

YANG PINQUA 楊丙觀: MERCHANT OF CANTON AND MACAO 1747–1795

PAUL A. VAN DYKE*

ABSTRACT: Pinqua's example is one of the few we have of an outside merchant working for many years as a successful porcelain dealer and then becoming a Hong merchant. At the time of his appointment in 1782, Pinqua had thirty-five years of experience dealing with foreigners and had earned a good reputation as a dependable and trustworthy merchant. However, despite that past experience, it proved to be insufficient to overcome the challenges he faced as a Hong merchant. Not only did that new position require him to trade in a much wider variety of goods, but Pinqua also had to assume the debts of failed men which meant he needed to trade in much larger volumes in order to generate enough income to service those payments. As a Hong merchant, he was called upon by Chinese officials — including the emperor — to supplement administrative budgets when they failed to meet the needs at hand. Even though Pinqua was said to be 'rich' when he began his appointment, within five years he was having serious cash flow problems. Pinqua's demise is testimony to the negative influences that surrounded the Hong merchants and led to most of their businesses ending in failure.

KEYWORDS: Hong merchant; Canton trade; Macao trade; Hoppo; Porcelain; Tea; Silk; Tin.

Introduction

Pinqua was a well-known porcelain dealer in Canton during the mid-eighteenth century who was appointed a Hong merchant in 1782. His Chinese name was Yang Bingguan 楊丙觀, but he was also known as Yang Cengong 楊岑龔. His origins and beginnings in Canton are a bit ambiguous. The first reference I have found to him is from 1747 when he appears in the Danish Asiatic Company's (DAC) records selling porcelain (Table 1). We know from Chinese sources

that there were many men with the last name Yang 楊 who were active in the trade between Southeast Asia and Fujian Province from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Some of these Yangs were involved in trade at Canton, as well, but so far, we have no evidence connecting any of these men to Pinqua.¹

From the little evidence that we do have about Pinqua's early years, his business appears to have begun rather slowly. In the late 1740s and early 1750s, his name appears only infrequently in the records. By the late 1750s, in addition to the Danes, he was also selling porcelain to the Swedes and Dutch (Table 1). As far as the records reveal, he did not trade in large quantities, but carried on a steady business earning a good reputation with his foreign customers. By the early 1780s, he had gained the attention of the Hoppo

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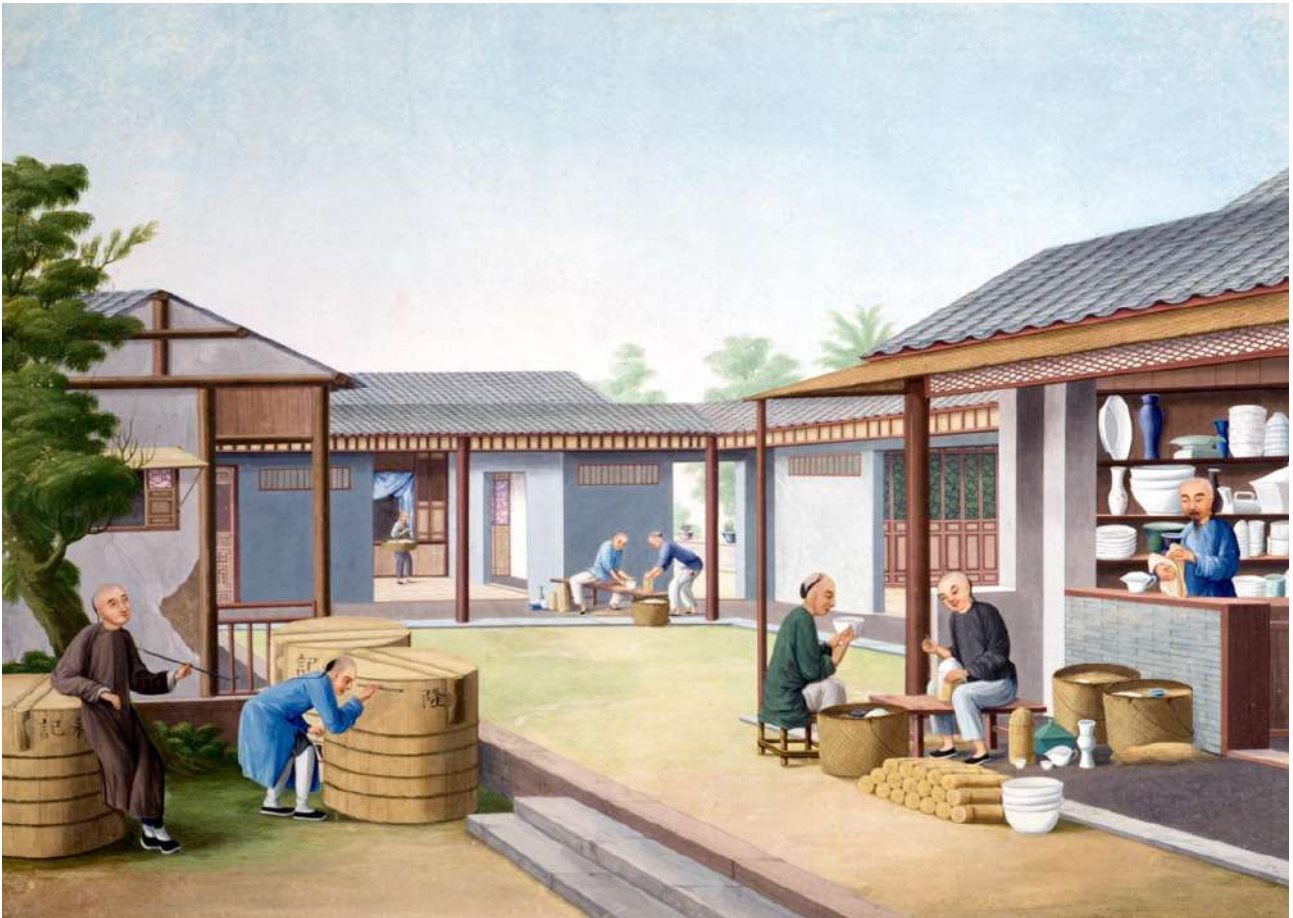


Fig.1: E81592.19 Packing the Porcelain, c. 1825. Gouache on paper. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum. Photo Jeffrey R. Dykes.

(customs superintendent, Hubu 户部 or Jiandu 監督), who appointed him a Hong merchant. The name of his firm before and after that appointment was the Longhe Hang 隆和行 (also called the Longhe Ji 隆和記).

Pinqua did not do well as a Hong merchant. Within a few years, he was experiencing severe shortages in working capital, which gradually led to his bankruptcy in 1792. He died three years later. There is some evidence to suggest that Pinqua may have squandered his money on elaborate gardens and estates, which, if true, would have certainly contributed to his early demise. We know, for example, that he purchased a number of properties shortly after becoming a Hong merchant. As other examples of Chinese merchants have shown, any man rising to prominence in business and flouting

his wealth, was potentially putting himself at risk of becoming a target of government officials.² His acquisition of properties, suggests that mediocrity was perhaps not consistent with Pinqua's personal objectives. However, there is also evidence showing that at least some of the properties he purchased were not his choice but rather the Hoppo's. Thus, it is not clear whether he was actually squandering money or simply following orders. Whatever the case may have been, his business followed the well-worn Hong merchant path to bankruptcy and is another example that testifies to the belief that it was better to avoid that appointment if possible.

Because his business was dramatically different before and after becoming a Hong merchant, I will discuss those two periods separately.

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Pinqua the Porcelain Dealer 1747–1782

Table 1 shows a schedule of Pinqua's trading activities with the Europeans and Americans. The entries show the activities that were recorded in the British, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, French, American, Spanish, and Chinese sources. He undoubtedly had many other transactions for which records have not survived. For example, Table 1 shows him trading with the Danes in 1747 and 1748, but then the next entry is 1754 when he shows up in the Swedish records. Obviously, he was undoubtedly trading in the years from 1749 to 1753 as well, but we have no data.

Table 2 shows that Pinqua's early trade with the DAC was miniscule at best, amounting to a mere 24 to 55 taels. It was not until 1759, that his Danish trade surpassed 200 taels, and not until 1765, that it surpassed 1,200 taels. Although the DAC's ledgers (*kassa-hovedboger*) are missing from 1773 to 1781, we know from other Danish records, that Pinqua's trade continued in those years. In 1777, for example, he supplied the Danes with table service sets, thousands of coffee and tea cups, and other items packed into 27 chests, totaling 720 taels.³ Soychong, Yeckhing, Suchin Tiauquon and Exchin were his main competitors at this time.⁴ Each of those men supplied the Danes with as much porcelain as Pinqua. The Danes also purchased smaller amounts of porcelain in 1777 from Suchinsequa, Xingqua, Echong and Soyqua.⁵ As I have shown in another study, the porcelain trade in Canton was always very competitive.⁶

Most of the records from the Swedish East India Company (SOIC) have not survived, but Pinqua does show up in the logbook of the ship *Prins Carl*. This ship arrived at Whampoa in July 1754. Owing to insufficient merchandise being available in Canton that year, the Swedes were unable to fill the ship so they laidover a season. The *Prins Carl* did not leave China until December 1755. The Swedes received porcelain from Pinqua in both of those years. Other dealers who supplied the SOIC with chinaware were Futqua, Conjack, Quinqu, Quonchon, Soychong,

Lisjoncon, Jouqva, and the Hong merchants Suqua, Avow, Swetia, and Jauqua.⁷ As Table 1 shows, Pinqua continued to supply the Swedes with porcelain in later years, but owing to many of those documents not surviving, we have no figures.

By 1757, Pinqua was supplying porcelain to the Dutch East India Company (VOC) as well. Fortunately, most of the VOC ledgers have survived from 1757 to the mid-1790s so we have a fairly complete and accurate record of Pinqua's trade with that company. There are many VOC records from Canton that have survived from before 1757 and there is no mention of Pinqua so he seems to have entered into trade with them that year. Table 3 shows his trade with the VOC to be very steady. From 1757 to 1758 his business nearly doubled from 457 to 878 taels, and then doubled again in 1760, with sales reaching 1,744 taels. The records for 1759 have not survived so we do not know what he did that year. His Dutch trade after 1760 fluctuated up and down each year from a few hundred taels to upwards of 8,800 taels in the late-1770s.⁸ While we only have figures from the Danish and Dutch companies (Tables 2 and 3), those sources show him with a very steady trade by the early 1760s.

By 1761, Pinqua was supplying porcelain to the English East India Company (EIC) in competition with Quoneach, Sinqa, Suchin, Wingchong, Soychong, and Yinqa.⁹ If we combine all of his patrons together, including the Danes, Swedes, Dutch, British, private traders, and Portuguese in Macao, we can imagine his gross sales exceeding 10,000 taels or more per year in the 1760s. He had clearly gone beyond most of the small operators and was approaching the volume of mid-level porcelain dealers like Conjac and Lisjoncon.¹⁰

In October 1764, Pinqua's porcelain was held up owing to the governor general conscripting his cargo sampans to carry his personal luggage to Canton. The governor general arrived in Canton on 12 November. After the sampans were unloaded, then Pinqua sent them back upriver again to collect the porcelain that

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was waiting for him at the Meiling pass. Because of this delay, the Dutch had to wait several weeks to load their ships owing to Pinqua's shipments being held up.¹¹ While we only have this one reference to Pinqua's sampans being conscripted, it shows that he did indeed own his own vessels.

