Macao 400 Years*, 134–135; Blussé, *Strange Company*, 94–95; Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:274–281; William Rimmelink, *The Chinese War and the Collapse of the Javanese State, 1725–*

- 1743 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), 126–9; NAH: Canton 191; RAC: Ask 1120; and Roderich Ptak, ‘Macau: Trade and Society, circa 1740–1760’, in *Maritime China in Transition 1750–1850*, eds. Wang Gungwu and Ng Chin-keong (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 193.
27. Ptak, ‘Macau: Trade and Society, circa 1740–1760’, 204–5.
 28. These assumptions are the author’s alone, but are based on many conversations with Carl T. Smith about why the foreigners do not show up in the Portuguese records. Many Portuguese records from the early eighteenth century no longer exist.
 29. NAH: VOC 2410; and SAA: IC. 5757.
 30. RAC: Ask 1120.
 31. James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota (JFB): 1732 flr. Charles Irvine (d. 1771). Archive of papers relating to the Swedish East India Company: 1732–1774.
 32. Smith and Van Dyke, ‘Armenian Footprints in Macao’, 27.
 33. Gothenburg Universitetsbibliotek (University Library) (GUB): H22.4a:1199 ‘Dagbok på Resan med Skieppet *Printz Carl Ahr* 1753–1756’.
 34. Ptak, ‘Macau: Trade and Society, circa 1740–1760’, 204–5.
 35. Smith and Van Dyke, ‘Armenian Footprints in Macao’, 27–36.
 36. Ptak, ‘Macau: Trade and Society, circa 1740–1760’, 204–5.
 37. JFB: B 1758 fNe. In 1759, James Flint, the interpreter for the EIC, was arrested for going to Ningbo contrary to the emperor’s orders. He was imprisoned for three years as punishment.
 38. There is some evidence to suggest that the Mandarins were using this requirement to extract money from foreigners. In 1763, for example, the linguists offered to arrange for the Dutch to stay in Canton the entire season for a payment of 1,500 Spanish reals. But such bribery became less effective after the Flint affair in 1759. The Dutch did not hand over the money. The English supercargoes’ claim in 1759 that they knew nothing of the ‘ancient Order for Foreigners to leave Canton’ is misleading, and was probably a ploy to extend their stay. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:76–90; and NAH: Canton 71–4.
 39. The Spanish factory was located on the west end of the quay between the Danish and French factories. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire. The Period of Subjection 1834–1911*, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910; reprint, Taipei: Yung Mei Mei Publishing, 1966), 3:70–3; Morse, *Chronicles*, 2: 119, 122–3; NAH: Canton 91; Kuo-tung Anthony Ch’en, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760–1843*, 2 vols. (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990), 7, 268, 273n.7.
 40. The Swedish and Dutch records provide some of the best detail about the Portuguese and Spanish officers and cargos moving regularly between Canton and Macao. Those records also show the *Hong* merchants going to Macao as soon as the ships arrived to examine and purchase the Portuguese and Spanish imports. The larger houses maintained agents in Macao to take care of transferring all the goods between the two cities. See Bibliography for references.
 41. Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade*, 98–177; Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, 2:216–35; and Royal Library, Stockholm (KBS): M295, ‘Journal du Voyage du Perou en Chine’, by Commander De Frondat in 1708–1710.

42. For an extract from the emperor's 1757 edict, see Chen Bojian (陈柏坚) and Huang Qichen (黄启臣), *Guangzhou Wai Mao Shi* (广州外贸史 The History of Guangzhou's Foreign Trade) 3 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangzhou Chubanshe 广州出版社, 1995), 1:238–9.
43. 'Yesterday arrived at Wampo a Dutch Sloop of about 70 Tons named the New: Mode Capt. Jacobus Van den Beake. She is said to be Freightd by the Chinese that live at Batavia, but it is thought she comes to try if the Chinese here will suffer the Dutch Bottoms to trade again into this Country'. OIO: G/12/26. Captain Jacobus van den Beake and his first mate were both Dutch officers from Batavia. SAA: IC 5704–5705; and Universiteits Bibliotheek, Ghent (UBG): Ms 1849, 1925.
44. Smith and Van Dyke, 'Armenian Footprints in Macau', 20–39; Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Four Armenian Families', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No. 8 (October 2003), 40–50; and Smith and Van Dyke, 'Muslims in the Pearl River Delta', 6–15.
45. Such statements as 'no Trade can support the heavy Impositions we labor under' are endemic in foreign records, yet those very same foreigners return year after year to trade, despite no changes being made in the fees that they say were 'intolerable'. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:78.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Zhao, ed. *Aomen Jiliüe*; and Fei, *Macao 400 Years*, 133–40.
2. The administrative hierarchy is more complicated than what is presented here. Macao was under the administration of the military brigade, which was itself under the Xiangshan County seat. Humen was also connected to a hierarchy of magistrates. But the entire delta was under the care of the Canton office, which had the final say on how things were to be administered.
3. NAH: Canton 73–8; Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:92–3; Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters*, 1762 (Macao: Cultural Institute, forthcoming); and Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters*, 1763 (Macao: Cultural Institute, forthcoming). Hereafter these translated and printed *Dagregisters* will be referred to as CMD 1762 and 1763, respectively.
4. NAH: Canton 73.
5. CMD 1762 and 1763; NAH: Canton 73–8; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:15, 18, 22, 33 and 5:92–3.
6. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:77–9 and 2:19.
7. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:21–2 and 5:105.
8. The Hoppo House was a short distance up Yat-tak-she Street, which ran east from the Yaoulan Gate. Many of the Chinese names and customs procedures in the preceding paragraphs were taken from Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, passim.
9. For a summary of the requirements of all ships entering China, see Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library (PL): 'Logbook of Frigate Congress 1819–1820'; Morrison, *Notes Concerning China*, 29; John Robert Morrison, *A Chinese Commercial Guide. Consisting of a Collection of Details Respecting Foreign Trade in China* (Canton: Albion Press, 1834), 14; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:288.

10. It was also common in many western ports for tidewaiters to attend the ships upon arrival, to ensure that nothing was loaded or unloaded without duties being paid. Jean Gordon Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade 1784–1844* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1984), 34; and George Dixon, *A Voyage Round the World* (London: Geo. Goulding, 1789; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 291.
11. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 11–2; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:91.
12. Osbeck has left us with transliterated names (in Swedish) for the five tollhouses between Whampoa and Bocca Tigris. He numbers them 4 through 8. Moving downriver from Whampoa, they were: 4) Øtjy-funn, 5) Ø-tjång, 6) Bactsja-funn, 7) Tänn-tao, and 8) Pho-munn. Pehr Osbeck, *Dagbok öfver en Ostindisk Resa åren 1750, 1751, 1752* (Stockholm: 1757; reprint, Redviva Publishing House, 1969), 132. The English translation of Osbeck's *Dagbok* lists them as: 4) Oty, 5) O-tyoang, 6) Baxia-tunn, 7) Toann-tao, and 8) Pho-munn. John Reinhold Forster, trans., *A Voyage to China and the East Indies*, by Peter Osbeck (London: Benjamin White, 1771), 203.
13. 'By this time, the Compradore is on board, and Jack Hoppo has fastened his boat by a small chain to the stern, and thus hangs on and swings with the ship when the tide changes'. C. Toogood Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 3 vols. (London: 1838; reprint, Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), 1:85–6.
14. Morrison, *Notes Concerning China*, 14.
15. Many of the Chinese customs documents that have survived are now available in print. Lau Fong (劉芳) and Zhang Wenqin (章文欽), eds., *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dang'an Hui bian* (清代澳門中文檔案匯編 A Collection of Qing Chinese Documents Concerning Macau) 2 vols. (Macau: Aomen Jijinhui 澳門基金會, 1999).
16. These names were taken from Morrison, *Notes Concerning China*, passim; and Liang Tingnan (梁廷楠), *Yuehaiguan Zhi* (粵海關志 Gazetteer of Guangdong Maritime Customs) (1839; reprint, Guangzhou: Guangzhou Renmin Chubanshe 廣州人民出版社, 2001).
17. *Hanghou Guankou* literally means the customhouse at the back of the *hongs* (factories). From the Chinese perspective in Canton, this was at the back, but from the perspective of foreigners, who arrived on the river, this was the front of the *hongs*.
18. Osbeck, *Dagbok*, 129.
19. There were about fifty vessels in 1724 accompanying the Hoppo to Whampoa for the measuring ceremony and about forty vessels in 1726. SAA: IC 5689^{bis}, and UBG: Ms 1837.
20. Hoppo were usually honoured with a salute of seven to thirteen cannons; the supercargoes, captains and Chinese merchants, five to nine cannons; other officers and important visitors, three to five cannons. Warships, naval flagships, or important Chinese officials from another province or from Beijing were honoured with nine to fifteen cannons, according to their rank. Hoppo, Chinese officials and merchants answered back with strikes on their gongs or with cannon fire. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 4.
21. In 1838 Downing stated that 'formerly they [the Hoppo] used to be saluted with a round of artillery, but in consequence of a gun having burst on one of these occasions, and killed a Chinaman, the practice has been discontinued ever since'. Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 3:236–7.

22. RAC: Ask 998; and Parmentier, *Tea Time in Flanders*, 94–5. For an interesting description of the Hoppo's band, which was said to resemble 'a low-gelder's horn and the cackling of geese', see Dixon, *A Voyage Round the World*, 313. John Nicol likened the Chinese instruments to 'bagpipes'. Tim Flannery, ed., *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1997), 160–1. Wathen was so disappointed by the Chinese musicians that he suggested the Chinese 'auditory nerves must have been very differently constructed from those which compose the European organs of hearing'. James Wathen, *Journal of a Voyage in 1811 and 1812 to Madras and China* (London: 1814), 208; and SAA: IC 5689^{bis}.
23. Parmentier, *Tea Time in Flanders*, 95; and RAC: Ask 1117.
24. The covid is a unit of measurement for length. The conversions used in the eighteenth century in Canton for the covid varied, but they usually fell within a range of one covid being equal to about 14.1 to 14.6 English inches. The covid itself was not a uniform measure within China, but could differ with each application and/or occupation, as well as location. Samuel Wells Williams, *The Chinese Commercial Guide* (Canton: Chinese Repository, 1856; 5th ed., Hong Kong: A. Shortrede & Co.; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966), 283–5. The following references show how the ships were measured at Whampoa: NAH: VOC 2410; SAA: IC 5704; JFB: Irvine Papers; John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence (JCB): 'Journal of Benjamin C. Carter, Surgeon of the Ship *Ann and Hope* on her First Voyage from Providence to Canton'; Robert Peabody, *The Log of the Grand Turks* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926), 84; and Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, *The Empress of China* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1984), 153.
25. NAH: VOC 2410; and Smith, *The Empress of China*, 153.
26. For a breakdown of the measurements in Chinese, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 82.
27. 'As soon as the tax [port fee] had been calculated, Pinqua [the security merchant] signed a bond for the Hoppo guaranteeing its payment'. Peabody, *The Log of the Grand Turk*, 85.
28. Josiah Quincy, ed., *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton. With a Life of the Author, by Josiah Quincy* (Boston: Wm. Crosby and H.P. Nichols, 1847; reprint, Documentary Publications, 1970), 176–7.
29. Parmentier, *Tea Time in Flanders*, 95; and RAC: Ask 1117. There are also English and Dutch references that show the Hoppo personally attending the ships in the early decades.
30. The acting Hoppo in July 1724 told the English they had to wait for another ship to arrive before he would make the trip to Whampoa. OIO: G/12/25. See also, Quincy, ed., *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw*, 176. In 1770 the Swedish Captain Carl Gustav Ekeberg reported that the Hoppo measured 6 or 7 ships a day ('På detta sättet måter han ibland 6 til 7 skepp om dagen'). Carl Gustav Ekeberg, *Capitaine Carl Gustav Ekebergs Ostindiska Resa, åren 1770 och 1771* (Stockholm: Rediviva, 1970), 107.
31. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (MHS): 'William Elting Notebook 1799–1803'; Flannery, ed., *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol*, 161; Morse, *Chronicles*, 2: 14, 17; and Morrison, *Notes Concerning China*, 34.
32. There are many references in the foreign records to the difficulties these types of luxury goods caused for both the foreigners and the Chinese merchants. For a couple of examples, see Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:71, 79, 129, 154 and 2:15.

33. Smith and Van Dyke, 'Armenian Footprints in Macau', 20–39.
34. For some early accounts of the Hoppo's present, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 1; and C. Madrolle, ed., *Journal du Voyage de la Chine fait dans les Années 1701, 1702, & 1703*, in *Les Premiers Voyages*, by C. Madrolle, 109.
35. For several examples of these gifts and privileges given to foreigners, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 1.
36. Peter Dobell, *Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia; with a Narrative of a Residence in China*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1970), 2:171.
37. For other examples of the poor quality of these gifts, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 1.
38. The Hoppo's measurements (dimensions) differed slightly each time the same ship was measured. Some ships measured three or four times in Whampoa had three or four different measurements. Captains and supercargoes squabbled about this inconsistency, but usually it was such a small difference it was not deemed worth the effort to correct it.
39. The port fees for the French Ship *L'Amphitrite* in 1699 were determined with only the length and width measurements. Voretzsch, ed., *François Froger*, 103. Records from later years confirm that the practice remained unchanged until 1842.
40. There may be exceptions, but this study has found that the foreigners never adapted to using the abacus despite the obvious advantages of doing so. With the abacus, the Chinese merchants could calculate complicated exchange rates, pricing structures and other relatively complex data with ease and without the use of pen and paper. The foreigners, on the other hand, continued to rely on their long-hand methods (as depicted in Plate 28) throughout the Canton era.
41. NAH: VOC 4375. The measurements of the first VOC ship in China in 1729, the *Coxhorn*, are also available. Those figures were not used for this example because of a couple minor mistakes in the calculations. The way the fees were calculated, however, is identical to the *Duiffe*. NAH: VOC 4374.
42. The emperor's present was known by several different names, including the 'Hoppo's present', 'Hoppo's dues', 'Hoppo's money', 'Mandarin's present' and by the generic Chinese word '*cumshaw*' (meaning 'present' or 'gratuity'). The French paid 2,050 taels and the Moors 1,850 taels. William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 2 vols. (London: Black, Parry, & Co., 1813; reprint, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1999), 2:492; SAA: IC 5696; and RAC: Ask 1141.
43. SAA: IC 5684, 5690, 5692, 5695, 5710.
44. For a more detailed discussion of the two different methods used to calculate the port fees and a list of the rates, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 1.
45. The reduction of the fees is mentioned in the *Canton Register* on 15 February and 29 March 1830. In the 31 May 1833 issue, an English translation of a Chinese proclamation clearly states that the emperor had granted the 1830 reduction of the port fees as a 'favor', and that this adjustment shows his 'compassion towards distant foreigners'. As a result of this benevolent act, the document goes on to say that the number of English ships increased to 26 in 1833 when there had only been 20 in 1830. For a simple breakdown of the emperor's present after the reduction, see Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 22–3. There are several records that give

- a breakdown of the emperor's present before 1830, and they all disagree with each other. Two of them, along with an analysis of the figures, can be seen in Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 1. A third set of figures was found later in the GIC archives, SAA: IC 5740. A more basic breakdown of the emperor's present (called 'enter-port fee') can be seen in the *Canton Register* (26 December 1833). These figures were translated from the *Canton Custom-House Book* (published in 1725), which may have been the *Yuehaiguan Zhi*. Volume 9 of this series has a section governing the measuring of the ships and some identical information is shown there. There is also a breakdown of the emperor's present in a Chinese document from 1759 that was recently published in Xing Yongfu (邢永福), et al., *Qing Gong Guangzhou Shisan Hang Dang'an Jingxuan* (清官广州十三行档案精选 A Selection of Qing Imperial Documents of the Guangzhou Shisan Hang) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Jingji Chubanshe 广东经济出版社, 2002), n. 41. There are such great differences, however, between all of these lists of figures, and a couple of them do not add up to 1,950 taels, so there is no way of knowing which breakdown is correct.
46. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Gilds of China with an Account of the Gild Merchant or Cohong of Canton* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909), 66; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:81.
 47. Morse shows clearly that the three-tiered rating system was already in place by 1699. The rates were not yet set to where they would remain for more than 100 years, but they were close. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:88.
 48. The 1699 reference is in Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:92.
 49. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:7–10, 105.
 50. Morse mentions that 1727 was the first year the 1,950 taels appears in the English records. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:185. The Ostend Company records, however, show that the present was a part of the port fees in earlier years. All three of the Belgian ships in 1726 paid 1,800 taels as the 'Mandarin's fee'. SAA: IC 5696. By 1730, the Ostend Company ships were paying the standard 1,950 taels. SAA: IC 5710.
 51. MHS: 'William Elting Notebook 1799–1803'. I have found only one reference to the VOC officers being instructed to make use of this innovation. That statement, however, suggests it was indeed common practice. On 22 August 1764 the following is recorded: 'The Hoppo will come out to measure all four ships on the 29th of this month, which I inform Your Honours so that you can clear away and scrub the decks and also draw the fock- and mizzen-masts inwards as is the custom'. NAH: Canton 73.
 52. JFB: Irvine Papers, Letter/Report dated 29 January 1733.
 53. NAH: VOC 2410.
 54. 'The first American sloop that came, she having only one mast, the Chinamen said, "Hey, yaw, what fashion? How can measure ship with one mast?"— they having been accustomed to measure ships with more masts than one'. Flannery, ed., *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol*, 161. This sloop may have been the *Grand Turk*, which arrived in Canton in 1786. 'The Hoppo's attendants first ran a measuring tape from the rudderpost to the foremast, and the length was carefully written down'. Peabody, *The Log of the Grand Turk*, 84. This, however, was not the first time that a sloop came to China. The Dutch also arrived in a sloop in 1727, and many private traders from India and Manila often had small vessels as well. OIO: G/12/26.
 55. Smith, *The Empress of China*, 153.

56. SAA: IC 5704.
57. 'This morning I rec'd from the Linguist an account of the Ships measurement & their custom for measuring is from the Center of Foremast to Center of Mizen mast for length and from outside to outside on Deck for breadth, but they frequently extend the line beyond the side as they say to make up for a ships tumbling'. Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence (RIHS): Mss 828 'Logbook of Ship *Hope* 1802–1803', 10 September 1802.
58. On 25 July 1729, for example, the English reported: 'the Hoppo sending to us to desire we would advance him some mony on Account of the Measurage of the Ships'. OIO: G/12/28.
59. For a more detailed discussion of the payment of port fees, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 1.
60. Downs states that 'because nothing like Western commercial law existed in China, contracts were enforceable only at Macao'. He is correct in stating that much of the trade was done verbally, which was especially true with Americans who handled small volumes. The East India companies' orders with the *Hong* merchants, however, were usually put in writing and all parties signed them. The hundreds of Chinese commercial contracts in the foreign archives that were used for this study testify to this practice. The agreements were binding and enforceable. Jacques Downs, *The Golden Ghetto. The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1997), 95. See Plates 7–8, 10–1, 13, 17–20, 25–6. Other Chinese contracts from Canton can be seen in the following articles: Paul A. Van Dyke, 'A Reassessment of the China Trade: The Canton Junk Trade As Revealed in Dutch and Swedish Records of the 1750s to the 1770s', in *Maritime China in Transition 1750–1850*, eds. Wang Gungwu and Ng Chin-keong (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 151–67; Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants of Canton', 6–47; Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises: Merchants of Canton 1730–1784', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No 15 (July 2005), 60–101; and Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family: Merchants of Canton 1734–1780s', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No. 9 (January 2004), 30–85.
61. A few examples of foreigners selling goods to other foreigners can be found in RAC: Ask 896, 1130, 1131.
62. NAH: VOC 4556. Entries under 'Ballast' and 'Ballast (Steene)'; and George Bryan Souza, 'Country Trade and Chinese Alum: Raw Material Supply and Demand in Asia's Textile Production in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No. 11 (July 2004), 136–53.
63. For an explanation of the change in the *waiyang* in 1760 see Ann Bolbach White, 'The Hong Merchants of Canton' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967), 54–5; and Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 7.
64. A couple of examples of this authenticity mark can be seen on the *jinshi* (進士) diplomas on display at the Imperial College (Guozijian 國子監) in Beijing.
65. *Chinese Repository* (Canton: The South China Mission, 1832–1852) 20 vols. (Jan 1845), 14:44–5 and (Mar 1846), 15:150–4. The latter reference has a list of the tonnages and port fees of several hundred British ships in Canton in 1846.
66. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1848), 185.
67. *Chinese Repository* (Mar 1846), 15:15–4 and (Apr 1846), 15:165.

