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## The Yan Family



Merchants of Canton

1734-1780s

Relation	Trade Name	Popular Chinese Name	Chinese
1) Father	<i>Texia</i>	Yan Deshe	颜 德 舍
2) Son no. 1	<i>Swetia</i>	Yan Ruishe	颜 瑞 舍
3) Son no. 2	<i>Ingsia</i>	Yan Yingshe	颜 瑛 舍
4) Son no. —	<i>Awue</i>	Yan <i>Awue</i>	颜 — —
5) Son no. 6	<i>Limsia</i>	Yan Linshe	颜 琳 舍
6) Son no. —	<i>Waysee</i>	Yan Waysee	颜 — —
7) Relative	<i>Hongsia</i>	Yan Xiangshe	颜 享 舍
8) Relative?	<i>Lipsia</i>	Yan Lishe	颜 立 舍

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## INTRODUCTION

The Yan family played a very influential role in the development of trade in Canton. But because we did not know the romanized names of the Yans in the past, it was not possible to give a clear picture of their contribution. Except for “Ingsia” (Yan Yingshe), the romanized names of the other Yan traders were not known until recently.

In 1902, Cordier showed us that the Yan family ran one of the major trading houses in Canton in the mid-eighteenth century, but he could not tell exactly who they were. Liang (1937) later discovered that the romanized name “Yngshaw” (Ingsia) that shows up frequently in the English records in the 1760s and 1770s was in fact Yan Yingshe 顏瑛舍 (proper name Yan Shiyong 顏時瑛).<sup>1</sup> This information enabled Dermigny (1964), White (1968), Ch’en (1990), and Cheong (1997) to expand the discussion of the Yan family trade, albeit only with the person “Yngshaw.”<sup>2</sup> From these studies, we learned that Ingsia’s family had already been trading in Canton long before his name appears in the records, but we did not know what relationship Ingsia had to his predecessors.

In 2001, Huang and Pang wrote a brief history of the Yan family from information they found in the Chinese language sources. Without knowing the romanized versions of the other family members, however, it was not possible to show the volume of their trade, or the extent of their business connections. With the aid of the Yan genealogy and other Chinese sources, the two authors were able to give a longer history of the family than had been done before.<sup>3</sup>

From new information that was recently found in the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish archives, we were finally able to identify some of the other Yans. The person who began the trade in Canton in 1734 was “Texia” (Yan Deshe 顏德舍). The names of three of his sons were also found in those records, “Swetia,” “Ingsia,” and “Limsia” (Ruishe 瑞舍, Yingshe 瑛舍, and Linshe 琳舍, respectively).

During a visit to Guangzhou in December 2001, this new information was shared with Prof. Zhang

Wenqin (章文钦) of Zhongshan University. After searching through the three volumes of the Yan family genealogy, Prof. Zhang found a match with the names of the three sons (瑞 Rui, 瑛 Ying and 琳 Lin). The father’s name “Deshe” (德舍), however, did not come close to the name “Liangzhou” (亮州) listed in the genealogy so there was still some question.

Upon further examination, we found that the death dates in the genealogy for the father, Liangzhou, and the oldest son, Swetia, corresponded with the dates in the foreign records. This clearly established that Deshe (Texia) was in deed the same person as Liangzhou. Thus, for the first time, we could finally identify who these traders were. When “Texia” (Liangzhou, alias Deshe) died in 1751, his oldest son “Swetia” (Ruishe) took over the business. Another unidentified son, Awue, began trading about this time as well. When Swetia died in 1763, the second son “Ingsia” (Yingshe) succeeded him. When Ingsia was exiled to Ili in 1780, the sixth son “Limsia” (Linshe) and another son “Waysee” (unidentified) briefly continued the business. With this new information, it was now possible to reconstruct a more complete history of the family business from 1734 to the 1780s.<sup>4</sup>

Aside from the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish records, the Belgian records were also consulted for this study, which helped to establish 1734 as the first year of the Yan family trade. From these new sources, it became evident that the Yan family was not only very active in the foreign export trade to Europe, but also in the junk trade to Southeast Asia. Because of these broad connections, the restructuring of their history not only tells us about the family itself, but also about the structure of early modern maritime trade in general. The China silver-for-tea trade was an important propellant in the rise and establishment of modern business practices. The Yans supplied goods to the East India Companies in Canton, sent agents into the Chinese interior to place orders, and managed a fleet of junks sailing to Southeast Asia.

It was important for merchants in Canton to make these backward and forward linkages. The best way to maintain quality control and to assure that sufficient quantities of goods would arrive at Canton each year was to go inland and place orders in person. The best way to ensure that there would be enough of the right kind of goods from Southeast Asia for the

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export trade was for merchants to operate their own fleet of junks. With these connections, the Yans gained better control over their trade.

Investment capital was, of course, also a vital component in the advancement of commerce. As was typical with many of the Hong merchants, the Yans borrowed money regularly in both the short-term (one to twelve months) and long-term (one year or longer). They had to pay high interest rates, but that was a characteristic of the Canton trade throughout the eighteenth century. All of these factors mentioned above combined with the Yan merchants' own ability and know-how to compete, helped the family to build a business empire that became a pillar of the trade for four decades.

By 1772, however, the winds of success were beginning to change. The family confronted many new challenges that eventually brought their trading empire to an end. The accumulation of debts ate away continually at profits. As more partners failed, the settling of their debts brought a heavier draw on profits.

The collapse of the Co-hong in 1772 resulted in the breakdown of former alliances and in the waning of trust. The latter factor is difficult to

measure in terms of success, but was nonetheless extremely important in order to obtain credit. Because of the need for foreign capital to finance the trade, it was vital for all Chinese merchants to maintain a good reputation. As the level of foreign trust began to wane in general, with the collapse of the Co-hong and with the breaking up of the Yan, Cai, and Chen family alliance, so did the Yan family credit line. With a reduction in credit came a lower potential to produce profits and a consequential shrinking of the Yans' ability to service their debts.

In the mid-1770s, Ingsia began to accumulate large debts with the foreign companies as well. The Yan profits were no longer sufficient to fulfill their obligations. Things continued to worsen for the family until the firm became insolvent at the end of 1779. A small amount of trade was carried on by Ingsia's brothers thereafter, but that soon trickled down to nothing. The history of the Yan family merchants is, thus, one of the many success-failure stories in Canton that help us not only to understand better the strengths and weaknesses of the Canton System in eighteenth-century China, but also to see more clearly the structure behind early modern trade in general.





老五房內分爲二十房生支圖

建謀公

號紫華

亮洲公

號綽亭

時珩公	時琛公	時璿公	時琳公	時珣公	時瑛公	時瑞公	時球公	時璉公	時瑤公	時理公	時珊公
號儀章	號蒼巖	號璞巖	號玉山	號東石	號肇齋	號書巢	號鳳墀	號愚齋	號佩之	號燮庵	號可齋
老五房之三	老五房之十	老五房之八	老五房之六	老五房之四	老五房之二	老五房之長	老五房之三	老五房之五	老五房之七	老五房之九	老五房之十二

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## THE BEGINNING OF THE YAN FAMILY TRADE

The early years of the Yan family trade are a bit of a mystery. There are no references that have emerged from the foreign records showing Yan merchants active in Canton prior to 1734 (as far as can be determined from the romanized names). We know from the Yan family genealogy that Yan Deshe (Texia) was born in 1697. We also know that many Chinese merchants began trading in their late teens or early twenties. When Texia first emerges in Canton, however, he is already 37 years old. The speed at which he became respected by the foreigners, and the connections that he had to the inland markets, as well as the financial resources at his disposal, all suggest that he had been doing business for a long time.<sup>5</sup> But as far as can be determined from the records, he did not get that experience in the foreign export trade.

The EIC records make no mention to Texia prior to 1734, and no references to him have emerged for earlier years from the studies that have been done of the French East India Company (CFI) trading in China. The Ostend General India Company (GIC) records for the years 1724 to 1727, 1730, and 1732 (the years that ships were sent to China) are among the most detailed documents that we have of the trade, but there is no reference to the Yans. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) documents are fairly complete from 1729 (the first year the Dutch arrived) to 1733, and less complete from 1734 to 1756. The first clear reference to a Yan (Texia) in those records is 1737.<sup>6</sup>

There is a very descriptive journal that has survived from the Swedish East India Company (SOIC) for the year 1732 (the first year the Swedes came to China), with all the particulars of the trade mentioned in detail, but no reference to the Yan family. There is also a brief account of the first Danish ship to arrive in 1731, but again no mention of a Yan.<sup>7</sup> Thus, even though it is obvious that Texia was very well established by 1734, he does not show up in the foreign records before that year. He may have gained his experience from the junk trade in one of China's seaports (including Canton), in one of the foreign ports in Southeast Asia that carried on trade with China, or in the inland tea, silk, and/or porcelain markets within China.

## YAN DESHE AND HUANG XIMAN

In 1734, Yan Deshe's trade name, "Texia" (and other spellings), shows up in both the EIC and the Danish Asiatic Company (DAC) records. Despite being a newcomer to the trade, he was able to gain the respect of the English supercargoes and contract for part of their business. He could not have done this unless the English had considered him financially sound and familiar with the inland markets, so from the beginning, he appears to have been well connected to the commercial networks.

In the same year, Texia and a partner Simon (Huang Ximan 黄锡满) rented a factory to the Danish Company. This fact suggests that aside from being well connected, they were also well funded (or at least had good credit), as they were managing property from the start. The two partners handled a good share of the DAC cargos this year (see Table A).<sup>8</sup>

By 1736, only two years after they first appear in Canton, Texia and Simon became the major supplier of the EIC cargos. The English now favored them above all others except "Young Khiqua."<sup>9</sup> When the English supercargoes returned in the next season, they stated that "Tsetsyau" (Texia) was "more Sensible," "more Elegible," and "brings more Goods to Canton upon his own account than any other Hong in the place."<sup>10</sup>

The tea trade made up 60 to 95 percent of the foreign export cargos. It was a very competitive business to get into, and had heavy "fees" attached to it that made it even more risky (i.e., entrance fees, expensive presents to superiors, periodic extractions by government officials, etc.). As a result, in almost every decade from 1700 to 1840 there were tea merchants who went bankrupt, merchants who had to seek financial help from friends and family to keep their businesses afloat, and merchants who were financially embarrassed due to the burning of a pack house, the sinking of a chop boat, or some other catastrophe.<sup>11</sup>

In 1723, for example, the English reported, "all the Merchants are broke not above two or three to be depended upon for a Contract."<sup>12</sup> By 1724, Suqua was the only person the English deemed financially sound.<sup>13</sup> In 1726, the supercargoes of the GIC found the situation no better. They reported "no other Merchants here now, to be depended upon... but

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Cudgin & Suqua for all the others are very poor & next to Bankrupts.”<sup>14</sup>

As far as Texia and Simon were concerned, there were prominent traders in the 1730s as well. Chen 陈 and Ye 叶 were two well-established families in the trade, with decades of experience. In 1733, Suqua (Chen Shouguan 陈寿官) fell out of favor with the Hoppo, which landed him in prison, but by 1734, he had regained his position and was active again in the trade.<sup>15</sup> The Li 黎 and Liang 梁 families were also deeply involved in the foreign trade at the time. All of these merchants were well connected to inland markets. Thus, Texia's and Simon's entry into that market and their almost immediate success should not be underestimated. It was incredible that they could gain such a large share of the trade in such a short time.

Texia and Simon did most of their business with the foreigners out of the Taihe Hang 泰和行. However, there is another business that has been attributed to them, the Tising or Tái-hsing Hang.<sup>16</sup> This may have been the Taishun Hang 泰顺行 that appears in the Swedish records in 1768, which had six junks operating out of it. The manager of this Hang was “Sizia”, which could be a reference to Yan Ruishe (died 1763).<sup>17</sup> Foreigners often continued using merchants' names after they died to refer to their businesses. Other circumstantial evidence also seems to support the assumption that the Taishun Hang was being run by the Yan family. But more documentation is needed to firmly establish this connection.

The figures show that Texia and Simon supplied 30 to 45 percent of the cargos of Danish ships in 1734, 1738, and 1739 (see Table A), and they probably did about the same in other years as well (the records are incomplete, but for a 1740 example, see Illustration 1). Texia and Simon rented the DAC a factory from 1734 to 1742 (see Table B), and the usual scenario — especially for the smaller companies, was to rent a factory from the merchants with whom most of the trade was done. Thus, if we use the figures in Table A as a basis to restructure other years, then the two partners would have provided anywhere from 15 to as much as 55 percent of the total export cargos of each Danish ship.<sup>18</sup>

Like other merchants in Canton, Texia and Simon handled a variety of products. They include various kinds of tea and porcelain, a variety of silks

and linens, and many types of cotton and woolen textiles. They also traded in Chinese herbs such as galingale and rhubarb, and they were both involved in the money market in Canton such as the trade in gold and usury.<sup>19</sup>

In 1737, Texia and Simon issued a loan to the DAC in the form of a bottomry (respondentia) contract. The Danes used these funds to help finance the return passage for the Ship *Kongen af Dannemark*. As was common with bottomry contracts in the eighteenth century, the interest rate was 40 percent for the voyage, but that was because the loan was also a type of insurance policy. If the *Kongen af Dannemark* failed to arrive at Copenhagen and the cargo was somehow lost or damaged, then the loss was subtracted from what was owed on the contract. If the ship arrived safely, however, then the Danes would repay Texia and Simon the principal with interest as soon as the next DAC ship arrived at Canton.<sup>20</sup>

In 1737, Texia and Simon sold tea to the VOC as well, which increased considerably in 1742 and 1743. As a sign of their growing prosperity, they invited the Danish, English, and Swedish supercargoes to a feast in January 1739. Other Chinese merchants were also invited. It was common for prominent merchants in Canton to have these large gatherings, which were often very elaborate with exotic dishes and stage performances lasting well into the night. Texia was now one of the richest merchants in Canton.<sup>21</sup>

On 7 and 8 December 1743, a fire broke out in Canton and consumed Texia and Simon's factory and many other houses.<sup>22</sup> Fires were a common occurrence in Canton, and could ruin a merchant overnight. Ships, junks, and chop boats also caught fire and sank, and goods were often stolen or damaged during packing or while traveling between Canton and Whampoa. All of these hazards were part of the normal risks of doing business.<sup>23</sup>

After the factory fire, Texia and Simon continued doing business together for the rest of the 1743 season, but this is the last year that Simon's name shows up in the records. In 1744, Texia begins to trade on his own account with both the Dutch and the Danes (see

Illustration 1:  
Tea Contract dated 10 November 1740 between Tacqvoa (Texia, Yan Deshe) and Simon (Huang Ximan) of the Taihe Hang and the Danish Asiatic Company, to deliver 100 piculs of first sort Songlo tea to the Ship *Kongen af Danmarc*. (RAC: Ask 1120)







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Schedule). There are no other Huangs that appear later or that are known to have traded in Canton after Simon's disappearance so we have no knowledge of what happened to him.<sup>24</sup>

From 1744 to 1750, Texia handled about 15 to 50 percent of the DAC cargos (see Table A). 1745 was a very hard year for all of the merchants, because the two Swedish ships that were expected did not arrive. The SOIC vessels were among the largest in Canton, equivalent to what four EIC ships would normally carry, so this was a huge loss for everyone concerned.<sup>25</sup>

When the Swedish supercargoes returned to Canton the next year, they found only Shouqua (Chen Shouguan) in good financial status. This next year was extremely competitive for the merchants as they fought desperately to gain market share to cover losses. The two partners, Tan Tinqu (Chen Zhenguan 陈镇官) and Tzy Yamqua (Cai Yanguan 蔡炎官), were very aggressive players, which led other merchants to secretly cut off their credit sources. The surviving records do not tell us how Texia fared in all of this fighting, but he seems to have recovered fairly quickly.<sup>26</sup>

In 1748, the Dutch list Texia as one of the top merchants dealing in Nanking silk in Canton. In the same year, he issued another bottomry bond to the DAC for the ship *Christiansborg Slott* (see Illustration 2). This is the year that Texia's son, Awue, begins to show up in the Danish records trading on his own account (explained below). Texia continued renting the Danes a factory without interruption, and his trade with the Dutch and English companies carried on so he seems to have maintained his hold on the trade fairly well.<sup>27</sup>

From 1749 to 1751, Texia shows up in the records with a new partner in the Dutch trade, Tsja Hunqua. This was the beginning of a long friendship that developed between the Yan and Cai families and continued (as far as the trade was concerned) for the next 20 years.<sup>28</sup> But Texia did not live to see it happen.