We know from other entries, that these diversions of transport sampans occurred more often than one might expect. Anytime top officials needed to move from one place to another or transport people and property, they simply conscripted whatever vessels were available at hand. Most of these actions were never recorded so we do not learn of them. The Danes, however, also experienced delays in their trade for the same reason, which provides us with a few more references to these incursions. In November 1773, November 1775, and December 1784, Chinese officials conscripted cargo sampans to carry troops and other items, resulting in products arriving in Canton many weeks later than expected. These entries show that Pinqua's example in 1764 was not an isolated event.¹² Senior officials were often appointed for one to three years and had to visit other locations within their respective jurisdictions which made these conscriptions regular occurrences.

Pinqua does not show up in the surviving French records until 1783 (Table 1). We have no records from the many private French ships that traded at Canton, but it is likely that he would have had some trade with them. From what we can see from the surviving entries in Table 1, by the late 1770s he probably had upwards of 20,000 taels in gross sales each year.

Figures 1 and 2 are paintings showing porcelain being packed in China's interior (probably Jingdezhen). Figure 1 shows a man inscribing the name of Pinqua's shop Longhe 隆和 on a tub. Other paintings that show porcelain tubs being transported to Canton have the names of the owners on them as well.¹³ In order to keep track of the shipments, we would expect the tubs to be marked in some way so that they were not delivered to the wrong person. The items also had to

pay duties and fees at the customs houses on their way to Canton, which presumably would also dictate that the name of the owner be displayed on the packages.¹⁴

Figure 2 also shows porcelain tubs being packed in preparation for shipment to Canton. Longhe appears on several of the tubs, and Guangxin 廣新 and Yi Ji 鷓記 appears on others.¹⁵ These other names were Pinqua's competitors. On the right, we see bowls being wrapped in reeds and then the bundles being placed into tubs. Note that in both Figures 1 and 2 the porcelain is white. If these items were intended for Guangcai 廣彩 ware, then they would be painted in Canton according to the designs supplied by the foreign customers.¹⁶ Figure 2 also shows a man wrapping white porcelain with reeds, and another man putting a bundle of porcelain into a tub. Thus, both of these paintings appear to be depicting porcelain being packed in China's interior in preparation for their shipment to Canton.

While Pinqua had his own firm, as a porcelain dealer, he was required to channel his sales to foreigners through one of the licensed Hong merchants who became guarantors for his trade. All of these smaller operators in Canton who were not licensed merchants, but who were nonetheless businessmen in their own right, were counted among the class of men known as 'outside merchants'. If Pinqua should fail to pay his duties or fees, his guarantor was held responsible, and would have to make good on those arrears. Figures 3 and 4 are receipts from Pinqua confirming payments he received from the VOC for porcelain purchased in January 1759 and December 1760, respectfully. Although the Dutch texts do not mention it, the Chinese text in Figure 3 shows the name of the Hong merchant Consentia Giqua's firm, Guangyuan Hang 廣源行.¹⁷ This was the house that stood security for his transactions. Giqua, however, died in 1765 and then his son Tiaoqua took over management of the firm. Tiaoqua died in 1775, and the Guangyuan Hang was closed.¹⁸ It is uncertain who became Pinqua's guarantor thereafter.

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Fig.2: E81592.22 Packing the Porcelain, c. 1825. Gouache on paper. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum. Photo Jeffrey R. Dykes.

As we see from these disparate data, by the 1770s, Pinqua was a well-known and well-established porcelain dealer in Canton, with a good reputation. While this was an honorable distinction that any shopkeeper would have been proud of, it was not necessarily a good outcome for Pinqua. Because of his reputation of being a fair and reliable dealer, with substantial capital and experience dealing with foreigners, he became a prime target when the Hoppo went looking for new men to fill the positions of failed Hong merchants.

Pinqua the Hong Merchant 1782–1793

The late 1770s were very difficult years for the Hong merchants, with several of the largest houses falling into debt. Out of ten houses that were in

operation during the Cohong years (1760 to February 1771), three of them had failed by 1780 (Guangyuan Hang 廣源行, Jufeng Hang 聚豐行, and Guangshun Hang 廣順行). In 1781, the Yuanlai Hang 遠來行 followed them, leaving only six houses remaining. Two of those houses, the Yifeng Hang 義豐行 and Taihe Hang 泰和行 would follow suit a few years later.

In order to shore up the Hong merchant ranks, Hoppo Li Zhiying 李質穎 appointed five new men in the summer of 1782, one of whom was Pinqua.¹⁹ The British officers mentioned that ‘We do not find that any [of the five men] offered themselves voluntarily as the situation of a Hong Merchant is by no means eligible in these times of rapacity & oppression’.²⁰ What the British were referring to is the scramble for revenues in these years, when the Hoppo were

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searching everywhere to find enough funds to make up for the decline that had occurred in the trade. Owing to war breaking out between the Europeans, the number of ships arriving in China went from 35 in 1780, 26 in 1781, to only 16 ships in 1782.²¹ This was a fifty percent drop in revenues in two years. In order to make up for the shortfall and give the best report to the emperor as possible, senior officials—especially the Hoppos—did everything they could to tap into whatever wealth they could get their hands on. This is what the British meant by the phrase ‘times of rapacity & oppression’.

It was a very overwhelming experience moving from an outside merchant to a Hong merchant. Pinqua not only had to learn very quickly the ins and outs of the market in tea, silk, tin, lead, woollens, and a variety of other products, but also learn how to deal in much larger quantities. As mentioned above, when moving into this new position, Pinqua had to assume the debts of the man he replaced. This arrangement was non-negotiable. If he was granted part of the former man’s trade, then he had to assume an equivalent proportion of the debts that that man had left behind. This guarantee system was a part of the Canton trade for most of its history, which favoured foreign traders to the detriment of their Chinese counterparts. If the debts were not repaid, some foreign ships would not likely return to China, which would correspondingly reduce the duties collected for the emperor. These fiscal concerns resulted in new and surviving Hong merchants being required to pay the arrears left behind by the failed men.²²

In addition to handling his normal 20,000 taels worth of porcelain each year, Pinqua was now dealing in hundreds of thousands of taels worth of other goods. As we see from the products listed in Tables 1, 2 and 3, he traded in a wide variety of teas, silk, pepper, tin, Nanking cloth and various other items such as woollens, lead, sandalwood, radix china, radix galingale, sago, etc. Of course, like porcelain, each of these products had a range of prices that corresponded

to their quality and saleability. Pinqua had to learn all of these particulars very quickly. One bad transaction could immediately drain him of funds and seriously affect his financial standing.

Figure 5 is a painting of the inside of a factory in Canton showing porcelain being unpacked out of tubs and repacked into rectangular chests for export. At the lower right are some large tubs with Longhe 隆和 inscribed on them. Normally, the name of the hong would be displayed on lanterns that hung at the entrance of the building.²³ While this painting shows two lanterns hanging at the rear of the picture, the characters on them are illegible. It is clear, however, that they are not the characters for Longhe so this was probably not Pinqua’s warehouse. In the lower left and centre, we see three foreign traders inspecting the items before they were sealed into their new chests. This painting was part of a group of six, which have matching colours and styles.²⁴ One of the paintings can be dated to late 1783 so Figure 3 was probably from around that year which, if true, would be after Pinqua became a Hong merchant.²⁵

Tables 2 and 3 show clearly how quickly trade advanced after Pinqua became a Hong merchant. In 1772, he sold a little over 1,100 taels worth of porcelain to the DAC. In 1782, his Danish trade was over 140,000 taels, which is more than 100 times his previous volume. His Dutch trade in 1781 was around 5,000 taels, which jumped to 76,000 taels in 1783, and 178,000 taels in 1784. Table 1 shows that he was now dealing with the Swedes, French and British as well. By the mid-1780s, he was likely handling half a million taels or more in sales each year, which was about twenty-five times what he had done previously as a porcelain dealer. The appointment of Hong merchant immediately transformed him into one of the major players in the trade—for good or for worse.

The number of ship arrivals returned to 37 in 1783 and continued to be strong in the immediate years thereafter so Pinqua just needed to make it through the slow year of 1782, and then he might have

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a chance to advance his business enough to meet all of his liabilities. The decline in the trade from 1780 to 1782 pushed the Yifeng and Taihe hangs over the edge, resulting in their closure in 1784. One of the new 1782 appointees, Seequa, failed as well. The debts these men left behind were transferred to the surviving merchants, which weakened all of them.

In February 1783, after it became clear that the Yifeng Hang was not going to survive, preparations were made for its closure and the payment of the emperor's duties that were owing. The Hoppo ordered Pinqua to purchase the Dutch factory from the Yifeng Hang, which was not something that he could refuse. He paid 16,600 taels for the building, but then he also gained the income from the rent each year.²⁶ Of course,

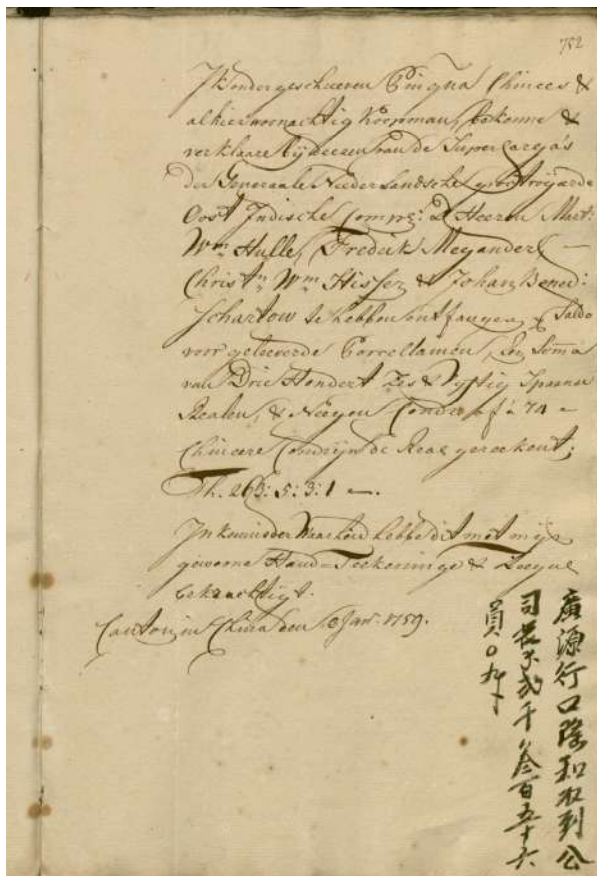


Fig.3: Receipt (in Dutch) dated 3 January 1759 from Pinqua of the Longhe Hang 隆和行 stating in Dutch that he received 336.09 Spanish reals (263,531 taels) for porcelain he sold to the VOC, under security of the Guangyuan Hang 廣源行. The Chinese text, however, states that he received 2,356.09 Spanish reals (1,743,51 taels). Obviously, one of these statements is in error. Courtesy National Archives, The Hague: VOC 4387.

handling such large volumes of goods also required a large warehouse so in the early 1780s, Pinqua also purchased the building to the east of the Dutch factory, which was known as the Creek factory (because it was next to a creek, see Figure 7). Thus, within just a few months after becoming a Hong merchant, he laid out around 30,000 taels for real estate.

In 1782, the British officers mentioned that 'Pinqua, is a china ware merchant, and said to be rich' so he probably had quite a bit of money set aside to invest in these buildings.²⁷ But with such large outlays of cash, his savings was not going to last long. In addition to purchasing the Dutch factory, Pinqua was also ordered to pay one-fourth of the 41,404 taels that the Yifeng Hang owed to the Dutch. His portion came to 10,351 taels, which was to be paid in four equal installments over four years.²⁸ This is a rather small amount for Hong merchants, but it was just a fraction of the total debt payments that Pinqua was now responsible for each year. He was granted a share of the Dutch trade in order to earn enough revenues to pay this debt.