CHAPTER THREE

1. I have converted fathoms to feet for the sake of clarity. Most of the contemporary charts and navigational guides use fathoms and the length of the fathom (an ‘average’ arm span) varied a little, but was usually 5½ to 6 feet. Lieutenant Commander Leland Lovette, *Naval Customs. Traditions and Usage* (Annapolis: US Naval Institute, 1934; reprint, 1936; reprint, 1939); and Peter Kemp, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976; reprint, 1988).
2. John Robert Morrison, *A Chinese Commercial Guide. Consisting of A Collection of Details Respecting Foreign Trade in China* (Canton: Albion Press, 1834; 2nd ed., Macao: Wells Williams, 1844), 87. In 1832 an author in the *Chinese Register* stated that he thought the ‘eddies and whirlpools’ in the Pearl River were stronger than any other river he knew of. ‘These eddies run so strong as to force a ship, even with a strong breeze, completely round; and to carry her along against her helm’. *Canton Register* (17 October 1832).
3. The Swedes record two sandbars above Lintin. One was called Lintin’s bar and in 1791 the water over it was 4½ fathoms or 27 feet. The other was Longyt’s bar and the water above it was 4 fathoms or 24 feet. Some of the contemporary maps list both of these bars as being one, Lintin’s bar. GUB: Svenska Ostindiska Kompaniets Arkiv. *Journal för Skeppet Gustaf III 1791–1792*.
4. The numbers of ships were taken from Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l’Occident. Le Commerce a Canton au XVIII Siècle 1719–1833*, 3 vols. and album (Paris: S.E.V.P.E. N., 1964), 2:521–5; and *Chinese Repository* (April 1846), 15:165.
5. ‘On arriving on the coast [of China] you will get a Pilot firing a Gun, as soon as there will be occasion for one’. RIHS: ‘Trader’s Book’.
6. Glyndwr Williams, ed., *A Voyage Round the World in the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, I, by George Anson* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 312; George Wilkinson, *Sketches of Chinese Customs & Manners, in 1811–12* (Bath: J. Browne, 1814), 107; Arva Colbert Floyd, ed., *The Diary of a Voyage to China 1859–1860*, by Rev. Young J. Allen (Atlanta: Emory University, 1943), 34; and Basil Hall, *Voyage to Loo-choo: and Other Places in the Eastern Seas, in the Year 1816, Including an Account of Captain Maxwell’s Attack on the Batteries at Canton* (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1826), 24.
7. Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*, 1: nos. 906, 907.
8. *Ibid.*
9. For a list of the outside pilots’ fees from 137 foreign ships and a few examples of demanding pilots, see Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, 119–21 and appendix G. The fees they demanded could vary from a few Spanish dollars to as much as 300 dollars.
10. In 1742 Lord Anson communicated with his three outside pilots in broken Portuguese. Many outside pilots are recorded as not being able to speak a Western language. Leo Heaps, ed., *Log of the Centurion, by Captain Philip Saumarez* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974), 188; and Williams, ed., *A Voyage Round the World*, 315. One example reads as follows: ‘On concluding the bargain, he [the outside pilot] insisted on shaking hands with the captain, to ratify its conditions, or, as he expressed it, “so can secure”. The next moment he assumed the direction, and, in barbarous English, aided by gesture, began to issue his orders. At half-past three o’clock P.M. we anchored about two miles from the town of Macao’. W. S. W. Ruschenberger, *Narrative of a*

- Voyage Round the World, during the Years 1835, 36, and 37; including a Narrative of an Embassy to the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam*, 2 vols. (London: 1838. Reprint, Dawson's of Pall Mall, 1970), 2:183.
11. August Frugé and Neal Harlow, trans. and eds., *A Voyage to California, the Sandwich Islands, & Around the World in the Years 1826–1829*, by Auguste Duhaut-Cilly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 231–2; Blanche Collet Wagner, *Voyage of the Héros around the World with Duhaut-Cilly in the Years 1826, 1827, 1828 & 1829*, by Lt. Edmond le Netrel (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1951), 57; and Flannery, ed., *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol*, 99.
 12. SAA: IC 5757; and CMD 1762, entry on September 6.
 13. For other examples of pilots' receipts written in Chinese, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 122.
 14. One of these recommendations has survived in the Danish archives and reads as follows: 'The Pilot Asam has piloted this ship *Cron Printzen* from Ladrong [Island] to Macao well and without the least complaint on 21 September 1783'. Signed by Capt. Schiffer. RAC: Ask 953. For other examples of pilots offering recommendations, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 124–5; and UBG: Ms 1930.
 15. In 1781 the officers on the ship *Printz Friderich* bought 4 cabbages, 8 catties of beef, 400 oranges, 200 onions and 150 bunches of radishes from their outside pilot. From their Macao pilot they purchased 160 eggs and 300 oranges. RAC: Ask 947. There are many other examples in the foreign records.
 16. 'As soon as the Mandareens at Macao, are satisfied in all their enquires, he orders of a River Pilot, which never comes on board until you have laid 24 hours in the Road'. MHS: 'William Elting Notebook 1799–1803'. Milburn also mentions that it took about 24 hours. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 1:462.
 17. PL: Benjamin Shreve Papers, 'Ship *Minerva* Account book 1809'. One of Budwell's receipts dated November 1819 shows his charges to be one dollar for a room, half a dollar for breakfast and one and a half dollars for dinner. RIHS: Carrington Papers.
 18. In the 1830s, ships were still stopping at the Macao Tavern to get their pilots. The editors of the *Canton Register* asked new arrivals to fill in forms while they were waiting, stating the number of passengers aboard, ports of call, cargos and any other important information. *Canton Register* (24 January 1833). This data was then published in the newspaper for all to read.
 19. *Canton Register* (24 November 1835).
 20. For an example of a ship plotting to run past the forts without permission, see PL: Waters Family Papers, 'Ship *Mariposa* 1835–1836'; and Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 133 n. 229.
 21. PL: 1819 C3, 'Log of Frigate *Congress* 1819'. This information about the small ships is based on several hundred ships' logs, journals and account books of vessels from Mystic, Providence, Boston and Salem. See Bibliography for details.
 22. For examples of damaged ships arriving and being refused entry unless they conducted trade, see NAH: Canton 137 'Generaal Rapport'; and NAH: VOC 4556 under the heading 'Canton'. Pilots often reported ships that had no cargo aboard. Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*, 2: nos. 1313, 1314, 1343, 1405, 1464, 1467, 1484, 1492.
 23. Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade*, 146 (see also 191); and UBG: Ms 1840 (ship journal from 1726).

24. In 1755, for example, the SOIC ship *Prinsessan Sophia Albertina* sailed upriver with the assistance of boats from Swedish, Prussian, Danish and French ships anchored at Whampoa. Johan Brelin, *Beskrifning öfver en Äfventyrlig Resa till och från Ost-Indien, Södra Amerika och en del af Europa af Johan Brelin 1758* (Uppsala, 1758; reprint, Stockholm: Tryckeri AB Björkmans, 1973), 16. In 1702, Edward Barlow also states that they waited at Bocca Tigris ‘two days for a boat to come down to help us up the river’. The dependence on tow boats was a characteristic of the trade from the beginning. Lubbock, ed., *Barlow’s Journal*, 2:538.
25. Milburn’s trade manual suggests that 10 sampans were usually employed by the EIC ships in 1813, but some of his figures do not agree with many of the other companies’ records. Because the EIC ships’ expense books are not available in the company archive, we were not able to verify Milburn’s numbers. It seems strange that the large EIC ships would only employ 10 sampans when the SOIC, DAC, CFI and VOC ships were consistently employing 40 to 80 sampans. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 2:495. See Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, 138–48 *passim*.
26. For a list of sampans hired by 132 company ships from 1729 to 1833, see Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, appendix H. Charles de Constant also mentions pilots using 50 to 80 small boats to assist in the piloting. Louis Dermigny, ed., *Les Mémoires de Charles de Constant sur le Commerce a la Chine, par Charles de Constant* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), 382–83.
27. The Dutch called this anchorage ‘Zout Zout Ham’ or its shortened version ‘Zt. Zt. Ham’. This was probably a corruption of its Chinese name, *shiziyang* (Cantonese: *Sze-sze-yaong*) meaning ‘Lion’s reach’. Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 14. The English, French and Americans often referred to the place as ‘downriver’, the ‘Second Bar’, ‘above the fort’ or ‘the bogue’ anchorage. The Danes and Swedes called it ‘Bocca Tigris Roads’. Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, chapter 2.
28. OIO: G/12/24–25, entries dated 12 January 1724 and 30 October 1724; UBG: Ms 1926 (ship journal from 1732); NAH: VOC 2410; and RAC: Ask 880. The Danish ship *Kongen af Danmark* in January 1737 moved downriver after reaching a draught of 16½ feet, but 18 feet shows up more often. RAC: Ask 997. See also an entry from 1738 in Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:263.
29. For the size of the English ships at Canton in the early years see Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 1. For the size of the Ostend Company ships at Canton in the 1710s and 1720s, see K. Degryse and Jan Parmentier, ‘Maritime Aspects of the Ostend Trade to Mocha, India and China (1715–1732)’ in *Ships, Sailors and Spices. East India Companies and Their Shipping in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries*, eds. Jaap R. Bruijn and Femme S. Gastra (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1993), 165–75.
30. NAH: VOC 4388, 6346, 6364, 6375, 11269; JFB: B 1758 fNe; NAH: Canton 72; and Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, 141–2.
31. Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, appendices H and I.
32. ‘Skihsprotocoler’ from the 1760s, RAC: Ask 907–23. For the size of the Danish ships, see Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, appendices H and J.
33. NAH: Canton 72. For the size of the Swedish ships, see Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, appendices H and K.
34. Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, 142–3.

35. For a more detailed narrative of how the piloting procession moved, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 143–9.
36. British Map Library, London (BML): MAR.VI.26, 'Map of the Pearl River', caption titled 'A Survey of the Tigris, from Canton to the Island of Lankeet', by J. Huddart, dated 10 October 1786.
37. By 1878 the river was reportedly seventeen feet deep over the shoals. If this reference is correct then the sandbars grew one foot in about 150 years. A. G. Findley, *A Directory for the Navigation of the Indian Archipelago, China, and Japan*, 2nd ed (London: Richard Holmes Laurie, 1878), 979.
38. The passenger sampans between Whampoa and Canton were also called 'dollar boats'. Howard Malcom, *Travels in South-Eastern Asia embracing Hindustan, Malaya, Siam, and China with Notices of Numerous Missionary Stations and a Full Account of the Burman Empire*, 2 vols. (London: Charles Tilt, 1839; facsimile reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2004), 2:169.
39. For a brief description of a two-week rescue operation to get the VOC ship *Slooten* afloat in 1763, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 150.
40. The pilot responsible for running the VOC ship *Slooten* aground in 1763 was refused his pay for the passage. NAH: Canton 72.
41. Many of these examples were taken from the instructions for the piloting of naval squadrons in the delta in 1804, titled 'Piloting the fleet at the start of day' ('rijian kaichuan zuo jiachuan'). Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*, 1:no. 906. Foreign ships, of course, also had well-established procedures for sailing in fog and during times of limited visibility that were not dissimilar to the Chinese methods. Guns and bells were used instead of gongs and conch shells, but foreign ships also sounded out regular beats on their drums, hung a specific number of lanterns in the masts, or lit fires or torches on their decks to signal and warn others of their approach. Baker Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts (BL): Misc. Mss. 733, 'Instructions for the better keeping Company with His Majesty's Ship *Enterprize*', dated 16 August 1762. See also Williams, *Chinese Commercial Guide*, appendix 256–8. A reference from 1819 states that Chinese commanders used one cannon shot to signal their fleet to weigh anchor so the practice may have varied somewhat. Sir Richard Phillips, *Diary of a Journey Overland, through the Maritime Provinces of China, from Manchao, on the South Coast of Hainan, to Canton, in the Years 1819 and 1820* (London: Phillips, 1822), 51.
42. Carl Ekeberg mentioned in 1770 that Chinese vessels in the river gave commands with strikes on the gong. Ekeberg, *Ostindiska Resa*, 131. There are other examples in the foreign records.
43. William Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage between China and the North-Western Coast of America, made in 1804*. In *The American Register or General Repository of History, Politics, and Science*, Part 1 (Philadelphia: T. & G. Palmer, 1808; reprint, Claremont, California: Saunders Studio Press, 1935), 3:24; and Hall, *Voyage to Loo-choo*, 24.
44. Hall, *Voyage to Loo-choo*, 24.
45. James Johnson, *An Account of a Voyage to India, China, &c. in His Majesty's Ship *Caroline*, Performed in the Years 1803–4–5, Interspersed with Descriptive Sketches and Cursory Remarks* (London: J.G. Barnard, 1806), 59.
46. Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*, 1: no. 906.

47. Ibid.
48. These helpers show up in the records as ‘fishermen pilots’, ‘under-pilots’, ‘river pilots’ or, simply, ‘assistant pilots’.
49. For a brief but colourful description of both the Macao pilots and the river pilots, see Dobell, *Travels in Kamtchatka*, 2:129; and Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, 155.
50. Zhao, ed., *Aomen Jilüe*, 79; *Chinese Repository* (Apr 1835), 582; Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 10; William Hunter, *The ‘Fan Kwae’ at Canton before Treaty Days 1825–1844*. (London: 1882. Reprint, London, 1885; London, 1911; Shanghai: Mercury Press, 1938; Taipei: 1966. Reprint, under the title *An American in Canton (1825–44)*, Hong Kong: Derwent Communications, Ltd., 1994), 17; and Yang Jibo (杨继波), Wu Zhiliang (吴志良), and Deng Kaisong (邓开颂), eds., *Ming-Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dang’an Wenxian Huibian* (明清时期澳门问题档案文献汇编 Collection of Ming-Qing documents concerning Macau affairs) 6 vols. (Beijing: *Renmin Chubanshe* 人民出版社, 1999), 6:93, 148. There are English translations of some of these Chinese documents in the *Canton Register* (24 Mar 1835) and *Chinese Repository* (Apr 1835), 3:581.
51. Pilots were often accused of incompetence by foreigners. Morrison has few good words to say about pilots. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 12. In the posthumous 1848 edition of this book, however, we find the following statement (probably added by Wells Williams): ‘There is a good deal of difference however, among the pilots, and some of them are quite competent to carry a ship up the river; others know much less of the management of a ship, while still they are well acquainted with the channel; at times, whether skillful or ignorant, they are unreasonably blamed by the officers of the ship, and getting sulky, care but little where or how she goes’. John Robert Morrison, *A Chinese Commercial Guide. Consisting of A Collection of Details Respecting Foreign Trade in China* (Canton: Albion Press, 1834; 2nd ed., Macao: Wells Williams, 1844; 3rd. ed., Canton: *Chinese Repository*, 1848), 126.
52. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1848), 126.
53. This information was pieced together from several sources. KBS: M280; NAH: VOC 4387; SAA: IC 5697; and MHS: ‘William Trotter Letter/Journal 1797’. For more details about the size of the Canton junks, see Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, 156–7, chapter 5 and appendix U; and Van Dyke, ‘A Reassessment of the China Trade’, 151–67.
54. RAC: Ask 1150.
55. Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:113–4, 204–6, 232–4.
56. KBS: M280; NAH: VOC 4387; SAA: IC 5697; MHS: ‘William Trotter Letter/Journal 1797’; and Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, 156–7, chapter 5 and appendix U.
57. Findley, *A Directory for the Navigation*, 979. The twenty-foot limitation is also mentioned in Williams, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1863), appendix 34–9.
58. For a breakdown of pilots’ fees charged in each decade, see Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, 160.
59. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 1:495. See Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, 160 nn. 295 and 296.
60. Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:85.
61. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1844), 88.
62. NAH: Canton 74; Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1848), 123. One source from

- 1828 and a couple from 1835 show fourteen licensed Macao pilots in those years. *Canton Register* (23 August 1828); and Yang, et al., eds., *Ming-Qing Shiqi*, 6:93, 148, with English translations in *Canton Register* (24 March 1835) and *Chinese Repository* (Apr 1835), 3:581.
63. Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 30.
 64. For a discussion of the pilots' incomes, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 162–4.
 65. Dobell mentioned in the early 1800s that the 'master' (presumably the Macao pilot) of the river pilot strutted about in 'silks' and lived like a 'gentleman'. Dobell, *Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia*, 2:138–9.
 66. NAH: VOC 4556; and NAH: Canton 72.
 67. Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*, 1:nos. 906, 922, 934, 1003.
 68. Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Pigs, Chickens, and Lemonade: The Provisions Trade in Canton, 1700–1840', *International Journal of Maritime History* (June 2000), 11–44; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:199–200, 259.
 69. One of these popular smuggling anchorages was Cumsingmoon (Jinxing Men 金星門). Its location was between the present-day city of Zhuhai (珠海) and Qi'ao Island (淇澳島). This anchorage no longer exists because of recent landfill. Zhao, ed., *Aomen Jilüe*, 33–7; *Xiangshan Xian Zhi* ([新修] 香山縣志 *Xiangshan County Gazetteer*) 2 vols. (1828; reprint, Taipei: Xuesheng Chubanshe 學生出版社, 1985), 1:641–50.
 70. Even though Chinese records give the impression that everything was very tightly controlled in the delta the fact remains that smuggling was rampant. For examples of contemporary Chinese records, see Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*. The disagreement with the Dutch about towing charges in 1762 can be seen in CMD 1762, entry on October 18.
 71. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:344–6. Despite this discovery of pilots smuggling opium in 1799, they continued to be involved in that trafficking. *Canton Register* (24 March 1835).
 72. As other chapters will show, customs officers were in fact part of the problem. 'Many of the government boats are also engaged in the smuggling trade . . . The fee on opium, of one dollar per chest, paid for connivance to the officers of the imperial preventive squadron, is left by the smugglers in charge of the commanding officer of the vessel, on whom the imperial officers call for what is due to them'. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 29. There are many other references to officials smuggling opium into China in Morse, *Chronicles*, 4: passim.
 73. Morse, *Chronicles*, 4:223; and OIO: Mss Eur Ph 377, 'Photocopy of the Ship *Forbes* Journal'. The English brig *Jamesina* was involved in opium smuggling from at least 1823 to the mid-1830s. It was also used as a floating 'hulk' for the warehousing of opium in Lintin harbour in the early 1830s. Morse, *Chronicles*, 4: passim. The *Forbes* towed the *Jamesina* from Calcutta to Singapore, then part of the way from Singapore to the Pearl River Delta. Hunt Janin, *The India-China Opium Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (London: McFarland & Co., 1999), 169–70.
 74. In 1830 the ships *Dunira* and *Duchess of Atholl* left in the company of two other English ships that had received their Grand Chops and, presumably had their pilots and sampans to assist them. Morse, *Chronicles*, 4:24. There were, of course, other ships that threatened to leave without the Grand Chop, but if they did, they still had to deal with the shallows and the cannons at Bocca Tigris.

75. R. C. Hurley, *The Tourist's Guide to Canton, the West River and Macao* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., 1895), 59.
76. The Modao Fort was on the east and the Luozhou Fort on the west of the Luozhou entrance. Qing military maps show their locations. Zhao, ed., *Aomen Jilüe*, 202; Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, 'Reformular as Origens de Macao', *Macao* (December 1999), 178–9; and *Xiangshan Xian Zhi* (1828; reprint, 1985), 641–43, 726 and (1880; reprint 1985), 1977, 1989.
77. William Dallas Bernard, *Narrative of the Voyages and Services of the Nemesis from 1840 to 1843*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1844), 1:7–9; Michael Levien, ed., *The Cree Journals. The Voyages of Edward H. Cree, Surgeon R.N., as Related in His Private Journals, 1837–1856* (Devon: Webb & Bower Ltd., 1981; Scarborough: Nelson Canada Ltd., 1981), 76; and *Chinese Repository* (Mar 1841), 10:180–1.
78. There were a number of other steamers in China at this time, including the *Columbine* and the *Queen*. The *Queen* towed the *Wellesley* behind it. Levien, *The Cree Journals*, 55, 72 and 75 n. 3. The steamers *Sesostris*, *Nemesis*, and *Phelgethon* were used to position the sail-driven warships into strategic firing positions during the First Opium War, and other steamers were engaged in other campaigns in China. Alexander Murray, *Doings in China. Being the Personal Narrative of an Officer Engaged in the Late Chinese Expedition, from the Recapture of Chusan in 1841, to the Peace of Nankin in 1842* (London: Richard Bentley, 1843), 85.
79. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1844), 86 and (1848), 123–4; and Gabriel Lafond de Lurcy, *Voyages Autour du Monde*, vol. 5 (Paris: Pourrat Frères, 1844), 113–4. See also R. B. Forbes, *Remarks on China and the China Trade* (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1844), 63.
80. 'The rates of pilotage are fixed at 5 cents per register ton, and the pilot receives his pay at Whampoa'. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1848), 124.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. The term 'comprador' refers to several different individuals or occupations in foreign records. The word is Portuguese and means 'buyer' or 'the one who buys' (*maiban* 買辦). The English and the Americans called both their chief clerks (foreign cashiers) in the factories in Canton, and the person who supplied provisions to the ships in Whampoa, 'compradors'. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:179 n.1; and Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, 24–5, 36–7 and 78. After the collapse of the Canton System and the rise of the treaty ports in 1842, the term 'comprador' referred predominantly to a Chinese merchant, manager, or agent in one of the foreign trading houses. Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 1. I use the term to refer only to the provision purveyors of the factories and the ships (the ships' chandlers) who were always Chinese.
2. Hunter, 'Fan Kwae', 17; *Chinese Repository* (April 1835), 582; Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 10. Yang, et al., eds., *Ming-Qing Shiqi*, 6:93, 148, with English translations in the *Canton Register* (24 March 1835) and *Chinese Repository* (April 1835), 3:581.