When the Danes returned to Canton on the morning of August 11, 1751, they went to the house of Texia as before, but learned some very distressing news. Texia had died a couple months earlier (June 11) at the age of 54. After learning of his death, the Danes paid their respects to the family, but were uncertain of what to do with the trade. They went around asking questions about the Yan house, and

sought the advice of an old associate of the family, "Bowquaqua" (Li Kaiguan 李开官). The Danes considered Bowquaqua to be "the most reputable merchant in Canton" at the time so his words would go a long way. After some discussion, the Danish supercargoes decided to return to the Yan house. Texia had left his firm in good order, and had taught his sons well so they quickly stepped in to keep the family business going.<sup>29</sup>

## GETTING OVER THE CRISIS OF TEXIA'S DEATH

The oldest son, Swetia, was able to quickly regain the confidence of the foreigners, which was not always an easy task to do. Every time one of the proprietors of a major trading house died, there was usually a couple of months that followed when everyone in Canton was very uncertain of what to do. The Hoppo, Chinese merchants, and foreigners alike were all anxious to learn the true financial status of the business before proceeding with any contracts. Often it was not until a death that the partners, trading associates, and family members learned of the true extent of the assets and liabilities that were left behind. It was not good for Chinese merchants to keep account books lying around that could fall into the hands of anxious government officials so no records were kept.<sup>30</sup>

It was very common in Canton for merchants to take out private loans and conduct other private business on the side. In the 1760s, for example, Tsja Hunqua regularly made private agreements with the Dutch supercargoes behind the backs of his business partners.<sup>31</sup> The Swedish supercargoes did the same with Poankeequa (Pan Qiguan 潘启官) and other Chinese merchants. Because such private dealings were so common, all that family members and partners could do after a death was to wait and see how many creditors came knocking at the door, and then hope there were enough assets to cover the liabilities. In Texia's case, there did not appear to be many outstanding debts and the government duties were

## Illustration 2:

Bottomry Contract dated 22 December 1748 between Texia (Yan Deshe) and the Danish Asiatic Company for the Ship *Christiansborg Slott*. Texia loaned the Company 946.973 taels at 30 percent interest, and was to be repaid 1,231.063 taels (principal plus interest) when the ship returned again to China. (RAC: Ask 1126)

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up-to-date so the Taihe Hang was not in any immediate danger.

On his death bed, Texia had recommended to his number one son, Swetia, who was now 31 years old, to seek the advice and assistance of an old friend and associate, “Huncksja” (also spelled “Hongsia”, Yan Xiangshe 顏享舍). The relationship between Hongsia and Texia is not clear, and we do not know anything about him prior to this reference. But he, and Tsja Hunqua and Bowquaqua, were at work behind the scenes helping the sons through this time of crisis.<sup>32</sup>

## THE TAIHE HANG RESUMES BUSINESS

Swetia now took over running the family business, and beginning in the 1752 season, we find him trading under his own name. He did business with the Danes (see Table A and Illustration 3), the Dutch (see Table C), the Swedes, the French, and the English (see Schedule).<sup>33</sup> This factor alone is fairly clear evidence that the Taihe Hang was not in trouble. On the one hand, the house needed a good amount of capital in order to do such a large volume of business. On the other hand, the foreigners would not have advanced funds to Swetia on his individual account unless they had confidence in his financial ability. If there had been any doubt, the foreigners would have required him to have a cosigner, and that did not happen.

In the records from the 1750s, references begin to appear that give us a glimpse at the structure supporting the Yan family trade. In 1755 and 1759 (and probably other years), Swetia sent an agent to the interior to buy silk. One of Swetia's brothers went to the tea lands every year as well, to make the purchases they needed for the coming season.<sup>34</sup>

The smaller merchants could not afford to send their own agents upcountry, but had to wait for the inland brokers to arrive at Canton. These upcountry agents displayed samples of their wares, and then the merchants would place their orders for the coming season. However, in these situations, the trading houses had to share a part of the profits with those agents, which in turn meant higher prices. Moreover, the merchants could only choose from the quality and quantity that the agents had available to them, which was not always sufficient.

The capacity of these inland entrepreneurs to supply goods was limited by several factors: their credit standing, their connections to China's markets, and their ability to fulfill contracts as promised. Because of these variables, the Canton houses often could not get everything they wanted when they needed it. Thus, by sending agents upcountry, the Yans gained better control over quality, quantity, prices and profits.<sup>35</sup>

Many of the silk transactions at this time were connected to the smuggling of gold from Nanking to Canton. Texia and his sons were regularly involved in these gold shipments from at least 1739, and this activity continued until at least the 1760s (see Tables A and C). In order to contract for gold, the foreigners had to advance large amounts of silver at the beginning of the season. The agents from the trading houses then carried the silver to Nanking to place their orders.

The Canton merchants purchased the gold in Nanking for less than they sold it to the foreigners so a profit could be realized immediately. After buying the gold, the agents could use the excess silver (the profits from the gold) to buy silk and other merchandise. The silk and gold arrived at Canton at the end of the trading season, in late December or early January.

The legitimate silk was sent aboard the ships in the normal fashion, and the appropriate duties were paid. The illegitimate silk (yellow and crimson colors which were reserved for the emperor) and the gold were smuggled aboard.<sup>36</sup> Even though this trade was illegal, it was an effective way of financing the silk shipments and other trade. Most of the major Canton merchants were involved in these gold and silk transactions at this time, and the Yans were no exception. Tsja Hunqua, Chetqua (Chen Jieguan 陈捷官), Beau Khiqua (Li Kaiguan), and Poankeequa (Pan Qiguan) were doing the same thing.<sup>37</sup> In fact, the smuggling of gold and restricted silk was so regular that it rarely appears as contraband in the foreign records, because it was just normal business to them.

In 1755, the Danes list Swetia among the top six merchants in Canton, but the 1750s also presented

Illustration 3:  
Tea Contract dated 21 October 1755 between Swetia (Yan Ruishe) of the Taihe Hang and the Danish Asiatic Company, to deliver 300 whole chests of Bohea tea to the Ship *Dronning Juliana Maria*, at 15.7 taels per picul. (RAC: Ask 1135)





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several new challenges to the Taihe Hang. In 1756, Swetia had to come to the rescue of a relative by the name of “Jonksia” (probably the same as “Hongksia” mentioned above, Yan Xiangshe). Jonksia had fallen into financial difficulties and needed Swetia’s help to bail him out. Not long after this incident, another misfortune followed that proved to be more threatening to the Taihe Hang.<sup>38</sup>

Swetia had done some of his business with the English, Dutch, and Swedes, in partnership with Beau Khiqua (see Schedule).<sup>39</sup> This was not necessarily good for Swetia, because when Beau Khiqua died in 1758, he left Swetia with a huge debt.<sup>40</sup> It was common practice in Canton for the Hoppo and governors-general to pass debts to the surviving partners. It did not matter whether or not the partners had actually been involved in the specific transactions that caused the arrears, only that they had at one time conducted trade together. The association alone was enough to make them responsible, which was not much different from family members also being held responsible for debts with which they had not been involved. Swetia was now stuck with servicing some of Beau Khiqua’s debts, which drew heavily against the Taihe Hang’s profits.

There was another son, Awue, who also traded in Canton in the 1750s. In 1759, the Danish supercargoes clearly state that Awue was the brother of Swetia. We have no Chinese characters for Awue, but given the circumstances of age and trading activities, there are a couple of possibilities. Awue first appears in 1749 doing business with the Danes, so he could be son number three (Shiqiu 时球) or four (Shixun 时珣). These two boys would have been in their late teens or early twenties at the time so either one of them could have been involved in trade.<sup>41</sup>

Awue did business out of two different firms, the Erlai Dian 而来店 and the Houde Hang 厚德行 (see Illustration 4). From the very first year that he appears in the records, he handles a variety of products including porcelain, galangale, rhubarb, radix china, and Congo tea. Awue contracted with the Danes on his own account (without partners), but had a close working relationship with another Hong merchant, Consentia Giqua (Ye Yiguan 叶义官). In the first few years, he traded only in small amounts, not more than 1 or 2 percent of the total cargo of a ship (see Table A).

In 1753, Awue shows up in both the Danish and Swedish records. He is noted as being a “boutique merchant”, who delivered good quality Bohea tea. This term “boutique” was usually used for the smaller merchants or shop keepers in Canton. In the same year, Awue’s trade with the Danes increased dramatically to about 14 percent of a ship’s cargo (see Table A).

By 1755, Awue had risen to the point that the Danes included him as one of the nine Hong merchants in Canton (he was at the bottom of the list).<sup>42</sup> By this year, Awue’s share of the DAC cargos had increased to 26 percent, and by 1757, he had earned the distinction of being one of the “privileged merchants” with the best Touchon (Bohea) tea in Canton. With the increase in volume, came an increase in the varieties of goods he handled as well, which seems to be a typical characteristic of Hong merchants in general.

As far as we know, Awue only traded with the Dutch one year, 1758. He sold the VOC a sizeable amount that year (19,500 taels worth of goods), and is noted as having the “best silk textiles”. By 1759, Awue was handling up to 31 percent of the DAC cargos (44,000 taels), which was almost as much as his brother Swetia (50,000 taels), but then his name disappears from the account books (see Tables A and C). In 1760, the so-called “Co-hong” (gonghang 公行) was established to provide the Canton merchants with more control over the trade and more security to their profits, and Awue was not elected into it. This is probably why he suddenly disappears from the records.<sup>43</sup>

There were a number of merchants who lost their trading privileges in 1760, which was a bone of contention throughout the existence of the Co-hong. Awue was more fortunate than some of the others, because he could still trade under his brother Swetia’s authority. Moreover, he could also deal in the family junk trade to Southeast Asia so being excluded from the Co-hong did not necessarily mean the end of his business activities.

In 1760, we have one last mention of Awue in the Danish records. In this new era of Co-hong monopoly, the inland tea merchants were allowed to carry on trade with the foreigners through one of the Hong merchant houses. On October 11 of that year, the Danes mention that Awue had a good quantity of tea on hand that he wanted to sell under commission of one of these inland tea men. Foreigners often

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negotiated directly with these agents, and then the sales were channeled through a designated Hong merchant, who paid the export duties. By using this channel, Awue could dispose of his leftover stock from 1759, without causing a big dispute in the Co-hong.<sup>44</sup> It is doubtful, however, that Awue could have competed in the long-term with the inland tea men or with the Hong houses by doing trade in this way, as there was too much lost to commission. Thus, we are not sure what became of Awue and his business after this year.

One of the reasons the Co-hong was established, was to better manage and prevent bankruptcies like Beau Khiqua's. The debts that failed merchants left

behind were a significant drain on the others so it was in the best interests of all to have an administrative body that could better manage failures. The Co-hong was set up in such a way that the four largest merchants, Poankeequa, Tsja Hunqua, Chetqua, and Swetia, could administer the trade in the fashion they thought best. These four men had to come up with a proposal each year of how to regulate the trade. They then presented these ideas to the Hoppo and governor-general, who in turn made alterations and recommendations as needed. Once the terms were finalized each year, nothing could be changed, and all of the Canton merchants had to comply.