During the settling of the Yifeng Hang's debts in June 1784, Hoppo Mu Teng'e 穆騰額 ordered Pinqua to pay the import and export duties that that firm owed. The Dutch mentioned that by 2 September Pinqua had paid the arrears in the duties. Hoppo Mu also ordered Pinqua to purchase one half of Tsonqua's hong (factory), which the Dutch estimated to be worth somewhere between 10,000 and 15,000 taels.²⁹ It is unclear which building this was.

Figure 6(a-b) is a promissory note dated 6 October 1787. It shows the four merchants, Chowqua (Tsjoqua), Monqua, Geowqua (Kiouqua) and Pinqua, agreeing to settle the debt they owed to the Dutch by the end of the trading season. It does not specifically mention the Yifeng Hang in this document, but other records show that the debt referred to was from that firm. The four men agreed to stand security for each other, so if one man failed to make the payment the others would step in to complete the transaction. Thus, when we examine Pinqua's trade figures in

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Tables 1 to 5, we need to keep in mind that a good part of the profits that were generated from those sales were simply forfeited to pay past debts. One fourth of his Dutch debt, for example, came to 2,588 taels. If he earned five percent profit on his tea sales, then he needed to sell 51,760 taels worth of tea just to break even, not counting his operating costs and depreciation on overhead. We have no way of knowing the total amount of debt payments that Pinqua was responsible for each year. If he had to pay 10,000 taels annually, and if he earned five percent on his tea sales, then he had to sell 200,000 taels worth of tea just to pay his debts. Consequently, the large volumes that we see in Tables 2 and 3 do not necessarily depict large profits.

In late August 1783, Pinqua and Sinqua were both at Macao, apparently to take care of their trade there. We know that Pinqua did not meet with the English supercargos, because they were in Canton at the time, and there is no indication that he visited other Europeans who were in Macao so the evidence seems to suggest that he went there to deal with the Portuguese and/or Spanish.³⁰ A Spanish ship arrived at Macao a few weeks earlier from Acapulco with 700,000 silver dollars aboard so he may have been discussing trade with those men.³¹ Although we have no figures, we know that Pinqua was dealing with the Spaniards from time to time (see entries in Table 1). And we know he had some trade with the Portuguese. In March 1787, for example, the English supercargos mentioned that Pinqua was again in Macao for several weeks.³² Thus, he was very likely trading with both the Portuguese and Spanish each year for which we have no data.

In 1784, Pinqua was appointed security merchant (also called *fiador*) of two EIC ships.³³ The captain of one of those ships brought a large mechanical clock to China, which he showed to Hoppo Mu when that officer came aboard to measure the ship. The Hoppos were instructed by the emperor to be on the lookout for rare items such as this to purchase for the Imperial Court. What usually happened is that the

Hoppo would instruct the security merchant to buy the item for him, and then the Hoppo would present the object to the emperor as a present—not from the Hong merchant who actually purchased it but rather from the Hoppo.³⁴ This is why the experienced Hong merchants would first ask if any such items were aboard a ship, before they agreed to secure it. But Pinqua was new at this job, and did not find out about this clock until later.

In all fairness to Pinqua, even the most experienced men had a hard time avoiding these impositions that often popped up unexpectedly. The EIC actually forbade its officers from bringing clocks and other such things to China, because they put the Hong merchants at such a disadvantage. However, despite the regulation, the Company found it

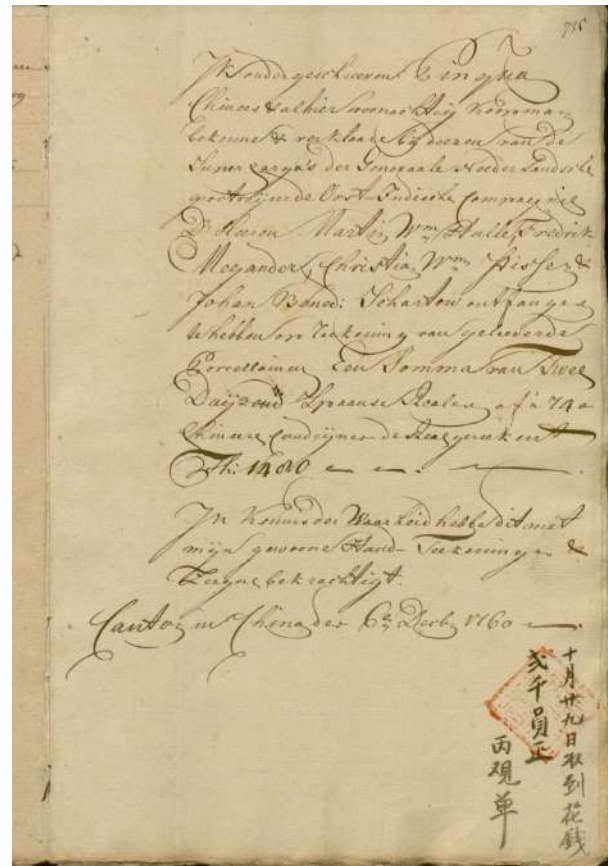


Fig. 4: Receipt (in Dutch) dated 6 December 1760 from Pinqua 丙觀 stating that he received 2,000 Spanish reals (1,480 taels) for porcelain he sold to the VOC. Courtesy National Archives, The Hague: VOC 4387.

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Fig.5: 'Unpacking and repacking porcelain for export, in a Canton warehouse', courtesy Martyn Gregory Gallery, London. It is listed in Martyn Gregory. *Treaty Port Scenes. Historical Pictures by Chinese and Western Artists 1750–1950*. Cat. 83. London: Martyn Gregory Gallery, 2007–8, No. 62, p. 68.

impossible to prevent captains and other senior officers from sneaking these items aboard, and sometimes in very large quantities. In January 1781, for example, the EIC directors in London learned that the ship *Locko* had secretly loaded on board 'ten tons of Clock work in 14 cases' bound for China. The directors sent a letter to the supercargos in Canton instructing them to investigate the ship when it arrived at Whampoa in October 1782.³⁵ However, the supercargos in Canton did not receive this letter until 1783. By then the *Locko* had unloaded all of her cargo (probably including the clocks) and left China with a return cargo.³⁶ We do not know what happened to the 'ten tons' of clocks, but a good share of them were probably sold in Canton.

In the 1784 example, the captain wanted 48,000 piastres (34,560 taels) for the clock, which Pinqua considered to be outrageous. He offered 20,000

piastres for it, but the captain refused. By the time the ship was ready to leave, they had still not come to terms on the clock. Normally, Hoppo would not grant ships an exit permit (Grand Chop) if there were items still aboard that they wanted. A situation like this could result in ships being detained in port for many weeks, after they were fully laden.³⁷ In this case, the captain handed the clock over to the EIC supercargo Lane, who managed to sneak it into his apartment in Canton.³⁸ Having the clock in residence satisfied the Hoppo that he would still be able to get it, and then allowed the ship to leave.³⁹ Pinqua now had some time to collect the money that was owed to him for the cargos he had delivered, so he could pay for the clock. He had to purchase it, but it was up to him and the owner to settle on a final price. Unfortunately, there is no further mention of this clock in the records. Much

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of the fortune that Pinqua had earned from decades of porcelain sales had probably vanished by now.

At 9:00 in the evening of 12 February 1785 a fire broke out just north of Pinqua's factory (see Figure 7). There was great fear that the flames would spread to his building and to the Dutch factory next door. With the aid of the Dutch fire engines (water pumps), they kept spraying water on both buildings to prevent them from igniting. In the end, six houses were destroyed including two that belonged to the Chinese compradors who worked for the Dutch. They were lucky to have kept the flames from damaging the two factories, both of which Pinqua owned.⁴⁰

A few weeks later, on the evening of 5 March, another fire occurred near Pinqua's factory at a theatre where Chinese comedies were performed. The theatre was entirely consumed by the fire but the flames were put out before other buildings were damaged.⁴¹ A few months later, on 8 October, a junk that was anchored in front Pinqua's factory caught fire. Eventually, the anchor cable burnt through and broke and then the vessel drifted downriver until it ran aground, where it burned down to the waters edge. At 4:00 in the morning of 2 March 1786 another fire started in a shop near Pinqua's factory, but it was quickly extinguished.⁴² These examples show that fires were a constant threat to all of the Hong merchants.⁴³ Moreover, the merchants who invested in the burnt junk were now losers as well.

On 19 December 1785, the Hoppo summoned all of the Hong merchants to a meeting at his residence. His reporting period was about to end on 26 December, and the Hoppo and governor general wanted to make certain that the amount of the duties collected did not greatly exceed the previous year. There were 37 ships at Whampoa in 1783, 34 in 1784, and 46 in 1785. If they showed the true amount of the duties collected in 1785 then they would be expected to do the same in the next year. Because there was no way of knowing how many ships would arrive each year, the Hoppos regularly transferred figures backwards and forwards in order to level out the amount of the duties received.⁴⁴ The governor was about

to leave for Beijing and he would take figures with him to show the emperor what had transpired that year. The Hong merchants were informed that the trade would be stopped until the start of the next reporting period which was 27 December. The trade that would have been conducted from 20 to 26 December was thus forwarded to the next lunar year.⁴⁵

The Dutch mentioned that many of the merchants' warehouses were now full of goods waiting to be shipped off, which put them at great risk of fire.⁴⁶ In the interim, Pinqua and the other merchants prepared their cargos for shipping as soon as the trade

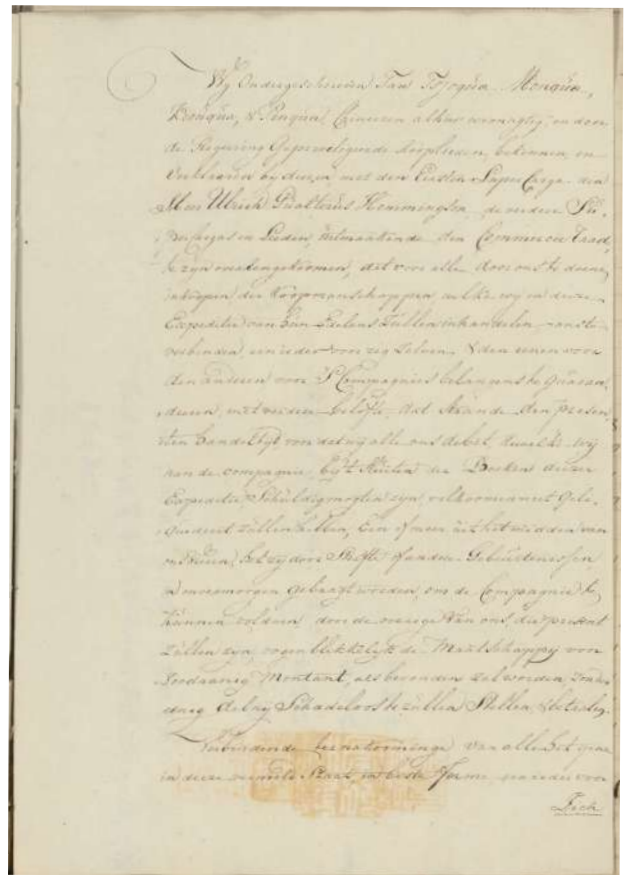


Fig. 6a: Declaration (in Dutch) dated 6 October 1787 signed and chopped by Chowqua (Tan Tsjouqua, Chen Zuguan 陳祖官) of the Yuanquan Hang 源泉行, Monqua (Cai Wenguan 蔡文觀) of the Wanhe Hang 萬和行, Geowqua (Kiouqua, Wu Qiaoguan 伍喬官) of the Yuanshun Hang 源順行 and Pinqua (Yang Bingguan 楊丙觀) of the Longhe Hang 隆和行 stating that they would stand security for each other and settle the debt they owe to the Dutch by the end of the season. Although it does not specify in the document, the debt was from the failed Yifeng Hang 義豐行. Courtesy National Archives, The Hague: VOC 4387.