3. Morse states that the compradors were licensed in 1731. An imperial decree spelling out their responsibilities was issued in 1755, and another decree mandated their licensing (along with the linguists) in 1760. A memorial from 1808 reiterated their mandatory registration with the Junminfu. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:205; 3:355; and 5:40, 90, 96.
4. Hamilton does not appear to have purchased any provisions so it is not clear how accurate his information is. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, 2:224–5. There is also a contradiction in Lockyer's narrative because he first states that the compradors were supplying provisions, then says the English bought provisions directly from local suppliers. Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade*, 108.
5. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:156; and OIO: G/12/21–28.
6. SAA: IC 5684, 5687, 5710, 5740.
7. NAH: VOC 4374-4376.
8. NAH: VOC 4375.
9. Translated from the Dutch. This reply from the Hoppo is dated the '20th day, 7th month, 8th year of the Yung Zheng Emperor: or 2 September 1730' and was 'sent to the foreign merchants in the factories' so it applied to everyone. NAH: VOC 4375.
10. The Hoppo's present to each ship (explained in chapter 2) of two cows, eight sacks of wheat flour and eight crocks of Chinese wine was also a means of pacifying them.
11. RIHS: Mss 997, James Warner Papers. For a detailed description of the wash boats and the washwomen, see Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:79–84. Foreigners were often welcomed to Whampoa by a swarm of small sampans offering all kinds of services and small items for sale. Some of the Chinese also offered their daughters for a fee. Noble, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, pp. 237–43, 279–80; Alfred Spencer, ed., *Memoirs of William Hickey (1749-1775)* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1921), 198; Dobell, *Travels in Kamtchatka*, 2:140–1; and Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:144–5, 224, 245–6.
12. RAC: Ask 1134; Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:40; RAC: Ask 1141; and *Canton Register* (13 December 1836).
13. Dermigny, *Le Commerce a Canton*, 2:521–5; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:212, 262.
14. Ruschenberger, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 2:221.
15. Hunter, 'Fan Kwae', 50.
16. The factory owners were usually closely connected to the Chinese merchants. If not a merchant himself then the owner was often a partner or relative.
17. Atack died on 16 January 1798 at the age of 75, which would make him fifteen years old when he began work with the Dutch in 1737. NAH: Canton 97.
18. For a detailed account of other compradors who worked for the foreigners, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 3.
19. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 3.
20. NAH: Canton 37, 46, 55, 58, 81, 84, 85, 88, 90, 91, 93–96; and Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 3.
21. NAH: Canton 97.
22. The day before he died, the Dutch recorded that Atack had been employed for 50 years. The VOC records clearly show, however, that he began in 1737 and was employed until his death. NAH: Canton 97. See also Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 334 n.8.

23. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 3.
24. Susan Fels, ed., *Before the Wind. The Memoir of an American Sea Captain, 1808–1833*, by Charles Tyng (New York: Viking Penguin, 1999), 29. For another description of the compradors' English, see Dobell's *Travels in Kamtchatka*, 2:129. For an extensive study of Canton pidgin English from a socio-linguistic point of view, see Bolton, *Chinese Englishes* (2003).
25. PL: 'Log of Ship *Logan* 1837–1838', typescript of Mrs. Follensbee's Memoirs.
26. For the return passage, the *Apollo* purchased fifty-six whole pigs to make into salt pork, twenty-one live pigs to be consumed as fresh meat, four live cows with a calf to provide milk and meat, and thousands of piculs of the other items. SAA: IC 5706.
27. GUB: H22.4A. Journal hållen på Svenska Ost Indiska Comp. Skepp *Adolph Fredrich* under Resan till och ifrån Canton Åren 1776 och 77. For other examples, see Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Pigs, Chickens, and Lemonade: The Provisions Trade in Canton, 1700–1840'. *International Journal of Maritime History* (June 2000), 111–44.
28. MHS: 'William Trotter Letter/Journal 1797'.
29. Some provisions in Canton (including animals) were grown or raised on the many sampans in the river. PL: 'Log of Ship *Logan* 1837–1838', typescript of Mrs Follensbee's Memoirs; and Noble, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, 279. Scurvy was a problem throughout the Canton era. Many ships that arrived in China had several seriously ill crewmen owing to vitamin-C deficiency. It was essential to give them fresh fruit as soon as possible. Heaps, ed., *Log of the Centurion*, 192; and PL: 'Log of Ship Packet 1824–1825'. Aside from humanitarian concerns for his crew's health, a captain would be conscious of the fact there was a constant shortage of able-bodied seamen among all the large trading companies for most of the Canton era. Thus, it was in his best economic interests to restore his crew's health quickly.
30. For a few examples of compradors offering recommendations, see Ellis, *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage*, 2:330–1; RIHS: 'Trader's Book', 24–5; and Dobell, *Travels in Kamtchatka*, 2:129.
31. JFB: Irvine Papers, 'Price of Provisions Agreed with the Comprador' (1726).
32. For examples of the provision prices in Whampoa and Canton, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 3.
33. Many of these comprador contracts have survived and can be found in the Dutch, Danish, Swedish, English and American archives. See Bibliography for references and Plate 13.
34. Ruschenberger, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 2:221–2.
35. For an example of newcomers receiving instant credit from the compradors see Frederic W. Howay, ed., *Voyages of the Columbia to the Northwest Coast 1787–1790 & 1790–1793* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1941. Reprint, Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1990), 134; and John Leo Polich, 'John Kendrick and the Maritime Fur Trade on the Northwest Coast' (MA thesis, University of Southern California, 1964), 59.
36. Competition led many compradors to meet the foreigners downriver so they would be the first to engage them. Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:88. See Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 3, for examples of foreigners pegging compradors' prices to those of previous years.

37. Foreigners often referred to these agents as compradors as well, but they were the compradors' assistants.
38. Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 85–92.
39. Hunter, 'Fan Kwae', 8.
40. Sometimes Chinese tried to sneak into the bankshalls at night to steal things. Noble, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, 294.
41. Many sailors could not swim. Even if they could they were often injured when falling from the ship and incapable of saving themselves.
42. In the early eighteenth century, the linguists arranged for foreigners (usually captains and supercargoes) to be buried at a site north of Canton. This gravesite was used until at least the 1750s, but the foreigners were later restricted to graveyards in the Whampoa region. The location of the Canton graveyard is noted on a couple of Swedish maps, and lies somewhere in the vicinity of present-day Yuexiu Park at the southern base of a hill (possibly Yuexiu shan 越秀山) that used to support a small pagoda. One of the foreign cemeteries on Danes Island has now been restored, and an old Parsee cemetery there has also survived. But the foreign graves on Whampoa and French Islands and the Catholic cemetery that was consecrated by a Catholic bishop and located 'one hour from Whampoa' have not been found. Two Catholic sailors from a GIC ship were interred in the latter site in 1727. The French sailors (many of whom were Catholics) would have also been buried in a consecrated graveyard, which suggests it may have been on French Island. *Chinese Repository* (October 1832), 1:219; SAA: IC 5704; and Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 3. The epitaphs on the gravestones in the old foreign cemetery north of Canton have been preserved in the following journal: Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences (Kungliga Vetenskaps-akademiens Bibliotek, Stockholm, KVB): Ms. Braad, C. H. 'Berättelse om Resan med Skeppet *Hoppet* under Capitaine Fr. Pettersons Commando från Götheborg till Canton i China 1748–1749'.
43. P. du Halde, *The General History of China. Containing a Geographical Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea and Thibet*, 3rd ed. (London: 1741), 2:237–8.
44. Johnson, *An Account of a Voyage*, 53.
45. This price is from data assembled from numerous compradors' price lists in many foreign records. Wild ducks commonly sold for 0.01 or 0.02 taels per catty less than domestic ducks.
46. There are many accounts of this floating city in the foreign records. For one that mentions the floating shops, see Phillips, *Diary of a Journey Overland*, 85.
47. Johnson, *An Account of a Voyage*, 53.
48. Henry Charles Sirr, *China and the Chinese* (London: 1849; reprint, Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc., 1977), 1:71.
49. Dobell, *Travels in Kamtchatka*, 2:320–323; and Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:70–1, 3:241. There are many other references to the duck boats in the delta.
50. Foreigners often fetched the water themselves. Sometimes several crew members were put on 'water duty', which would entail going back and forth from the ship to the islands on the river or to an upstream spring. At other times, the compradors were hired to provide this service.

51. 'In sailing up the river you may observe a very small boat, perhaps the smallest you ever saw, exposed on the water, being nothing more than a few planks fastened together. This is the barber's boat, who is going about, or rather swimming about following his daily avocation of shaving the heads and tickling the ears and eyes of the Chinamen'. Robert Fortune, *Two Visits to the Tea Countries of China and the British Tea Plantations in the Himalaya*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1853), 120.
52. *Chinese Repository* (Jan 1834), 2:432; and Ruschenberger, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 2:225.
53. 'Tommy Linn the barber was the agent we employed. He brought us any article we wanted from the city and, like his brethren in Europe, was a walking newspaper'. He was said to have paid seventy dollars to the Mandarins for the privilege of being a barber, and agreed to shave the entire crew for six months at the charge of half a dollar per man. Flannery, ed., *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol*, 103, 106, 108.
54. *Canton Register* (22 November 1836).
55. The flower boats provided services that helped to pacify the foreigners and the Mandarins received regular payments from them so in the interests of keeping harmony and benefiting oneself, the establishments were allowed to exist. They were, in fact, a regular part of the trading environment in China throughout the era of the Canton trade that rarely gets mentioned in the history books. Some of these ladies learned to speak a few words of several different languages in order to better entice their foreign customers so it was an aggressive and competitive business that went into action every day as soon as the sun went down. For a brief discussion about the sex trade in Whampoa and Canton, the unfortunate individuals who were forced into that industry, and the infanticide that resulted from it, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 208–11. Sometimes prostitutes tried to escape when a fire or other catastrophe provided a distraction to their masters, but then they ran the risk of falling into the hands of an even worse oppressor. *Canton Register* (15 November 1836).
56. The foreign cooks were sent to the factories to give the supercargoes who had wintered in China a taste of home. Many ships hired Chinese cooks for the return voyages as well, but this had to be done covertly because Chinese were not allowed to pass Bocca Tigris aboard foreign vessels. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 3.
57. Noble, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, 224.
58. Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:76.
59. It is amazing how many leaks there were in some ships. Fifty strokes in a 24-hour period was common, but some ships pumped that number in four hours. In 1738 the crew of the *Kongen af Danmark* regularly pumped anywhere from 200 to 1,400 strokes in twenty-four hours and even put out to sea in that condition. It is no wonder so many Chinese caulkers were hired by ships to have those holes plugged before setting sail. RAC: Ask 999.
60. There are many examples of destitute persons resorting to crime because of a loss of their incomes. For one example in 1835 when eight silk weavers were displaced due to a decrease in foreign orders and went round pillaging several residences in Canton to support themselves, see *Canton Register* (2 June 1835).
61. There are many examples of punishments in the foreign records. For one example of the Mandarins attending a Dutch hanging of a murderer in Whampoa in 1762, see CMD 1762.

62. In volume 1 of Morse's *Chronicles*, page 179, it is mentioned that the fee in 1724 was 120 taels, but on page 181, 150 taels is stated. It is not clear whether this ambiguity came directly from the EIC documents or whether it is an error. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 179–81.
63. NAH: VOC 4376, 20 August 1731.
64. In 1732 supercargo Colin Campbell mentioned the Swedes paid inflated prices for their provisions because they had refused to pay the licensing fee. The other companies in Canton at the time, however, submitted to the additional charge. According to Campbell, the fees were temporarily rescinded the next year on account of trouble with the previous Hoppo. Hallberg and Koninckx, eds., *A Passage to China*, 96, 125.
65. RAC: Ask 1141. The difference between the Swedish 111 taels and the French 108 taels is because of their different exchange rates, which were 0.74 taels per Spanish dollar for the Swedes and 0.72 taels for the French.
66. For the sizes of ships and crews in Canton, see J. R. Bruijn and F. S. Gastra, eds., *Ships, Sailors and Spices. East India Companies and Their Shipping in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries* (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1993); Christian Koninckx, *The First and Second Charters of the Swedish East India Company (1731–1766)* (Belgium: Van Gemmert Publishing Co., 1980); Gøbel, 'Asiatisk Kompagnis Kinafart'; and Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', appendices. Morse shows a comparison of the cargos of the European ships for the year 1764. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:114.
67. Many of these fees are recorded in different sections of the *Yuehaiguan Zhi* (see Volume 9 for example). Some of these fees have been translated into English and can be seen in the *Canton Register* (26 December 1833) and various other English publications. See also Earl H. Pritchard, *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations 1750–1800* (1936; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1970), *passim*; Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 2:492–5; and Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', *passim*.
68. These prices were taken from the East India companies' compradors' price lists and contracts, where the cost of anything and everything is mentioned in precise detail. Many of the data are incomplete and foreigners sometimes paid different prices according to exchange rates agreed with their compradors, so only the more complete data containing ample references were used for these examples. Beef was popular with the foreigners. Because it was cheaper than pork it was usually the meat of choice for the crew, but some of the animals were beasts of burden and often butchered when old so their meat tended to be tough. Young bullocks, however, were also butchered regularly aboard the ships at Whampoa. Foreigners also bought pork in large quantities, but it was often reserved for the officers. Capons were usually priced a little higher than hens or other fowl, but occasionally they could be purchased at the same price as 'chicken'. Eggs were purchased by the 'each', in fives, by the dozen, by the hundred and by the thousand, but they were usually the same price regardless of quantity. It is difficult to ascertain fish prices because there were many types, such as 'best', 'common', 'dried' and 'salted', all commanding different prices. I have listed only the 'common' sort, because those prices are more consistent. Goat and mutton were also popular meats for the crews. The data for mutton are incomplete so are not included here. Note that pork is more expensive than beef, which is consistently the case throughout the 130 years of data. There is not one year where pork is cheaper than beef. Pork is

usually considered a better buy because of the better natural efficiency of the pig in putting on weight compared to that of the cow. Thus, it is not known why beef was cheaper. Chicken (hens), duck, geese and fowl were usually close to the same price each year, but duck and geese were sometimes cheaper. Fowl included large quantities of pigeon, quail and pheasant. Some of these birds commanded higher prices occasionally, but when listed under the category ‘fowls’ they were usually the same price as chicken.

69. PL: Benjamin Shreve Papers, ‘Ship *Minerva* Account Book 1809’.
70. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:129.
71. Blancard, *Manuel du Commerce*, 398.
72. Morse, *Chronicles*, 3:184.
73. *Ibid.*, 3:235.
74. *Ibid.*, 4:232. A Chinese document dated January 1831 that was translated and published in the *Canton Register* states that the reduction was granted in 1829, but the amounts of the compradors’ fees vary a little from the ones mentioned here. Out of 35 ships in 1830, the average comprador’s fee was Spanish \$411. *Canton Register* (19 February 1831). An anonymous document from 1839 also states that ‘the comprador’s fees, like the cumsha, were considerably reduced in the beginning of 1830, but still amount to about \$400’. Anonymous, *Descriptions of the City of Canton*, 110. In contrast, the American trader Nathan Dunn states in 1830 that ‘the reductions . . . in the Compradores & Linguists fees exist only on paper, as these men resist any change’. G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut (BW): Misc. Vol. 552. ‘Nathan Dunn Letter book 1830’.
75. *Canton Register* (19 and 26 January 1836) ‘List of Fees Paid by the Ship-Compradors at Whampoa’. The enormous amount to which the comprador fees had grown by this year led the author of the articles in the *Canton Register* to say: ‘we do not see the necessity for the employment of a Chinese steward, or comprador, to cheat the owners, captains, and crews, whilst he is, in his turn, a *spunge* [sic] to the officers of the government’.
76. PL: Shreve Papers. Ship *Minerva* Account Book; and NAH: Canton 100.
77. Stanford and Marks ran weekly ads in the *Canton Register* of provisions for sale. For a good example of the varieties they handled, see the 4 October 1836 issue.
78. The first Swedish ship in China in 1732 supplied provisions to three different small private traders. Hallberg and Koninckx, eds., *A Passage to China*, 154.
79. For references to foreigners capitalising on the provisions trade in Canton, and to Hawaii’s becoming a provisions depot, see Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789*, 10; Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (BC): G161 P55 v. 6 x. Otto Von Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery in the South Sea, and to Behring’s Straits, in Search of a Northeast Passage; Undertaken in the Years 1815, 16, 17, and 18, in the Ship Rurick*, part I (London: Bride Court, 1821). This journal is also contained in a larger selection entitled *New Voyages and Travels Consisting of Originals and Translations*, vol. 6 (London: Bride Court, 1821). See also, Dick A. Wilson, ‘King George’s Men: British Ships and Sailors in the Pacific Northwest-China Trade, 1785—1821’ (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Idaho, 2004), *passim*.
80. Downs, *Golden Ghetto*, 91.

81. John Rickman, *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (London: printed for E. Newberry, 1781; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1967), 387. In the late 1840s Henry Charles Sirr also found China (especially Hong Kong) to be expensive compared to other places he had visited. Sirr, *China and the Chinese*, 1:32–3.
82. In the early English language newspapers on the China Coast (the *Canton Register* and *Chinese Courier*), there are numerous entries advertising supplies and provisions for sale.
83. There are many examples of ships being able to obtain provisions in Macao, legally and illegally. For one reference, see Ellis, *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage*, 333–4.
84. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:79; RAC: Ask 879a; Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:197–9, 2:214; Dobell, *Travels in Kamtchatka*, 2:132; Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:409–10; and *Chinese Repository* (January 1834), 2:423–4.
85. PL: Benjamin Shreve Papers, 'Ship *Minerva* account book 1809'.
86. This 'per catty' entry is clearly a mistake. It should read 'per day' because 0.30 taels was the going daily labour rate for coolies.
87. For a list of the fees linguists had to pay to various local officials in 1836, see *Canton Register* (12 January 1836).
88. Another example that shows high engagement fees is that of the ship *Derby* in 1805, which paid the comprador a 'comshaw' of \$270. PL: Benjamin Pickman Papers, Mss 5, 'Ship *Derby* Papers 1805'. Many American captains could whittle the comprador down to \$250 if they persisted, but some paid as much as \$300.
89. RIHS: Carrington Papers.
90. For a list of these and other linguist's fees charged to 43 American ships, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', appendix L.
91. Michael Roe, ed., *The Journal and Letters of Captain Charles Bishop on the North-West Coast of America, in the Pacific and in New South Wales 1794–1799* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 190.
92. *Ibid.*, 191.
93. *Ibid.*, 193–6.
94. There is a 'hoppoo Receipt' for providing provisions for the ship *Astrea* on 9 January 1796 in PL: MH-21, Dorr Family Papers. Another example can be found in the ship's papers of the snow *Pacific Trader* in 1801. MHS: 'Samuel B. Edes Papers 1799–1801'. For the collusion between the linguists and the Hoppomen in the 1830s, see *Chinese Repository* (March 1838), 6:511–3.
95. There are references in the Carrington archive of foreigners purchasing and selling provisions at Lintin. For one example, see RIHS: Carrington Papers, box 149.
96. Hunter, 'Fan Kwae', 33–4.
97. *Ibid.*, 55.
98. This is why the man-per-ton estimates often compiled for the East India companies' ships are not always reliable. The numbers of crew members are often taken from the muster rolls, which do not show the Chinese sailors (or perhaps other Asians) hired. Many of the American ships employed Chinese sailors as well. Wilson, 'King George's Men', 92.
99. Hunter, 'Fan Kwae', 62–3.
100. 'Bohsan Jak' is the Cantonese pronunciation of the Chinese characters.

101. The most extensive study of the compradors in the era of the Treaty Ports (after 1842) is Hao, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China*. Downs also provides a brief glimpse of life in Canton before and after 1842. Downs, *Golden Ghetto* (1997).
102. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1844), 87 and (1848), 125. Samuel Wells Williams edited these editions.
103. *Ibid.*
104. One example is Chinese nails which did not have heads like the ones the foreigners used. Flannery, ed., *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol*, 159.
105. In the early nineteenth century, there were several Muslim *serangs* (labour brokers) established in Macao, who found employment for the many lascar seamen who were coming there. The Chinese sailors, however, were usually hired through the compradors. Smith and Van Dyke, 'Muslims in the Pearl River Delta, 1700 to 1930', 6–15.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 65.
2. NAH: Canton 8.
3. Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 23, 65.
4. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:343.
5. See Morse, *Chronicles*, for examples of foreign linguists in Canton.
6. By 1807, the DAC, SOIC, CFI and Prussians had all quit the China trade, and the VOC had collapsed in 1794. The DAC sent ships to China again from 1820 to 1833, but only five in thirteen years. Thus, beginning in 1807, the EIC was the only large company left in Canton.
7. Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 33.
8. A translation of Plate 27 is available in Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 1.
9. For several descriptions of these audiences with the Hoppos, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 4.
10. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, 2:224.
11. OIO: G/12/28, 21 June 1729.
12. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:67.
13. SAA: IC 5757; and Parmentier, *Tea Time in Flanders*, 101. 'Suqua' is also spelled 'Chuqua'.
14. 'laat door den Tolk in 't Engels ons antwoorden', NAH: VOC 4377, 11 October 1732.
15. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:217.
16. RAC: Ask 1118; and Williams, *A Voyage Round the World*, 355. These references to the linguists speaking English in the 1730s have pushed back the date of the earliest usage of 'English' in Canton. It was previously thought that Anson's 1743 reference was the earliest. Philip Baker and Peter Mühlhäusler, 'From Business to Pidgin', *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 1:1 (1990), 87–115. Thanks to Kingsley Bolton for pointing this article out to me.
17. For a detailed analysis of Chinese pidgin Englishes and the reproduction of a Canton pidgin English dictionary used by the Chinese, see Bolton, *Chinese Englishes* (2003).