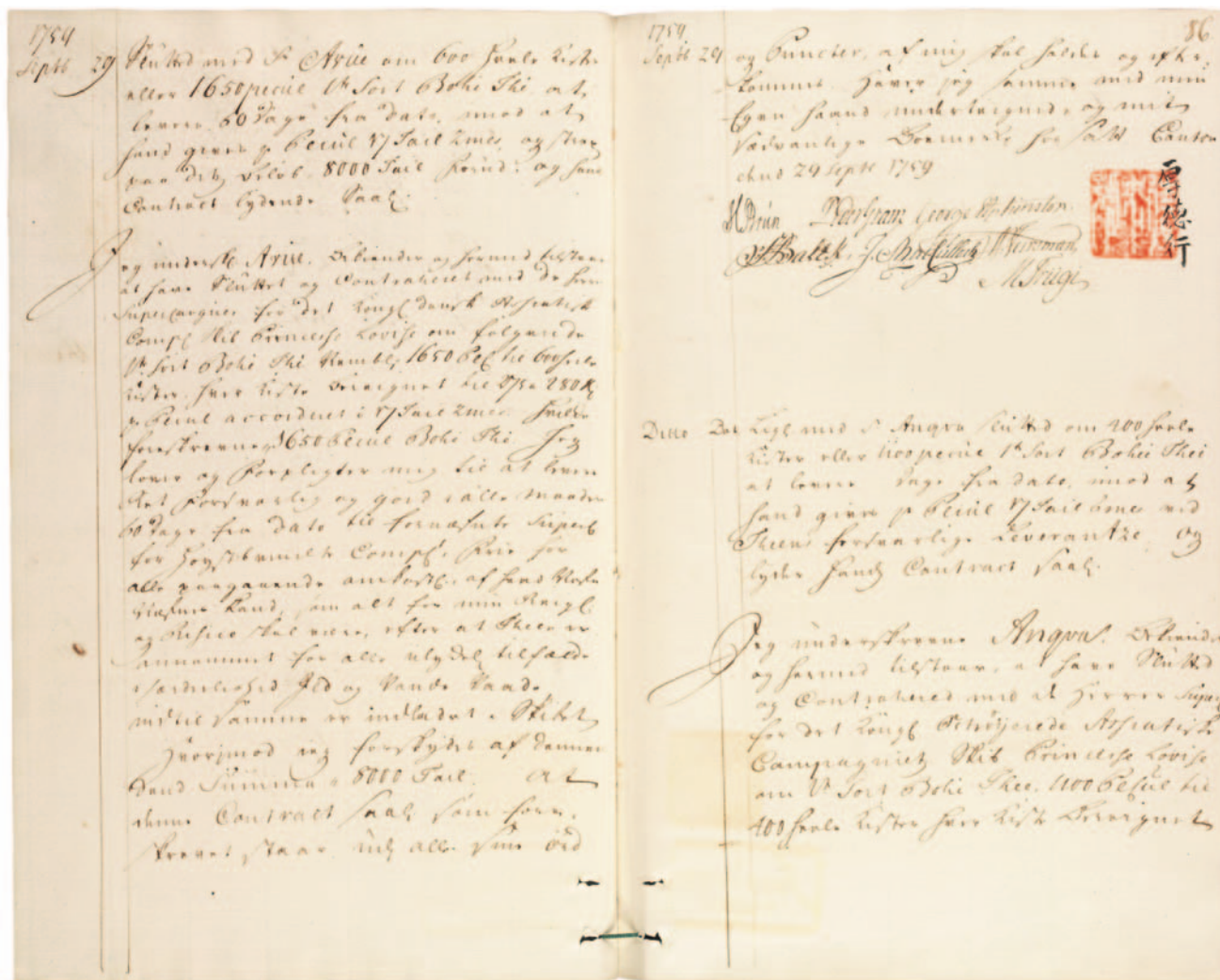


Illustration 4:

Tea Contract dated 29 September 1759 between Awue of the Houde Hang and the Danish Asiatic Company, to deliver in 60 days, 1,650 piculs of the first sort of Bohea tea at 17.2 taels per picul, to be packed in 600 whole chests. (RAC: Ask 1144)

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There were about 10 trading houses (large and small) connected to the Co-hong, but the four large houses dictated the terms to the smaller ones. It was also stipulated that if any one of the Hong merchants failed, the others had to stand security for their debts. Poankeequa was elected the Co-hong President so he was the one who had to negotiate the trade each year with the Hoppo and governor-general.<sup>45</sup>

As far as exchange rates, prices of imports and exports, and other stipulations like the amounts of the advances that would be required for the purchasing of tea and other goods, there were not supposed to be any alterations in them for the remainder of that season. The merchants continued to compete fiercely with each other by offering other benefits such as presents, kickbacks on contracts, and special privileges in renting factories, etc. Offering bottomry contracts or private loans to foreigners was another way to gain their favor and their trade.

In 1759, for example, the Danes took out another bottomry contract with Swetia in the amount of 850 taels at 33 percent interest. Swetia was again liable for “all risks of the sea.” The Ship *Kongen af Danmark II* arrived safely at Copenhagen without damage. According to the contract, Swetia was then repaid with interest in 1761, which amounted to 1,130.500 taels. As was the case with most bottomry contracts, this interest rate was applied to the voyage to be repaid about 20 or 21 months later. The actual annual rate thus calculates to only 19 or 20 percent, which was cheap for a bottomry contract. Swetia could have just as easily given the money to Hongsia for a bottomry bond on the junks which would have yielded him twice the interest (explained below). The issuing of beneficial loans to foreigners was a means used by the Hong merchants to engage them in more trade. It was also a means used to compensate foreigners for shortcomings such as a higher price they had to pay for tea or perhaps the delivery of a poorer quality.<sup>46</sup>

As far as credit is concerned, what appears more commonly in the records is foreigners giving loans to Chinese at high interest. The merchant houses in Canton were always lacking working capital and foreign money was often the cheapest and sometimes the only source available. In 1761, for example, Swetia in partnership with Tsja Hunqua and Chetqua borrowed 30,000 taels from the Dutch for three months at 1.5 percent interest per month. The next year, Swetia and

Chetqua also borrowed 12,000 taels from the Danes for four months at 1.5 percent per month (see Illustration 5). There was no “insurance” connected to these loans as there was with bottomry contracts, so if a pack house burned up with all the goods, the Dutch and Danes would still receive their money. These short-term loans to Chinese appear frequently in the records, and the interest rates often ranged from 1.5 to 2.0 percent per month (with 2 percent being very common, see Table D).<sup>47</sup>

Soon after Beau Khiqua’s death, we find Swetia uniting in partnership with Tsja Hunqua, an old trusted friend of his father, and Chetqua (see Illustration 6). This was the beginning of a long business relationship between these three families that continued off and on until at least 1780. This partnership was probably also a way for Swetia to better service the debts he was left with by Beau Khiqua. The three-family consortium handled much of the Dutch trade from 1758 to 1772 (see Table C).<sup>48</sup> At about this time, we also find the “well known Tiunqua” working in Swetia’s house helping with the trade.<sup>49</sup>

In the beginning, this new consortium may have been Swetia’s idea, but eventually the Dutch insisted upon each one of the partners guaranteeing the other, at least for some of the VOC ships. This was a move taken to protect against loss due to the failure of one or the other. The foreigners were well aware of the debt Swetia was carrying from Beau Khiqua and other problems he had such as having to bail out Jonksia. The Danes, Dutch, English, Swedes, French, and others traded with Swetia individually as well so he was still well respected and trusted. He and his brothers continued to maintain a good standing and reputation throughout the 1750s and 1760s.<sup>50</sup>

From the Danish records, we get a glimpse at the proportion of the export cargos that the Yan family was providing to each ship. Out of 16 DAC ships from 1752 to 1762 (the ones for which we have records), Swetia provided an average of 34 percent of the export cargos (see Table A). This was only a slight increase from what his father had done before him (32 percent), but if we add Awue’s trade to this we see a considerable increase in volume (50 percent of the DAC cargos).

As far as the Dutch cargos are concerned, Swetia and his two partners Tsja Hunqua and Chetqua supplied about 45 percent of each ship. About half of



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that 45 percent came from the Yan family so their proportion of the total cargos was about 20 percent (see Table C). It was common for both the Chinese and the foreigners to insist upon imports and exports being equal (or at least close) so we can assume that the value of the imports that the Yans handled with the Danes and the Dutch was probably close to the value of their exports.<sup>51</sup>

On 21 January 1763, the Dutch report that Swetia was lying sick in his “women’s house.” The foreigners often used this term to refer to the residences where the wife(s) and concubine(s) of the merchants lived. The merchants retired to these places in the off-season and at other times during the trading season when they wanted peace and quiet. These abodes were often located within the city walls, which was off-limits to the foreigners. This was thus a safe place to relax in order to rethink business strategies — especially when things were not going well with one of their contracts. The Hong merchants often used the excuse of “being indisposed” (sick) to escape to the city.<sup>52</sup>

In Swetia’s case, however, he was indeed very sick. On 16 March 1763, the Dutch learned that he had died at daybreak. He was only 42 years old. The Dutch went to his factory to offer condolences to the family. They were of course also interested in seeing first hand what kind of shape the house was in. The Hollanders, however, “found not the least reason to be suspicious”<sup>53</sup> Because the next season did not begin until August, there was plenty of time to get things in order before the ships arrived.

The transition from Swetia’s management to Ingsia’s went about as smoothly as it did with their father. Four days after Swetia’s death, the Dutch reported “everything remains on the old footing in the house of Swetia and Incksia, under the advice of Huncksja.” In the beginning of the 1763 season, the English, Dutch, Swedes, French and others closely evaluated the situation. All of them resumed their business with the Taihe Hang.<sup>54</sup>

The Danes continued to rent out their old factory from Ingsia, and they took out another bottomry contract from Ingsia for the Ship *Cron Printzen af Danmark*. This time the premium was 30 percent, to be repaid 20 months later when the next DAC ship reached Canton. The annual premium was thus about 18 percent, which was an even better deal than their previous bottomry contract.

Under the surface, however, there were other concerns that were starting to affect the profitability of the Taihe Hang. Ever since Beau Khiqua’s death, the Yan sons seemed to have been in constant need of working capital. The advances from the Dutch and Danes for the delivery of tea in the next season had to be forwarded to the tea merchants inland so those funds were not much help in providing financing for the day-to-day operation of the Taihe Hang.<sup>55</sup>

In September 1763, the three merchants wanted the Dutch to loan them another 50,000 taels. It was not immediately given to them because they were not willing to pay the 2 percent per month that the Dutch wanted. In the following May, however, the three merchants were successful at borrowing 150,000 taels at 20 percent annual interest to help finance the trade for 1764. They borrowed the same amount in 1765 as well.<sup>56</sup>

To be fair to Ingsia, borrowing such large sums of money at high interest was not necessarily a sign of financial instability, at least not in Canton. Most of the merchant houses, large and small, were doing the same thing. Throughout the 1760s, Ingsia, Hongsia (see Table D), Tsja Hunqua, Chetqua, Poankeequa and the small merchants regularly borrowed money from the Swedes at high interest. For short-term capital of a couple of months, the interest was usually 2 percent per month. For long-term capital of a year or more, the rate varied from 12 to 20 percent per year, with an occasional loan reaching as high as 24 to 30 percent. For junk bottomry bonds, the interest was usually around 40 percent per voyage (one voyage per year, see the section below on Yan Xiangshe).<sup>57</sup> In 1763, the Dutch mention that no less than 350,000 taels had to be advanced to the tea brokers in the interior for the orders in the next season so there was good reason for this strong demand. In order to meet obligations, a merchant had to trade, and in order to trade, he had to borrow money.<sup>58</sup>

Ingsia continued to supply about 20 percent or more of the Dutch cargos up to 1780 (see Table C), and like his father and brother, he also traded extensively with the English and Danes. The records are not complete enough to give a full account for each

## Illustration 5:

Loan Contract dated 5 July 1762. Swetia (Svissia) and Chetqua (Schecqua) borrowed 12,000 taels from the Danish Asiatic Company at 6 percent interest for four months (1.5 percent per month). The principal and interest amounted to 12,720 taels, which was to be repaid by October 30. (RAC: Ask 1148a)





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Illustration 6:  
Tea Contract dated 4 January 1762 between Tsja Hunqua (Yifeng Hang 义丰行), Chetqua (Guangshun Hang 广顺行) and Swetia (Taihe Hang) and the Dutch East India Company, to deliver 4,000 piculs of the first sort of Bohea tea, at 14.45 taels per picul. (NAH: VOC 4388)

year, but we know that Ingsia supplied cargos regularly to English ships from 1764 to 1779.<sup>59</sup> Also, from 1771 to 1779, he agreed to take one fourth of the woolens that the EIC imported.<sup>60</sup> Like the Dutch example, Ingsia also sold goods to the English with his partners Tsja Hunqua and Chetqua. In 1767 and 1768, the three contracted raw silk with the EIC.<sup>61</sup>

From 1763 to 1772, Ingsia supplied about 44 percent of the cargos of 16 Danish ships (see Table A). He was undoubtedly involved in many more ships than these, but the DAC cargo records from 1773 to 1781 are missing so we do not have the exact figures. There was, of course, much more trade conducted with other companies such as the CFI and SOIC for which we also have few records.

Other smaller merchants in Canton channeled goods through Ingsia's house as well. In 1765, one of Tsja Hunqua's sons, Tayqua, sold tea to the Dutch under Ingsia's name.<sup>62</sup> From 1766 to 1775, Ingsia's cousin and writer, "Kinqa" (Shi Mengjing 石梦鯨, also spelled "Quinqa") shows up occasionally in the records doing some business on his own account, albeit under Ingsia's name.<sup>63</sup> In 1772, a "Koonqua" is mentioned in the Dutch records as Ingsia's writer (they often had more than one), who sold tea on the side.<sup>64</sup> From 1776 to 1779, "Kiouqua" (also spelled "Keequa") was his writer, and he also traded tea.<sup>65</sup> These examples provide a small glimpse into the Yan family's extended businesses. There were likely many other small traders who channeled goods though the Taihe Hang that do not show up in the records.

With the data that is available, we can now get a rough idea of the distributions of the Yan family trade. Using average cargo figures that have been tabulated for the foreign ships in Canton in the 1760s, we can come up with the estimates of the annual volume of exports that the Yans would probably

have done each year with the Danes, Dutch, and English. (see next page)

Poankeequa had control of much of the Spanish and Swedish trade so the Yans probably did not have a large portion of that. We do not know the exact amount of the Yan trade with the French or others such as the Portuguese, Armenians, and private traders. However,

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considering the scope of the Yan business, Ingsia would have handled no less than 25,000 piculs per year with all of the Europeans, and probably closer to 30,000 piculs or more.

## THE HEIGHT AND DECLINE OF THE YAN FAMILY EMPIRE

By 1772, the Yan family had been doing business in Canton for 38 years, had control of a fleet of junks (explained below), and emerged as one of the prominent families in the city. From a brief reference in the Dutch records, we get a rare glimpse of the extent of Ingsia's wealth at the time, as well as his filial devotion to his deceased father and mother. On 11 December 1772, the Dutch supercargoes in Canton wrote the following:

"Old Texia, the father of Inxia, was laid to rest. He died 16 years ago, and was buried today together with his wife, who died two years ago. The gravesite cost about 10,000 taels. During the funeral procession, there were no less than 15,000 persons in attendance, with about 1,000 palanquins."<sup>66</sup>

For many reasons, this was a watershed year for the Yan family. It marks the height of the family's wealth, power and prestige. From this year forward, things begin to get much worse for the Taihe Hang. The Co-hong was dissolved in 1772, which meant the merchants could no longer set the prices or terms as they had done before. No one knew how the trade would develop in this new environment so it was a very uneasy time for both foreigners and Chinese alike. Partnerships broke up out of fears of being stuck with debts, and there were many disagreements and opposing ideas circulating about how to proceed with the trade. Some merchants were pushed to extremes in their

efforts to secure a share of the market so they could meet their financial obligations.

The Yan, Cai, and Chen family alliance temporarily collapsed in 1772, which left Ingsia in a precarious state. His former partners were now very unwilling to be attached to him, probably because of the debts he was still carrying from the past. It is not known how the collapse of the partnership affected the family junk trade, but it was sure to have had an impact. The Co-hong was no longer available to help the merchants through the problem of settling past debts so in many respects, each man was left to his own devices.

In this new environment, some of the Chinese merchants felt that the safest position was to get as much of the trade as possible into their own hands, and then not to have any partners. The foreigners, however, were also very wary of contracting with one person. They would rather have someone responsible such as a partner or cosigner to whom they could go for restitution if a merchant failed to deliver.