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was opened again.⁴⁷ The governor left Canton on the morning of 27 December and then the trade resumed in the afternoon.⁴⁸

Table 2 shows Pinqua's trade with the DAC peaking in 1785 at 169,500 taels. His Danish trade remained strong up to and including 1788, and then began a sharp decline. In 1789, the Danes only sent one ship to China when they were previously sending two so a good part of the decline in Pinqua's trade that year was a drop in the total DAC trade. But as we see in Table 5, his share of the EIC trade was also cut in half in 1789, with only 1/16th share when he had previously been granted 2/16th. Pinqua still handled more than nineteen percent

of the DAC trade that year. But then in 1790, his share of the Danish trade dropped to ten percent, and then to six percent in 1792. The Danes did not send a ship to China in 1791, so he had no trade with them that year. By the time the Danes returned in 1792, Pinqua's financial situation had deteriorated considerably so his patrons began to withdraw their support.

When Pinqua was in Macao in March and April 1787, he met with the Dutch. He discussed the great famine that South China was experiencing owing to the scarcity of rice and its high price. Many people in Canton were dying daily from a lack of food.⁴⁹ The Hoppo had met with all of the Hong merchants and ordered them to purchase rice and distribute it to the poor.⁵⁰ Apparently, one of Pinqua's reasons for visiting Macao was to get rice from the Portuguese and Spanish ships, which they were now bringing on a regular basis. In May 1787 a distribution centre was set up in the Imperial Factory (see Figure 7) on the quay to distribute rice to the poor.⁵¹ There were reports of hundreds of people dying daily from disease and famine.⁵² While the Hong merchants are to be credited for their humanitarian efforts in these times of crisis, the fact that they had to finance these extraneous activities, regardless of whether or not they could afford to do so, is another sign of the many unpredictable expenditures that were constantly nibbling away at their profits.

Figure 8 is a contract Pinqua made with the Americans Shaw and Randall aboard the ship *Grand Turk*, dated 26 September 1786. Pinqua agreed to supply Bohea tea to that ship at the same price as what the Danish and Dutch companies paid. The amount he received was 10,039 dollars, and the tea was to be shipped aboard the vessel at Whampoa, free of all duties. It was witnessed by EIC supercargo Lane and the DAC supercargo Vogelsang. As we see from entries in Table 1, Pinqua traded with the Americans in 1784 as well, and he secured and supplied most of the cargo to the American ship *Columbia* in 1789. The *Columbia* brought many furs from the Northwest Coast of America, especially Sea Otter Skins. Pinqua managed to

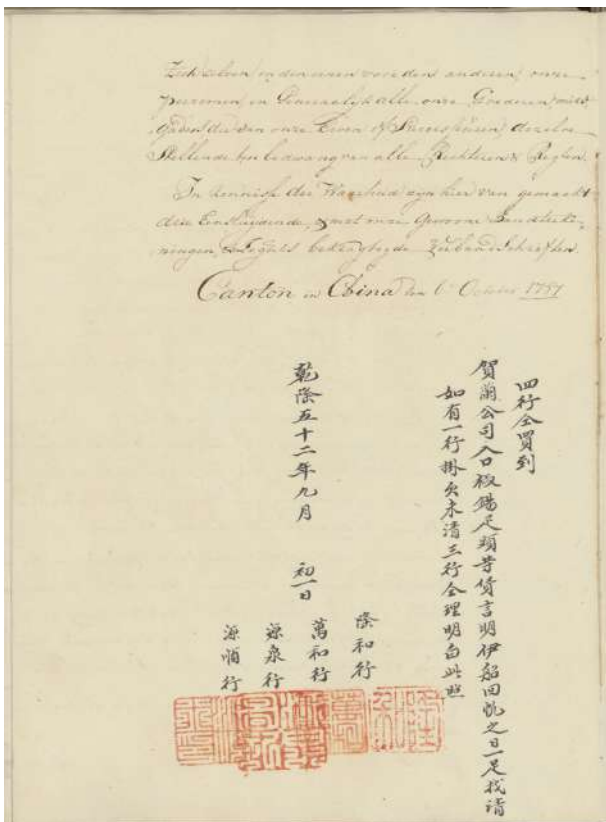


Fig. 6b: Declaration (in Dutch) dated 6 October 1787 signed and chopped by Chowqua (Tan Tsjoqua, Chen Zuguan 陳祖官) of the Yuanquan Hang 源泉行, Monqua (Cai Wenguan 蔡文觀) of the Wanhe Hang 萬和行, Geowqua (Kiouqua, Wu Qiaoguan 伍喬官) of the Yuanshun Hang 源順行 and Pinqua (Yang Bingquan 楊丙觀) of the Longhe Hang 隆和行 stating that they would stand security for each other and settle the debt they owe to the Dutch by the end of the season. Although it does not specify in the document, the debt was from the failed Yifeng Hang. Courtesy National Archives, The Hague: VOC 4387.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

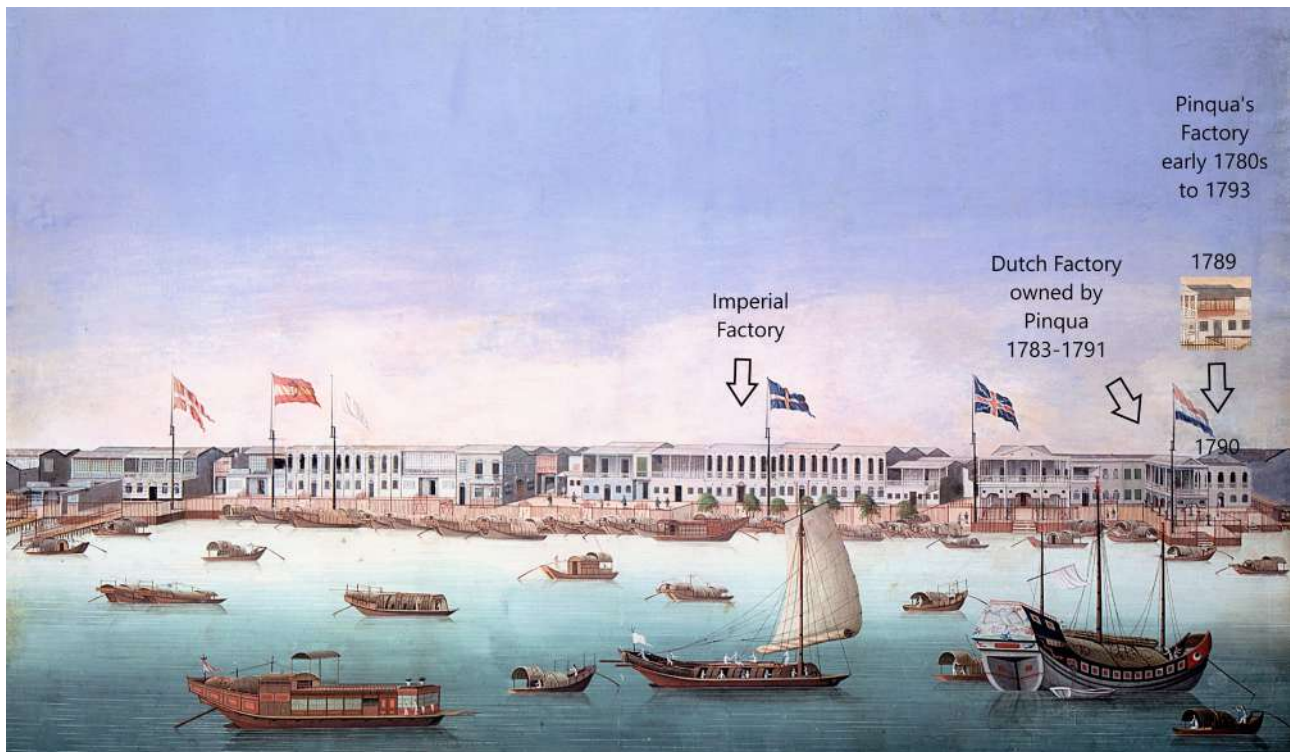


Fig.7: View of the Canton Factories in circa 1790. Courtesy Martyn Gregory Gallery, London.

buy the whole lot of skins from the Americans Randall and Shaw for \$4,000 less than what they were asking for them.⁵³ He undoubtedly had other American trade as well for which we have no references.

Table 3 shows that Pinqua's trade with the VOC reached a peak in 1789 with an amazing 490,000 taels in sales. From what we see from the figures in Tables 2 and 3, his trade seems to have reached a peak around 1787 and 1788. Table 4 shows him trading 178,000 taels worth of goods with the French in 1787, but then dropped to a mere 1,200 taels the next year and did not recover thereafter. Table 5 shows Pinqua having 2/16th share of the EIC trade at this time, which would have translated into a couple hundred thousand taels worth of business.

What all of these figures tell us is that from about 1786 to 1788, Pinqua was probably handling well over one million taels in gross sales each year (keeping in mind that he dealt in imports as well). He had become

one of the major players, but not without consequences. He was now plagued with cash-flow problems. In April 1787, Pinqua met with the EIC supercargos to discuss the upcoming season. He agreed to supply 1,000 piculs of Tunkay tea, and a quantity of Singlo tea. They asked him to engage in more tea, but he respectfully declined stating that 'it was out of his power at present to engage for any Congo & Hyson' owing to a 'loss for money to send' to the inland suppliers.⁵⁴ In October, he pleaded further that he needed more money in advance to pay for the tea. While the EIC supercargos did not give him the amount he was asking for, they did accommodate him somewhat by handing him 20,000 taels in advance.⁵⁵ The annual debt payments and other extraneous expenses were now clearly absorbing Pinqua's capital reserves. The only way he could fulfill his contracts this year was to either get tea on credit from his inland suppliers or borrow money from foreigners at high interest.