18. The GIC records are written in French, English and Dutch; many of the SOIC records are written in English, and some of the DAC journals are written in Dutch.
19. The private traders often originated from ports where English was spoken, such as Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. Some of them also came from the French colony Pondichéry. Carl T. Smith, 'An Eighteenth-Century Macao Armenian Merchant Prince', *Review of Culture*, No. 6 (April 2003), 120–9; Smith and Van Dyke, 'Armenian Footprints in Macau', 20–39; Smith and Van Dyke, 'Four Armenian Families', 40–50; and Smith and Van Dyke, 'Muslims in the Pearl River Delta', 6–15.
20. Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade*, 102.
21. Huang Guosheng (黄国盛), *Yapian Zhanzheng qian de Dongnan Sisheng Haiguan* (鸦片战争前的东南四省海关 The Customs in China's Four Southeastern Provinces before the Opium Wars) (Fujian: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe, 福建人民出版社, 2000), 114–8; MHS: Ms.N–49.19, 'William Elting Notebook 1799–1803', 21–2; Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 23; *Canton Register* (2 February 1831); *Chinese Repository* (January 1837), 5:432; Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1844), 161 and (1848), 200; and Downing, *The Fan-Quy in China*, 3:121. For a list of the linguists' names, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 4; and CMD 1762, nn. 50 and 82.
22. MHS: Ms.N–49.19, 'William Elting Notebook 1799–1803', 21–2.
23. For a more detailed description of how this subcontracting worked with the linguists, see Van Dyke 'Port Canton', chapter 4.
24. SAA: IC 5690, 5692, 5695. Because the GIC entries are inconsistent it is difficult to account for the different linguists' fees paid by each ship.
25. Dermigny, ed., *Les Mémoires de Charles de Constant*, 160–2.
26. Anonymous, *Descriptions of the City of Canton*, 1839; Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 37; and Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 22–3.
27. American linguists' fees were extracted from the original documents. See Bibliography for references. Because the exchange rates differed between foreigners from 0.72 taels per Spanish dollar to 0.74 taels, different rates were used in this section to calculate the fees in both currencies. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', Appendix L: 'Linguists's Fees paid by 43 American Ships in Canton from 1789 to 1842'.
28. For the size of the companies' ships in China, see Jaap R. Bruijn and Femme S. Gastra, eds., *Ships, Sailors and Spices. East India Companies and Their Shipping in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries* (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1993). For a more detailed discussion of the differences in the linguists' engagement fees, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 4.
29. Voretzsch, ed., *François Froger*, 86.
30. Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade*, 102; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:107, 143.
31. 'Tolck . . . haver eet vist Salarium af kiöbmændene af hver Picul stÿkke godz'. RAC: Ask 1118.
32. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 1:495; and Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 18.
33. Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 37.
34. For a breakdown of the fees the linguists had to pay to tollhouses and officials, see *Canton Register* (12 Jan 1836).
35. For a more detailed analysis of the linguists' composite figures, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 4.

36. For more detailed coverage of the linguists' subversion of the compradors' businesses, see chapter 4 and Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapters 3 and 4.
37. NAH: VOC 4411, 4556. In 1761, the Swedes made a similar arrangement with the merchant Tayqua to salvage the ship *Prins Friederic Adolph*, which sank near the Prata Islands. He agreed to carry out the operation for 7½ percent of the recovered silver (he wanted 10 percent) and 40 percent of the cargo. Tayqua hired 40 Chinese (sailors and divers) from Macao and took them in 2 sampans to the site. Thirty Europeans were sent in another boat to accompany him. The expedition was arranged by Tayqua with the Mandarins, and approved by the Hoppo. Chops were issued to carry out the salvage, and when the boats returned they were allowed to pass Bocca Tigris and sail upriver. GUB: H21.1, 1149–50 'Bärgningen från Skeppet *Fredrik Adolphs Vrak* (1761–1762)' and 22.4a:1200 'Dagbok för Skept *Rijks Ständer* på Resan till Surrat och Canton 1760–1762'.
38. NAH: VOC 4411, 4556.
39. 'When a fire broke out near the Factories they [the linguists] were immediately in attendance'. Hunter, '*Fan Kwae*', 32.
40. This is a synopsis of English and Dutch reports of the fire. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:173; and NAH: Canton 82, 7–8 February 1773.
41. NAH: Canton 86, 8 February 1777.
42. NAH: Canton 87, 18 December 1778.
43. NAH: Canton 87, 21–22 December 1778.
44. NAH: VOC 2438; and RAC: Ask 879a, 999, 1118.
45. The Danes were informed on 6 December and the Dutch the following day. RAC: Ask 879a; and NAH: VOC 2438.
46. A notation in the Dutch records suggests that the French were not in attendance ('alwaar meede alle de Cargas Excepto die de Franschen, zig meede Lieten vinden'). NAH: VOC 2438. The Danes, however, state that all were present including the 'Moorsche', RAC: Ask 1118.
47. This description of the meeting was pieced together from the following sources. NAH: VOC 2438, 'dagregisters'; and RAC: Ask 879a, 999, 1118. The Danes mentioned that the linguists translated everything into 'English'. RAC: Ask 1118.
48. NAH: VOC 2438, 'dagregisters'; and RAC: Ask 879a, 999, 1118. Such emotionally filled encounters were not uncommon. In 1811, Wilkinson attended a meeting with a viceroy and, at the end of the affair he mentioned that 'tears now interrupted the viceroy's endeavors to express his last words of parting, which we understood to be, that "The English people were great and good!"' Wilkinson, *Sketches of Chinese*, 161.
49. The Dutch also had several men desert this year, but this was a common occurrence and may not have been directly related to the participation in this ceremony. NAH: VOC 2438; and RAC: Ask 879a, 999, 1118.
50. NAH: VOC 2438, 'dagregisters', 2–4 February 1739.
51. CMD 1763; and NAH: Canton 73.
52. Williams, *Chinese Commercial Guide*, 161.
53. Information about the linguists after the collapse of the Canton System was taken primarily from Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1848); and Williams, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1863).

54. Williams, *Chinese Commercial Guide*, 169.
55. It would not have been difficult to arrange with any of the foreigners for language instructors to have been sent to Canton or to assign one of the company's employees to this task, but there was no demand. Some *Hong* merchants, such as Semqua (Qiu Kun 邱崑), who was active in the trade from 1729 to 1774 and ran one of the largest *hongs* (Yifeng Hang 義豐行), did not even bother to learn pidgin English, but depended on partners and secretaries to communicate for him. Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', 60–101.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Zhao, ed., *Aomen Jilüe*; and Ptak, 'Macau: Trade and Society, circa 1740–1760', 194–5.
2. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:70; RAC: Ask 1141; NAH: Canton 25; and CMD 1762 and 1763.
3. For a couple of examples of how these connivances worked, see NAH: Canton 24–7, 73, 77–78.
4. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:79; and RAC: Ask 1141.
5. RAC: Ask 1141.
6. The importation of yellow cloth was also prohibited. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:70. See also Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, 163, nn. 141 and 142.
7. RAC: Ask 1141; and CMD 1762, see entries on September 22 and 30. In 1784, the Hoppo limited the chop boats to three a day per ship. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:98. In 1811, the English were allowed a total of twelve chop boats per day to service all their ships. Morse, *Chronicles*, 3:168. In 1813, the Hoppo restricted the chop boats of several merchants. Morse, *Chronicles*, 3:200. In the 1820s, the ordering of chop boats continued to be very closely monitored. Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 31–3.
8. NAH: Canton 75.
9. NAH: Canton 81; and Pritchard, *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations*, 200–1.
10. NAH: Canton 81; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:171.
11. There are numerous references to it being illegal for Chinese to borrow money from foreigners. For a couple examples, see Dilip Kumar Basu, 'Asian Merchants and Western Trade: A Comparative Study of Calcutta and Canton 1800–1840' (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, 1975), 313–4; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:56–7 and 5:89–90.
12. The text is underlined in the original. NAH: Canton 89.
13. For a history of the Yan family business and the Taihe Hang, see Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family', 30–85.
14. NAH: Canton 89; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:33, 39–40, 46, 54, 66, 85.
15. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:33, 39–40, 46, 54, 66, 85.
16. NAH: Canton 96–101, 378.
17. Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, 111. A VOC placard written in Dutch and Chinese declaring that the company would not be held responsible for private debts of employees, has survived in NAH: VOC 4385.
18. The Hoppo also had little power to change anything and no choice in their appointments. *Chinese Repository* (March 1834), 2:527.

19. For a summary of the *consoo* fund in the early nineteenth century, see *Chinese Repository* (January 1835), 3:424–5; and Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 42.
20. Ch'en, *Insolvency*, passim; and Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants of Canton', 6–47.
21. For Conseequa's experience in the American courts, see Frederic D. Grant, Jr., 'The Failure of the Li-ch'uan Hong: Litigation as a Hazard of Nineteenth Century Foreign Trade', *The American Neptune* 48, no. 4 (Fall 1988), 243–60; and Frederic D. Grant, Jr., 'Hong Merchant Litigation in the American Courts', in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. XCIX (1987), (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1988), 44–62.
22. For examples of *Hong* merchants having to pay large sums to retire, see Ch'en, *Insolvency*, passim; Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, passim; and Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants of Canton', 6–47.
23. NAH: Canton 83. It is not clear how the duties would have been calculated without knowing what kind of merchandise went unreported. Nor is it clear how long this policy was in effect. It would have been much more difficult to carry out this cargo balancing with the companies that financed their voyages from a joint treasury in Canton, such as that of the EIC, which may account for Morse and Pritchard rarely mentioning this practice. Dutch records clearly show, however, that the Hoppo were applying this cargo balancing to the VOC ships and all other ships in Whampoa. See the 'dagregisters', passim and Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:62–3, 78–9 and 5:193–4.
24. Just having the number of chests could also give the Hoppo a rough idea, because they were often packed with the same number of coins. In the 1720s and 1730s, for example, the English usually packed 1,000 coins in a sack and put four sacks in each chest, making a total of 4,000 coins per chest. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:186, 225 n. 1 and 2:280–1. The DAC, VOC and other companies also packed their silver chests fairly consistently, with a similar number of coins.
25. NAH: Canton 83.
26. NAH: Canton 84.
27. Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 34.
28. See, for example, books and articles listed in the Bibliography by Morse, Pritchard, Eames, Greenberg, Dermigny, Ptak, Fei, Huang Qichen, Do Vale, Jesus, Rubinstein, Fok, Fay and Guimarães. There are others.
29. Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 32–3.
30. This restriction making foreigners take the West River route was already in effect by 1699. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:89. But it was enforced with much irregularity until the mid-1750s. By about 1756, references to foreigners sailing in their service boats through Bocca Tigris all but disappear until the 1810s and 1820s.
31. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 46. Sketches of several of these tollhouses and their locations on maps can be seen in Liang, *Yuehaiguan Zhi*, vol. 5 (1839); *Xiangshan Xian Zhi* (香山縣志 *Xiangshan County Gazetteer*) 2 vols. (1751; reprint, Taipei: Xuesheng Chubanshe 學生出版社, 1985); and Zhao, ed., *Aomen Jilue*.
32. The Creek tollhouse was simply a boat with two men stationed in it. At some point in the early nineteenth century (perhaps after the 1822 fire) a shanty was built on this location to house these two men. As far as the trade was concerned, this post had no function other than keeping watch over the east end of the quay. By the early

- 1830s, the tollhouse had turned into a cover for a gambling operation that was run by these customs officers, and catered to the Chinese house servants in the foreign factories. In 1836, the building burned down, and the foreign community strongly protested its reconstruction. They complained that it was a source of much noise and commotion with gamblers coming and going day and night. And because it was located so close to the foreign factories, it was feared that another fire could spread to those buildings. As a response to their complaints, the governor ordered an investigation be made of illegal gambling operations. *Canton Register* (26 January, 2 and 9 February 1836). Plans of the Canton factories which Morse reproduced show the location of the Creek tollhouse, but they do not show the Danes' tollhouse. Morse, *Chronicles*, 3: facing page 1; and Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, 1: facing page 70. One of the plans reproduced in Liang's book shows all three tollhouses on the quay as they should be (Danes', Canton and Creek tolls, locations G, H and J on the plan). Liang Jiabin (梁嘉彬), *Guangzhou Shisan Hang Kao* (广州十三行考 Study of the Thirteen Hongs of Canton) (1937; reprint, Taipei: 1960; reprint, Guangdong: Renmin Chubanshe 人民出版社, 1999), illustration 9.
33. NAH: Canton 74.
 34. Hunter, 'Fan Kwae', 50–5. Several of these West River licenses have survived in Portugal, and have recently been published in Lau and Zhang, *Qingdai Aomen*.
 35. NAH: Canton 74, 86, 89; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:29.
 36. RAC: Ask 1197, 26 March 1785.
 37. Morse states that the total cost was \$9,000 in 1791 and only \$1,000 in 1772. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:208. The cost apparently rose to \$10,000 in 1792 before dropping in 1793. Pritchard, *The Crucial Years*, 138.
 38. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:286–7.
 39. Qianshan tolls rose from 0.142 taels per sampan to 8.856 (1763 to 1777). Zini tolls rose from 3.227 taels per sampan to 20.835 (1786 to 1792). A reduction in those tolls then shows up in the Dutch records, which was perhaps connected to the collapse of the VOC and restructuring of the Dutch trade. The Zini tolls then rose again from 4.440 taels to 17.390 (1796 to 1813). The Zini tollhouse was burned down by the Nemesis in 1841. *Chinese Repository* (Mar 1841) 10:180–1. For a detailed analysis and list of all the West River tolls the Dutch paid from 1763 to 1816, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 1 and appendix AH.
 40. The figures for 1799 were taken from RIHS: Mss 828 'Logbook ship *Ann & Hope* to Canton 1799–1800'. The tonnages listed in this logbook were compared to many of the ships' papers and adjustments made accordingly. On the whole, however, the tonnages were fairly close. The figures for 1800 and 1801 were taken from Lawrence H. Leder, 'American Trade to China, 1800–1802', *The American Neptune* 23:3 (July 1963), 212–8. Some of these numbers were checked against the ships' papers. Tonnage figures, of course, vary widely in the historical records. The ones compiled for these three years are close to those assembled by Rhys Richards in 1994. Rhys Richards, 'United States Trade with China, 1784–1814', *The American Neptune* 54: Special Supplement (1994). Dermigny records a lower tonnage for the ships in Canton in these years, but he was using a simple estimate of 270 tons per ship. Dermigny, *Le Commerce a Canton*, 2:521–5. The American port registration papers that were

- consulted for this study support a higher average. The tonnages of 594 American ships at Canton from 1818 to 1833, compiled by Morse, average 356 tons. His figures, however, were not taken from the American ship records and are often mere visual estimates that were recorded by EIC officers. Morse, *International Relations*, 1:89.
41. Dermigny, *Le Commerce a Canton*, 2:521–5.
 42. For a more detailed breakdown and explanation of all these figures, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 1.
 43. These figures were tabulated from Morse, *Chronicles*, 2: passim.
 44. Morse, *International Relations*, 1:89–91.
 45. These figures were tabulated from Dermigny, *Le Commerce a Canton*, vol. 2.
 46. NAH: Canton 99–101.
 47. W. M. F. Mansvelt, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* (Harlem: J. Enschedé and sons, 192?), Bijlage II. Mansvelt did not record the size of the NHM ships, but we know from other sources that they were usually small vessels. The total capacity of the 16 Dutch ships that frequented Canton in 1846, for example, amounted to 2,483 Dutch lasts. At 2.5 tons per last, the total capacity comes to 6,208 tons, or an average of 388 tons per ship. MHS: Bdses 1847 March 'Staat van den Handel in China onder Nederlandsche Vlag'. A list of the Dutch imports and exports at Canton from 1825 to 1847 is contained in the *Chinese Repository* (April 1848), 17:208.
 48. The tonnages for the EIC ships before 1774 are less accurate. Prior to that year, the EIC regularly under-registered many ships at 499 tons or less even if they were much larger. This under-reporting was done because ships of 500 tons and over were required to carry a chaplain aboard. The cost and perhaps inconvenience of having a chaplain aboard led to this fudging of the tonnage figures. In 1772, the requirement was withdrawn and the EIC immediately listed the true tonnages of all ships. As a consequence, the capacity of some EIC ships grew 50 percent overnight. 1774 was the first year that the *actual* tonnages were listed in the EIC Canton records so from that year forward the figures are more accurate. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:69 and 2:11; Koninckx, *The First and Second Charters*, 159 n. 26; and F. S. Gaastra and J. R. Bruijn, 'The Dutch East India Company's Shipping, 1602–1795, in a Comparative Perspective', in *Ships, Sailors and Spices*, eds., J. R. Bruijn and F. S. Gaastra (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1993), 183. The tons and port fees data from 1,450 ships were taken from Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', appendices. The figures for the remaining 20 ships (making a total of 1,470) were found later and taken from the GIC, VOC, DAC and US archives and various other references that are too numerous to list here (see Bibliography). The breakdown of the 1,470 ships is as follows: GIC 7, VOC 102, DAC 105, EIC 1,140, CFI 8, USA 48, SOIC 58, private 2.
 49. All cargo data were taken from primary sources, usually the individual ships' documents (see Bibliography). Most of the tonnage figures came from the charts in Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', appendices. The 172 ships that loaded in Canton from 1730 to 1833 had capacities ranging from 239 to 1,350 tons. The breakdown of the 172 ships is as follows: DAC 109, SOIC 55, CFI 4, VOC 3 and USA 1. The values of the export cargos range from 97 to 316 taels per ton; the difference is owing to the different values of the cargo loaded rather than the size of the ship. The one American ship of 239 tons, for example, was the smallest vessel in the database but had a ratio of 206

taels per ton. The smallest ratio (97 taels) came from a 1,350-ton DAC ship and the largest (316 taels) from an 875-ton DAC ship. As a general rule, all ships loaded to full capacity with Chinese goods before they departed so these ratios are as accurate as the data will permit. The accuracy of tonnage and cargo figures from this period are always suspect because of the different ways they were tabulated and collected so we can only use these ratios as a rough guide.

50. These figures were obtained by dividing the numbers in the previous paragraph by the 214 taels average. As far as the foreigners were concerned, they usually attached all costs and expenses at Canton to the export cargos and not to the import cargos. The companies knew that small ships were disadvantage in Canton and preferred to send large ships. For an example of the EIC sending a couple of small vessels to China and then refusing to send them upriver to Canton because of the high fees, see Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:74–5.
51. There is some confusion in the final amount after the reduction in 1830. Morse states that it 'was lowered from Tls. 1,950 to Tls. 1,718.502 for the EIC ships. French, Prussian, and Austrian ships, paying normally 100 taels more, and Soola (possibly English country or Manila) ships paying normally 100 taels less'. Morse, *Chronicles*, 4:230–1. In contrast, Morrison states that it was reduced to 1,600.683 taels. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 22. In reference to the negotiations to reduce the fees in 1829 and 1830, Auber also made an entry mistake. He mentioned that the English tried to reduce 'the enter-port fee of 2,780 dollars', when he meant 2,708 dollars. The standard amount charged to EIC ships was 1,950 taels. At the conversion rate of 0.72 taels to one Spanish dollar (which is what the English used), the amount comes to \$2,708. Auber also mentions that the Hoppo informed the English that the enter-port fee was 'a fixed regulation and cannot be diminished'. All the quotes from the EIC records in Auber's book give us the impression that nothing was done about the request for a reduction. But as was shown in chapter 2, they were indeed reduced. Peter Auber, *China. An Outline of the Government, Laws, and Policy: and of the British and Foreign Embassies to, and Intercourse with, that Empire* (London: Parbury, Allen, and Co., 1834), 319–21.
52. For a more detailed analysis of this disparity between the companies and private traders, and private traders' responses to the changes to the port fees in the 1830s, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 1.
53. Some of the publications that followed the *Canton Register* were the *Chinese Courier* (1831), *Chinese Repository* (1832), *Evangelist* (1833), *Chronica de Macao* (1834), *Canton General Price Current* (1835), and *Canton Press* (1835).
54. Two academic journals that were being monitored by the Canton editors were the *French Journal Asiatique* and the *English Asiatic Journal*. *Canton Register* (16 August 1828).
55. For an example of the Canton editors translating and publishing extracts from the Dutch records from 1762 and 1803, see *Canton Register* (15 November 1830, 16 February 1833). Extracts of French records from 1754 which the Dutch consulate had were also translated and published in *Canton Register* (18 and 25 March 1834 and 10 March 1835). The information contained in these company records appears to have been fairly freely offered at this time, which was unthinkable in previous decades.