It was also more difficult to secure capital to finance the trade in this new environment. Foreign investors preferred to wait and see which merchants were the most stable each year, before they advanced them money or issued them loans. In other words, the Chinese merchants had to first show that they could get along fine without a loan before they could get one. This is one of the ironies of doing business, which was as true in the eighteenth century as it is today.

These changes, however, also brought new opportunities. In 1772, for example, Ingsia was able to establish a special arrangement with the Dutch that gave him an edge on his trade. He agreed to accept a deposit of 12,000 Spanish dollars (8,880 taels) at 15 percent interest per year. The annual interest on this

**Estimates of Ingsia's Annual Sales to Foreigners by Volume<sup>67</sup>**

2 DAC ships at 10,900 pls each equals 21,800 pls at 44 percent equals	9,600 piculs
3 VOC ships at 9,700 pls each equals 29,100 pls at 20 percent equals	5,820 piculs
2 EIC ships at 6,600 pls each equals 13,200 pls at 25 percent equals	3,300 piculs
7 European ships	18,720 piculs



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advance came to 1,800 Spanish dollars (1,332 taels), which was the same amount as the rent for the Dutch factory. By allowing Ingsia to use these funds year after year to finance his trade, the Dutch avoided having to pay the rent each year. This arrangement also helped Ingsia get through this tough time of new competition and scarce credit.<sup>68</sup>

The foreigners enjoyed new advantages as well. Because everything was now so uncertain and competitive, they could demand the Canton merchants to contract for more of their imports before they agreed on exports. As has been pointed out in several studies in the past, this stipulation of attaching the sale of imports to the purchase of exports (called “truck”) was very risky business.<sup>69</sup> No one had any clear idea of how many imports such as cotton, wool, tin, or lead would arrive each year so there was no accurate way of telling what prices would do. Moreover, there was also no way to predict how many foreign ships would show up so no one could tell exactly what export prices would do either. The practice of truck, however, did indeed require the Chinese merchants to make all of those speculations.

There are of course many other factors that can lead to a merchant becoming insolvent such as an overextension of loans, contracting for too low or too high a price, and simply poor management. The historical records are rarely complete enough to clearly show all of the factors involved. But they do provide some hints such as the risks involved in this practice of truck.

By 1774, Ingsia's trade with the EIC was beginning to wane. He had been contracting for one fourth of the EIC woolens for several years, which was credited to his tea contracts. As a partial result of the disadvantages attached to this practice of exchanging woolens for tea, Ingsia was now indebted to the company for 22,743 taels.<sup>70</sup> In 1775, the Hoppo refused to issue Ingsia a clearance pass for the VOC ship *Vryheid*, until he paid the 2,300 taels that were owed for duties. In order to bring the matter to an end, the Hoppo requested his two partners Tan Tinqu (brother of Chetqua) and Tsja Thayqua (son of Hunqua) to each contribute 400 taels.<sup>71</sup>

Ingsia continued his business over the next few years as usual, but not without difficulties. By the end of the 1777 season (February), he was indebted to the EIC for 45,000 taels and to a private English

trader, Captain Parks, 80,000 taels. He was unable to pay the English, because the Danish company had withheld 40,000 taels owed to him for a debt that he had accumulated with a private Danish merchant.<sup>72</sup>

At about the same time, another merchant, Chen Keguan 陈科官, failed and Ingsia was handed one fourth of his debt.<sup>73</sup> By 1779, Ingsia was involved in much renegotiating in an effort to find a solution to his debt crisis. He made different offers to the EIC to settle the amounts he owed over a period of several years, but all negotiations fell short of the company's expectations.<sup>74</sup>

## THE COLLAPSE OF THE TAIHE HANG

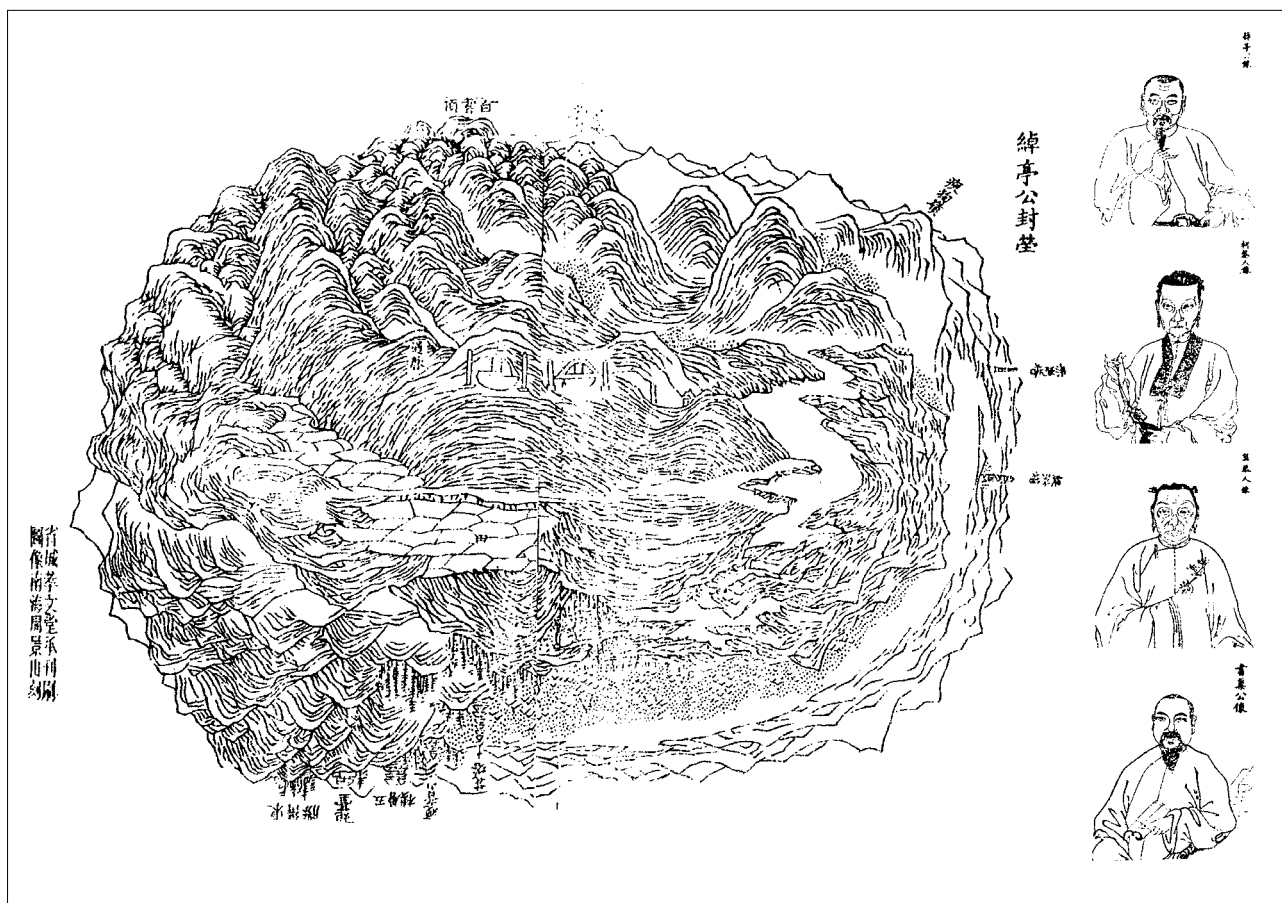
The obstacles were now too great for Ingsia to overcome. The Yan family business was in a very serious state at the end of 1779. The Taihe Hang was seized and all the property confiscated. In the end, it was decided that Ingsia should be banished to Ili as punishment for his failure since accumulating debts in China was a criminal offense.

On the evening of 18 November 1780, the Dutch report that Ingsia and Kousia (Zhang Tianqiu 张天球), were sitting in a boat in the river as prisoners, waiting to be transported to Ili. Kousia had also run into a streak of bad luck. His pack house had burned up on 26 March 1779, which left him owing 10,000 to 15,000 taels more than he was already indebted. He had already lost more than 7,000 taels during a fire in 1773.<sup>75</sup>

After Ingsia and Kousia were exiled, the other Hong merchants in Canton assumed their debts. Discounts were negotiated with the debt-holders and the balances were paid off over a number of years. The family business continued under Ingsia's two brothers Limsia and Waysee, but it was much scaled back from former times. It trickled out in just a few years.

As far as Ingsia is concerned, we can only guess at what his life may have been like in Ili. The Yan family genealogy states that he died on 10 April 1792 so if he stayed in Ili the entire time, he would have had twelve years in the hinterland. He undoubtedly spent much time reminiscing over the 47 years of the family's experience in the foreign trade. In that time, they had gone from unknowns to becoming one of the most prominent and respected families in Canton to being entirely disgraced and exiled.

## MACAU AND THE PEARL RIVER DELTA



Yan family grave site (White Cloud Mountains, Canton). Right hand from top to bottom: Yan Deshe, first wife, second wife, Yan Ruishe.

Putting all failures aside, Ingsia was certain to have had many memories that he could meditate on during the remaining years of his life. He could recount how his father and Simon had stormed into Canton in 1734 (when he was seven years old) and taken control of much of the trade overnight; the first big feast in 1739 (when he was 11 years old) when all the top foreign and Chinese merchants came to his father's house for a feast; how his father and brother continued to build and expand the family business in the 1740s and 1750s; and how the family established a vast network of trade and communications that extended far into China's interior and throughout Southeast Asia.

Ingsia was certain to have witnessed many times the arrival of his brothers from the interior telling their stories of their travels and giving reports of the trade; the ceremonious departures and arrivals of the family junks, with their many colorful streamers being

displayed, fireworks sounding off, and the strikes on the gongs and drums announcing their arrival; the captains coming to his father, brother, and later himself giving their reports of the voyages and telling their incredible stories of their encounters abroad; the many visits to the family warehouse where the tea was packed and hundreds of servants, coolies, soldiers, and sampans were rushing about getting the product ready for export; the first time he made a trip to Whampoa with his father to see the enormous foreign ships with their huge masts and rows of cannons being fired off in salute to their visit; and the first time he talked with a foreigner with his strange dress and funny language.

Ingsia could also recount the elaborate funeral he held for his father and mother in 1772. Since only prominent persons used palanquins, the fact that a thousand were present would suggest that all of the people in Canton were in attendance. He had been at



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the center of building this family empire from his youth. If only he had written those memories down, we would now have a much more colorful and vivid picture than the one presented here. Ili may have been a very desolate and lonely place, but Ingsia had a head full of glorious memories to keep him company.

## A MYSTERIOUS BROTHER

After Ingsia went to Ili, his younger brother Limsia (Yan Linshe) briefly continued the family business. Limsia was the sixth son of Texia, and the first reference we have to him is a tea contract in the Danish archives from 1759 (see Illustration 7). So far, this is the only reference we have that gives his name in Chinese characters and clearly connects it to his romanized names of “Limsia” or “Samsia.” In that year, Limsia sold Bohea tea to the DAC with a partner, Pinqua (Ni Pengguan 倪鹏官).<sup>76</sup>

The next reference to Limsia does not appear until the early 1770s.<sup>77</sup> By that time, however, his house was a regular abode of the chief tea agents from China’s interior.<sup>78</sup> His familiarity with these upcountry traders may be an indication that he was possibly one of the brothers who were sent into the interior each year to place the orders for tea and other merchandise. It is also possible that he gained his experience from the family junk trade to Southeast Asia. Whatever the case, we have no references to him in the 1760s.<sup>79</sup>

In the 1770s, Limsia shows up as the writer and cashier for his brother Ingsia in the Taihe Hang. He did some trade with the foreigners on his own, but in small volumes. Limsia sold Congo tea to the Dutch, and he traded a little with the DAC (see Schedule). He also had a couple of partners.

From 1770 to 1772, Limsia was in partnership with Ajouw. They sold tea, silk, Nanking linens and other items to the Dutch.<sup>80</sup> He also sold goods in partnership with Kousia, under Ingsia’s authority. This connection to Kousia helps to explain why he and Ingsia were exiled to Ili together.<sup>81</sup>

In 1773, the Dutch mention that Kousia’s pack house was in Limsia’s house when it was consumed by fire. Both of the merchants lost a great deal from that incident. However, it is not clear how Limsia fared during Kousia’s pack house fire in 1779. We know that there were inland agents staying in this house at the time from the province of “Chinson,” and we know

that Limsia regularly housed these agents when they came to Canton so it is possible that this was again Limsia’s house that was damaged.<sup>82</sup> Both Kousia and Limsia were trading regularly with the Armenians as well.<sup>83</sup>

Ingsia’s failure at the end of 1779, left the brothers in a very precarious situation. They had to deal with the irate Chinese officials and demanding foreign creditors who came knocking at the door. Because of the large debts the Taihe Hang had accumulated over many years, there were now no funds left in the treasury. Without funds or merchandise, there was basically nothing the brothers could do to pacify the foreign creditors other than to say they were sorry and hoped the Hoppo could find a way to repay them.

After Ingsia’s exile, Limsia briefly emerges again in 1782, when he was elected a Hong merchant. But he was broke within a year. The accumulated debts were more than any one business could withstand. Being the brother of Ingsia, Limsia was certain to have received a lot of pressure from the foreigners to compensate them in some way for the loss they had suffered from the Taihe Hang. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising to see the very quick demise of Limsia.<sup>84</sup>

As in his life, Limsia is a mystery in his death as well. There are two different dates given. Ch’en says he died on 2 September 1784 (which probably came from the English records), but the Yan Family genealogy lists his death on 14 November 1804.<sup>85</sup> The latter date is probably the correct one, but if so then who died in 1784? We know from the Danish records in 1759 that “Limsia” or “Samsia” (the “Ls” and “Ss” often look the same in the foreign records) are indeed referring to Yan Linshe, the sixth son of Texia. And we know from the Dutch, Danish, and English records from the 1770s and early 1780s that the names Lamsia, Longsia, Lisia, Lunshaw, Loncsia, Lampsia, Lunqua, and several other spellings are references to Ingsia’s brother and writer. It is thus assumed that they are all referring to Linshe, and that the death date that Ch’en records must refer to someone else.