HISTORIOGRAFIA

Table 1: Piqua's Trade Schedule 1747–1799

Year	Trade Name	Partners	Co.	Products Traded	Source
1747	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 2199
1748	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 1126, 2200–1
1754	Piqua		SOIC	P	GUB: H22.4A <i>Prins Carl</i> Dagbok
1755	Piqua		SOIC	P	GUB: H22.4A <i>Prins Carl</i> Dagbok
1757	Piqua		DAC	gg, P	NAH: VOC 4381
1757	Piqua		VOC	gg, P	NAH: VOC 4381
1758	Piqua		VOC	gg, P	NAH: Can 24, VOC 4382–3; JFB: B 1758 fNe
1759	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 1139–42, 1144, 2214–5
1760	Piqua		VOC	P	NAH: VOC 4386, 4387 ^(sb)
1761	Piqua		EIC	P	BL: IOR R/10/5
1761	Piqua		SOIC	P	GUB: H22.4A <i>Riksens Stander</i> Dagbok
1762	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 2220–2
1762	Piqua		VOC	P	NAH: Can 71, VOC 4395
1763	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 2223–6
1763	Piqua		SOIC	P	NM: F17 p. T1_01711-
1763	Piqua		VOC	P	NAH: Can 72, VOC 4394
1764	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 2227–8
1764	Piqua		EIC	P	BL: IOR R/10/5
1764	Piqua		VOC	P	NAH: Can 27, VOC 4396
1765	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 2229–30
1765	Piqua		EIC	P	BL: IOR R/10/5
1765	Piqua		SOIC	P	GUB: H22.4A; NM: F17 p. T1_06313
1765	Piqua		VOC	P	NAH: VOC 4397
1766	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 2231
1766	Piqua		SOIC		NM: F17 pp. T1_00852-4, T1_01884, T1_06354
1766	Piqua	Chequa	SOIC		NM: F17 p. T1_06346
1766	Piqua		VOC	P	NAH: VOC 4399
1767	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 2232–3
1767	Piqua		SOIC	SR, P	NM: F17
1768	Piqua		SOIC	P	NM: F17
1769	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 2235
1769	Piqua		SOIC	P	NM: F17 p. T1_01964-
1769	Piqua		VOC	P, B	NAH: Can 78, VOC 4404–5
1770	Piqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 2236–7

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Year	Trade Name	Partners	Co.	Products Traded	Source
1770	Pinqua		VOC	P, B	NAH: VOC 4406
1771	Pinqua		VOC	P, B	NAH: Can 80, VOC 4408
1772	Pinqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 2238-9
1772	Pinqua		EIC	P	BL: IOR R/10/9
1772	Pinqua		VOC	P	NAH: Can 81, 234, VOC 4410
1773	Pinqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 1170
1773	Pinqua		VOC	P	NAH: Can 82, 235, VOC 4411
1774	Pinqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 1172
1774	Pinqua		VOC	P	NAH: Can 37, 83, VOC 4412
1775	Pinqua		DAC	P, sa	RAC: Ask 1173
1775	Pinqua		VOC	P, B	NAH: Can 84, VOC 4413
1776	Pinqua		DAC	P, ld	RAC: Ask 1175
1776	Pinqua		VOC	P, B	NAH: Can 85, VOC 4414
1777	Pinqua	brother	DAC	P	RAC: Ask 234, 1177
1777	Pinqua		SOIC		GUB: H22.15 p. 20
1777	Pinqua		VOC	P	NAH: Can 86, VOC 4415
1778	Pinqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 1179
1778	Pinqua		VOC	B, P	NAH: Can 87, VOC 4418
1779	Pinqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 1180
1779	Pinqua		VOC	P	NAH: Can 88, VOC 4419
1780	Pinqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 235, 1183-4
1780	Pinqua		VOC	P	NAH: Can 43, 89, VOC 4421, 4423
1781	Pinqua		DAC	P	RAC: Ask 1185
1782	Pinqua		DAC	P, tu, K, SR, Sl, C, B, ZZ	RAC: Ask 1190, 2240
1782	Pinqua		EIC		Morse 2; Inglis 13; BL: IOR G/12/19, 76
1782	Pinqua		VOC	P, pp, jc, B	NAH: VOC 4425
1783	Pinqua		DAC	C, Sl, Ty, ZZ, B	RAC: Ask 2241; Constant 226-32
1783	Pinqua		EIC	B, Ty, Sl, tx, H, Sk, Sc	Morse 2; BL: IOR G/12/77-8
1783	Pinkoa		VOC		Constant 226-32
1783	Pinkoa		SOIC		Constant 226-32
1783	Pinqua		VOC	z, zt, C, Sc, Pc, HS, Sl, S, tx, jc, pp, tin, Nl, zr, P	NAH: Can 45, 245, VOC 4425, 4430
1784	Pinkoa, Pinqua		DAC	HS, Rx, Rg, K, H, Ty, J, Pc, Sc, pp, tx, jc, tin, FR, P, Sl, B, P, C	NAH: Can 46, 90, 246, 2242, VOC 4426

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Year	Trade Name	Partners	Co.	Products Traded	Source
1784	Pinqua		EIC	B, Sl, Ty, Sk, tx, ld, C, HS	Morse 2; BL: IOR G/12/79–80
1784	Pinkoa				ANOM: AQ/8/349–351, Letter 1784.11.23
1784	Pinqua		USA		UPL; Smith
1785	Pinqua		DAC	P, B, C, H, HS, Sl, K, Ty	RAC: Ask 2243
1785	Pinqua		EIC	tx, H, Sl, Ty, HS, Sk, Sc	Morse 2; BL: IOR G/12/79, 81–3
1785	Pinkoa				ANOM: C.1.15 p. 99r
1785	Pinqua, Pinkoa		VOC	B, C, Sc, Ty, FR, cv, K, tx, ld, cv, cvo, pp, tin, P, Db, sta, spr	NAH: Can 47, 91, 247, 295, VOC 4431; Jörg 61
1786	Pinqua		DAC	B, P, SR, C, R, Ty, HS, Sl, H	RAC: Ask 1200, 2244
1786	Pinqua		EIC	C, H, Sk, K, Sc	Morse 2; BL: IOR G/12/82, 84–5
1786	Pinkoa		French	P, R, rat, cl, HS, Ty	ANOM: AQ/8/42, 203, 349–51, <i>Grand Livre</i>
1786	Pinqua, Bing-guan 丙觀		USA		PEM: Derby Mss 37 ^(sbc)
1786	Pinqua		VOC	B, tin, tx, ng, cv, pp, ld, sw, R, C, Sc, H, HS, J, S, K, Sl, ms, Db	NAH: Can 48, 92, 248, VOC 4432, 4433 ^(bc)
1787	Pinqua		DAC	B, Ty, C, HS, R, H, K	RAC: Ask 2245
1787	Pinqua		EIC	C, Sk, Pc, H, B, Ty, K, Sc, ld	Morse 2; BL: IOR G/12/84–8
1787	Pinqua, Pinkoa		French	P, K, B, cl, ct, Sl, R, gi, H	ANOM: AQ/8/203, 349–51. Journal
1787	Pinqua		VOC	B, pp, jc, pm, la, si, R, Rl, C, K, H, HS, J, S, Ty, Sc, Pc, Rx, P, Db	NAH: Can 49, 93, 249, 366, VOC 4436
1788	Yang Cengong 楊岑龔		CHD	Pinqua	QGY 2999
1788	Pinqua		DAC	B, HS, R, K, C, Pc	RAC: Ask 2246
1788	Pinqua		EIC	Sl, Ty, CK, B, Sk, H, C	Morse 2; BL: IOR G/12/20, 87–9, 94; Oriental Rep. 2:321
1788	Pinqua, Pinkoa		French	Sl, R	BL: IOR G/12/88; ANOM: AQ/8/42, 203
1788	Pinqua, Pin-qua		VOC	B, tin, pp, R, cvo, C, K, Sc, H, S, z, Rx, Db	NAH: Can 50, 93–4, 250, 366, VOC 4440
1789	Pinqua		DAC	B, sa, C, T, ZZ, H, Ty	RAC: Ask 2247
1789	Pinqua		EIC	Ty, B, CK, Sc, C, ld, H, Pc	Morse 2; BL: IOR G/12/94, 96–7

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Year	Trade Name	Partners	Co.	Products Traded	Source
1789	Pinkoa		French		ANOM: AQ/8/206, 208
1789	Pinqua, Pinkua		RPC		Agote R631
1789	Pinqua		USA	Tea, furs	Scofield 1993, pp. 165-6, 180, 191
1789	Pin-qua, Pinqua		VOC	J, S, B, FR, tin, pp, R, C, H, Sc, Pc, Db, Sl	NAH: Can 51 ^(b) , 94-5, 251, 366, VOC 4444
1790	Pinqua		DAC	sa, B, HS, T, U, Ty, C, H	RAC: Ask 2248
1790	Pinqua		EIC	C, HS, Sc, tx, Pc, CK, H, B, ld	Morse 2; BL: IOR G/12/96-9
1790	Pinqua, Pinkua		RPC		Agote R632
1790	Pinqua		VOC	B, FR, spr, Db, J	NAH: Can 52, 367, VOC 4445
1791	Pinqua		DAC		RAC: Ask 238, 1207
1791	Pinqua		EIC	Sc, CK, Sl, C, B, tx, ld, H, Pc, HS	BL: IOR G/12/98-102
1791	Pinkua		RPC		Agote R633
1791	Pinqua		VOC	K, C, Sc, Sl, Ty	NAH: Can 53, 252, VOC 4446; GH: Ms 1985
1792	Yang Cengong 楊岑龔		CHD		Xing 58; QGY 3126; QDGZ 66
1792	Pinqua		DAC	C, S	RAC: Ask 1207, 2249
1792	Pinqua		EIC	C	Morse 2; BL: IOR G/12/102-4
1792	Pinkua		RPC		Agote R634
1792	Pinqua		VOC	Sc, Pc, C	NAH: Can 54, 326, VOC 4447
1793	Pinqua		EIC	w, B	BL: IOR G/12/104-5
1793	Pinkua		RPC		Agote R635
1793	Pinqua		VOC	C	NAH: Can 55, VOC 4577
1794	Pinqua		VOC	Db	NAH: Can 256-8, 326, OIC 195
1795	Pinqua		Dutch	Died October 15	NAH: Can 57, 96, 326, Aanw 298
1795	Pinqua		EIC	Db	BL: IOR G/12/109
1795	Pinkua		RPC	Db	Agote R637
1796	Pinqua		Dutch	Db	NAH: Can 58
1796	Pinqua		EIC	Db	BL: IOR G/12/115
1797	Pinqua		Dutch	Db	NAH: Can 304
1798	Pinqua		VOC	Db	NAH: Can 60, 262, 331
1799	Pinqua		EIC	Db	CL: HMN 12

HISTORIOGRAFIA

Table 2: Pinqua's Trade with the DAC 1747–1792

Year	Ship Nos.	Ship Name	Return Cargos	Pinqua's Trade	% of Total	Products
1747	1	<i>Kong af Dan</i>	128,208	55	0.000	P
1748	1	<i>Christiansb. Slott</i>	125,866	45	0.000	P
1759	1	<i>Kong af Dan</i>	139,581	24	0.000	P
1759	1	<i>Cron Pr af Dan</i>	108,114	217	0.002	P
1762	1	<i>Pr Fred af Dan</i>	235,800	162	0.001	P
1763	1	<i>Kong af Dan</i>	158,368	185	0.001	P
1763	1	<i>D Juliana Maria</i>	146,541	236	0.002	P
1764	1	<i>Cron Pr af Dan</i>	140,661	245	0.002	P
1764	1	<i>Pr Fred af Dan</i>	263,800	383	0.001	P
1765	1	<i>D Juliana Maria</i>	157,101	745	0.005	P
1765	1	<i>D. Sophia Magd.</i>	195,377	1,283	0.007	P
1766	1	<i>Fred'borg Slott</i>	203,820	528	0.003	P
1767	1	<i>D Sophia Magd</i>	174,171	74	0.000	P
1767	1	<i>Pr Fred af Dan</i>	240,875	930	0.004	P
1769	1	<i>D Sophia Magd</i>	166,374	1,230	0.007	P
1770	1	<i>Fred'borg Slott</i>	168,627	939	0.006	P
1770	1	<i>Kong af Dan</i>	181,621	795	0.004	P
1772	1	<i>Kong af Dan</i>	166,886	378	0.002	P
1772	1	<i>Fred'borg Slott</i>	153,585	1,118	0.007	P
The <i>Kassa-Hovedboger</i> are missing from 1773 to 1781						
1782	4	<i>M, D, KafD, Ch A</i>	918,095	143,360	0.156	P, tu, K, SR, Sl, C, B, ZZ
1783	2	<i>S Mag & Cron Pr</i>	467,604	114,686	0.245	C, Sl, Ty, ZZ, B
1784	3	<i>Dk & JM & Dis</i>	516,624	49,436	0.096	P, C, HS, H, Sl, K
1785	3	<i>CP & Mars & CA</i>	647,740	169,539	0.262	P, B, C, H, HS, Sl, K, Ty
1786	2	<i>Dk & S Mag</i>	460,474	160,031	0.348	B, P, SR, C, R, Ty, HS, Sl, H
1787	2	<i>D Jul M & Cr P</i>	544,740	159,394	0.293	B, Ty, C, HS, R, H, K
1788	2	<i>P Ch A & Mars</i>	540,269	140,465	0.260	B, HS, R, K, C, Pc
1789	1	<i>Kong af Dan</i>	289,778	56,222	0.194	B, sa, C, T, ZZ, H, Ty
1790	1	<i>Juliana Maria</i>	233,936	23,854	0.102	sa, B, HS, T, U, Ty, C, H
1792	1	<i>Cron Printzen</i>	247,448	14,601	0.059	C, S
1744–1772	19		3,255,376	9,572	0.003	trade as a porcelain dealer
1782–1792	21		4,866,707		0.212	trade as a Hong merchant

Source: *Kassa-Hovedboger* in RAC: Ask 2194, 2199, 2201, 2212–2214, 2220, 2224–2225, 2227–2233, 2235–2249, 2285.