56. KBS: Kine. ms 14. The twenty or more Grand Chops that have survived span the years 1742 to 1837 and all list the same basic data.
57. There were many accounts written of the attacks during the opium wars. For a couple of detailed references that show how the Chinese were rapidly trying to duplicate foreign armaments, and the ease with which the foreigners could overcome them, see Murray, *Doings in China*; and Levien, ed., *The Cree Journals*.
58. By the 1780s, entries in the foreign records refer to ships having their chronometers calibrated in Canton or Macao prior to setting sail.
59. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:145.
60. Carl A. Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy. A Study of the Asian Opium Trade 1750–1950* (London: Routledge, 1999), 104–7.
61. *Chinese Repository* (January 1836), 4:436–8. By the 1820s there were so many foreigners in China that the Hoppo could no longer control their movements. Many of them went to Canton through Bocca Tigris as passengers on their own boats or on Chinese boats. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 44–5, 493–6; Suzanne Drinker Moran, ed., *A Private Journal of Events and Scenes at Sea and in India by Sandwich Drinker. Commencing April 26th, 1838* (Boston: 1990), 12–4; and MHS: Edward King Papers 1835–1842, letter dated 31 October 1835.
62. *Chinese Repository* (January 1836), 4:436–8.
63. There are some very detailed descriptions of how the steamers accomplished this in Murray, *Doings in China*, passim.
64. After the *Nemesis's* attack, some Chinese locals tried to capitalise on the event by drawing pictures of the steamer with a poem about the formidable machine. They made many copies and sold them in Canton. *Chinese Repository* (September 1841), 10:519–22.
65. *Chinese Repository* (August 1842), 11:454–5.
66. Murray, *Doings in China*, passim; Bernard, *Nemesis*, 1:215; and Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1990), 157–8.
67. At the beginning of June 1842, for example, the foreign war fleet consisted of 27 vessels: 6 steamers, 8 men-o'-war, and 13 transports. By the end of June, there were 75 ships in the fleet: 10 steamers, 12 men-o'-war, and the rest were troop ships and transports. Murray, *Doings in China*, 152, 164–5.
68. MHS: 'Midas (steam schooner) Papers 1844–1845'; and *Chinese Repository* (May 1845), 14:248.
69. Levien, ed., *The Cree Journals*, 268.
70. Janin, *The India-China Opium Trade*, 169–73. For insurance premiums in Canton in the 1830s, see Alain Le Pichon, *Aux Origines de Hong Kong. Aspects de la civilisation commerciale à Canton: le fonds de commerce de Jardine, Matheson & Co. 1827–1839* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), 269–70.
71. Laurence Oliphant, *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857, '58, '59* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860), 59.
72. The classic work on steamers in China is Kwang-Ching Liu, *Anglo-American Steamship Rivalry in China, 1862–1874* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
73. J. M. Tronson, *Personal Narrative of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtchatka, Siberia, Tartary, and Various Parts of Coast of China; in H.M.S. Barracouta* (London: Smith, Elcer, & Co., 1859), 75.

74. For a good example of sailing ships being replaced by steamers in the China-opium trade, see Thomas N. Layton, *The Voyage of the Frolic. New England Merchants and the Opium Trade* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).
75. For a list of the steamships servicing Canton from the 1890s to the 1910s, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 179–80.
76. J. Arnold, *A Handbook to Canton, Macao and the West River*, 9th ed. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Co., Ltd., 1914), 41–3.
77. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 1:170.
78. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 44.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:104; and Malachy Postlethwayt, *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* (London: H. Woodfall, 1766), 1: no page numbers. See entry under 'CHI'. Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade in India*, 105–6.
2. Spencer, ed., *Memoirs of William Hickey*, 215–7; and CMD 1762, entry on December 13.
3. Flannery, ed., *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol*, 109, 162.
4. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:212. There are other examples of foreigners getting caught smuggling that are not mentioned in Morse's *Chronicles*.
5. SAA: IC 5689^{bis}.
6. There are many references to smuggling silk in service boats in both the GIC and VOC records. But one needs to be very attentive to find them, because the writers do not usually call it 'smuggling' but state something like: 'service boat arrived today with silk aboard'. All legitimate goods were supposed to be shipped via the Chinese chop boats, but in practice, many things went to Whampoa in the bottom of the service boats. For a couple of more obvious references to smuggling silk between Canton and Whampoa, see NAH: Canton 25, 71.
7. In 1728, the Fooyen insisted on the English boats being followed and inspected after the officers disembarked at Canton. OIO: G/12/27.
8. Noble gives an account of one of these disputes between the English and customs officers in 1747. Noble, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, 286. These examples clearly show that statements made by the foreigners claiming that they would never think 'of defrauding the Chinese government of their rightful duties' need to be taken with a grain of salt. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:78.
9. This lower fee was one of the few advantages private traders had. The journal of the American ship *Congress* lists the cost of a money boat at Spanish \$3.60. It is not clear why this ship paid \$3.60, when many other American ships paid only \$3.00. PL: 'Log of Ship *Congress* 1819–1820'.
10. SAA: IC 5757.
11. For a few examples of the English smuggling silver into Canton, see Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:187, 192, 194.
12. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:199.

13. Entries in the Dutch ‘dagregisters’ clearly show that the Hoppo were keeping close track of the movement of silver chests between Whampoa and Canton as early as 1729. NAH: VOC 4374. Other examples from the 1720s can be found in the GIC records.
14. OIO: G/12/23–25. ‘Gold in great Quantities is Yearly carried out of this Port, yet the Exportation of it is absolutely prohibited by the Government, but for certain Reasons greatly connived at. On this Account Europeans generally run privately most of their Silver; not to avoid any Duties payable thereon, but to conceal the Amount of their Imports, that thereby no Conjectures may be made of the Gold they Export’. Anonymous, *An Authentick Account of the Weights, Measures, Exchanges, Customs, Duties, Port-Charges, &c, &c.* (London: C. Hendersen, 1763), 55.
15. CMD 1763, entry on 23 September 1763; and A. J. R. Russel-Wood, ‘An Asian Presence in the Atlantic Bullion Carrying Trade, 1710–50’s’, *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 17 (2001), 148–67.
16. CMD 1763.
17. Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade in India*, 138.
18. For a few references of foreigners exporting gold, see CMD 1762; Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 38; Russel-Wood, ‘An Asian Presence in the Atlantic Bullion Carrying Trade’, 148–67; SAA: IC 5753; and Nordic Museum Archive (NM), Stockholm. Godegårdsarkivet. Ostindiska Handling. F17 (hereafter referred to as NM: F17).
19. NAH: VOC 4387; and Van Dyke, ‘Cai and Qiu Enterprises’, 60–101.
20. The English estimated that the foreigners exported a total of 7,000 shoes of gold in 1731. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:204. One example from the VOC is the shipment of 147 pieces (bars and shoes) of gold that was found in the wreck of the *Geldermalsen* in 1985. It sank in January 1752 on its return passage to the Netherlands. C. J. A. Jörg, *The Geldermalsen. History and Porcelain* (Groningen: 1986). The *Geldermalsen*’s gold was one of many shipments that were leaving China each year via Canton and Macao. As late as the 1830s, gold was still being smuggled out of China. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 68; Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:172, 176; SAA: IC 5753; NAH: VOC 4376, Canton 69; CMD 1762 and 1763; Van Dyke, ‘Cai and Qiu Enterprises’, 60–101; and Van Dyke, ‘The Yan Family’, 30–85; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 56–7.
21. Dermigny, *Le Commerce a Canton*, 3:1254–6; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:136, 215. There is a list of trade items including opium for many ports in Asia in the 1730s in the Uppsala University Library. UUB: L 181, ‘Misc. papers of Chr. Henr. Braad 1732–1762 to East India’.
22. Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy*, 34–5.
23. Almost without exception, histories of opium and the China trade show that market beginning in the late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth centuries, mainly because that is what appears in the EIC and American documents. For a few examples, see Amar Farooqui, *Smuggling as Subversion. Colonialism, Indian Merchants and the Politics of Opium* (New Delhi: New Age International, Ltd., 1998), 12–3; Morse, *Chronicles*, 2: 74–8; and D.E. Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934; reprint, Hamden: Archon Books, 1968), 63. Downs suggests that the smuggling networks became firmly established as a result of the War of 1812 calling

- it a 'newly developed marketing system'. But by then, they had been in place for many decades. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, 125.
24. Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch*, 104.
 25. For a couple recent studies on the Chinese domestic production of opium and the inland opium networks, see Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, eds., *Opium Regimes. China, Britain, and Japan, 1839–1952* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); and Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy*, 118–25.
 26. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:215 and 2:326–7.
 27. Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch*, 104.
 28. Israel Reinius, *Journal hållen på resan till Canton i China* (Helsingfors: 1939), 223.
 29. *Ibid.*, 234.
 30. GUB: Svenska Ostindiska Kompaniets Arkiv H22.3D 'Beskrifning på Skeppet Götha Leyons Resa till Surat och åtskillige andre Indianske Orter 1750–1752'. C. H. Braad.
 31. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:288–9.
 32. RAC: Ask 896.
 33. UUB: L 181, 'Misc. papers of Chr. Henr. Braad 1732–1762 to East India'.
 34. CMD 1762.
 35. The list of Portuguese imports in Macao can be seen in CMD 1763, entry on 10 December. For the Timor ship, see NAH: Canton 73, entry on 6 August 1764.
 36. NM: F17; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:101.
 37. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:129.
 38. Captain Jackson had come with the *Pitt* to China from Madras in 1761 as well. Anthony Farrington, *Catalogue of East India Company Ships' Journals and Logs 1600–1834* (London: British Library, 1999). There were several Captain Jacksons in China during the 1760s so it is not always clear which one is being referred to. The Swedes mention that one of the Captain Jacksons died in Macao in November 1772. NM: F17.
 39. Other buyers names on the invoice had the prefix 'A' attached such as 'Attoong', 'Assu' and 'Alloon', which suggest they were probably small shopkeepers, compradors, or petty officers rather than *Hong* merchants. By the 1830s, all the Canton linguists were using the prefix 'A' rather than the suffix 'qua', but in the eighteenth century their names usually appear with a 'qua'. In the 1760s, there was both a linguist and a *Hong* merchant who went by the name 'Monqua'. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 4; and *Chinese Repository* (January 1837), 5:432.
 40. NM: F17, letter dated 7 May 1767.
 41. NM: F17. Captain William Elphinstone went to China from Madras with the *Triton* in 1766 and again in 1769. Farrington, *Catalogue*.
 42. Captain Peter Hardwicke went to China from Madras with the *Earl of Lincoln* in 1764, 1767 and again in 1769. Farrington, *Catalogue*.
 43. NAH: Canton 76.
 44. M. Brunel, 'A Memoir on the Chinese Trade', in *A Voyage to Madagascar, and the East Indies*, by Abbe Rochon, trans. from the French (London: Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row, 1792), 470–3.
 45. NAH: Canton 73, 79. Simão Vicente Rosa (1718–1773) was the procurator of the Macao Senate in 1745, 1759, 1761, 1764 and 1771. Manuel Teixeira, *Toponímia de Macao*, 2 vols. (Macao: Cultural Institute, 1997), 1:510.

46. Chetqua's youngest brother Quiqua arrived in Macao on 11 June, to inspect the Portuguese cargos. NAH: Canton 79.
47. Emanuel Pereira is possibly a reference to Manuel Pereira da Fonseca. Pires shows this man connected to the ship *Boa Viagem*, but he does not mention the year. Vicente José de Campos was investigated by the Macao Senate in 1770 for having a cargo belonging to the English. NAH: Canton 79; Ângela Guimarães, *Uma Relação Especial Macao e as Relações Luso-Chinesas 1780–1844* (Lisbon: Edição Cies, 1996), 292; and Benjamim Videira Pires, S. J., *A Vida Marítima de Macau no Século XVIII* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 1993), 63.
48. NAH: VOC 4556, entry under 'Amphioen'.
49. In 1764 Smith was the supercargo aboard the ship *Muxadavad*, which was sponsored by the Governor of Bengal. NAH: Canton 73, entry on 21 December 1764. See also Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:72, 103.
50. A. M. Martins do Vale, *Os Portugueses Em Macao (1750–1800)* (Macao: Institutvo Portvgvês do Oriente, 1997), Anexo No. 20.
51. 'en wanneer den aanbreng slegts onder de 600 kisten beloopt, kan de prys tot 12 à 1400 piasters per kist monteeren'. NAH: VOC 4556, entry under 'Amphioen'. The Dutch text says 'piastres' but the English often referred to these as 'Spanish dollars'. Reals, piastres, patacas and Spanish dollars were usually exchanged at the same rate in China.
52. NAH: VOC 4411, 4412, 'Lyst van den Generaalen Aanbring te Macao'.
53. These lists of Portuguese imports to Macao in 1773 and 1774 are reproduced in Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', appendix Z.
54. A list of some of the magistrates who may have been involved in these connivances in Qianshan and Xiangshan can be seen in Deng Kaisong, Wu Zhiliang, and Lu Xiaomin, eds., *Yue Ao Guanxi Shi (粵澳关系史 History of Guangdong-Macao Relations)* (Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian, 1999), 637–42.
55. Do Vale, *Os Portugueses Em Macao (1750–1800)*, Anexo No. 20.
56. Wakeman has written one of the best summaries of the connection between opium and the tea trade. Frederic Wakeman Jr., 'The Canton Trade and the Opium War', in *The Cambridge History of China*, eds. Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978; reprint, Taipei: Caves Books, 1986), 10:163–212. For an example of opium revenues being deposited into the EIC treasury in Canton to purchase tea, see Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:189.
57. RAC: Ask 1175; and Do Vale, *Os Portugueses Em Macao (1750–1800)*, Anexo No. 20.
58. Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 101, 373.
59. 'Thome Francisco de Olivera og Jose Xavier dos Santos, ere de sædvanlig Opium Handler'. RAC: Ask 1175, entry on 19 August 1776.
60. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Portugal (AHU): Macau cx. 6, no. 48 microfilm CO412; Carl T. Smith Collection in Macao; and RAC: Ask 1175.
61. NAH: Canton 89, VOC 4421; and Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 63. Owen mentions on this page that 1779 is 'the first mention of actual trading in opium at Canton', which shows why we cannot depend solely on the EIC records to explain the China trade. The opium trade is just one of the many issues that do not receive

- full coverage or recognition in the EIC records, but are revealed in other East India companies' archives.
62. Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 63; and Dermigny, *Le Commerce a Canton*, 3:1269–70. Lark's Bay is noted on several maps, one being a 1912 map of Macao published by the Leal Senado. See also Williams, *Chinese Commercial Guide*, appendix 9.
 63. NAH: Canton 96, entry on 13 March 1795; Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:188–9, 199–200, 258–60; Wilson, 'King George's Men', 241–4; *Canton Register* (19 January 1836); and Smith and Van Dyke, 'Armenian Footprints in Macau', 50 n. 39.
 64. NAH: Canton 82.
 65. For examples of this monitoring activity in the Chinese records, see Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*.
 66. *Canton Register* (19 January 1836).
 67. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:199–200.
 68. This is why the Chinese documents that have survived from the trade cannot be taken literally, but need always to be cross-referenced with other records to check their accuracy. Many of the Chinese records are now in print in Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*.
 69. Do Vale, *Os Portugueses Em Macao (1750–1800)*, Anexo No. 11.
 70. Quincy, ed., *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw*, 238–9.
 71. Guimarães, *Uma Relação Especial Macao e as Relações Luso-Chinesas 1780–1844*, 202. I am indebted to Dr John E. Wills Jr. for pointing out this reference to me.
 72. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 29–30.
 73. *Canton Register* (12 January 1836).
 74. The facts that the drug could be traded in Canton in 1747 by bribing the Mandarins, that it was known in Surat to be a common article of trade in Canton in 1750, that it is listed on a *Canton Price Courant* in 1757 as an article of trade, that several foreigners were bringing the drug to China in the 1760s, that hundreds of chests of opium were being unloaded in front of the two tidewaiters stationed next to the ships, that those hundreds of chests were then transported from Whampoa to Canton passed the three tollhouses without a problem, that several Chinese were buying the drug in Canton in the mid-1760s without a problem, and that a Portuguese captain was willing to risk binging an entire cargo of opium to China in 1767, all point to a safe market and high level of standardization by the 1760s.
 75. Trocki has also shown that twenty dollars per chest was the standard commission Jardines charged on opium sales. Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy*, 106.
 76. For a few studies of the opium trade, see Owen, Downs, Eames, Greenberg, Fay, Farooqui, Trocki and Layton in the Bibliography.
 77. RAC: Ask 956. Some of these entries are much longer, but only the parts mentioning opium are included here.
 78. NAH: Canton 97–98; and Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', 455–6.
 79. Morrison, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (1834), 30. Figures are in Spanish dollars.
 80. The North American fur trade to China has now been fairly thoroughly researched. It was one of the important links that brought Hawaii into the trade, and it had close

- connections to the smuggling networks in China. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783–1860* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1921, 1941, 1949, 1961); Howay, *Voyages of the Columbia to the Northwest Coast* (1941, 1990); Polich, 'John Kendrick and the Maritime Fur Trade on the Northwest Coast' (1964); James R. Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods. The Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast, 1785–1841* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992); Downs, *The Golden Ghetto* (1997); Zhou Xiang (周湘), 'Qingdai Guangzhou yu Maopi Maoyi', (清代广州与毛皮贸易 Guangzhou and the Maritime Fur Trade in Qing Dynasty) (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Zhongshan University, 1999); and Wilson, 'King George's Men: British Ships and Sailors in the Pacific Northwest-China Trade, 1785–1821' (2004).
81. *Chinese Repository* (March 1838), 6:511–2.
 82. *Ibid.*
 83. *Canton Register* (3 May 1833).
 84. For one example of merchants trying to buy all the tin in Canton to control its price, see CMD 1763.
 85. NAH: Canton 98. In 1804, Johnson also mentioned that the principle article of commerce in Macao was opium. Johnson, *An Account of a Voyage*, 85.
 86. NAH: Canton 98.
 87. Crawford and Gützlaff have references to Chinese junks smuggling opium. John Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828; reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000), 511–9; and Karl F. A. Gützlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832 and 1833 with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands* (London: Westley and Davis, 1834), 68, 74, 88–9, 113.
 88. Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*, 1: nos. 242–7; Morse, *Chronicles*, 3:236–9; and NAH: Canton 101.
 89. There are numerous references to the opium trade being even more secure than the legitimate trade. One of them quoted by Owen states that the contraband trade was 'the safest trade in China'. Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 117.
 90. PL: 'Log of Frigate Congress 1819–1820'.
 91. Morrison, *Notices Concerning China*, 67.
 92. *Ibid.*, 68.
 93. *Canton Register* (3 October 1829).
 94. *Canton Register* (4 April 1837).
 95. *Canton Register* (20 December 1832).
 96. Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy*, 104–7; and Le Pichon, *Aux Origines de Hong Kong*, 73–4.
 97. Morse, *Chronicles*, 4:62–3, 77. The logbook of the *Merope* was recently discovered at the Lowestoft Record Office (Halesworth Parish Collection) in Suffolk, and has much detail about the ports that were visited along the coast in the 1820s.
 98. Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy*, 102.
 99. *Canton Register* (12 January 1836). For a few examples of the junks buying opium in Singapore and other Southeast Asian ports, or purchasing it from foreigners in the delta and then shipping it to other Chinese ports, see *Canton Register* (18 June, 2 September 1829; 3 February, 3 March 1830; 7 April, 3, 17 September, 17 October, 3

- November 1832; 15 July, 5 August, 24 October 1833; 16 December 1834; and 19 January 1836).
100. Ruschenberger, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 2:210.
 101. There are many accounts in the foreign records of the fast crabs. For a vivid account of one being ambushed, see Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:121–32; and *Chinese Repository* (January 1837), 5:391.
 102. In the early years of the 1800s, one of the reasons for higher fees in Macao was retaliation against the British for imposing a surcharge on Portuguese ships in Calcutta. Fei, *Macao 400 Years*, 168.
 103. *Canton Register* (18 August 1832; 7 September, 13 April 1833; 6 October 1835; 15 March 1836); Morse, *Chronicles*, 4:107–8; and Guimaraes, *Uma Relação Especial Macao e as Relações Luso-Chinesas 1780–1844*, chapter 5, ‘Macao 1810–1820. Os Anos Tranquilos’.
 104. Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*, 1: no. 382. The *Chinese Repository* has a translation of an edict concerning rice, which states that the tax exempt policy was in effect as early as the Qianlong (1736–1795) period and continued in Jiaqing (1795–1821) and Daoguang (1821–1851). *Chinese Repository* (January 1842), 11:17–20. According to official policy, ships had to be carrying at least 5,000 piculs to qualify for a discount, but documents contained in the *Qingdai Aomen* series and other references show that the stipulation was not followed to the letter.
 105. *Chinese Courier* (3 August 1833); and *Canton Register* (5 August 1833).
 106. *Canton Register* (15 September 1835, 7 November 1837).
 107. MHS: Forbes Papers.
 108. MHS: Forbes Papers.
 109. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, 128; and *Chinese Repository* (December 1838), 7:439–41.
 110. Downing states that 22,818 tons of rice were imported aboard British and American ships in 1834. The rice came from Manila, Batavia and Singapore. Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 2:24. See also *Chinese Repository* (March 1838), 6:509–10.
 111. Williams, *Chinese Commercial Guide*, 167.
 112. *Canton Register* (29 December 1835).
 113. There are many references in the foreign records to the Hoppo and governors-general being unable to make any changes to the basic structure supporting the trade. For one example, see Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:79.
 114. *Canton Register* (17 September 1832, and 26 July, 2 August, 13 and 20 September 1836).
 115. Many of the Chinese documents are now available in print in numerous collections and series (see Bibliography).
 116. Besides the references mentioned in notes above about the opium problem in China, see also the volumes of the *Canton Register* and *Chinese Repository* for 1836 and 1837. Translated copies of the edicts and the foreigners’ responses to them are available in these publications.
 117. *Chinese Repository* (April 1835), 3:579.
 118. All of these events are covered extensively in the 1836 and 1837 volumes of the *Canton Register*.
 119. This discussion can be found in the *Canton Register*.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire. Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630–1754* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Guimarães, *Uma Relação Especial Macao* (1996); and Do Vale, *Os Portugueses em Macao (1750–1800)* (1997).
2. Some of the Chinese and Portuguese records concerning the trade and the governing of Macao are now available in facsimile or print. Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen* (1999); Yang, Wu and Deng, eds., *Ming-Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dang'an Wenxian Huibian*; Jin Guo Ping (金國平) and Wu Zhiliang (吳志良), comps, *Correspondência Oficial Trocada Entre As Autoridades de Cantão e Os Procuradores do Senado. Fundo das Chapas Sínicas em Português (1749–1847)*, 8 vols. (Macao: Macao Foundation, 2000); and Xing, et al, eds., *Qing Gong Guangzhou Shisan Hang Dang'an Jingxuan*.
3. In 1986, Souza mentioned that 'Macao acted as an adjunct of the Canton market'. Souza, *The Survival of Empire*, 143.
4. NAH: VOC 4556, 'Gewigten', and 'Macao'.
5. Fei, *Macao 400 Years*, 116.
6. NAH: VOC 4556, 'Jonken', (13 October 1763) and 'Natieen (Vreemde)', (18 October 1763); and Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, 28. For a more detailed analysis of the Canton junk trade to Southeast Asia, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 5.
7. NAH: VOC 4556, 'Gewigten', and 'Macao'.
8. Smith and Van Dyke, 'Four Armenian Families', 43.
9. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:85–6; and Williams, *Chinese Commercial Guide*, 281.
10. The Dutch, Danish and Swedish records often mention the arrival and departure of the Portuguese in Canton.
11. The S. *Simão* was owned by Antonio José da Costa. NAH: Canton 35. He is also one of the merchants in Table 10 who loaned money to the Swedes.
12. NAH: Canton 81.
13. Some of the junk factories listed in Plate 12 are also mentioned in the *Yuehaiguan Zhi*, volume 25.
14. In 1764 and 1770, the Dutch in Canton mention 33 junks arriving, and in 1769 both the Dutch and the Swedes list no fewer than 27 junks. There were usually a couple that laid over in Southeast Asia each year so the actual number may have been larger. NAH: Canton 78, 127, VOC 3333; and NM: F17. In 1813, Milburn lists the imports of 32 junks in Canton so they seem to have maintained their numbers. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 1:487–488. Crawford suggests that there were more than 50 junks plying between Siam and Canton in the early 1820s, but the source of his information is unclear. John Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828; reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000), 409–10, 512–13. It is not possible to give an accurate account of each decade, but there is ample evidence to suggest that there were probably at least 30 junks operating out of Canton consistently up to the first Opium War in 1840. See other references to the junks, in Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:55, 108–14; Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 5 and appendices O, P and Q; Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family', 30–85; Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants of Canton', 6–47; and Van Dyke, 'A Reassessment of the China Trade', 153.

15. Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, 1:55, 108–14; and Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy*, 409–10, 512–13. For a more detailed analysis of the Canton junks and a comparison of the man-per-ton ratios with foreign ships, see Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, chapter 5; Van Dyke, ‘A Reassessment of the China Trade’, 151–67; and Paul A. Van Dyke (范岱克) ‘Cong Helan he Ruidian de Dang’an kan Shiba Shiji 50 Niandai zhi 70 Niandai de Guangzhou Fanchuan Maoyi’ (从荷兰和瑞典的档案看十八世纪50年代至70年代的广州帆船贸易 The Canton Junk Trade in the 1750s to 1770s as Revealed in the Dutch and Swedish Records), *Social Sciences in Guangdong* (广州社会科学), No. 4 (2002): 93–102.
16. Sources: NAH Canton 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, VOC 4387, 4403, 4411, 4556; NM: F17; Do Vale, *Os Portugueses em Macau (1750–1800)*, Anexo No. 21; and Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, chapter 5 and appendices. Unfortunately, we have no complete data for 1765.
17. Sources: NAH Canton 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, VOC 4387, 4403, 4411, 4556; NM: F17; Do Vale, *Os Portugueses em Macau (1750–1800)*, Anexo No. 21; and Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, chapter 5 and appendices.
18. This comparison with the American trade is based on the different sets of figures listed in Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, appendix 2.
19. NAH: VOC 4556, ‘Jonken’, (13 Oct 1763) and ‘Natien (Vreemde)’, (18 Oct 1763); and Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, 28. The 6 percent advantage may have been put into place in 1699 when Macao’s trade was brought in line with Zhejiang and Fujian standards. Fei, *Macao 400 Years*, 116.
20. NAH: VOC 4556, ‘Goederen en Koopmanschappen’.
21. NAH: VOC 4556, ‘Grynen’.
22. OIO: G/12/26.
23. For an example of the *Hong* merchants maintaining forward and backward linkages to markets abroad and within China, see Van Dyke, ‘The Yan Family’, 30–85.
24. Van Dyke, ‘The Yan Family’, 30–85; Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, chapter 5; Van Dyke, ‘A Reassessment of the China Trade’; and Van Dyke, ‘Guangzhou Fanchuan Maoyi’, 93–102. One of the captains of the Canton junks, for example, had a brother, Tsey Pinqua, who was a tin agent in Palembang. NAH: Canton 73.
25. The supercargo Colin Campbell, for example, mentioned in 1732 that the first Dutch supercargo Schultz was secretly investing in the bottomry market. Hallberg and Koninckx, eds., *A Passage to China*, 166–7.
26. Numerous lists of bottomry rates in Asia in the eighteenth century have been compiled by contemporary authors. Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade*, 17–18; and UUB: L 181–182. See also NAH: Canton 80.
27. Jan Parmentier, *De holle compagnie. Smokkel en legale handel onder Zuidnederlandse vlag in Bengalen, ca. 1720–1744* (Hilversum: 1992), 53–5; Souza, *The Survival of Empire*, 60–3; and Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch*, 49.
28. A couple examples of the EIC issuing bottomry can be seen in Morse, *Chronicles*, 5: 73, 111, 149.
29. For a list of the bottomry bonds recorded in the Swedish records and other transactions connected to the junks, see Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, chapter 5.
30. For a more detailed explanation and breakdown of these two contracts, see Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, chapter 5.

31. NM: F17; Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 5 and appendices O, P and Q; Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family', 30–85; Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants of Canton', 6–47; and Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', 60–101.
32. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 5 and appendices.
33. NM: F17.
34. The SOIC was using bottomry bonds 'as early as 1734'. Koninckx, *The First and Second Charters*, 295. The DAC was using bottomry bonds in the China trade at least by 1737, perhaps earlier. RAC: Ask 1116.
35. RAC: Ask 1156a; and Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family', 30–85.
36. Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family', 30–85. For other references to high interest in Canton, See Morse, *Chronicles*, passim; and Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, 1:68.
37. NM: F17; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:108. For interest rates of 2 percent per month paid by the Chinese in the 1720s, see SAA: IC 5695, 5740. And for later periods, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 5; Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', 60–101; and Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family', 30–85. For a more thorough analysis of the credit market and interest rates in the Canton era, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', chapter 5; and Ch'en's chapter on the 'Hong Merchants Financial Predicament' in Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 139–75.
38. NM: F17.
39. Morse states that he also found references to Chinese borrowing money at 5 percent interest per month, and that 2 and 3 percent per month were common. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, 1:68.
40. CMD 1762. For a more detailed account of the Yan and Cai family trade and credit problems, see Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family', 30–85; and Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', 60–101.
41. *Chinese Repository* (Jan 1837), 5:385–90. Ch'en, in his extensive study on the indebtedness of the Hong merchants, also found a 'Dearth of Cash in the Canton Market'. Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 162; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:278–9.
42. For examples of foreign traders moving in and out of Canton and Macao with a few chests of goods and hiring passage on junks and foreign ships, see Smith and Van Dyke, 'Armenian Footprints in Macao', 20–39.
43. M. Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China 1800–1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 144–174; Wilson, 'King George's Men', chapter 6; Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*, passim; Guo Deyan (郭德焱), 'Qingdai Guangzhou de Basi Shangren' (清代广州巴斯商人 Parsee Merchants in Canton during the Qing Dynasty) (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Zhongshan University, 2001); Guo Deyan, 'The Study of Parsee Merchants in Canton, Hong Kong and Macao', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No. 8 (October 2003), 51–69; Shalini Saksena, 'Parsi Contributions to the Growth of Bombay and Hong Kong', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No. 10 (April 2004), 26–35; Carl T. Smith, 'Parsee Merchants in the Pearl River Delta', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No. 10 (April 2004), 36–49; and Madhavi Thampi, 'Parsis in the China Trade', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, No. 10 (April 2004), 16–25.

44. Brokerage fees of 5 percent were common, but the rate varied according to specific agreements. Le Pichon, *Aux Origines de Hong Kong*, 265–6; and Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China 1800–1842*, 149.
45. Van Dyke, ‘The Yan Family’, 38; Fei, *Macao 400 Years*, 140–141; Ptak, ‘Macau: Trade and Society, circa 1740–1760’, 196; and JFB: Irvine Papers.
46. CMD 1762 and 1763; and NAH: Canton 73.
47. CMD 1762 and 1763; and NAH: Canton 73.
48. Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:108; and NAH: Canton 73.
49. Van Dyke, ‘Cai and Qiu Enterprises’, 60–101.
50. Armenians played a special role in the China trade that until recently has received little recognition. They were readily accepted by both Catholics and Protestants, because they were Christians. A branch of the Armenian Church had been reconciled with the Roman Catholic Church so Portuguese Catholics in Macao accepted them more openly than Protestants (who were considered outcasts). These religious connections enabled them to play a distinct role in the India–Manila–Macao–Canton trade, which they were involved with throughout the eighteenth century. Smith, ‘Armenian Merchant Prince’, 120–9; Smith and Van Dyke, ‘Armenian Footprints in Macau’, 20–39; and Smith and Van Dyke, ‘Four Armenian Families’, 40–50.
51. Smith and Van Dyke, ‘Four Armenian Families’, 40–50. A comparable nineteenth century example would be the Armenian Sir Paul Chater who also came from India and founded a few of Hong Kong’s prominent financial institutions.
52. Smith, ‘Armenian Merchant Prince’, 120–9; Smith and Van Dyke, ‘Armenian Footprints in Macau’, 20–39; Smith and Van Dyke, ‘Four Armenian Families’, 40–50; and Van Dyke, ‘Port Canton’, chapter 5.
53. Smith and Van Dyke, ‘Muslims in the Pearl River Delta’, 6–15.

CHAPTER NINE

1. *Chinese Courier* (7 July 1832).
2. *Canton Register* (30 August 1836).
3. Ruschenberger, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 2:248–51; and *Chinese Repository* (July 1839), 8:155–63.
4. Julean Arnold, *Commercial Handbook of China*. 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 1:47.
5. *Canton Register* (29 November 1836, 10 January 1837).
6. *Canton Register* (30 August 1836).

CONCLUSION

1. The Chinese records that have survived from the Yuehaiguan dealing with Macao reveal wonderful detail about local people. They survived because they fell into Portuguese hands and were shipped to Portugal. They were recently printed in Lau and Zhang, eds., *Qingdai Aomen*.

INDEX

- abacus, 27, 191 (n. 40)
Achin, 121
Adjouw (亞伍, comprador), 54
Adolph Friedrick (ship), 56
agents, 14, 38, 58, 72–4, 139, 150, 156–7,
159, 187 (n. 40), 200 (n. 1), 203 (n.
37), 204 (n. 53), 225 (n. 24)
Ajet (亞日, comprador), 55
Akou (pilot), 38, Plate 32
Alexander (ship), 131
Allay (亞黎, comprador), 54
Alloon, 219 (n. 39)
alum, 31
American Consul, 130
Americans, xi–xii, xiv, 25–6, 28–9, 39,
44, 55–6, 65–72, 82–5, 100, 105, 112,
118, 129, 130, 135, 147, 157–8, 178,
183 (n. 1), 185 (n. 6), 192 (n. 54),
193 (n. 60), 196 (n. 27), 200 (n. 1),
202 (n. 33), 206, (n. 74), 207 (nn.
88, 90, 98), 209 (n. 27), 212 (n. 21),
213 (n. 40), 214 (n. 49), 217 (n. 9),
218 (n. 23), 223 (n. 110), 225 (n. 18)
Amie, Amy (亞美, comprador), 54, Plate
13
Anqua (Chinese merchant), 11
Anson, Lord, 81, 194 (n. 10), 208 (n. 16)
Apo (亞保, comprador), 54, Plate 13
Apollo (ship), 56, 59, 202 (n. 26)
Arabic numerals, 24, 26, 80
Arent (ship), 37
Argo (frigate), 123
Armenian Antonio Baptista, 13
Armenian Church, 227 (n. 50)
Armenian Gregorio, 13
Armenian Ignace Narcipe, Plate 11
Armenian Johannes Lazaro, 159
Armenian Lazaro (Lasar) Johannes, 159,
Plate 6
Armenian Macartes Basilio (Macatish
Vasilio), Plate 6
Armenian Manuc Jacob, Plate 6
Armenian Matheus Johannes, 158–9, 180,
Plate 38
Armenian Sir Paul Chater, 227 (n. 51)
Armenian Vartao Gaspar, Plate 6
Armenians, xii, 10, 13, 17, 25, 27, 81,
144, 151, 157–8, 180, 183 (n. 1), 227
(n. 50), Plates 3, 6, 11, 38
Arnot, Thomas, 123
arrack, 148
artisans (*see* craftsmen)
Asam (pilot), 195 (n. 14)
Asek (comprador), 63, Plate 31
Askbom, Capt. Bengt, 109
Assu, 219 (n. 39)

- Astrea* (ship), 207 (n. 94)
 Atack (Lü Yade 呂亞德, comprador), 54–5, 201 (nn. 17, 22). Plate 13
 Attay (亞帝, comprador), 55
 Attoong, 219 (n. 39)
 audience (with Chinese officials), 20–1, 23, 78, 80–1, 89, 208 (n. 9)
 Austrians, 215 (n. 51)
 Ava (comprador), 154–5
 Ayou (comprador), Plate 34
- ballast, 31, 41
 bamboo, 24, 41, 60, 63, 168
 bands (*see* music), 24, 189 (n. 22)
 bankshalls, 58, 62–4, 67, 203 (n. 40)
 barbers, 60–1, 165, 204 (n. 51, 53)
 Barlow, Edward, 185 (n. 10), 196 (n. 24)
 Batavia, 5, 87, 136, 144, 148, 186 (n. 26), 188 (n. 43), 223 (n. 110), Plates 5–6, 8, 33
 Beauquequa, Beau Quiqua (Li Kaiguan 黎開觀), 12, 120
 beef, 26, 38, 45, 59, 65, 68, 70, 186 (n. 18), 191 (n. 45), 195 (n. 15), 205 (n. 68)
 beer, 67
 begging and beggars, 52, 61
 Beijing (*see also* court), 1–2, 6–9, 11, 14, 16–7, 20, 39, 65, 77, 88–9, 93, 97, 99, 108, 113, 115, 132, 138–9, 145, 162, 167, 169–74, 178–80, 189 (n. 20), 193 (n. 64), 198 (n. 50), 220 (n. 54)
 Belgians (including GIC references, *see also* Ostend), xii, xiv, 11, 17, 24–5, 27–8, 37, 52, 56, 58, 80–4, 118, 120, 152, 157, 183 (n. 1), 186 (n. 18), 192 (n. 50), 196 (n. 29), 203 (n. 42), 208 (n. 18), 209 (n. 24), 214 (n. 48), 217 (n. 6, 13), Plate 16
Bellisarius (ship), 131
 Bengal, 98, 108, 121, 123–6, 220 (n. 49)
 benzoin, 124
 betel nut, 148
 billiard table, 54
 birds' nests, 148
- Bishop, Capt. Charles, 69–70
 black market, 66–7, 86
 Blancard, Frenchman, 65
Boa Viagem (ship), 124, 220 (n. 47)
 Bocca Tigris (Humen 虎門), 19–22, 32–3, 37, 39–41, 43, 45–6, 48, 66–7, 102–3, 111, 113, 165–7, 175, 189 (n. 12), 196 (n. 24), 199 (n. 74), 204 (n. 56), 210 (n. 37), 212 (n. 30), 216 (n. 61)
 Bocca Tigris Roads, 45, 56, 128, 196 (n. 27), Plate 39
 bogue (*see* Bocca Tigris Roads)
 Bombay, 108, 208 (n. 19)
Bon Voyage (ship), 124
 Borneo, 121
 Boston, 71, 135
 Boston Jack (Bohsan Jak 波臣則, comprador), 71–2, Plate 36
 bottomry (respondentia), 123–4, 151–4, 157, 160, 225 (n. 25–6, 28–9), 226 (n. 34), Plates 7, 10, 11, 25–6, 39
 Braad, Christopher, 121
 bribes and bribery (*see also* smuggling, contraband, corruption, connivances, extractions, etc.), 65, 122–3, 130, 132, 140, 170–1, 187 (n. 38)
 British (*see* English)
 Brown, Capt., 124
 Brown, Reverend, 159
 Brunel, Mr., 124
 Budwell, John (proprietor of Macao Tavern), 38–9, 195 (n. 17)
 buffalo (*see also* bullocks, cows), 59
 bulkheads, 60, 62
 Bull, Samuel (Hoppoman), 67–9
 Bull, Tom (comprador), 67–8
 bullion, 39, 79, 118
 bullocks (*see also* buffalo, cows), 26, 59, 205 (n. 68)
 Burma, 175
 butter, 67
- Cabrite Point, 7
 Calcutta, xiv, 98, 108, 159, 199 (n. 73), 208 (n. 19), 223 (n. 102)

- calves, 56
- Campbell, Colin, 64, 205 (n. 64), 225 (n. 25)
- Campos, Vincente José de, 124, 220 (n. 47)
- camsia* (see *gratuity*)
- candles, 149
- cannons (see also *guns*), 21, 24–5, 36, 41–3, 47, 89, 109–11, 128, 189 (n. 20), 197 (n. 41), 199 (n. 74)
- Canton (brig), 26, Plate 27
- Canton General Chamber of Commerce, 135, 176
- Canton System, xiii–xiv, 1–5, 10, 12, 17–8, 20, 26, 32–3, 35, 45, 47–8, 51, 70–5, 91, 93, 99, 101, 105, 109, 113, 115, 132, 136–8, 162–5, 167, 169–76, 185 (n. 8), 200 (n. 1), 210 (n. 53)
- Cantonese (language), 77, 196 (n. 27), 207 (n. 100), Plate 12
- Cape Town, 67
- capital and capital market, 4, 97, 100–1, 122, 131, 141, 143, 150–4, 156–8, 160–1, 168–9, 171–3
- careening ships, 58
- Carrington, Edward, 135
- Casa Branca (see also *Junminfu* and *Qianshan*), 19, 103
- Catholics, 203 (n. 42), 227 (n. 50)
- Catholics, non-, 7, 14
- caulk, 60
- caulkers, 204 (n. 59)
- cemetery (see *graves*)
- chandlers, 73, 200 (n. 1)
- chaplain, 214 (n. 48)
- charcoal, 60
- Chauqua (linguist), 26, Plate 29
- Chen Jiuguan (陳九官), Plate 11
- Chetqua (Chen Jieguan 陳捷官, same as Tan Tietqua and Schecqua), 120, 124, 143, 153–4, 156, 156, 158, 219 (n. 46), Plate 17, 20
- chickens, 75, 206 (n. 68)
- Chinese (language), 38, 77–8, 80, 91–2, 159
- Chinnery, George, 159
- Chinqua (Suqua's bookkeeper), 81
- chop boats, xii, 22–3, 31, 79, 82, 96, 102, 114, 211 (n. 7), 217 (n. 6), Plate 30
- chops (official seal/stamp, permission slip, see also *Grand Chop*), 23, 30–2, 46, 52–3, 58, 79–80, 82, 84–6, 91, 102, 104, 118–9, 135, 166–7, 177, 210 (n. 37), Plate 22
- Christians and Christianity (see also *Catholics*, *Protestants* and *Armenians*), 91, 102, 126, 140, 159, 227 (n. 50)
- Christiansborg Slott* (ship), Plate 39
- chronometers, 110, 216 (n. 58)
- Chuen-bi ('Fan-si-ak') channel, 44
- Chusan, 16
- clipper, 110
- Cochin China (Vietnam), 152–3, 175, Plate 7, 10
- cochineal, 130, Plate 19
- Co-hong (*gonghang* 公行), 20, 96, 100, 153
- Columbine* (steamer), 200 (n. 78)
- commission merchants, 4, 132, 141, 143, 156–9, 169, 180
- compradors (Chinese provision purveyors), 3, 12–3, 15, 26, 32, 45, 51–75, 78, 81, 83–7, 90–1, 93, 95–6, 126–7, 139–40, 154–5, 163–5, 169–71, 173, 176–7, 189 (n. 13), 200 (n. 1), 201 (nn. 3–4, 18), 202 (nn. 24, 30–1, 33, 35–6), 203 (nn. 37, 45, 50), 205 (n. 68), 206 (nn. 74–5), 207 (nn. 88, 101), 208 (n. 105), 209 (n. 36), 219 (n. 39), Plates 13, 31, 34, 36
- conch shells, 42, 197 (n. 41)
- connivance fees, 95, 122, 127, 129–30, 132, 134, 141, 170–1
- connivances (see also *smuggling*, *contraband*, *corruption*, *extractions*, *bribes*, etc.), 2, 48, 95–6, 108, 114, 120, 122, 125, 127, 129–30, 132, 134, 137, 141, 170, 173–4, 199 (n. 72), 211 (n. 3), 220 (n. 54)