## Illustration 7:

Tea Contract dated 27 August 1759 between Limsia (Yan Linshe) and Pinqua (Ni Pengguan) of the Sheli Hao and the Danish Asiatic Company, to deliver in 50 days, 560 piculs of the first sort of Bohea tea at 15.6 taels per picul, to be packed in 200 whole chests. (RAC: Ask 1141)



## MACAU E O DELTA DO RIO DA PÉROLA

## THE UNKNOWN SON

The only other son of Texia's twelve that we have any information on is Waysee. There are clear references to him being the brother of Ingsia and Limsia, but we have no Chinese characters for him, and his appellation does not correspond to any of the proper names of the brothers in Cantonese (see Yan Deshe Schedule). The foreigners were not always correct in their understanding of the relationships between the Chinese merchants, but Waysee does appear to be closely connected to the Yan house. He traded under Ingsia's authority, and he and Limsia are often mentioned in a similar context. We thus assume that he was one of the other eight brothers (excluding Swetia, Ingsia, Awue and Limsia), who were still alive at the time.<sup>86</sup>

So far the name Waysee has only appeared in the Dutch records from 1770 to 1773. From the studies that have been done using the Danish, English, Swedish, and French records, no references to an appellation like this has emerged. There is a "Wayqua" who appears in many of the foreign records at the same time as Waysee, but he was a different person.<sup>87</sup>

Like his brother Limsia, Waysee also appears to have done very little trade, either on his own account or with a partner. The lack of references to him in the foreign records may indicate that he was also one of the brothers who was sent into the interior each year to order and purchase goods for the Taihe Hang.<sup>88</sup> The first reference to him in 1770 shows him selling Congo tea to the Dutch on his own account. From 1771 to 1773, Waysee traded with Chetqua's youngest brother and writer, Quiqua (of the Chen family). They sold rhubarb, Bohea tea, and Congo tea. Chetqua's father had done some trade in the past with Texia, and Chetqua, of course, had been partners with Ingsia for many years. It is thus not surprising to see Waysee and Quiqua join forces as well.<sup>89</sup>

In December 1772, the Dutch asked one of the Canton linguists whether all the merchants with whom they were trading were in good standing with the Hoppo. The linguist answered that all merchants had paid their duties except Waysee and Quiqua. Because the Hoppo was demanding 2,000 Spanish dollars more from them, the two were unable to secure the Grand Chop for one of the VOC ships. In order to relieve his temporary financial burdens, the Dutch decided to advance him the money. Waysee, however, had actually requested

7,000 taels (ca. 9,460 Spanish dollars) from the Dutch, which suggests things were not going well for him.<sup>90</sup> He took the 2,000 Spanish dollars, paid the Hoppo, and procured the Grand Chop for the ship. On 11 March 1773, Waysee and Quiqua are listed in the Dutch records as one of the parties indebted to the VOC.<sup>91</sup>

Another reference that could possibly refer to Waysee after this time is an anonymous entry in the English records. In reference to 1784 and 1785, the English mention that the brother of Limsia had joined in business with Conqua. So far this is the last reference to surface showing a member of the Yan family trading in Canton. Nothing more is known of what became of Waysee or his brothers.<sup>92</sup>

## A FRIEND AND RELATIVE OF THE FAMILY, YAN XIANGSHE

Like some of the other members of the Yan family, it has been difficult to piece together the story of Yan Xiangshe (known as "Hongsia"). The first reference we have to a person like Hongsia comes from the Dutch records in 1751, when the appellation "Jongsha" appears. As is mentioned above, Texia died in this year and Tsja Hunqua was one of the persons who helped the sons. After the death, Jongsha suddenly appears as Tsja Hunqua's partner instead of Texia, but only for one year. Later references, however, suggest that this "Jongsia" was actually the Hongsia whom Texia had appointed as guardian of the family business.

In 1756, "Jonksia" appears again in the records, and this time he is mentioned as being a relative of Yan Ruishe (Swetia). Jonksia was now in financial difficulties, and Swetia had to help him out of his predicament.<sup>93</sup> Then when Swetia died in 1763, we see that "Hunksia" (about the same pronunciation in the Dutch language as "Jonksia") was actually an old trusted friend of Texia, who had apparently been involved in the business in some capacity all along.<sup>94</sup> Hongsia continued to help and guide Texia's sons in their trade throughout the 1760s, when he begins to show up extensively in the Swedish records sponsoring the Canton junks.

## HONGSIA AND THE CANTON JUNKS

There are thirty-seven different junks mentioned in the Swedish records as frequenting Canton in the 1760s and early 1770s, with many references to the



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Yans being connected to them. At least sixteen of them were being sponsored by Hongsia (Yan Xiangshe, see Schedule). If full-transparency could be attained, we would probably find him involved with many of the others as well, because no other trader appears more frequently in the Swedish records in connection to the junks than Hongsia.<sup>95</sup>

Hongsia regularly took out loans and bottomry bonds from the Swedish supercargoes and other foreigners to finance his junk trade to Southeast Asia. From 1764 to 1767, he borrowed from the Swedes around 7,000 to 12,000 taels each year on short-term two-month loans, at 2 percent interest per month. These funds were undoubtedly used to purchase cargos for the upcoming junk voyages (they left Canton in February or March). The loans were taken out in November and repaid in January. This delay would have given Hongsia time to sell the import cargos from the previous voyages, and repay the loans. In this way, Hongsia would not risk losing a voyage for the lack of insufficient funds to fill-out a cargo (see Table D).

From 1762 to 1772, Hongsia made many bottomry contracts with the foreigners. The going rate for Canton junks was 40 percent interest per voyage (lasting 8 to 12 months). The principal and interest were due a couple of months after the safe arrival of the junk to Canton. If there was damage to the cargo, then that amount could be subtracted from what was owed on the bottomry bond. Thus, the bonds were both a loan and an insurance policy (see Table E and Illustrations 8 and 9).<sup>96</sup>

In the financing of the junk trade, Hongsia pooled money together from not only the foreigners but the Hong merchants as well. Aside from Hongsia, other sponsors of the junks were Zey Monqua (Cai Wenguan 蔡文官), Zey Jauqua (Cai Yuguan), Tan Tietqua (Chen Jieguan) and Gau Samqua (see Schedule). A couple of these merchants were the same persons with whom Ingisia was associated in the foreign export trade so the commercial connections are much more complex and multi-faceted than previously thought.<sup>97</sup>

The junks that Hongsia financed frequented ports throughout Southeast Asia, including Cochin China, Caucan, Batavia, Cambodia, Siam, and Passiak (see Schedule). In 1766, however, two of the junks were lost at sea, *Sihing* and *Hingtay*. The Swedish supercargoes had previously consigned space aboard

the Junk *Sihing* to transport mahogany and sandalwood from Batavia to Canton (see Schedule), which Hongsia was undoubtedly involved with in some capacity. Because they never returned, the two bottomry bonds for these junks did not need to be repaid and have survived in the Swedish archives (see Illustrations 8 and 9). Hongsia's losses, however, were certain to have been much greater than the amounts covered by the bonds.

The goods that came in the junks from Southeast Asia played a very important role in the Yan family export trade. Enormous quantities of rattan and bamboo were needed for the packing of tea in the hulls of the foreign ships; large quantities of tin were needed to make tea canisters; lead from Southeast Asia was used to line the wooden tea chests so the tea would not become infected by moisture or acquire strange aromas; large quantities of Indonesian sago were needed for the packing of porcelain; and there was a strong demand for numerous other raw materials such as lacquer, dyes, and paints, which were used for the repair of the ships and for the making of export goods.<sup>98</sup>

In 1769, Hongsia helped the VOC arrange for the purchase and shipment of a cargo of zinc to Batavia aboard one of the Canton junks (explained below), and in 1772, he shows up in the Dutch records offering Tunkay and Songlo tea for sale. With his vast connections in Canton and his close relationship with Texia's sons, it would not have been difficult for him to trade in tea as well even though he was not a Hong merchant. Hongsia was undoubtedly handling large volumes of tea for the Canton junks so it would have been easy for him to offer some excess supply to the foreigners through his family connections.

On 31 December 1772, Hongsia appears in the Swedish records owing money for bottomry bonds that he had taken out for several junks (see Table E). This is the last reference we have to him in the foreign records. Nothing is known about how he fared when the Taihe Hang collapsed in 1780, or how he was affected by Ingisia's exile to Ili.

The brief but numerous references above to Hongsia show him to be one of the most prominent persons involved in the junk trade in Canton. He regularly took out loans from the foreigners to finance the junk voyages, which would not have happened unless he was well respected and had a good reputation. His junk trade helped to support and

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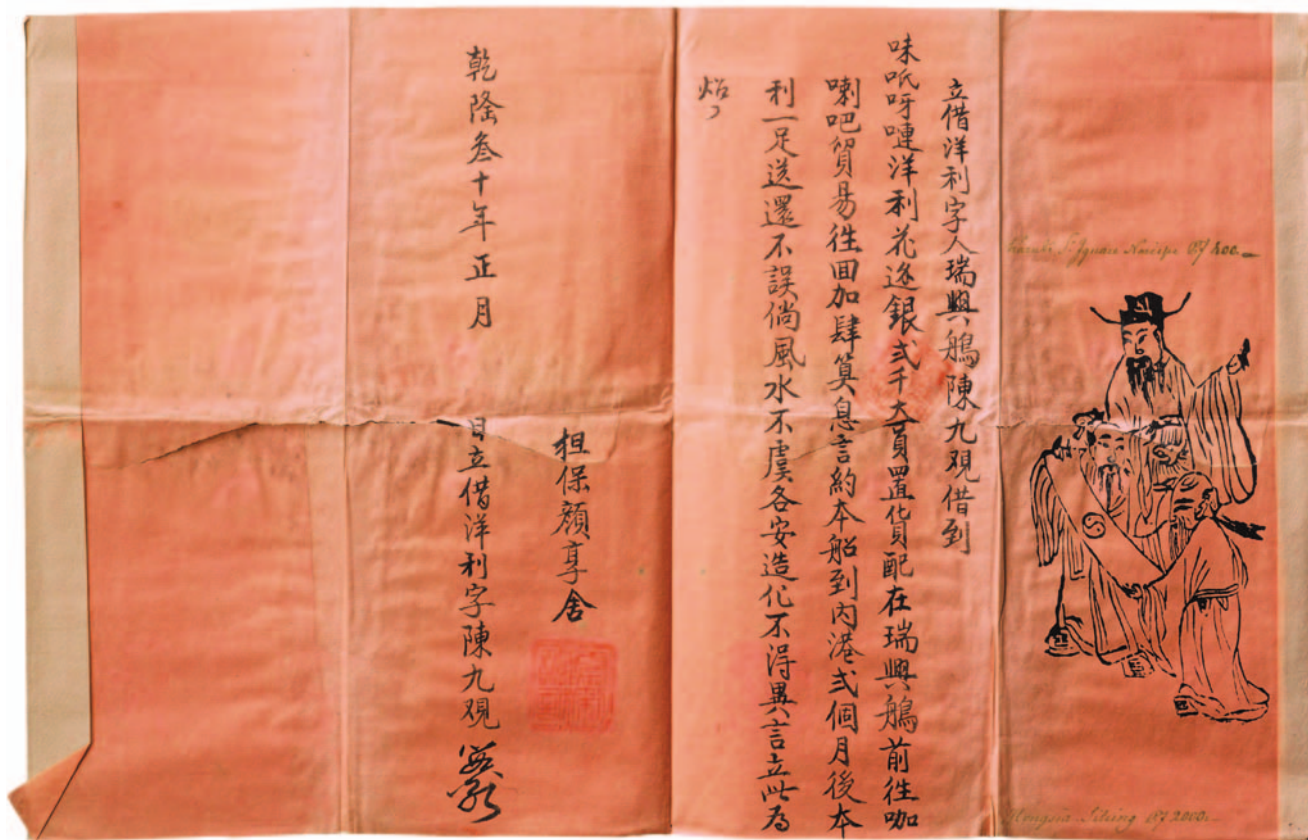


Illustration 8:  
Bottomry Contract dated January/February 1765 between Chen Jiuguan and the Swedish Supercargo Johan Abraham Grill for Junk *Sibing* (Ruixingzhou) sailing to Java. Hongsia (Yan Xiangshe) stood security for the loan of 2,000 Piasters, at 40 percent interest per voyage. The principal and interest were to be repaid two months after the junk returned to Canton. The notation above the figure shows that Grill borrowed 400 of the 2,000 Piasters from the Armenian Ignace Narcipe, who was in China at the time. (NM: F17)

supplement the extended Yan family foreign trade, and he himself worked with the Yan sons after Textia's death to move the business forward. He sometimes dealt with the Dutch personally on behalf of Textia's family to settle a matter, and he arranged for shipments to Batavia.

All of this activity mentioned above suggests that Hongsia probably had extensive and well-established connections (if not his own agents) throughout Southeast Asia. He could also tap into the Textia family network in China's interior, if necessary. It was these types of connections and resources that were needed to make the Yan family business successful. Thus, if we knew more about what happened to Hongsia and his trade after 1772, when Ingisia began running into trouble, we would likely also learn more of why the Taihe Hang collapsed. Hongsia's example clearly shows that we can no longer think about or evaluate the significance of the

foreign export trade in Canton simply on its own terms, as has been done in the past, but need to consider the influence of the junk trade as well.