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Table 3: Pinqua's Trade with the VOC 1757–1791

Year	Ship Nos.	Total Receipts	Trade	%	Products
1757	1	208,140	457	0.002	gg, P
1758	3	364,592	878	0.002	gg, P
1760	3	745,969	1,744	0.002	P
1762	3	680,600	1,929	0.003	P
1763	3	971,709	1,953	0.002	P
1764	4	985,019	1,221	0.001	P
1765	4	976,121	323	0.000	P
1766	4	771,913	467	0.001	P
1769	4	756,602	1,600	0.002	P
1770	5	1,079,664	3,717	0.003	P
1771	4	825,947	1,380	0.002	P
1772	4	944,765	691	0.001	P
1773	4	670,531	2,591	0.004	P
1774	4	603,020	1,349	0.002	P
1775	5	693,437	1,466	0.002	P
1776	4	676,401	2,847	0.004	P
1777	4	796,175	2,390	0.003	P
1778	4	765,224	6,905	0.009	P
1779	4	799,117	8,795	0.011	P
1780	4	732,092	5,132	0.007	P
1781	1	197,427	5,057	0.026	P
1783	2	477,324	76,514	0.160	P, z, ln, Hs, C, Sc
1784	4	928,577	178,787	0.193	z, P, B, C, S, H, Sc
1785	4	992,376	187,571	0.189	S, P, B, C
1786	5	1,266,617	222,398	0.176	B, C
1787	5	1,621,824	337,998	0.208	Rx, P, B
1788	4	1,904,661	423,277	0.222	Sc, Rx, z, C, B, H
1789	5	2,201,455	489,973	0.223	S, J, Pc, H, B, C, Sc
1790	3	552,910	71,939	0.130	B
1791	2	623,795	68,044	0.109	Sc, C
1757–1781	76	15,244,466	52,890	0.003	trade as a porcelain dealer
1783–1791	34	10,569,539	2,056,500	0.195	trade as a Hong merchant

Source: *Groot Boeken* in NAH: VOC 4381– 4382, 4386, 4394, 4396 – 4397, 4399, 4405 – 4406, 4408, 4410 – 4415, 4418 – 4419, 4421, 4423, 4426, 4430 – 4432, 4436, 4440, 4444 – 4446.

HISTORIOGRAFIA

Table 4: Pinqua's Trade with the CFI 1786–1789

Year	Total CFI Trade	Pinqua's Trade	Products	%
1786	137,798	14,072	P, R, HS, Ty	0.102
1787	733,942	178,259	P, K, B, Ty, Nk, H, R, Hs, Pc	0.243
1788	371,679	1,241	R	0.003
1789	298,819	20,184		0.068

Sources: Grand Livre in ANOM: AQ.8.204, 207, 208.

Table 5: Pinqua's Shares of Trade with the EIC, 1783–1791

Year	Shares	Sources
1783	1/8 (2/16)	BL: IOR G/12/77, p. 76
1784	2/16	Morse 2: 97
1785	1/16	BL: IOR G/12/79, 1785/08/23, p. 40
1786	2/15	BL: IOR G/12/82, 1786/09/06, p. 9, 1786/09/07, p. 12
1787	2/16	BL: IOR G/12/86, 1787/09/20, pp. 106–8
1788	2/16	BL: IOR G/12/88, 1788/04/03–04, pp. 193–6; G/12/89, 1788.04.08, pp. 12–3
1789	1/16	BL: IOR G/12/94, 1789.03.24, pp. 125–6, 1789.12.12, p. 106
1790	1/16	BL: IOR G/12/98, 1790.09.01, p. 35, 1791.02.24, p. 158
1791	Part of 1/16	BL: IOR G/12/98, 1791.02.24, p. 158, G/12/101, 1791.11.06, p. 65, G/12/103, p. 234

Abbreviations

Aanw	AW 1.11.01.01. Aanwinsten: generaal rapport, missiven, bylagen en diverse stukken betreffende de China handel 1758–1779. In NAH.
Agote	Spain, Untzi Museoa-Museo Naval, Fondo Manuel de Agote, Diary R622–41, 1779–1797. http://untzimuseoa.eus/es/colecciones/fondo-manuel-de-agote [accessed 2016.01.21]
ANOM	France, Aix en Provence, Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer.
BL: IOR	British Library: India Office Records.
Can	Canton Archive in the National Archives, The Hague. 1.04.20.
CHD	These references appear in Chinese Documents.

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- Constant Dermigny, Louis, 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.
- DAC Danish Asiatic Company.
- EIC English East India Company.
- GHL Universiteits Bibliotheek (University Library), Ghent. Ms 1985 is a copy of the VOC *dagregister* from 1791.
- GUB Gothenburg Universitetsbibliotek (University Library).
- Inglis Inglis, Robert. *The Chinese Security Merchants in Canton, and Their Debts*. London: J. M. Richardson, 1838.
- JFB James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota. The B 1758 fNe collection contains Dutch records from Canton in 1758. Irvine refers to the Charles Irvine papers.
- Jörg Jörg, Christiaan J.A. *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982.
- Morse Morse, Hosea Ballou, *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 (Numbers listed as Morse 2, refers to vol. 2, idem).
- NAH National Archives, The Hague.
- NM Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godegårdsarkivet Archive F17.
- OIC 2.01.27.01, Comité Oost-Indische Handel en Bezettingen (OIC). National Archives, The Hague.
- PEM Salem Massachusetts, Peabody Essex Museum. Phillips Library.
- QDGZ Li Guorong 李國榮 and Lin Weisen 林偉森, eds. *Qing Dai Guangzhou Shisan Hang Jilue* 清代廣州十三行紀略 (Chronicle of the Hong Merchants in Canton during the Qing Dynasty). Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe 廣東人民出版社, 2006.
- QGY *Qinggong Yue Gang Ao Shangmao Dang'an Quanji* 清宮粵港澳商貿檔案全集, Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an Guan 中國第一歷史檔案館, Zhongguo Guji Zhengli Yanjiuhui bian 中國古籍整理研究匯編. 10 vols. Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian 中國書店, 2002.
- RAC Rigsarkivet (National Archives), Copenhagen.
- RPC Royal Philippine Company.
- UPL University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia. Ms Coll. 499 Molineux's Reciets.
- SOIC Swedish East India Company.
- VOC Dutch East India Company and archive of the same in the National Archives, The Hague. 1.04.02.

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Abbreviations for Products

A	Amber 琥珀 (hu po), fossilized tree resin, thought to have medicinal qualities, used as an ingredient in perfumes, and to make jewelry, also known as barnsteen.
B	Bohea tea 武彝(夷)茶 (wu yi cha)
C	Congo tea 工夫茶 (gong fu cha)
cl	caneel (cinnamon) 玉桂 (yu gui), 安桂 (an gui), 桂皮 (gui pi) or 肉桂 (rou gui).
cv	cloves 丁香 (ding xiang)
cvo	clove oil 丁香油 (ding xiang you)
Db	Debt
FR	Factory Rent 商館租金 (shang guan zu jin)
gg	gumi gutti/gomme gutta 藤黃 (teng huang)
H	Heysen/Hyson tea 早春茶 (zao chun cha), 熙皮 (xi pi), 熙春 (xi chun) or 熙珠茶 (xi zhu cha).
HS	Hyson/Heysen Skin tea 皮茶 (pi cha)
J	Joosjes (Gunpowder) tea 珠茶 (zhu cha)
jc	Japan copper 日本銅 (Riben tong)
K	Kampoy tea 揀焙茶 (jian bei cha)
ld	lead, has various forms, including 紅丹 (hong dan), 鉛丹 (qian dan), 黃丹 (huang dan), 鉛粉 (qian fen), 黑鉛 (hei qian), 鉛塊 (qian kuai, pig lead), 鉛片 (qian pian, sheet lead).
ln	linen 麻布 (ma bu) or 竹布 (zhu bu)
ms	muscus (musk) 麝香 (she xiang)
ng	nutmeg 肉荳蔻 (rou dou kou)
Nl	Nanking linen 南京麻布 (Nanjing ma bu)
P	Porcelain 瓷器 (ci qi)
Pc	Peco tea 白毫茶 (bai hao cha)
pp	pepper 胡椒 (hu jiao)
R	Rhubarb 大黃 (da huang)
rat	Rottinger (rattan or cane) 沙藤 (sha teng) or 藤子 (teng zi)
Rg	Radix galingale 高良薑根塊 (gao liang jiang gen kuai)

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Rx	Radix china 土茯苓 (tu fu ling) or 冷飯頭 (ling fan tou). Used as a medicine, sometimes also called china root.
S	Soulong tea
sa	sago 西米 (xi mi) or 西穀米 (xi gu mi)
Sc	Souchon tea 小種茶 (xiao zhong cha)
Sk	Skins tea 皮茶 (pi cha)
Sl	Songlo/Singlo/Zonglo tea 松羅茶 (song luo cha) or 松製茶 (song zhi cha)
spr	spelter (zinc) 白鉛 (bai qian), sometimes referred to as pewter or tutenague as well. It is generally softer than tutenague.
SR	Snor Rottinger (rattan cord) 藤片 or 藤條 (teng pian or teng tiao). Used for binding and packing goods in the hulls of ships. Same as binding rattan.
sta	Star Anise 大茴 (da hui) or 八角 (ba jiao)
sw	sandalwood 檀香木 (tan xiang mu)
tin	tin 錫 (xi), 洋錫 (yang xi) or 番錫 (fan xi).
tu	tutenague 白銅 (bai tong). It is sometimes called spelter, but is generally of a harder alloy than that metal.
tx	textiles 紡織品 (fang zhi pin)
Ty	Tunkay tea 屯溪茶 (tun xi cha)
U	Utzien tea
w	woollens 毛紡織品 (mao fang zhi pin)
z	silk 絲綢 (si chou)
zr	silk-raw (unprocessed) 生絲 (sheng si) or 湖絲 (hu si)
zt	silk textiles 絲綢紡織品 (si chou fang zhi pin) or 緞子 (duan zi)
ZZ	Ziou Zioun tea 雀舌茶 (que she cha)

Note: I have marked all sources that contain a signature, the name of the business, and/or a chop in Chinese. These sources are noted with a bracketed superscript ^(s) such as VOC 4387^(sb), which indicates a signature and a business name in Chinese. A source that is followed by all three ^(sbc) indicates a signature, business name and chop in Chinese.