- Conseequa (Pan Changyao 潘長耀), 100, 212 (n. 21)
- consoo fund*, 100, 172, 211 (n. 19)
- contraband (*see also* smuggling and individual contraband commodities), xiii, 2–4, 46, 48, 65–6, 70, 115, 117–9, 121, 124–7, 129–30, 132–6, 138–41, 146, 161, 170–1, 174, 222 (n. 89)
- contracts and contracting, xii–xiv, 11, 25, 30, 52, 54, 57–8, 63, 70–1, 73–4, 79, 82, 84, 87, 92, 120, 123–4, 131, 150, 152–4, 157, 164, 178, 193 (n. 60), 202 (n. 33), 205 (n. 68), 209 (n. 23), 225 (n. 30), Plate 7, 10–1, 13, 17–20, 25–6, 39–41
- cooks and cooking, 22, 54, 56, 62, 85, 103, 204 (n. 56)
- coolies, 68, 73–4, 165, 207 (n. 86)
- Copenhagen, 122, 154, Plate 39
- copper, 37, 71, 110, 118, 129
- Coqua (Chen Keguan 陳科官), 98
- Coromandel, 121
- Correa, Ant. de Liger, 155
- corruption (*see also* smuggling, contraband, bribes, etc.), 1–3, 63, 95–6, 102, 114, 132, 137, 162, 169
- Cossack* (ship), 71
- Costa, Ant. Joze da, 155
- court (*see also* Beijing), 1–2, 5–6, 16, 39, 77, 99–100, 114, 139, 145, 162, 178, 180, 212 (n. 21)
- cows (*see also* bullocks, buffalo), 26, 38, 53–4, 56, 75, 201 (n. 9), 202 (n. 26), 206 (n. 68)
- Coxhorn* (ship), 191 (n. 41)
- crab boats (also called fast crabs, fast boats, centipedes and scrambling dragons, etc.), 66, 133–4, 139–40, 223 (n. 101), Plate 37
- craftsmen and artisans (including carpenters, caulkers, etc.), 9, 55, 62–3, 68, 73, 98, 165
- credit and creditors, 2, 32, 36, 49, 57, 70, 74, 93, 98, 123, 150–1, 154–5, 160, 166, 171, 175, 202 (n. 35), 226 (nn. 37, 40)
- crime, 63, 78, 102, 178, 204 (n. 60)
- Cron Printzen* (ship), 195 (n. 14)
- Cron Printzen af Danmarck* (ship), 63, 154, Plate 26
- Cronprintzen Adolph Friedrich* (ship), 121
- Cuddalore* (sloop), 123
- Cudgen/Cudgin (of the Ye 葉 family), 11
- cumshaw* (*see* gratuity)
- Cumsingmoon (Jinxing Men 金星門), 137, 140, 199 (n. 69)
- customhouse (*see* tollhouses)
- Danes Island, 58, 203 (n. 42)
- Danes' toll and tollhouse, 103, 213 (n. 32)
- Danish (including DAC and Dane references), xii, xiv, 9, 12–3, 17, 23–7, 30, 40–1, 63–4, 81–4, 86, 90, 95–6, 99, 104–5, 109, 121–2, 126, 128–9, 146–7, 151, 154, 156, 157–8, 173, 178, 183, 186 (nn. 24, 26), 187 (n. 39), 195 (n. 14), 196 (nn. 24–5, 27–8, 32), 202 (n. 33), 208 (nn. 6, 18), 210 (nn. 45–7), 212 (n. 24), 214 (n. 48–9), 224 (n. 10), 226 (n. 34), Plates 2, 4, 20, 26, 29, 31, 39
- death (*see also* murder, hanging, decapitation), 37, 58, 78, 158, 201 (n. 22)
- decapitation, 64
- debts, 21, 36, 96–101, 114, 123, 151, 158, 169, 171, 173, 178, 211 (n. 17), 226 (n. 41)
- defence, 2, 75, 110–2, 115
- degree (civil), 100
- Derby* (ship), 207 (n. 88)
- Dermigny, Louis, xiv, 105, 183 (n. 1), 184 (n. 4), 213 (n. 40), 214 (n. 45)
- Disco* (ship), 128–9, 132
- divers (*see also* salvage), 86–7, 210 (n. 38)
- Dobell, Peter, 66, 199 (n. 65)
- dockyards, 73

- draught (ship depth), 7, 16–7, 33, 35, 37, 39–40, 43–4, 46–8, 111–3, 185 (n. 6), 196 (n. 28)
- drums (to beat), 25, 42, 197 (n. 41)
- Duchess of Atholl* (ship), 199 (n. 74)
- ducks, 59–60, 65, 68, 75, 206 (n. 68)
- Duijfe* (ship), 27–8, 191 (n. 41)
- Dunira* (ship), 199 (n. 74)
- Dunn, Nathan, 206 (n. 74)
- dunnage, 149
- Dutch (including VOC references), xii, xiv, 5, 9, 12–3, 17, 23, 25, 27–31, 37–8, 40–1, 46, 52, 54–5, 64, 78, 81–7, 90, 95–6, 98–9, 103–6, 108, 120–2, 124–7, 133, 144–8, 151, 156, 158, 178–9, 183 (n. 1), 184 (n. 1), 186 (n. 26), 187 (nn. 38, 40), 188 (n. 43), 190 (n. 29), 191 (n. 41), 192 (nn. 51, 54), 195 (n. 22), 196 (nn. 25, 27), 197 (nn. 39–40), 199 (n. 70), 201 (nn. 9, 17, 22), 202 (n. 33), 204 (n. 61), 208 (nn. 6, 18), 210 (nn. 40, 45–6, 49), 211 (n. 17), 212 (nn. 23–4), 213 (n. 39), 214 (n. 47–9), 215 (n. 55), 217 (n. 6, 13), 218 (n. 18, 20), 220 (n. 51), 224 (n. 10, 14), 225 (n. 25), Plates 3, 6, 8–9, 13–5, 17, 21, 24, 28, 30, 32–3
- duties (*see also* taxes), 3, 6–8, 10–11, 14, 15, 23, 25, 30–2, 55, 58, 70–2, 117–9, 123, 125–6, 130, 131, 135–6, 144–5, 148–9, 166, 168, 171–3, 186 (n. 14), 188 (n. 10), 212 (n. 23), 217 (n. 8), 218 (n. 14)
- dyes, 149
- Earl of Lincoln* (ship), 123, 219 (n. 42)
- East India companies (including all nationalities, *see also* entries under individual nationalities), xii, 2, 44, 79, 82–3, 121–2, 137, 157–8, 160, 172, 175, 193 (n. 60), 205 (n. 68), 207 (n. 98), 220 (n. 61)
- eggs, 60, 65, 68, 195 (n. 15), 205 (n. 68)
- Ekeberg, Carl, 190 (n. 30), 197 (n. 42)
- St. Elisabeth* (ship), 24
- Elphinstone, Capt., 123, 219 (n. 41)
- emperor, 10–1, 14, 16, 26–9, 33, 39, 80, 96, 99–100, 107, 109, 114–5, 119, 121, 131, 135, 138–9, 145, 170, 186 (nn. 12, 15), 187 (nn. 37, 42), 191 (nn. 42, 45), 201 (n. 9)
- emperor's present, 10, 27–8, 33, 107, 115, 170, 186 (n. 12), 191 (n. 42, 45)
- Empress of China* (ship), 85, Plates 34–5
- English (including EIC and British references), xi–xii, xiv, 5, 9–13, 16–7, 25, 28, 38, 48, 52, 55, 62, 64–6, 72, 79–80, 82, 95–9, 104–9, 111, 117–8, 120–9, 131, 146–7, 151–2, 154, 157–9, 162, 173, 176, 178, 180, 183 (n. 1), 184 (n. 1), 187 (n. 37–8), 190 (nn. 24, 29–30), 191 (n. 45), 192 (n. 50), 193 (nn. 58, 65), 196 (nn. 25, 27, 29), 199 (nn. 73–4), 200 (n. 1), 201 (n. 4), 202 (n. 33), 205 (n. 62), 208 (n. 6), 210 (n. 40), 210 (n. 48), 211 (n. 7), 212 (nn. 23–4), 213 (n. 40), 214 (n. 48), 215 (nn. 50–1), 217 (nn. 7–8, 11), 218 (nn. 20, 23), 220 (nn. 47, 51, 56, 61), 223 (nn. 102, 110), 225 (n. 28), Plate 3
- English language (including Pidgin), xiii–xiv, 54, 77, 80–1, 89, 91–2, 98, 185 (n. 7), 189 (n. 12), 194 (n. 10), 198 (n. 50), 199 (n. 62), 200 (n. 2), 202 (n. 24), 205 (n. 67), 207 (n. 82), 208 (n. 16–9), 210 (n. 47), 211 (n. 55)
- Eugenia* (ship), 134
- Europe, xi, 2, 67, 149–50, 153, 157, 175, 204 (n. 53)
- European, 15, 29, 89–90, 122, 143–4, 148, 156–7, 160, 190 (n. 22), 205 (n. 66), 210 (n. 37), 218 (n. 14)
- extractions (*see also* bribes, connivances), 99–101

- factories, 7, 9, 14–5, 21–3, 30–1, 44, 51, 53–7, 60–2, 69, 71–2, 81, 86, 88, 90, 93, 98, 114, 118–20, 128, 130, 132, 145–6, 148, 157, 164, 176–7, 187 (n. 39), 189 (n. 17), 200 (n. 1), 201 (n. 9, 16), 204 (n. 56), 210 (n. 39), 212 (n. 32), 213 (n. 32), 224 (n. 13), Plate 12–3
- Fang Suisheng (方遂勝), Plate 40
- Fan-si-ak (see Chuen-bi channel)
- fire engines, 88
- fires, 88, 197 (n. 41), 204 (n. 55), 210 (nn. 39–40), 212–3 (n. 32)
- firewood, 60
- First Bar, 41, 43
- fish, 38, 42, 56, 59–60, 65, 68
- fishermen, 36, 40, 42–3, 46–7, 59–60, 73, 126, 198 (n. 48)
- flag boats, 23, 33, 117–8, 137, 166
- Flint, James (English interpreter), 14, 185 (n. 8), 187 (nn. 37–8)
- floating city, 59–60, 203 (n. 46)
- flower boats (see sex industry)
- fog, 42
- Forbes (American supercargo), 70
- Forbes* (steamer), 46, 48, 112, 199 (n. 73)
- Forbes, Capt. R. B., 136
- Fort St. George, 121
- Fort William, 159
- Fredriks Nagor* (ship), 129
- French (including CFI references), xii, xiv, 9–10, 13, 17, 25, 27, 55, 64–5, 81–3, 99, 104, 108, 119–21, 129, 146–7, 151, 157–8, 183, (n. 1), 185 (nn. 10–1), 187 (n. 39), 191, (nn. 39, 42), 196 (nn. 24–5, 27), 203 (n. 42), 205 (n. 65), 208 (nn. 6, 18–9), 210 (n. 46), 214 (nn. 48–9), 215 (nn. 51, 54–5), 219 (n. 44)
- French Folly (*Dongpaotai* 東炮台), 22
- French Island, 27, 58
- French language, 81
- fruit, 24, 38, 56, 59, 67, 75, 202 (n. 29)
- Fujianese, Plate 12
- fur trade, 67, 129, 221 (n. 80)
- Fury* (steamer), 112
- Fyen* (ship), Plate 39
- geese, 75, 206 (n. 68)
- ghaut serangs* (see *serangs*)
- ginseng, 67
- Giqua (Ye Yiguan 葉義官), 153
- Glorioso* (ship), 134
- Goa, 13, 121
- goats, 59, 65, 75, 205 (n. 68)
- gold, 70, 117–21, 130, 218 (nn. 14, 18, 20). Plate 18
- gongs, 24–5, 42, 189 (n. 20), 197 (n. 41–2)
- Gordon, Robert, 154–5
- Göteborg* (ship), 109, Plate 1
- governor (Bengal), 124, 220 (n. 49)
- governor (Canton), 133, 213 (n. 32)
- governor (Macao), 19, 134, 167
- governors-general (of Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces, see also viceroy, tsontock), 1, 6, 11, 13, 20, 25, 31, 41, 63, 75, 89–90, 93, 95–100, 114, 137–9, 145, 162–5, 168–70, 179, 186 (n. 26), 223 (n. 113)
- Grand Chop (Da Chuanpai 大船牌), 23, 32, 39, 46, 90, 96, 102, 104, 109, 166, 173, 177, 199 (n. 74), 215 (n. 56), Plate 1
- Grand Turk* (ship), 192 (n. 54)
- gratuity (including: *guiyin* 規銀, tip, *camsia*, or *cumshaw*), 44–5, 68, 85–7, 134, 191 (n. 42)
- grave, gravesite, cemetery, 58, 203 (n. 42)
- Grill, Johan (Jean) Abraham, 123, 152–5, Plates 5, 38
- Guanzha (關閘, Barrier Gate), 103
- gunny sacks, 60
- gunpowder, 25, 109
- guns (including pistols, fowling pieces and rifles, see also cannons), 24–5, 39, 109–10, 189 (n. 21), 194 (n. 5), 197 (n. 41)

- Hahr, Jacob, 123–4, 154–5
 Hamilton, Capt. Alexander, 52, 80, 185
 (n. 10), 201 (n. 4)
 hanging, 204 (n. 61)
 Hardwicke, Capt., 123, 219 (n. 42)
 Hawaii, 67, 206 (n. 79), 221 (n. 80)
 Heequa (linguist), 85, Plate 35
 Hemshaw (Chinese merchant), 11
 Henan Island (河南島), 44
 herbs, 148
Herstelder (ship), 145
 Hewer, Robert (supercargo for the GIC),
 11
 Heyberg, Charles Adolph, 123
 Heytor, Miguel Pedro (Macao resident),
 13
 Hilverduin, Captain, 46
 Hingsia (see Ingsia)
Hing Tay (*Hengtai* 恒泰, Canton junk),
 152, Plate 10
Holland (ship), 127
 Holman, Capt. Lyder, 122, Plate 39
 Hong Kong, 7, 47, 58, 73, 91, 112–3,
 140, 207 (n. 81), 227 (n. 51)
 Hong merchants, xii–xiii, 13–4, 55, 61,
 70, 79–80, 87, 97, 99–101, 107, 109,
 111, 114, 118, 120, 124, 130, 139,
 143, 149–156, 158, 160, 164, 173,
 176–8, 183 (n. 1, 2), 187 (n. 40), 193
 (n. 60), 210 (n. 55), 212 (n. 22), 219
 (n. 39), 225 (n. 23), 227 (n. 41)
hongs ('factories') xiii, 79, 88, 130, 144,
 152–3, 157, 172, 189 (n. 17), 211 (n.
 55)
 Hongsia (Yan Xiangshe 顏享舍), 152,
 Plate 10–11
 Hoppo's book, 24, 79–80, 146
 Hoppo's present, 26–7, 190 (n. 34), 191
 (n. 42), 201 (n. 10)
 Hoppomen (tidewaiters, 'Jack Hoppo'),
 21–3, 26, 65, 67–70, 74–5, 86, 130,
 140, 174, 189 (n. 13), 207 (n. 94)
 Hoppo (hubu 戶部, customs
 superintendents), 1–2, 6, 8–12, 14–7,
 20–33, 36, 38, 41, 45–9, 51–3, 59, 63,
 65, 67, 69–70, 73–5, 77–81, 85–90,
 93, 95–104, 111, 113–5, 118–9, 121,
 126–130, 132–4, 136–9, 144–6, 162–
 75, 177, 179, 185 (n. 120), 186 (n.
 26), 188 (n. 8), 189 (nn. 19–22), 190
 (nn. 27, 29–30, 34), 191 (nn. 38, 42),
 192 (n. 51, 54), 193 (n. 58), 201 (n.
 9, 10), 205 (n. 65), 207 (n. 94), 208
 (n. 9), 210 (n. 37), 211 (n. 7, 18),
 212 (n. 23), 215 (n. 51), 216 (n. 61),
 217 (n. 13), 223 (n. 113)
Houqua (ship), 136
 Howqua, 173
 Hú Cháu, Commander, 111
 hulks (depot ship, or floating warehouse),
 126–7, 173, 199 (n. 73)
 Hunqua (see Tan or Tsia)

 incense, 148
 India and Indians, 10, 17, 27, 30, 53, 60,
 81, 106, 111, 113, 121, 124–5, 133,
 136, 151, 158–9, 175, 192 (n. 54),
 227 (nn. 50–1)
 inflation, 10, 57, 168, 170
 Ingsia (Yan Yingshe 顏瑛舍, same as
 Hingsia), 98, 154–6, Plate 26
 interest and interest rates (usury), 97, 99,
 122, 131, 150–6, 158, 160, 168, 171–
 3, 226 (nn. 36–7, 39), Plate 20, 39–
 41
 iron, 59, 68, 110, 117
 Irvine, Charles, 120, 130, Plate 18
 ivory, 149

 Jack Hoppo (see Hoppomen)
 Jackass Point (Hanghou Guankou 行後館
 口), 23, 69
 Jackson, Capt. Joseph, 123, 219 (n. 38),
 Plate 23
Jamesina (ship/brig), 46
 Japan and Japanese, 16, 166, 175
 Ja-qua (linguist), 78
Jardine (steamer), 111

- Jardine and Dent, 134
 Jardines, 221 (n. 75)
 Jauqua (*see* Zey Jauqua)
 Java, 121, 151, 175, Plate 11
 Jesuits, 78
 Joseph, Joachem, 154
 junks and junk trade, xiii, 4–5, 7, 14–5, 24, 29, 36–7, 43–4, 47, 60, 63, 73, 86–7, 111–3, 131, 134, 140–1, 143–50, 152–4, 157, 159–60, 165–6, 168, 172, 176–8, 180, 198 (n. 53), 222 (nn. 87, 99), 224 (nn. 6, 13–4), 225 (nn. 15, 24, 29), 226 (n. 42), Plates 5, 7–12
 Junminfu (軍民府, *see also* Casa Branca and Qianshan), 12, 19–20, 36, 38–9, 45, 51, 95, 201 (n. 3)
- kapok, 124
 keelhauling, 64
Kongen af Danmark (ship), 122, 196 (n. 28), 204 (n. 59)
 Korea, 175
- lacquerware, xi, 149, 184 (n. 3)
 Ladron Islands, 195 (n. 14)
L'Amphitrite (ship), 83, 185 (n. 11), 191 (n. 39)
 lanterns, 40, 42–3, 149, 197 (n. 41)
 Lark's Bay, 126–7, 173, 221 (n. 62)
 Le Waqua (Li Huaguan 李華官), 153, Plate 25
 lead, 148–9, 168
 lepers, 61
 Leslie, Abraham, 97–8
 letters of recommendation, 38, 56–7, 195 (n. 14), 202 (n. 30)
 libraries, xii, 107–8
 linguists (Chinese), 3, 9, 12–3, 15, 20–1, 23–4, 26, 30, 32, 49, 51–3, 58, 64–7, 69–72, 74–5, 77–93, 95, 107, 111, 118, 123, 130, 146, 163–5, 168–9, 171, 173–4, 177, 185 (n. 7), 186 (n. 26), 187 (n. 38), 192 (n. 57), 201 (n. 3), 202 (n. 24), 203 (n. 42), 206 (n. 74), 207 (nn. 87, 90, 94), 208 (nn. 5, 16), 209 (nn. 21, 23–4, 27–8, 34–6), 210 (nn. 39, 47, 53), 219 (n. 39), Plate 29–31, 35
 linguists' fees, 15, 82–3, 85–6, 168, 207 (n. 90), 209 (nn. 24, 27–8, 34)
 Linqua (Chinese merchant), 11
 Lintin Island (伶仃島), 35, 40–1, 59, 70, 127, 133–7, 139–41, 174, 194 (n. 3), 199 (n. 73), 207 (n. 95), Plate 37
 Li Shiyao, governor-general, 13
 Lisjoncon, Lisanchong (Li Xianggong 李相公), 120, 155–6
 Ljungstedt, Anders, 121
 Lockyer, Charles, 51, 81–3, 117, 185 (n. 10), 201 (n. 4)
Logan (ship), 56
 long-side mandarins (*see* Hoppomen)
 Luozhou Fort (螺洲炮台), 47, 200 (n. 76)
 Luozhou entrance (螺洲門), 47, 200 (n. 76)
 luxury goods, 25, 67, 97, 117, 190 (n. 32)
- Ma Guohu (馬國護), 153, Plate 7
Maansand (junk), 148, Plate 8
 Macao (all references), xi, xiv, 4–10, 13–15, 17, 19–23, 31–3, 35–49, 51, 53–7, 66–7, 71, 73, 75, 77, 80–1, 90–1, 95–6, 98–9, 102–4, 107, 111–3, 115, 119–29, 131–2, 134, 139–41, 143–8, 151–2, 154, 156–60, 162–71, 174–5, 178, 180, 185 (n. 6), 186 (n. 26), 187 (n. 40), 188 (n. 2), 193 (n. 60), 194 (n. 10), 195 (n. 14–6, 18), 198 (n. 49), 199 (n. 62, 65), 207 (n. 83), 208 (n. 105, 210 (n. 37), 216 (n. 58), 218 (n. 20), 219 (n. 35, 38, 45–6), 220 (n. 47, 53, 60), 221 (n. 62), 222 (n. 85), 223 (n. 102), 224 (n. 2–3), 225 (n. 19), 226 (n. 42), 227 (n. 50, n. 1), Plates 2, 4, 6, 11, 21, 32, 38
 Macao Roads, 7–8, 19, 36–7, 56, 128
 Macao Senate, 7, 13, 19, 124, 219 (n. 45), 220 (n. 47)