#### CAPTAIN YAN LISHE AND THE CANTON JUNK TRADE

So far only one document has emerged from the foreign records that tells us about Yan Lishe 顏立舍. In 1767, he is mentioned on a bill of lading in the Dutch archives as Captain Lipsia, commander of the Junk *Eckthay* (Yitai 益泰, see Illustration 10). Although Lipsia is called a "Captain", he was probably the head merchant, who the foreigners often referred to as "Nachoda". The Chinese term for Lipsia is *chuanzhu* 船主, and other studies have shown that this person was the Nachoda. The *chuanzhu* was often directly related to the owner, and in this case, we know that

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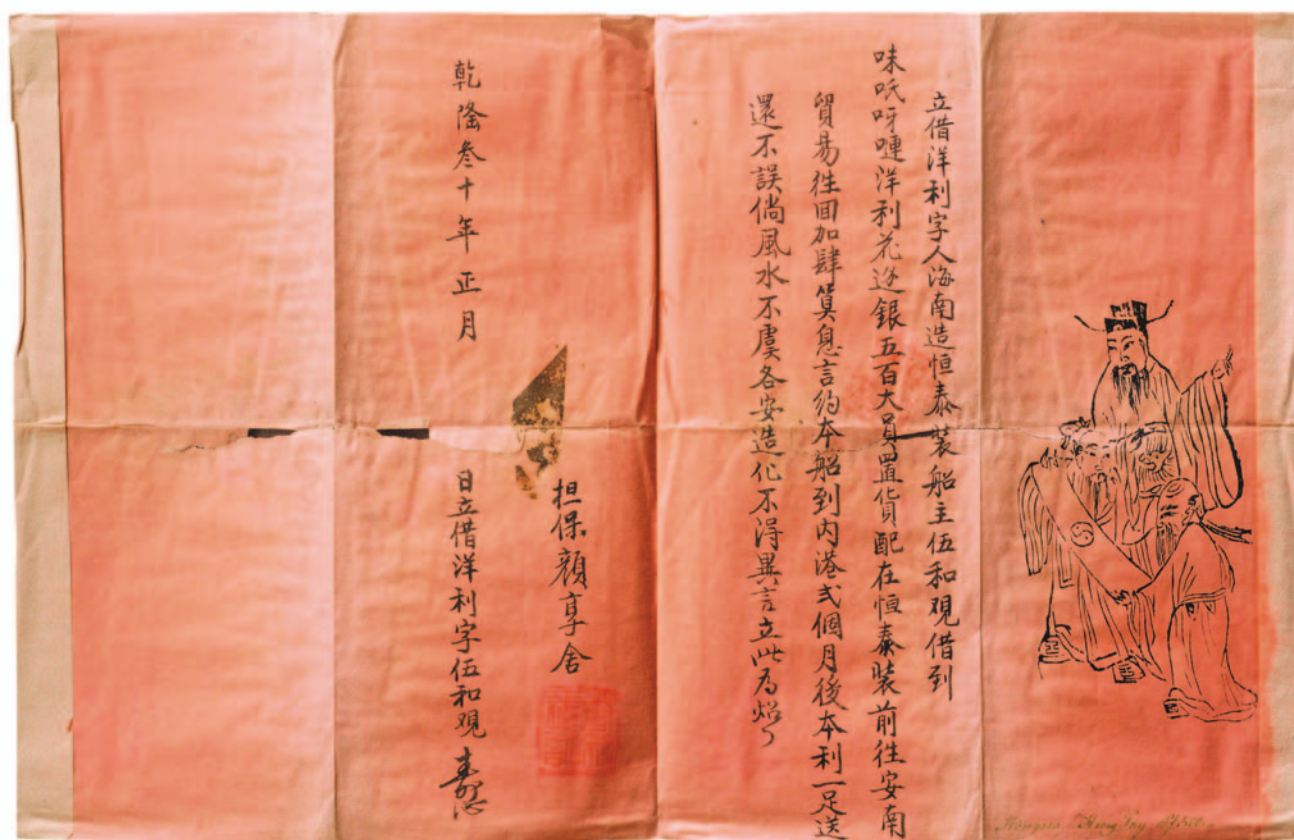


Illustration 9:

Bottomry Contract dated January/February 1765 between Wu Heguan 伍和觀 and the Swedish Supercargo Johan Abraham Grill for Junk *Hingtai* (Hengtai 恒泰) sailing to Cochin China (Vietnam). Hongsia (Yan Xiangshe) stood security for the loan of 500 Piasters, at 40 percent interest per voyage. The principal and interest were to be repaid two months after the junk returned to Canton. (NM: F17)

both Lipsia and Hongsia were from the Yan family. The *chuanzhu's* primary responsibilities were not the navigation of the vessel, as the term “captain” would suggest, but rather the care of the vessel, passengers and cargo.<sup>99</sup>

From other records that have survived, we know that this junk was in service from at least 1762 to 1772, but it is not known whether Captain Lipsia was the commander for all of those years. *Eckthay* sailed regularly from Canton to Cochin China and Batavia (see Schedule under Yan Xiangshe). On 23 February 1767, *Eckthay* left Canton bound for Batavia, carrying freight for the VOC. The Dutch regularly shipped goods to Batavia aboard several of the Canton junks, and some of them even flew the Dutch flag (see Illustration 11). *Eckthay* was carrying porcelain, Nanking linen, rhubarb, cinnabar, musk, liquorices, and bundles of empty linen sacks for the VOC.

In 1767 and 1768, there were two other Hong merchants who helped finance Junk *Eckthay's* voyages, Lysankong (Li Xianggong 李相公) and Zey Jauqua (Cai Yuguan). *Eckthay* operated out of the Mantack Hang (Wende Hang 文德行), which was managed by Giqua (Chen Jiuguan 陈九观). There were ten or eleven junks that were based in this house, and others were also freighting goods for the Dutch. Two of them were *Wingchon* (Yuanshun 源顺), Captain Hu Wongqua (Xu Wangguan 许旺官), which in 1767 left Canton a week after *Eckthay*, and was carrying a shipment of porcelain to Batavia for the VOC, and *Sihing* (Ruixing 瑞兴), which sailed regularly to Batavia until it sank in late 1765 or early 1766.<sup>100</sup>

After arriving at Batavia, the Canton junk traders were together again for a few months, while they unloaded their goods and took in return cargos. Many of the merchant houses kept agents in ports throughout



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Illustration 10:  
Bill of Lading dated 23 February 1767 of cargo shipped to Batavia aboard Junk *Eckthay* (Yitai) for the Dutch East India Company, signed by Captain Lipsia (Chuanzhu Yan Lishe). (NAH: Canton 130)

Southeast Asia to buy up goods for the return passages, and *Eckthay* was probably no exception. Captain Lipsia may also have had relatives living in Batavia, but even if he did not, he was certain to have had an agent there.<sup>101</sup>

In 1769, Hongsia helped the VOC arrange for the purchase and shipment of a cargo of zinc to Batavia aboard *Eckthay*. Hongsia sponsored this junk regularly from 1762 to 1772 (see Schedule), and took care of arranging the export cargos. When Junk *Eckthay* arrived at Bocca Tigris (Hu Men 虎门) in January 1769, the Dutch mention that Hongsia went down to meet it. He made arrangements for the zinc to be transported to the junk, and charged the Dutch 5 percent freight to Batavia.<sup>102</sup>

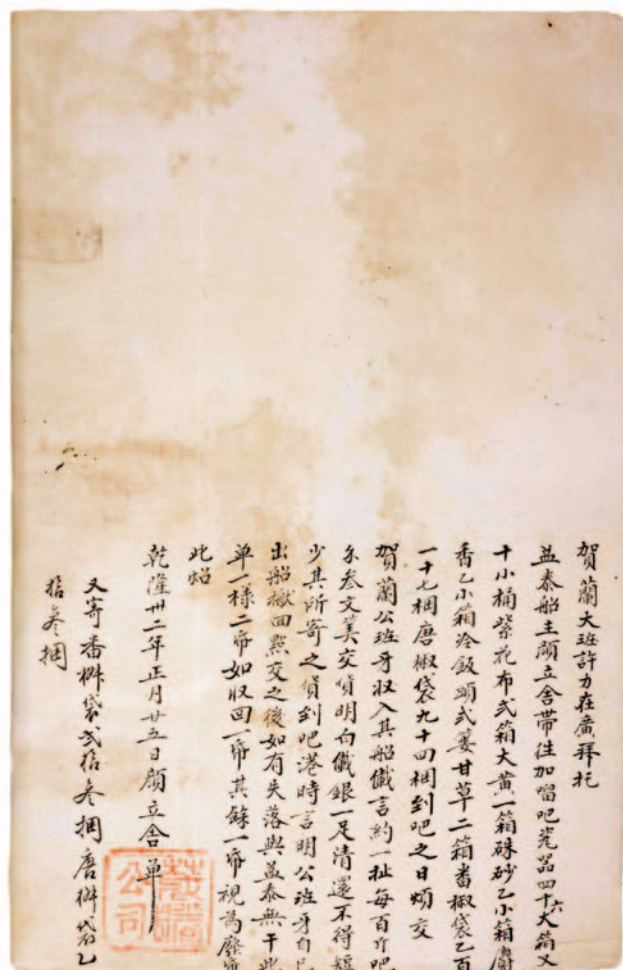
As is mentioned above, some of the goods that the junks brought to Canton from Southeast Asia were

needed for the foreign export trade so it was important for them to return by September or October if possible. In that way, the needed items could be unloaded and put immediately to use in the packing and preparing of the foreign export cargos. The foreign ships left Canton in December or January. If the junks were late in arriving, the Hong merchants would have to purchase the items they needed somewhere else at a higher price, which, of course, cut into profits.<sup>103</sup>

## THE YAN FAMILY IN SUMMARY

Because of a lack of historical data, previous studies of the Hong merchants were unable to clearly identify the relationship between the Yan family traders. As a result, we knew little about the influence the family had

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on the development of the port. The many examples on the preceding pages show clearly that the Yan family was directly connected to the dramatic rise in the volume of the trade in the mid-eighteenth century.

Texia and Simon took the business by storm in 1734, and within two years were in control of a lion's share. They quickly gained the confidence of all the foreign companies, and became one of the most respected and responsible houses in Canton. By sending their own agents into China's interior, the Yans gained better control over quality and quantity; by maintaining their own fleet of junks, they were able to ensure an adequate supply of input goods to keep the foreign trade moving forward; and by having a relative, Yan Xiangshe (Hongxia), closely involved with both the foreigners and junks at the same time, the family had resources

that few other houses in Canton could challenge. Texia's son, Awue, also branched out on his own in the 1750s, which helped to diversify the family enterprise.

All of these factors combined with the Yans own ability and know-how to compete, made the Taihe Hang one of the most successful enterprises in Canton. But by 1772, things were beginning to change. The accumulated debts continued to eat away at profits. Instead of those liabilities diminishing over time, they grew larger and more threatening as other partners failed and more debt had to be assumed.

The collapse of the Co-hong in 1772 resulted in the breakdown of former alliances and the waning of trust. Because of the strong demand for foreign capital to finance the trade, it was vital for all Chinese merchants in Canton to gain the trust of creditors. The Yans successfully borrowed large sums of capital from the foreigners throughout the 1760s and early 1770s. However, as the level of trust diminished with the collapse of the Co-hong and the breakdown of the Yan, Cai, and Chen family alliance, so did Ingsia's credit. Without sufficient profits, debts could not be paid.

Ingsia undoubtedly saw some of this coming, which may have been why he made the risky decision to contract for 25 percent of the EIC woollens each year beginning in the early 1770s. His options were clearly narrowing, and despite the heavy risks involved with the woolen-tea exchanges, he still had to meet his financial obligations. By this time, the Taihe Hang was probably carrying much more debt than Texia or Swetia ever had to deal with in the past. Thus, these drastic and desperate measures may have seemed more logical to him in these less advantageous times.

By the mid-1770s, the heavy debt-load was beginning to take its toll. In addition to the debts from former partners, Ingsia began owing large sums to the foreign companies. This in itself is a clear sign that the profits were now no longer sufficient to keep up with the liabilities. Bad management and the misuse or ill-use of funds can, of course, also lead to such an outcome. The enormous amount that Ingsia spent on the family's gravesite and burial in 1772, may perhaps be such an example. But for the most part, Ingsia does not appear in the foreign records as being a reckless spender. If he had gained such a reputation, few of the foreigners would have been willing to advance him money. Ingsia had to assume a portion of the debts of failed merchants (sometimes even non-partners) whether he liked it or



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Illustration 11:  
Drawing of Two Chinese Vessels in 1747/1748, one being an ocean going junk flying a Dutch flag. (KBS: M 280)



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not, and at the same time, had little or no control over those businesses or their outcomes.

Natural disasters also played a role in the downfall of the family trade. Limsia's house and his partner Kousia's pack house burned up in 1773, which put both of them in arrears. Kousia suffered the same fate again in 1779. Because he was so closely connected to the Yan's, this second disaster was certain to have affected them as well. The fact that both Ingsia and Kousia were held equally responsible and exiled together to Ili, also suggests that the Chinese authorities considered their successes and failures to go hand in hand.

What is missing from the analysis above is Hongsia's and Lipsia's roles in the Yan family business. We have no knowledge of what happened to the junk trade after 1772. Hongsia was at the center of this commercial activity all along; in helping Texia in the business in the 1740s; in advising the sons after Texia's death in the 1750s and 1760s; in stepping in now and then when needed to take care of a matter; and in keeping the Canton junks going. All of this involvement was certain to have had an enormous influence on the family's export trade, but we have only scattered and incomplete information to restructure that part of the story.

Nevertheless, despite all of the debts and despite the humiliating end of Ingsia and the Taihe Hang, we have to give the Yan merchants due credit. The family was one of the major forces behind keeping the Canton trade competitive so that prices would remain low and growth would be encouraged. The

Yans were prominent players who helped to keep pressure on quality so that foreign demand grew stronger over time rather than diminish. And the family played a significant role in keeping a constant flow of fresh capital coming into China so there were funds enough to finance the expansion. There were, of course, negative factors as well, some of which were beyond the family's control.

All in all, we would have to say that the Yan family merchants were one of the central pillars supporting both the junk trade to Southeast Asia and the foreign export trade to India and Europe. Their business helped to encourage more foreigners to come to China decade after decade, which led to Canton becoming one of the world's great seaports.

## A NOTE ABOUT THE CITATIONS

References that have a signature in Chinese characters of the name of the merchants are noted with the bracketed superscript "(s)" such as Ask 2190<sup>(s)</sup>. References that have the name of the business in Chinese characters are listed with a "(b)". References that have the superscript "(s/b)" have either a signature or business name. References that have only a chop and nothing else are noted with the superscript "(c)". Except for just a couple exceptions, the chops show the business names and not the merchants' personal names. References with an illegible signature or business name are noted with a "(#s)" or "(#b)", respectively. **RC**

## ABBREVIATIONS FOR SOURCES AND ARCHIVES

Ask	Danish Asiatic Company Archive in the National Archives, Copenhagen.	B 1758 fNe collection contains Dutch records from Canton, 1758.
Can	Canton Archive in the National Archives, The Hague. 1.04.20	KBS Kungliga Biblioteket (Royal Library), Stockholm
Ch'en	Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony. <i>The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843</i> . 2 vols. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990.	Lau Lau Fong 刘芳 and Zhang Wenqin 章文钦, eds. <i>Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dangan Huibian</i> 清代澳门中文档案汇编 (A Collection of Chinese Documents from the Qing Dynasty Concerning Macau), 2 vols. Macau 澳门: Aomen Jijin Hui 澳门基金会, 1999. (The numbers listed are the document numbers rather than page numbers.)
Cheong	Cheong, Weng Eang. <i>The Hong Merchants of Canton</i> . Copenhagen: NIAS-Curzon Press, 1997.	Liang Liang Jiabin 梁嘉彬. <i>Guangzhou Shisan Hang Kao</i> 广州十三行考 (Study of the Thirteen Hongs of Canton). 1937. Reprint, Taipei: 1960; Guangdong 广东: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe 广东人民出版社, 1999.
GL	Gothenburg, Landsarkivet (Provincial Archive). ÖIJ A406.	
Irvine	Charles Irvine Archive at the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota.	
JF	James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota. The	

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Lin	Lintrup family archive number 5893 in the RAC.	Noble	Noble, Charles Frederick. <i>A Voyage to the East Indies in 1747 and 1748</i> . London: T. Becket and P.A. Dehondt, 1762.
Morse	Morse, Hosea Ballou, <i>The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834</i> , 5 vols, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926. Reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966. (Numbers listed as: 1:266 refers to: vol. 1, page 266).	OIO	Oriental and India Office Library, London. The G/12/ series are the EIC Canton Diaries.
NAH	National Archives, The Hague.	RAC	Rigsarkivet (National Archives), Copenhagen
NM	Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godegårdsarkivet Archive F17.	SAA	Stadsarchief (Municipal Archive), Antwerp.
		VOC	Dutch East India Co. Archive in the National Archives, The Hague. 1.04.02.

## OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

A	amber	lu	illustering (fabric)
Ak	arrack	mp	mother of pearl (in this case, dust pearls)
An	Ankay tea	ms	muscus (musk)
Arm	Armenians	Nk	nankins
B	Bohea tea	Nl	Nanking linen
Bg	Bing tea	P	porcelain
br	binding rattan (used for packing the goods in the hulls)	pj	putchuk
Bx	borax	pl	pelangs (fabric)
C	Congo tea	pm	polemiten (fabric)
Can	short for "Canton"	pp	pepper
CC	Cochin China	pq	pekings (fabric)
CFI	French East India Company (Compagnie française des Indes)	ps	powder sugar
ci	cinnabar	psy	pordesoy (fabric)
cl	caneel (cinnamum)	pt	perpetts (fabric)
co	cochineel	PZZ	Patri Ziou Zioun tea
cp	camphur	R	rhubarb
cs	candied sugar	Rg	radix galingale
D	damask	rm	ras de Maroque (Marocco)
DAC	Danish Asiatic Company (Danske Asiatisk Compagnie)	Ro	Rottinger (rattan or cane)
EIC	English East India Company	Rx	radix china
F	fiador (Security Merchant)	S	Soulong tea
FR	factory Rent	sa	sago
G	gold	sat	satin
ga	galingale	sau	sauleane
gg	gumi gutti/gomme gutta	Sc	Souchon tea
GIC	Ostend General India Company	Sl	Songlo tea
gn	gorgoran (fabric)	SOIC	Swedish East India Company (Svenske Ostindische Compagnie)
Go	Gobie tea	spw	sappanwood
gs	golt gioris for saxiste (?)	SR	snor rottinger (rattan cord)
Gt	green tea	sta	star anise
H	Heysen/Hyson tea	su	sugar
HS	Hyson/Heysen Skin tea	sw	sandalwood
il	illustering (fabric)	tl	tørklæder (handkerchiefs)
J	Joosjes tea	tu	tuttenage (zinc)
jc	Japan copper	tx	textiles
K	Kampoy tea	Ty	Tunkay tea
Kt	Kautjon tea	VOC	Dutch East India Company (Verenige Oostindische Compagnie)
Kz	Keizer tea	w	woolens
KzH	Keizer-Hyson tea	z	silk
la	lakenen (worsted fabric)	zg	silk-geschilderde (painted silk)
ld	lead	zr	silk-raw (unprocessed)
LO	layover	ZZ	Ziou Zioun tea

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## NOTES

- 1 Henri Cordier, "Les Marchands Hanistes de Canton." *Toung Pao* 3 (1902): 281-315; and Liang Jiabin, 梁嘉彬. *Guangzhou Shisan Hang Kao* 广州十三行考 (Study of the Thirteen Hong of Canton) (1937; repr., Taipei: 1960; repr., Guangdong: Renmin Chubanshe, 1999).
- 2 Dermigny, Louis. *La Chine et l'Occident. Le Commerce a Canton au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle 1719-1833*. 4 vols. (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964); Ann Bolbach White, "The Hong Merchants of Canton" Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1967; Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990); and Cheong Weng Eang, *The Hong Merchants of Canton* (Copenhagen: NIAS-Curzon Press, 1997).
- 3 Huang Qichen 黄启臣 and Pang Xinping 庞新平, *Ming-Qing Guangdong Shangren* 明清广东商人 (Guangdong Merchants in the Ming and Qing Dynasty) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Jingji Chubanshe, 2001): 250-259.
- 4 The compiling and writing of this history, and a research trip to Belgium, were funded by a Research Scholarship from the Cultural Institute of the Macao Special Administrative Region Government.
- 5 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): 1:247, 255; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 249-250.
- 6 National Archives, The Hague (NAH): VOC 2410.
- 7 The journal from the first SOIC ship in 1732 has been published in Paul Hallberg and Christian Koninckx, eds., *A Passage to China*, by Colin Campbell (Gothenburg: Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, 1996). The journal from the first Danish ship can be found in the Rigsarkivet (National Archives), Copenhagen (RAC): Soe 368B "Journal for Skibet *Cron Printz Christian* på rejsen til Kina 1730-1732". The earliest detailed Danish records begin in 1734.
- 8 RAC: Ask 2190; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 147, 249-250.
- 9 Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:255.
- 10 Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:258.
- 11 The list of failed merchants is much too long to enter here. For examples, see: Morse, *Chronicles*; Liang, *Shisan Hang Kao*; White, "Hong Merchants"; Ch'en, *Insolvency*; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*; and Paul A. Van Dyke, "Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690-1845" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2002).
- 12 Oriental and India Office Library, London (OIO): G/12/21.
- 13 OIO: G/12/25.
- 14 Stadsarchief (Municipal Archive), Antwerp (SAA): IC 5757.
- 15 Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:217.
- 16 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 39, 71 n.69, 82.
- 17 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 147, 154, 186 n.113; and Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godegårdsarkivet Archive (NM): F17; and Van Dyke, "Port Canton", Appendixes O, P, and Q.
- 18 In the off-season, the Danes left the furniture and other inventory in the factory in the care of Texia and Simon as well. RAC: Ask 1119, 1120, and 1121.
- 19 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 57.
- 20 RAC: Ask 1116.
- 21 NAH: Canton 1, 2, 69; RAC: Ask 1118; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 148, 251.
- 22 NAH: Canton 69; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 81.
- 23 For a more extensive account of the risks involved in the trade, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Five.
- 24 NAH: Canton 69; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 81.
- 25 The two ships were wrecked on the way to China. C. Koninckx, *The First and Second Charters of the Swedish East India Company (1731-1766)* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert Publishing Co., 1980) "Expeditions" listed at the back. For the sizes of the different company ships at Canton, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton", Chapter One and Appendixes.
- 26 James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota (JF): Charles Irvine Papers.
- 27 RAC: Ask 891, 1126, 1128, 2194-2204; NAH: Canton 3, 5, 9-13, 70; Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:288 and 5:1, 2, 8; Charles Frederick Noble, *A Voyage to the East Indies in 1747 and 1748* (London: T. Becket and P.A. Dehondt, 1762): 289; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 149.
- 28 RAC: Ask 891, 1123-1124, 2194-2202; and NAH: Canton 12-13.
- 29 RAC: Ask 896, 1129-1131, 2205-2206; Gothenburg, Landsarkivet (Provincial Archive) (GL): ÖIJ A406; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 149; and *Yanshi Jiapu*.
- 30 For a more extensive analysis of the reasons behind Chinese merchants not keeping account books, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Five.
- 31 For examples of Hunqua making these arrangements with the Dutch, see NAH: Canton 71-79; and Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters*, vol. I, 1762 (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2004).
- 32 NAH: Canton 72; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 140; and Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 273.
- 33 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 149; Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 273; and GL: ÖIJ A406.
- 34 RAC: Ask 1135, 2209b; NAH: Canton 25; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 123 n.59 and 291 n.29.
- 35 RAC: Ask 1135, 2209b; NAH: Canton 25; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 123 n.59 and 291 n.29.
- 36 NAH: Canton 7, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26 and VOC 4382, 4387; JF: B 1758 fNe; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 123 n.59. For a more detailed account of these smuggling activities in Canton, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Six.
- 37 NAH: "dagregisters" and "resoluties" from 1730s to 1760s; and Russell-Wood, A.J.R. "An Asian Presence in the Atlantic Bullion Carrying Trade, 1710-50." In *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 17 (2001): 148-167.
- 38 RAC: Ask 1135, 2209b; and NAH: Canton 22.
- 39 NAH: Canton 15, 16, 19, 71 and VOC 4387, 4388; Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 273; and GL: ÖIJ A406.
- 40 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 273; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:86, 100.
- 41 RAC: Ask 1134, 1144.
- 42 RAC: Ask 1135.
- 43 In 1764 and 1765, "Avou" appears in the Swedish records taking out a bottomry contract for the Canton Junk *Samkonghing* (Sanguangxing 三广兴), but he may have been a different person. This junk was being sponsored by Ma Guohu 马国胡 and the evidence seems to suggest that this "Avou" is a reference to him rather than to Yan Awue. NM: F17.
- 44 RAC: Ask 1143.
- 45 NAH: Canton 72-74.
- 46 RAC: Ask 1141, 1146.
- 47 NAH: VOC 4389. 2 percent interest per month on short-term loans was common in Canton throughout the eighteenth century. For more extensive coverage of bottomry contracts, business loans, and interest rates, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Five.
- 48 NAH: Canton 71.
- 49 RAC: Ask 1143, 1145.
- 50 See Tables A, B, C; GL: ÖIJ A406; Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:79 and Tables at the end of volumes 1 and 5.
- 51 For an example of Tsja Hunqua attempting to balance the Dutch imports and exports in 1764, see NAH: Canton 73.
- 52 NAH: Canton 72.
- 53 NAH: Canton 72; and *Yanshi Jiapu*.



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- 54 NAH: Canton 72.
- 55 NAH: Canton 26 and 27; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 150-155.
- 56 NAH: Canton 72 and 73. For more extensive coverage of the money market in Canton, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Five.
- 57 For a list of all the loans taken out by the Chinese merchants in the 1760s from the Swedish supercargoes, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton" Chapter Five and Appendixes.
- 58 NAH: Canton 72 and 73; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:125.
- 59 Morse, *Chronicles*, Vols. 2 and 5 *passim*. Huang and Pang have assembled a list of all the English cargos that Ingsia (Yngshaw) was known to have supplied. These figures, however, were taken from Morse. Huang and Pang, 明清广东商人, 250-259.
- 60 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 274; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:152, 158, 159, 168, 186, 189.
- 61 Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:135-137.
- 62 NAH: Canton 28, 74; and VOC 4397.
- 63 NAH: Canton 29, 32, 75-77.
- 64 NAH: Canton 81.
- 65 NAH: Canton 39-42; and VOC 4415, 4418, 4419.
- 66 NAH: Canton 81.
- 67 These cargo estimates were taken from Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Appendix M.
- 68 NAH: VOC 4394, 4556.
- 69 For a discussion of the risks involved with the practice of truck, see Ch'en, *Insolvency*; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*; and Van Dyke, "Port Canton."
- 70 Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:186, 189.
- 71 NAH: Canton 84.
- 72 Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:26-27.
- 73 NAH: Canton 41.
- 74 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 152-153.
- 75 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 275; and NAH: Canton 82, 88, 89, 243 and VOC 4421.
- 76 RAC: Ask 1141, 2214.
- 77 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 89.
- 78 NAH: Canton 82.
- 79 NAH: Canton 25; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 123 n.59.
- 80 NAH: Canton 34, 35, 80 and VOC 4406, 4408, 4410.
- 81 NAH: Canton 82.
- 82 NAH: Canton 82, 88, 89, 243 and VOC 4421.
- 83 NAH: Canton 88; Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 278.
- 84 RAC: Ask 1190; Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 278-280; Liang, *Shisan Hang*, 221; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 114; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:82.
- 85 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 278; and *Yanshi Jiapu*.
- 86 NAH: Canton 80; and *Yanshi Jiapu*.
- 87 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 186-192; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 85.
- 88 NAH: Canton 25; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 123 n.59
- 89 NAH: Canton 34, 35, 36, 79, 80, 82; and VOC 4408.
- 90 NAH: Canton 82.
- 91 NAH: Canton 36, 82; and VOC 4411.
- 92 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 278.
- 93 NAH: Canton 7, 16, 22.
- 94 NAH: Canton 72.
- 95 For a complete list of the thirty-seven junks and their owners, managers, sponsors, bottomry bonds, and other transactions, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton."
- 96 For a more detailed analysis of the junk bottomry contracts, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Five.
- 97 Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Five.
- 98 For a more thorough analysis of the relationship between junk cargos and the export trade, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Five.
- 99 Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company* (Providence: Foris Publications, 1988), 109.
- 100 The information about Captain Lipsia and the Canton junks, was taken from NAH: Canton 130, 131; and Van Dyke, "Port Canton", Appendixes O, P and Q.
- 101 For a discussion of the junk trade and Chinese community at Batavia, see Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company* (Providence: Foris Publications, 1988).
- 102 NAH: Canton 32, 78.
- 103 For a discussion of the Canton junks, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton", Chapter Five.

## MACAU AND THE PEARL RIVER DELTA

## 1) Yan Deshe 颜德舍

Proper Name: Yan Liangzhou 颜亮洲

TRADE NAMES: *Texja, Taxja, Taxiar, Taxia, Taxier, Tsetsyau, Tuxsha, Tuckshaw, Tuxshau, Tucksia, Tucksai, Taqua, Tacqua, Tacqvoa, Tacquoa, Tacqua, Tecqua, Tauqua, Tecksia, Oude (Old) Texia, Tietsja, Tietja, Teixia, Tetsia, Tietjouu, Tietjauw, Fan Texia, Tan Texia.*

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA		SOURCES
Born .....	1697, Jan 16 .....	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Date first mentioned in the records .....	1734, Aug/Sep .....	Cheong 147; Ask 2190
Date last reported trading in Canton .....	1750, Oct 26 .....	Ask 1128
Died: 54 years old .....	1751, Jun 11 .....	Cheong 253; <i>Yanshi Jiapu</i> ; Ask 1129
Years trading in Canton .....	1734-1751 .....	see sources below

SCHEDULE OF TRADING ACTIVITIES IN CANTON AND SOURCES					
YEAR	PARTNERS LISTED IN RECORDS	HONG	Co.	PRODUCTS OFFERED FOR SALE	NAME FOUND IN THESE SOURCES
1734	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	.....	DAC	F, see Table	Cheong 147; Ask 2190
1736	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	.....	DAC	F, FR, P, tea	Ask 1116
1736	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)/ <i>Honqua</i>	.....	EIC	F, tea, G, sa	Cheong 249; Liang 103; Morse 1:247, 255, 258
1737	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	.....	DAC	F, FR, B, N	Ask 1117
1737	.....	.....	EIC	w	Morse 1:266; Cheong 147
1737	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	.....	VOC	tea, P, la, co, B	VOC 2410
1738	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	<i>Tising</i>	EIC	.....	OIO:G/12/45; Cheong 147
1738	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	Taihe	DAC	F, see Table	Ask 879a, 1118 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 2192; VOC 2438
1738	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	.....	SOIC	co, zt	Irvine
1738	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	.....	VOC	.....	VOC 2438
1739	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2193; Cheong 147
1739	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 1:266
1740	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	Taihe	DAC	F, FR, Sl, B, C, H, Bg, Kz, KH, Pc, C, ZZ, R	Ask 1119 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 1120 <sup>(sbc)</sup>
1741	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	Taihe	DAC	B, D, pq, P, ps, Sl, Bg, C, H, R	Lin 5893; Ask 1120 <sup>(sbc)</sup>
1741	.....	.....	EIC?	.....	Morse 1:278
1742	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	.....	VOC	P, pp, la, tin, B, C, Pc, Sc, Sl, pm, ld	Can 1
1743	.....	.....	EIC?	.....	Morse 5:1, 2
1743	<i>Simon</i> (Huang Ximan)	.....	VOC	C, pp, D, sat, gn, pqt. P, pp, ct, ptj, Sc, Sl, H, Pc	Can 2, 69
1744	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2194-2196
1744	.....	.....	SOIC	Sc	Irvine
1744	.....	.....	VOC	P, pp, tea	Can 3, 70
1745	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2195-2196
1745	.....	.....	SOIC	.....	Irvine
1745	.....	.....	VOC	.....	Can 5
1746	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1124, 2197-2198
1746	.....	.....	VOC	P	Can 5