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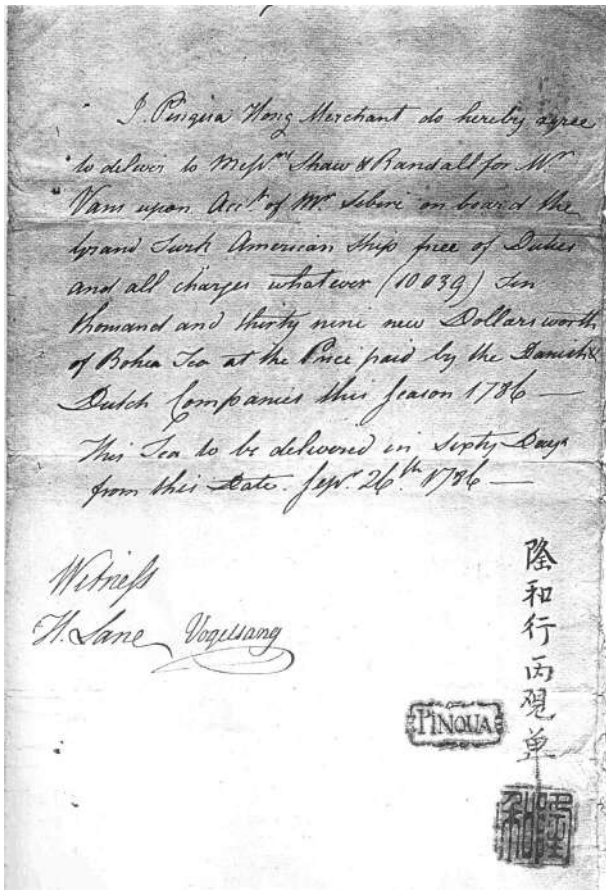


Fig. 8: Receipt (in English) dated 26 September 1786 from Pinqua 丙觀 of the Longhe Hang 隆和行 stating that he received 10,039 new dollars from the Americans Shaw and Randall for Bohea tea that he was to deliver at the same price as what the Danish and Dutch companies paid. Mss 37 Derby Papers, box 3, folder 3, Phillips Library. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum.

At some point in early 1790, Pinqua's Creek factory was rebuilt. It is unclear why this was done, or who paid for it. Pinqua was renting part of the building out to foreigners so they may have contributed to the cost of rebuilding. Figure 7 shows the factory before and after the changes were made. The new façade took on a French appearance which made it look like many of the other factories. We know that the adoption of European styles on the buildings was often paid for by the tenants, who wanted those changes.⁵⁶ While it is unclear who actually bore this expense, it is clear that Pinqua was in no position to be financing such unnecessary improvements.

In 1790, Eequa (Wu Zhaoping 吳昭平) was declared bankrupt and his Fengtai Hang 豐泰行 was closed. Eequa was banished to Yili as punishment for his indebtedness. He was one of the five men appointed in 1782. Eequa owed private Parsee traders in Canton upwards of 400,000 dollars. While the emperor ordered his debts be paid out of the provincial treasury, the province was, in turn, to be repaid by installments from the Hong merchants.⁵⁷ On 5 January 1791, the Hong merchants met with the magistrate of the Guangzhoufu 廣州府 and six Mandarins in the Consoo Hall (Gongsuo 公所) at the head of China Street (Jingyuan Jie 靖遠街) to discuss the settling of Eequa's debts. A plan was put forth whereby the debt was to be paid in seven installments of \$60,000 each. The first two installments were to be made in the upcoming lunar year, on the second and eighth month (ca. March and September 1791). The remaining five installments were to be made each year over the next five years.⁵⁸ Thus, each man would need to pay about \$8,571 in each installment, which means Pinqua had to hand over \$17,142 in 1791. This additional debt burden marked the end of both Pinqua and the Hong merchant Chetai (Li Zibiao 李自標).⁵⁹

In January 1791, the Dutch mentioned that Pinqua was now constantly short of capital and in a poor financial state.⁶⁰ The Dutch and British supercargos mentioned that Pinqua was much indebted to inland suppliers.⁶¹ In March, at the behest of the inland agents, the Mandarins questioned Pinqua about his outstanding debts. Monqua wrote to the Dutch in Macao asking for a summary of the debts that Hong merchants owed to them. They responded by saying that Pinqua still owed them 30,550 taels.⁶² On 1 April the Dutch received news from their comprador, who had arrived from Canton, that Pinqua was going to sell the Dutch factory to Locqua in order to raise money.⁶³ Locqua's business, however, was also in decline, but he nonetheless had to follow through with the Hoppo's orders.⁶⁴

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On 9 August 1791, Pinqua's sampans arrived at Macao to transport the Dutch supercargos back to Canton. A few days later, Pinqua himself arrived in an attempt to persuade the Dutch to engage him in more trade. He had many complaints about the officials in Canton who he felt had abused him.⁶⁵ The Dutch were now convinced that they needed to replace Pinqua, with someone else.⁶⁶ As the figures in Table 3 show, the VOC had some trade with him in 1791, but mostly just to give him a chance to reduce the debt he owed. By October, the Dutch said his debt with them was now about 33,000 taels.⁶⁷

When the English supercargos returned to Canton in mid-September 1791, they came to the following decision about Pinqua's future trade.

*1791, Sep 16: Finding on our arrival that the situation of Pinqua's affairs was in the same embarrassed state as when we left Canton we did not think it advisable to appoint him security for any of the ships but we have at his earnest request, in order to preserve some credit with his own countrymen, agreed to retain for the present the sixteenth share of the woollens which we had reserved for him and to deliver it to him so soon as he shall have furnished us with teas to that amount.*⁶⁸

The last time that Pinqua stood security for an EIC ship was 1790. While he was still granted a 1/16th share of the EIC woollens at the start of the 1791 season, by November it became clear that he would not be able to supply enough tea to match his woollen allotment. The EIC supercargos then decided to change his quota to '100 Bales of Long Ells & 19 Bales of Broad Cloth, instead of a Sixteenth of the whole Quantity'.⁶⁹ As is mentioned above, the Danes and Dutch had already reduced Pinqua's shares by 1790 so 1789 seems to have been his last good year.

At some point in 1792, Pinqua was declared bankrupt. Throughout the year negotiations were

ongoing between Chinese officials, inland agents, Hong merchants, and foreigners as to the exact amount of Pinqua's debts and how to repay them. These discussions continued into 1793. I have found no figures showing the total amount of his debt, but it was probably in the hundreds of thousands of taels.

On 30 January 1793, Hoppo Sheng Zhu 盛住 sent word to the Dutch that he wanted them to accept Pinqua as the security merchant for the Dutch ship *Zuiderburg* which had arrived at Whampoa the day before. As Table 2 shows, the Dutch had not done any trade with Pinqua since 1791 owing to his questionable financial situation and the large debts that he owed to the inland tea merchants.⁷⁰ Consequently, the Dutch adamantly refused to engage Pinqua again. The Hoppo then suggested that they allow Pinqua's son to be security for the ship. This was an apparent attempt by Sheng to give Pinqua the opportunity to earn enough money to pay some of his debts. The English, however, heard a rumour that the Hoppo was supporting Pinqua because the latter had given him 'a handsome present'.⁷¹

The Dutch had already appointed Ponqua (Ni Bingfa 倪秉發) as their security merchant for the ship, and were not about to allow Pinqua or his son engage in any more of their business. Sheng was determined to make this happen in order to pressure the Dutch into compliance, he refused to measure the ship (to determine the port fees) or to allow any cargo to be offloaded or unloaded until Pinqua was appointed *fiador*. Over the next few weeks, the Dutch launched many protests arguing that they had traded in China for many years and had never before been forced to trade with a merchant with whom they did not approve. They also tried to overstep the Hoppo by appealing to the governor general for help, but without success. In early March, Sheng finally succumbed and allowed Ponqua to secure the *Zuiderburg*. By this time, however, Sheng was quite annoyed with the Dutch for refusing to accommodate him so he made sure that they enjoyed the fruits of the labour with many delays and difficulties in their trade.⁷²

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In April 1793, Pinqua was arrested and his properties confiscated.⁷³ The Dutch mentioned that his partner (probably Gnewqua) was asked to purchase Pinqua's estate for 15,000 taels.⁷⁴ It is unclear whether this is a reference to the Creek factory, or whether Pinqua actually had another estate. As is noted above, Pinqua purchased this building in the early 1780s. Other Hong merchants purchased whatever was left of Pinqua's trade goods, which they then offered to foreigners for sale.⁷⁵ As Table 1 shows, references to Pinqua's debt appear in the Dutch, English and Spanish records up to 1799.

On 20 August 1793, the English recorded that 'Gniewqua, who last year was Partner with Pinqua sent a Clerk to Macao to inform us that the Hoppo had made him a hong merchant in the Room of Pinqua, who is obliged to retire altogether'.⁷⁶ Gnewqua (Zheng Shangqian 鄭尚乾), however, traded out of his own firm, Huilong Hang 會隆行, so as Ch'en has pointed out, he was not a continuation of the Longhe Hang.⁷⁷

The Danes mentioned in December 1794 that Pinqua was still in arrest.⁷⁸ On 15 October 1795, Tetqua, a writer for the Hong merchant Pan Zhixiang 潘致祥, reported to the Dutch supercargos that Pinqua had died while in custody at a Mandarin's house in the city.⁷⁹ Bankrupt merchants were sometimes beaten to get them to confess to any wealth that they had hidden away, which could result in their death. In Pinqua's case, however, the cause of his death is unclear.

Summary

Pinqua is one of the few examples we have of a successful porcelain dealer becoming a Hong merchant, and then failing miserably within a few years. He had many years of experience dealing with foreigners, and was said to be 'rich' at the time of his appointment, but those qualities were no match for the intense demands of a Hong merchant. It is unclear whether he was in favor of becoming a Hong merchant, but regardless of whose idea it was, it did not turn out well for him.

Because Pinqua entered the position with a considerable amount of money, his wealth immediately

became a target. He was asked to purchase the Dutch and Tsonqua's factories shortly after his appointment, and he was stuck with having to pay for a very expensive clock that the Hoppo wanted. Of course, these expenses were over and above the debt payments that he had to make each year.

While Pinqua's trade grew exponentially from a mere 20,000 taels per year as a porcelain dealer to half a million taels as a Hong merchant, the increase in gross revenues did not translate into an increase in profits. On the contrary, the debt load and the extraneous expenses that he had to pay very quickly absorbed everything he had. The years from 1786 to 1789 saw his trade blossom to well over one million taels per year, but his liabilities were growing even at a faster pace. By 1787, he was experiencing serious cash-flow problems to finance the huge volume of trade. He had to depend on credits from inland suppliers and loans from foreigners to keep the business moving forward. Finally, everything came to a head in 1791, when he was handed a portion of Eequa's debt, which put him on a downward spiral towards bankruptcy.

By 1792, Pinqua's business was finished, and all that was left to do was to figure out how to settle his debts. In early 1793, the Qing government confiscated and sold his properties. His former partner Gnewqua was asked to buy his estate. Pinqua was kept in arrest in Canton until his death in October 1795. There is evidence to suggest that Pinqua squandered some of his money on elaborate gardens and estates as was typical with some Hong merchants. If this was true, then he must certainly bear some of the blame for his quick demise. But it is also clear that the Hong merchant system must bear a good deal of the blame as well, which disadvantaged the Chinese merchants and sucked them dry of their working capital. Government exactions such as buying expensive gifts and funding public relief projects were random and largely unpredictable expenditures that consumed working capital.