- Macao Tavern, 38, 195 (n. 18)
 Madras, 108, 123, 185 (n. 10), 208 (n. 19), 219 (n. 38, 41–2)
 mahogany, 148, Plate 5
 Malabar, 125
 Malacca, 123
 Malay, 9
 Mandarin (language), 77
 Mandarins, 22, 46, 48, 64, 87, 97, 104, 120–1, 123, 127, 134–5, 186 (n. 15), 187 (n. 38), 191 (n. 42), 192 (n. 50), 204 (nn. 53, 55), 204 (n. 61), 210 (n. 37), 221 (n. 74)
 Manila, 13–5, 67, 136, 144, 146, 152, 157–9, 192 (n. 54), 215 (n. 51), 223 (n. 110), 227 (n. 50)
 Martin, Louis, 154
Merope (ship), 134, 222 (n. 97)
Midas (steamer), 112
 Milburn, William, 83, 195 (n. 16), 196 (n. 25), 224 (n. 14)
Minerva (ship), 67–9
 Ming Dynasty, 5
 Miranda, Mr., 154
 missionaries, 91
 Modao Fort (磨刀炮台), 47, 200 (n. 76)
 Mongha (望廈), 19, 95
 monopoly and monopolise 2, 11, 16, 20, 72, 75, 79, 96, 100, 161, 172, 176
 Monqua, 123, 219 (n. 39)
 Monqua (Cai Wenguan 蔡文官, Zey Munqua) 151, 153, 155–6, 158, 219 (n. 39), Plate 3
 monsoon, 7, 79, 167–8
 Montanha Island (Hengqin Dao 橫琴島), 126
 Morrison, John Robert, 33, 83, 107, 127, 198 (n. 51), 215 (n. 51)
 Morrison, Robert, 72, 78, 107, 132–3
 Morse, Hosea Balou, xiv, 80, 105, 124, 186 (n. 21), 192 (nn. 47, 50), 201 (n. 3), 205 (n. 66), 212 (n. 23), 213 (n. 32), 213 (n. 40), 215 (n. 51), 226 (n. 39)
 murders, 58, 204 (n. 61)
 music, musicians, musical instruments and musical bands, 24–5, 90, 189 (n. 22)
 Muslims (Moors, Lascars), xii, 10, 17, 25, 27, 98, 151, 157–9, 183 (n. 1), 208 (n. 105), Plate 3
Muxadavad (ship), 220 (n. 49)
 Namqua (Poankeequa's writer), 120
Nancy (ship), 129, 131
 Nanhai County (南海縣), 22
 Nanking (Nanjing), 120
 Napoleonic Wars, 105, Plate 33
 Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij (NHM), 105–6, 214 (n. 47)
Nemesis (steamer), 47, 111–2, 200 (n. 78), 213 (n. 39), 216 (n. 64)
 New Testament, 159
 newspapers, 108, 137, 174–5, 195 (n. 18), 204 (n. 53), 207 (n. 82)
 Nicol, John, 189 (n. 22)
Nile (brig), 136
 Ningbo, 9, 187 (n. 37)
 Noble, Charles, 62, 217 (n. 8)
Nossa Senhora de Conceição (ship), 129, 131
 North America, 2, 221 (n. 80)
 Oliveira, Thomé Francisco de, 126, 220 (n. 59)
 opium (*see also* contraband and smuggling), xii, xiv, 1, 3, 46, 48, 64–6, 70, 112–3, 119–36, 138, 140, 158, 161–3, 170–4, 199 (nn. 71–3), 218 (nn. 21, 23), 219 (n. 25), 220 (n. 56), 220 (nn. 59, 61), 221 (n. 74–7), 222 (n. 85, 87, 89, 99), 223 (n. 116)
 Opium Wars, 47, 70, 110–2, 139, 176, 200 (n. 78), 215 (n. 57), 224 (n. 14), Plates 23–4, 37
 Ostend Company (*see* Belgians)
Ouderamstel (ship), 27, Plate 28
Ouvidor Par (ship), 131

- Pacific Ocean, 29, 67
Pacific Trader (snow), 207 (n. 94)
 pagoda, 22, 203 (n. 42)
 paintings, xi, xiii, 149, 184 (n. 3)
 Palembang, 150, 225 (n. 24)
 Palladini, Emiliano, Plate 38
Panther (ship), Plate 36
 Panyu County (番禺縣), 22, 66
 Parsees, xii, 25, 27, 81, 151, 157–8, 183
 (n. 1), 203 (n. 42), Plate 3
 passengers, 15, 39, 111–3, 123, 167, 195
 (n. 18), 197 (n. 38), 216 (n. 61)
 pepper, 124, 144
 Pereira, Emanuel, 124, 220 (n. 47)
 Perkins (American trader), 135–6
Phelgethon (steamer), 200 (n. 78)
 pigs, 59, 75, 202 (n. 26)
 pilots (*yinshuiren* 引水人) and piloting, 3,
 8–9, 12, 15, 19, 21–2, 35–49, 51–3,
 56–7, 75, 78, 95, 102, 111, 113, 126,
 136, 139–40, 162–6, 168–71, 174–5,
 177, 194 (nn. 5, 9–10), 195 (nn. 13–
 6, 18, 22), 196 (n. 26), 197 (nn. 35,
 40–1), 198 (nn. 48–9, 51, 58), 199
 (nn. 62, 64–5, 71, 74), 200 (n. 80)
 Pinqua, 190 (n. 27)
 Pinqua, Tsey, 225 (n. 24)
 pirates, 43, 45–6, 129, 131, 141
Pitt (ship), 123, 219 (n. 38)
 Poankeequa, Poankeyqua (Pan Qiguan 潘
 啟官), 87, 120, 153, 155–6, 158, 173
 Pondichéry, 208 (n. 19)
 porcelain (chinaware) xi, xiii, 31, 35, 70,
 98, 103, 120, 130, 135, 141, 148–50,
 153, 161, 168, 175–6, 184 (n. 3),
 Plate 8, 19, 39
 pork, 56, 65, 68, 202 (n. 26), 205 (n. 68)
 pork (salted), 21
 port fees, 6, 10–2, 14, 23–30, 33, 80, 97,
 100, 106–7, 113, 115, 135, 145, 170,
 172, 185 (n. 11), 186 (n. 13), 190 (n.
 27), 191 (nn. 39, 44–5), 192 (n. 50),
 193 (nn. 59, 65), 214 (n. 48), 215
 (nn. 51–2), Plates 27–9
 Portuguese, xiv, 5–9, 13–5, 17, 19, 72–3,
 98, 119–20, 122–7, 129, 131, 134,
 140–1, 143–8, 151–2, 154, 157, 159–
 60, 167, 170–1, 174, 178, 183 (n. 1),
 187 (n. 28, 40), 219 (n. 55), 220 (n.
 53), 221 (n. 74), 223 (n. 102), 224
 (nn. 2, 10), 227 (n. 50, n. 1), Plate 4
 Portuguese language, 9, 37–8, 52, 55, 77,
 80–1, 92, 185 (n. 7), 194 (n. 10), 200
 (n. 1), Plate 6
 Praia Grande, 19, 38
 Prata Islands, 209 (n. 37)
 press, the, 2, 175
Princesse Louise (ship), 27, Plate 29
Prins Friederic Adolph (ship), 209 (n. 37)
Prinsessan Sophia Albertina (ship), 196 (n.
 24)
 private ('country') ships, trade, traders
 and transactions, xii, 2, 10, 14, 17,
 25, 27–8, 38, 45, 47, 51, 53, 58, 60,
 65–6, 69, 74, 79, 81–5, 95, 97–9,
 105–9, 114–5, 121, 123–6, 129, 134–
 7, 140–1, 146–7, 150–4, 156–61, 166,
 168–9, 172, 175, 185 (n. 10), 192 (n.
 54), 206 (n. 78), 208 (n. 19), 211 (n.
 17), 214 (n. 48), 215 (n. 51–2), 217
 (n. 9)
 Protestants, 227 (n. 50)
 prostitutes and prostitution (*see* sex
 industry)
 Providence, 135
Providence (ship), 69
 provisions, 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 23, 38, 49, 51–
 9, 61–2, 64, 66–75, 85–6, 110, 126,
 164, 168, 171, 174, 200 (n. 1), 201
 (n. 4), 202 (nn. 29, 31–2), 205 (n.
 64), 206 (nn. 77–9), 207 (nn. 82–3,
 94–5), Plate 13
 Prussians, 157, 183 (n. 1), 196 (n. 24),
 208 (n. 6), 215 (n. 51)
 punish and punishments, 64, 73, 78, 98,
 100, 134, 137, 139, 187 (n. 37), 204
 (n. 61)
 Punqua (Ni Bingfa 倪秉發), 70

- Qi'ao Island (淇澳島), 199 (n. 69)
 Qianshan (前山, *see also* Casa Branca and Junminfu), 12, 19–20, 36, 38, 43, 52, 95, 103, 213 (n. 39), 220 (n. 54)
 Quanzhou, 9, 131
 Queen (steamer), 200 (n. 78)
 Qing government, 5, 7, 60, 112, 180, 200 (n. 76)
 Quiqua (Chetqua's brother), 219 (n. 46)
- rattan, 60, 148–9, 168
 Rattlesnake (steamer), 112
 Reinius, Israel, 121
 rice, 4, 33, 59–61, 117, 135–7, 141, 174, 223 (n. 104, 110)
 Richman, Capt., 123
 Rickman, John, 67
 Rosário, António do, 126
 Rossi, Andrew, 123–4
 Roza, Simão Vicente, 124, 219 (n. 45)
 Ruby (ship), 69–70
 rum, 45, 62, 70, 87
 Russians, 16, 166
 Ruyteveld (ship), 84, Plate 30
 Rynsburgh (ship), 87, 145
- S. Antonio Novo (ship), 124
 S. Cecilia (ship), 124
 S. Simão (ship), 124, 145, 224 (n. 11)
 sago, 148–9, 168
 Salgado, Jernad, 155
 salt, 117
 salt beef, 45, 59
 saltpetre, 39, 117
 salt pork, 21, 202 (n. 26)
 salutes, 24–5, 42, 89, 128, 189 (n. 20–1)
 salvage (*see also* divers), 86–7, 167, 209–10 (n. 37)
 Samkonghing (Sanguangxing 三广興, Canton junk), 153, Plate 7
 samshoo (Chinese wine), 67
 sandalwood, 124, 148, Plate 5
 sandbars and shoals, 35, 39, 40–1, 46, 194 (n. 3), 197 (n. 37)
- Sanpan-Sam (comprador's agent aboard ships), 58
 Santos, José Xavier dos, 126, 220 (n. 59)
 Scandinavians, 81
 Schecqua (*see* Chetqua)
 schroffs and schroffing (money changers and changing), 71
 Second Bar, 40–1, 43, 196 (n. 27)
 security merchants (*fiadors* or guardians), 11–2, 21, 24–5, 30, 70, 86, 97, 101, 121, 156, 165, 186 (n. 21), 190 (n. 27)
 Semqua, Samqua (Qiu Kun 邱崑), 120, 153–6, 210 (n. 55)
 Sequa (Pan Seguan 潘瑟官), 120
 serangs (labour brokers), 159, 167, 208 (n. 105)
 Sesostris (steamer), 200 (n. 78)
 Seven Years' War (1756–63), 158
 sex industry (including prostitutes and prostitution), 61, 165, 204 (n. 55)
 sharks, 87
 sharks' fins, 148
 Shaw, Major Samuel, 127
 sheep, 56, 75
 Shenghe Dian (生和店), Plate 41
 Shifter, Captain, 195 (n. 14)
 Siam (Thailand) and Siamese, 9, 224 (n. 14)
 Sihing (Ruixingzhou 瑞興鵞, Canton junk), 148, 152, Plate 5, 11
 silk, xiii, 31, 70–1, 95–6, 117–8, 121, 129–30, 135, 150, 153, 173, 175–6, 184 (n. 3), 199 (n. 65), 217 (n. 6), Plate 18
 silk weavers, 165, 204 (n. 60)
 silver (*see also* sycee) 1, 4, 15, 21, 28, 71, 83–4, 101, 113, 117–20, 122, 125, 135, 138–9, 141, 144–5, 157–8, 161–2, 168, 171–3, 210 (n. 37), 212 (n. 24), 217 (nn. 11, 13), 218 (n. 14)
 Simon (Huang Ximan 黃錫滿), 120
 Singapore, 108, 136, 140, 199 (n. 73), 222 (n. 99), 223 (n. 110)

- sing-songs (*see* luxury goods)
- Sinqua (linguist), 90
- slaves and slavery, 53, 61, 74
- Sleswig (ship), 24
- Slooten (ship), 197 (nn. 39–40)
- Smith, George, 123–4
- smugglers and smuggling (*see also*
 contraband and individual
 commodities) xii, 1, 4, 21–2, 31, 45–
 6, 48, 65, 70, 95–6, 101, 108, 112,
 114–5, 117–21, 124–41, 144, 160–2,
 166, 169–71, 174–5, 199 (nn. 69–73),
 217 (nn. 4, 6, 11), 218 (n. 20, 23),
 221 (n. 80), 222 (n. 87)
- Soola (Sooloo?), 215 (n. 51)
- Sophia Albertina* (ship), 153, Plate 25
- Sousa, Miranda da, 155
- South China, 5, 87, 134, 145, 157
- South China Sea, 17, 86
- Southeast Asia, xiii, 5, 9, 60, 131, 148,
 150–2, 159, 176, 222 (n. 99), 224
 (nn. 6, 14)
- Soyching, Plate 40
- Spanish, 14–5, 17, 129, 144, 146–7, 151–
 2, 157–8, 183 (n. 1), 187 (nn. 39–40)
- Stanford and Marks (British firm in
 Canton), 66, 206 (n. 77)
- Staunton, Sir George, 107
- steamers (steam driven vessels), 2–3, 36,
 46–8, 111–3, 175, 200 (n. 78), 216
 (nn. 63–4, 67–8, 72, 74), 217 (n. 75–
 6)
- Stockholm* (ship), 157
- storms (*see also* typhoon), 8, 21, 26, 35,
 39, 55, 139
- Suchin, Plate 41
- Suiqua (Cai Ruiguan 蔡瑞官), 120, 158
- Sumatra, 121
- Suqua (Chen Shouguan 陳壽官,
 Chetqua's father), 11–12, 81, 120,
 130, 157, 208 (n. 13), Plate 19
- Surat, 121, 127, 221 (n. 74)
- Swedish (including SOIC and Swede
 references), xii, xiv, 12–3, 17, 25, 30,
 41, 56, 64, 81–2, 83–4, 86, 90, 95, 99,
 104–5, 109, 120–3, 128, 130, 145–8,
 151–4, 157–8, 178, 183 (n. 1), 187
 (nn. 31, 40), 189 (n. 12), 190 (n. 30),
 193 (n. 60), 194 (n. 3), 196 (nn. 24–
 5, 27, 33), 202 (n. 33), 203 (n. 42),
 205 (nn. 64–6), 206 (n. 78), 208 (nn.
 6, 18), 209 (n. 37), 214 (nn. 48–9),
 219 (n. 38), 224 (nn. 10–1, 14), 225
 (n. 29), 226 (n. 34), Plates 1, 5, 7, 9–
 11, 18–9, 22, 25, 40–1
- sweetmeats, 24–5
- Sverige* (ship), 157
- Swetia, Svissia (Yan Ruishe 顏瑞舍), 120,
 156, Plate 17, 20
- swords, 109
- sycee (silver), 27–8
- Taihe Hang (泰和行), 98, 211 (n. 13)
- Taipa Island, 7, 185 (n. 6)
- Taiwan, 5
- Tan Konqua, 155–6
- Tan Tietqua (*see* Chetqua)
- Tan Tinqu (Chen Tengguan 陳騰官), 12
- Tan Tinqu (Chen Zhenguan 陳鎮官),
 120, Plate 18
- Tan Tinqu (Chen Dengguan 陳登觀),
 120
- Tan/Ton Hunqua, 12
- taxing and taxes (*see also* duties), 6–7, 65,
 103–4, 118–9, 138, 144–5, 172, 190
 (n. 27), 223 (n. 104)
- Tayqua, 210 (n. 37)
- tea, xi–xiv, 20, 31, 35, 54, 70, 98, 121–3,
 125, 129–32, 135–6, 141, 148–50,
 154, 158, 161–2, 165, 168, 171, 175–
 6, 184 (n. 3), 220 (n. 56), Plate 4, 39
- technology, 2, 179
- Texia (Yan Deshe 顏德舍), 120, Plate 39
- Tian Hou Temple, 102
- tide, 16–7, 35, 44, 46, 54, 75, 111, 189
 (n. 13)
- tidewaiters (*see* Hoppomen)
- Timor, 122, 219 (n. 35)

- tin, 31, 144, 148–50, 168, 222 (n. 84),
225 (n. 24)
- Tinqua (*see* Tan)
- tips (*see* gratuity)
- tollhouse/customhouse, 15, 19, 20–3, 30–
1, 36, 46–7, 53–4, 66, 75, 84–5, 91,
95–6, 101, 103–4, 117–8, 137, 144–5,
165–6, 173, 177–8, 189 (nn. 12, 17),
209 (n. 34), 212 (n. 31–2), 213 (n.
32, 39), 221 (n. 74)
- tolls, xiii, 15, 22–3, 33, 103–4, 115, 126,
166, 170, 173, 213 (nn. 32, 39)
- Tonkin, 175
- Tonqua, 123
- Treaty Ports (*see also* unequal treaties),
xiv, 72–3, 91–2, 200 (n. 1), 207 (n.
101)
- trepans, 148
- Triton (ship), 123, 219 (n. 41)
- truck (practice of tying import sales to
export sales), 130, Plate 19
- trumpets and trumpeters, 24–5, 90
- Tsja Hunqua (Cai 蔡 family, same as Zey
Hunqua), 120, 155–6, 158, Plate 17
- Tsjonqua (Cai Xiangguan 蔡相官), 120,
158
- tsontock (*see also* viceroy, governor-
general), 89–90
- tumble home (type of ship construction),
29
- tutenague (*see* zinc)
- typhoon (*see also* storms), 17, 157
- Tzy Yamqua (Cai Yanquan 蔡炎官), 120,
Plate 18
- unequal treaties (*see also* treaty ports),
xiv, 176
- United States, xi–xii, 100, 175
- van den Beake, Capt. Jacobus, 188 (n.
43)
- varnish, 60, 62–3
- vegetables, 38, 56, 59, 67, 75
- Velzen (ship), 27, Plate 14, 28
- vice-magistrate, 12
- vice-prefect (tongzhi 同知), 95
- viceroy (*see also* tsontock, governor-
general), 89, 210 (n. 48)
- Vietnam (*see* Cochin China)
- Vixen (steamer), 112
- Ward, Thomas, 68
- Wathen, James, 189 (n. 22)
- weighers, 22, 85
- Wellesley (ship), 200 (n. 78)
- West River (Xizhujiang He 西珠江河,
also known as the ‘Broadway’), 23,
47, 53–4, 102–4 112, 115, 167, 170,
173, 175, 177, 212 (n. 30), 213 (nn.
34, 39), Plate 21–2
- Whampoa (Huangpu 黃埔), 8, 10, 15,
21–5, 30–1, 33, 35, 38–41, 43–6, 52–
3, 55–8, 61–4, 66, 68–9, 72–3, 78–80,
82, 84–6, 89, 91, 95–6, 103, 109,
113–4, 117, 120, 123, 126, 128–30,
132–3, 135–7, 139–41, 144–5, 149–
50, 164, 166, 170, 177, 189 (n. 12,
19), 190 (n. 24, 30), 191 (n. 38), 196
(n. 24), 197 (n. 38), 200 (n. 80, n.
1), 201 (n. 11), 202 (n. 32), 203 (n.
42), 204 (n. 55, 61), 205 (n. 68), 206
(n. 75), 212 (n. 23), 217 (n. 6, 13),
221 (n. 74), Plate 16
- Williams, Samuel Wells, 72, 91–2, 113,
137
- wine, 21, 24–6, 67, 201 (n. 10)
- women, 17, 56, 61, 75, 165, 201 (n. 11)
- Wu Heguan (伍和觀), Plate 10
- Xiamen (Amoy), 5, 9, 127, 140, 170, 185
(n. 10)
- Xiangshan County (香山縣), 12, 19–20,
103, 188 (n. 2), 220 (n. 54)
- Yan 顏 family, 120, 152, 154
- Yaoulan city gate (油欄城門), 21, 188 (n.
8)
- Yifeng Hang (義豐行), 211 (n. 55)

- Yuehaiguan (粵海關 China's Maritime Customs in the Guangdong Province), 14, 19–20, 32, 105, 115, 178, 227 (n. 1)
- Yuexiu Park (越秀公園), 203 (n. 42)
- Zee Lily* (ship), Plate 32
- Zey Hunqua (*see* Tsja Hunqua)
- Zey Jauqua (Cai Yuguan 蔡玉官), 153, 155–6
- Zey Kinqa (Shi Mengjing 石夢鯨), 120
- Zey Munqua (*see* Monqua)
- Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功), 5
- Zhuhai (珠海), 199 (n. 69)
- zinc (tutenague), 31
- Zout Zout Ham (*see* Bocca Tigris Roads)