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Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing whether Pinqua would have preferred to stay a small porcelain dealer who, for the most part, operated out of the perview of Qing officials. He certainly did have a much more elaborate and important life as a Hong merchant, dealing in huge quantities each year, handling a vast array of merchandise, and nurturing very extensive connections with some of the most prominent people in China. As a Hong merchant, he was at the centre of the trading activities, and had interactions with the governor, governor general and Hoppo, all of which put him in the upper echelons

of society. Those are all connections that he would never have cultivated as a lowly porcelain dealer. But whether he would have considered those experiences a fair exchange for the tranquility of a small operator with a successful business, is difficult to say. In the end, he probably longed for his earlier days, which would certainly have turned out differently had he not been appointed a Hong merchant. But we also need to keep in mind that being successful is also what made him a logical candidate for Hong merchant, so to some extent, we could rightfully say that he was the architect of his outcome. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 Yang Changgui 楊昌圭 and Yang Qiu 楊球 were involved in the Southeast Asian junk trade in Fujian in 1734 and Yang Dacheng 楊大成 appeared in 1754. Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'an Guan 中國第一歷史檔案館, *Qing Gong Yue Gang Ao Shangmao Dang'an Quanji* 清宮粵港澳商貿檔案全集 10 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian 中國書店, 2002), doc. no. 131, pp. 553, 556; Li Guorong 李國榮 and Lin Weisen 林偉森, eds. *Qing Dai Guangzhou Shisan Hang Jilue* 清代廣州十三行紀略 (Chronicle of the Hong Merchants in Canton during the Qing Dynasty). (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe 廣東人民出版社, 2006), 38; and Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652–1853*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 163. Yang Kui 楊奎 was active in the junk trade between Canton and Siam in the 1670s. Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit*, 38. Other Yangs involved in the junk trade to Southeast Asia in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, include Yang Wenli 楊文哩 (1764), Yang Licai 楊利彩 (1768), Yang Adian 楊阿典 (1773, 1784), and Yang You 楊由 (1807, 1809). *Ming Qing Shiliao Geng Bian* 明清史料庚編. 2 vols. (Taipei 台北: Zhonghua Shuju Yingyin Chuban 中華書局影印出版, 1987), 1:92–3, 6:562, 6:566, 8:737–8; Yang Jibo 楊繼波, Wu Zhiliang 吳志良, and Deng Kaisong 鄧開頌, eds. *Ming-Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dang'an Wenxian Huibian* 明清時期澳門問題檔案文獻匯編 (Collection of Ming-Qing documents concerning Macau affairs). 6 vols. (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe 人民出版社, 1999), vol. 1, doc. No. 239, pp. 374–5. There was a linguist 通事 named Yang Chao 楊超 in Canton in the early nineteenth century and a comprador 買辦 named Yang Guang 楊光 in the 1820s. Lau Fong 劉芳 and Zhang Wenqin 章文欽, eds. *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dang'an Huibian* 清代澳門中文檔案匯編 (A Collection of Qing Chinese Documents Concerning Macau). 2 vols. (Macau: Aomen Jijin Hui 澳門基金會, 1999), doc. Nos. 435–37, pp. 238–9, doc. No. 1123, pp. 573–4; and National Archive, London (NAL): FO 1048/9/9. While we have no way of knowing whether these other Yangs were related to Pinqua, they at least suggest that there may have been extensive family connections to the trade which future research will hopefully be able to clarify.
- 2 For other examples of Hong merchant failures, see Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*. Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011) (hereafter MCM 1); and Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*, Vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016) (hereafter MCM 2).
- 3 Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen (RAC): Ask 1177.
- 4 For Soychong and Yekkhing's stories, see MCM 2: Chapter 7.
- 5 RAC: Ask 1177.
- 6 See MCM 2: Chapters 6, 7 and 8.
- 7 Universitetsbibliotek Göteborg (GUB): H22.4A *Prins Carl* Dagbok.
- 8 MCM 2: Appendixes 7D, 7P and 8C.
- 9 MCM 2: Appendixes 7E and 8A.
- 10 MCM 2: 168.
- 11 Cynthia Viallé and Paul A. Van Dyke. *The Canton–Macao Dagregisters*. 1764 (Macao: Macau Cultural Institute, 2009) (hereafter CMD 1764), 215, 251; MCM 1: 15.

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- 12 RAC: Ask 1171, 1773.11.16, p. 119r, Ask 1174, 1775.11.12, p. 91v, Ask 1196, 1784.10.10, p. 157v.
- 13 See Figure 5, which shows the names on the tubs, and also MCM 2: Plates 07.05 and 08.10.
- 14 MCM 1: 15.
- 15 The Yi Ji 鷓記 may be a reference to Exchin, whose name was Yisheng 鷓昇. He was a porcelain dealer at the same time that Pinqua was in business. MCM 2: 135–44.
- 16 MCM 2: 142.
- 17 For Giqua's story, see MCM 1: Chapter 11.
- 18 MCM 1: Chapter 11.
- 19 British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR) G/12/76, 1782.06.24, p. 33; MCM 2: 51.
- 20 BL: IOR G/12/76, 1782.12.29, p. 194.
- 21 Paul A. Van Dyke, *Whampoa and the Canton Trade: Life and Death in a Chinese Port, 1700–1842* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2020), Appendix 1.11.
- 22 For a discussion of the guarantee system, see Frederic D. Grant, Jr., *The Chinese Cornerstone of Modern Banking: The Canton Guaranty System and the Origins of Bank Deposit Insurance 1780–1933* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2014).
- 23 Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Hume Scroll of 1772 and the Faces behind the Canton Factories'. *Review of Culture*, International Edition No. 54 (2017): 64–102; MCM 1: Plates 10.09 and 10.11.
- 24 Martyn Gregory, *Treaty Port Scenes. Historical Pictures by Chinese and Western Artists 1750–1950*. Cat. 83 (London: Martyn Gregory Gallery, 2007–2008), Nos. 61–62, pp. 66–8.
- 25 MCM 1: Plate 10.10 and 10.11.
- 26 BL: IOR G/12/77, 1783.02.21, pp. 19–20; MCM 1: 466n49.
- 27 BL: IOR G/12/76, 1782.09.03, p. 78, 1782.12.29, p. 194.
- 28 National Archives, The Hague (NAH): 4428, Resolution dated 1785.09.28; MCM 1: 134, and Plates 07.07 and 10.12.
- 29 NAH: VOC 4426, *dagregister* (abbreviated as DR), 1784.07.24, p. 23, 1784.09.02, pp. 28–9.
- 30 BL: IOR G/12/77, 1783.08.27, pp. 60–1.
- 31 The British mentioned that the ship from Acapulco arrived on 18 July, but the Dutch recorded it arriving on 14 August. BL: IOR G/12/77, 1783.07.18, p. 55; NAH: VOC 4425 DR, 1783.08.14, p. 20.
- 32 BL: IOR G/12/84, 1787.04.03, p. 192, G/12/86, 1787.04.08, p. 5.
- 33 Van Dyke, *Whampoa and the Canton Trade*, Appendix 1.02.
- 34 Chao Huang and Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Hoppon Tang Ying 唐英 1750–1751 and the Development of the Guangdong Maritime Customs', *Journal of Asian History* 51: 2 (2017), 223–56.
- 35 BL: IOR G/12/77, letter dated 1781.02.22, pp. 52–3.
- 36 BL: IOR G/12/77, 1783.12.06, p.161.
- 37 For an example of a Dutch ship being detained owing to there being mirrors aboard the ship that the Hoppon wanted, see Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Canton Linguists in the 1730s: Managers of the Margins of Trade', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong* 57 (September 2017), 1–29.
- 38 RAC: Ask 1197, 1785.01.24, pp. 57–8, Ask 1198, 1785.01.24, p. 45r.
- 39 There is no mention in the records of the Hoppon issuing the Grand Chops to the ships, but we know that they left several weeks before Pinqua settled this matter on 24 January 1785 so circumstantial evidence suggests that is what happened. For the departures of the two EIC ships that Pinqua secured in 1784, see Van Dyke, *Whampoa and the Canton Trade*, Appendix 1.02.
- 40 NAH: VOC 4431 DR, 1785.02.12, p. 4.
- 41 NAH: VOC 4431 DR, 1785.03.05, p. 13.
- 42 NAH: VOC 4432 DR, 1786.03.02, p. 13.
- 43 NAH: Canton 91, 1785.10.08, pp. 49–50.
- 44 For a discussion of how and why the Hoppos manipulated the figures each year, see Van Dyke, *Whampoa and the Canton Trade*, Chapter 1.
- 45 NAH: VOC 4431 DR, 1785.12.19–21, pp. 137–43.
- 46 NAH: VOC 4431 DR, 1785.12.19, pp. 137–8.
- 47 NAH: VOC 4431 DR, 1785.12.21–25, pp. 141–51.
- 48 NAH: VOC 4431 DR, 1785.12.26–27, pp. 151–2; BL: IOR G/12/82, 1785.12.23, p. 34.
- 49 Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822: Reading History in Art* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), 38 and n. 58.
- 50 NAH: Canton 93, 1787.04.26, p. 5.
- 51 Van Dyke and Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories*, 38 and n. 58.
- 52 BL: IOR G/12/86, 1787.05.08, p. 10.
- 53 John Scofield, *Hail, Columbia. Robert Gray, John Kendrick and the Pacific Fur Trade*. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1993), 165–6, 180, 191.
- 54 BL: IOR G/12/86, 1787.04.08, p. 5.
- 55 BL: IOR G/12/86, 1787.10.31, pp. 188–9.
- 56 For a discussion of the factory owners and the rebuildings, see Van Dyke, 'The Hume Scroll of 1772'; and Van Dyke and Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories*.
- 57 Universiteits Bibliotheek, Ghent (GHL): Ms 1985, 1791.09.03, p. 67; Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony 陳國棟, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760–1843*. 2 vols. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990, 290–1.
- 58 GHL: Ms 1985, 1791.01.06, p. 15.
- 59 I thank Prof. Yeung Man Shun at the University of Hong Kong for Chetai's Chinese name.
- 60 GHL: Ms 1985, 1791.01.17, pp. 24–5.
- 61 BL: IOR G/12/98, 1791.02.24, p. 158; GHL: Ms 1985, 1791.03.29, p. 41.
- 62 GHL: Ms 1985, 1791.03.29, p. 41.
- 63 GHL: Ms 1985, 1791.04.01, pp. 41–2.
- 64 As I have argued in MCM 2, the Qing government only considered Hong merchants to be insolvent when they could no longer keep their creditors at bay. MCM 2: see Introduction and Conclusion. For Locqua's story, see MCM 1: 177–8.
- 65 GHL: Ms 1985, 1791.08.09, pp. 52–3.
- 66 GHL: Ms 1985, 1791.08.25, pp. 59–60.
- 67 GHL: Ms 1985, 1791.10.05, pp. 86–7.
- 68 BL: IOR G/12/101, 1791.09.16, p. 35.
- 69 BL: IOR G/12/101, 1791.11.06, p. 65.
- 70 NAH: VOC 4446 DR, 1791.10.09, p. 88.
- 71 BL: IOR G/12/103, 1793.02.18, p. 244.
- 72 NAH: VOC 4447 1793.01.30–02.28, VOC 4577 DR,

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73 NAH: VOC 4577 DR, 1793.04.10, p. 6.

74 NAH: VOC 4577 DR, 1793.09.11, p.28, BL: IOR G/12/105, 1793.10.04, p. 55.

75 RAC: Ask 1208, 1794.12.08; NAH: Canton 96, 1795.10.29, p. 39.

76 BL: IOR G/12/105, 1793.09.20, p. 21.

77 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 297.

78 RAC: Ask 1208, 1794.12.08.

79 NAH: Canton 96, 1795.10.15, pp. 32–3.