## MACAU E O DELTA DO RIO DA PÉROLA

YEAR	PARTNERS LISTED IN RECORDS	HONG	Co.	PRODUCTS OFFERED FOR SALE	NAME FOUND IN THESE SOURCES
1747	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2199
1747	.....	.....	EIC?	.....	Morse 5:8; Noble 289
1748	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 891, 1126, 2200, 2201
1748	<i>Tan Soequa</i>	.....	VOC	zt, Sc, H. jc, Pj, pw, su, Nk, Sl	Can 9, 10
1749	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1127, 2202
1749	<i>Tsja Honqua</i>	.....	VOC	pp, G, tea	Can 12
1750	<i>Siuqua &amp; Bouqueiqua</i>	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1128, 2203, 2204
1750	.....	.....	EIC	zr, ld, pt, tea?	Morse 1:288, 5:8
1750	<i>Thaay Hongqua</i>	.....	VOC	pp, G, tin, zt, tx, cp, zr, sat	Can 13
1751	<i>Thaay Hongqua</i>	.....	VOC	G	Can 13

FAMILY MEMBERS				
RELATION:	ALIASES	NAME	CHINESE	SOURCES
Son no. 1	<i>Swetia</i>	Yan Ruishe	颜瑞舍	Ask 1147; Can 72, 80;
	.....	Yan Shirui	颜时瑞	GL:ÖIJ A406; <i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 2	<i>Inksia</i>	Yan Yingshe	颜瑛舍	Ask 1147; Can 72, 80, 81;
	.....	Yan Shiyang	颜时瑛	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 3	( <i>Awue?</i> )	Yan Shiqiu	颜时球	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 4	( <i>Awue?</i> )	Yan Shixun	颜时珣	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 5	.....	Yan Shicong	颜时聰	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 6	<i>Limsia</i>	Yan Linshe	颜琳舍	Can 80
	.....	Yan Shilin	颜时琳	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 7	.....	Yan Shiyao	颜时瑶	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 8	.....	Yan Shixuan	颜时璇	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 9	.....	Yan Shili	颜时理	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 10	.....	Yan Shichen	颜时琛	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 11	.....	Yan Shishan	颜时珊	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Son no. 12	.....	Yan Shiheng	颜时珩	<i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Unidentified son	.....	Yan <i>Waysee</i>	颜 — (he is one of the sons above)	Can 80
Nephew	<i>Kinqua</i>	Shi Mengjing	石梦黥	Ch'en 275; Can 27
Relative	<i>Hongsia</i>	Yan Xiangshe	颜享舍	Can 72; Ask 1141
Relative	<i>Tanzinqua</i>	Hanqua?		Ask 1190
Relative?	<i>Lipsia</i>	Yan Lishe	颜立舍	Can 130

ASSOCIATES AND BUSINESSES				
ASSOCIATES	YEARS	NAME	CHINESE	SOURCES
<i>Simon</i>	1734-1743	Huang Ximan	黄锡满	see references above
<i>Hongsia</i>	1750s-1760s	Yan Xiangshe	颜享舍	Can 72, Ask 1141
<i>Tan Soequa</i>	1748, 1750	Chen Shouguan	陈寿观 (alias <i>Siuqua</i> )	Can 9, 10
<i>Bouqueiqua</i>	1750	Li Kiaguan	黎开观	see references above
<i>Tsja Hunqua</i>	1749-1751	Cai — —	蔡 — —	Can 12, 13
BUSINESSES				
1) <i>Tising, T'ai-sing</i>	Taishun Hang?		泰顺行?	Cheong 147, 154, 186 n.113; NM: F17
2) <i>Taiho, Tay-ho</i>		Taihe Hang	泰和行	see references above



## MACAU AND THE PEARL RIVER DELTA

## 2) Yan Ruishe 颜瑞舍

Proper Name: Yan Shirui 颜时瑞

TRADE NAMES: *Swetia, Sweetia, Svicia, Svissia, Ngan Suicia, Gon Swetia, Souitsia, Sizia, Suesia, Suetia, Souitsia.*

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA	SOURCES
Born: Yan Deshe's no. 1 son .....	1720, Aug 24 ..... <i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Date first mentioned in the records .....	1751, Aug 11 (called "Texia's son") ..... Ask 1129
Date last reported trading in Canton .....	1763, Mar 15 ..... Can 72
Died: 42 years old .....	1763, Mar 16 ..... <i>Yanshi Jiapu</i> ; Can 72; Ask 1147
Years trading in Canton .....	1752-1763 ..... see sources below

SCHEDULE OF TRADING ACTIVITIES AND SOURCES					
YEAR	PARTNERS	HONG	Co.	PRODUCTS OFFERED FOR SALE	SOURCES
1752	Beaukeyqua	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1130 <sup>(c)</sup> , 1131 <sup>(c)</sup> , 2205, 2206
1752	.....	SOIC	B	GL: ÖIJ A406 <sup>(b)</sup>	
1752	.....	Taihe	EIC	tea	Morse 5:8
1753	.....	Taihe	EIC	B	GL: ÖIJ A406 <sup>(b)</sup>
1753	.....	Taihe	CFI	B	GL: ÖIJ A406 <sup>(b)</sup>
1753	.....	Taihe	VOC	B	GL: ÖIJ A406 <sup>(b)</sup>
1753	Beaukeyqua	Taihe	SOIC	tea	GL: ÖIJ A406 <sup>(b)</sup>
1753	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 2207, 2208, GL: ÖIJ A406 <sup>(b)</sup>
1754	Beaukeyqua	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 2209a, 1134 <sup>(sbc)</sup>
1754	.....	.....	EIC	H	Morse 5:13
1755	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 2209b, 1135 <sup>(sbc)</sup>
1755	.....	.....	EIC	P,sa	Cheong 149; Morse 5:34, 35
1756	Beaukeyqua	Taihe	DAC	.....	Ask 1136 <sup>(sbc)</sup>
1757	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4381
1757	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1137 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 2210
1757	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 5:64
1758	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4382; JF: B 1758 fNe
1758	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1138a-b <sup>(c)</sup> , 1139 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 2211
1758	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 5:68
1759	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1139-1141 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 1142, 1144 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 2214-2215
1759	Tsja Hunqua, Chetqua	Taihe	VOC	.....	VOC 4384 <sup>(sbc)</sup>
1759	.....	.....	EIC	tea	Morse 5:79
1760	Schequa (Seyhunqua)	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1143 <sup>(c)</sup> , 1145 <sup>(c)</sup> , 2216-2217
1760	see Table	Taihe	VOC	see Table	VOC 4387 <sup>(sbc)</sup>
1760	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 5:86, 91
1761	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1146 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 2218
1761	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4389
1761	.....	.....	EIC	tea?	Morse 5: 100
1762	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1148a <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 1149 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 2220-2222
1762	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4394

## MACAU E O DELTA DO RIO DA PÉROLA

ASSOCIATES AND BUSINESSES				
ASSOCIATES	YEARS	NAME	CHINESE	SOURCES
<i>Beau Khiqua</i>	1752-1758	Li Kaiguan	李开官	GL:ÖIJ A406
<i>Tsja Hunqua</i>	1758-1762	Cai <i>Hunqua</i>	蔡 — —	see Table C
<i>Chetqua</i>	1758-1762	Chen Jieguan	陈捷官	see Table C
BUSINESSES				
1) Taihe Hang		Taihe Hang	泰和行	see references above

## 3) Yan Yingshe 颜瑛舍

Proper Name: Yan Shiying 颜时瑛

TRADE NAMES: *Inksia, Inksja, Inxia, Intchia, Inksi, Incksia, Ingsia, Inghaw, Yngshaw, Ynshaw, Yongshaw, Ngan Hingsia.*

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA	SOURCES
Born: 2 <sup>nd</sup> son of Yan Deshe .....	1727, Jun 03 ..... <i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Date first mentioned in the records .....	early 1750s ..... Cheong 98, 100
Date last reported trading in Canton .....	1780, Oct 05 ..... Can 89
Banished to Ili .....	1780, Oct 05 ..... Can 89
Died: 64 years old .....	1792, Apr 10 ..... <i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Years trading in Canton .....	1750s-1780 ..... see sources below

SCHEDULE OF TRADING ACTIVITIES AND SOURCES					
YEAR	PARTNERS	HONG	Co.	PRODUCTS OFFERED FOR SALE	SOURCES
1750s	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Cheong 98, 124 n62
1759	.....	Taihe	EIC	z	Cheong 150
1763	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1147, 2223-2226
1763	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4394
1764	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1152-1153a <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 2227-2228
1764	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 5:203
1764	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4396, 4397
1765	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1154 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 1155, 2229-2230
1765	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4397; Morse 5:125
1766	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1156a <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 1156b, 2231
1766	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4399
1767	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Lau 1326; Ask 1160 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 2232, 2233
1767	.....	Taihe	VOC	see Table	Lau 1326; Can 229 <sup>(bc)</sup>
1768	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1162 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 2234
1768	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4402
1768	<i>Si Hunqua, Chetqua</i>	.....	EIC	zr	Morse 5:135, 205
1769	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2235
1769	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4405
1770	.....	Taihe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1167 <sup>(sbc)</sup> , 2236-2237
1770	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4406
1770	.....	.....	EIC	w	Cheong 185 n99

## MACAU AND THE PEARL RIVER DELTA

YEAR	PARTNERS	HONG	Co.	PRODUCTS OFFERED FOR SALE	SOURCES
1771	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4408
1771	.....	.....	EIC	zr,w,Ty,Sl,HS,H,B	Cheong 185 n99; Morse 5:152
1772	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1168-1169, 2238-2239
1772	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4410
1772	.....	.....	EIC	z,zr,w,tea	Cheong 185 n99; Morse 5:158-160, 207
1773	.....	.....	DAC	Nk,B,psy,sat,plg,C,z	Ask 1170
1773	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4411
1773	.....	.....	EIC	w,Sl,HS,H,B,Ty	Morse 5:168
1774	.....	.....	DAC	F,B,R,Nk,Pc,tu,HS,H,Ty	Ask 1170
1774	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4412
1774	.....	.....	EIC	w,ld,pp,sw,B	Cheong 185-186 n99; Morse 5:189
1775	.....	.....	DAC	B,C,tu,ld,Nk,Pc,HS,H, PcZZ,Ty,Sl	Ask 1173
1775	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4413
1775	.....	.....	EIC	tea	Morse 2:15, 436
1776	.....	.....	DAC	F,B,ld,tu,T,C,Nk,K,H, Ty,Sl,HS,S	Ask 1175
1776	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4414
1776	.....	.....	EIC	w,ld,tea	Morse 2:6, 436
1777	.....	.....	DAC	R,P,tu,ZZ,Pc,K,HS,PZZ	Ask 1177
1777	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4415
1777	.....	.....	EIC	tea	Morse 2:26, 27, 436
1778	.....	Tay-ho	DAC	ZZ,ld,H,tu,R,C	Ask 1179
1778	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4418
1778	.....	.....	EIC	w,B,Sl,Ty,H	Morse 2:28, 436
1779	.....	.....	DAC	tin,tu,ld,K,R	Ask 1180
1779	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4419
1779	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 2:437
1780	.....	Tayho	DAC	C,K	Ask 1183
1780	see Table	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4421
1780	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 2:54-55

## ASSOCIATES AND BUSINESSES

ASSOCIATES	YEARS	NAME	CHINESE	SOURCES
<i>Tsja Hunqua</i>	1763-1770	<i>Cai Hunqua</i>	蔡 __ __	see Table C
<i>Tsja Anqua</i>	1770-1772	<i>Cai Anqua</i>	蔡 __ __	see Table C
<i>Samqua</i>	1770-1772			see Table C
<i>Tsja Thaayqua</i>	1772-1775	<i>Cai Thaayqua</i>	蔡 __ __	Can 35, 37, 38, 83; VOC 4412, 4413
<i>Tsja Tsjonqua</i>	1778-1780	Cai Xianguan	蔡相官	VOC 4418, 4419, 4421
<i>Tsja Munqua</i>	1778-1780	Cai Wenguan	蔡文官	VOC 4418, 4419, 4421
<i>Tan Chetqua</i>	1763-1771	Chen Jieguan	陈捷官	see Table C
<i>Tan Tingqua</i>	1772-1775	Chen Zhenguan?	陈镇官	see Table C
<i>Tan Tsjouqua</i>	1778-1780	Chen Zuguan	陈祖官	VOC 4418, 4419, 4421
<i>Tan Koqua</i>	1770s	Chen Keguan	陈科官	Can 41



## MACAU E O DELTA DO RIO DA PÉROLA

BUSINESSES			
Tayho Hang	Taihe Hang	泰和行	see references above and Liang 221
writers	<i>Kinquá, Quinquá, Kooqua, Keequa, Kiouqua</i>		Can 29, 32, 39-42, 75-77, 81, 85; VOC 4415, 4418, 4419.
cashier	<i>Limsia</i> Yan Linshe	顏琳舍	Cheong 89, 98; Ch'en 278; Can 85; White 78-79; Morse 2:82

4) Yan *Awue* 顏 \_\_ \_\_

TRADE NAMES: *Avue, Aveau, Avou, Ao, Avuo, Awus, Awous, Aou, Aoue, Awu, Avoue*

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA	SOURCES
Date first mentioned in the records .....	1749 ..... see references below
Date last reported trading in Canton .....	1760 ..... see references below
Years trading in Canton .....	1749-1760 ..... see references below

SCHEDULE OF TRADING ACTIVITIES AND SOURCES					
YEAR	PARTNERS	HONG	CO.	PRODUCTS OFFERED FOR SALE	SOURCES
1749	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1127, 2202
1750	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1128, 2203-2204
1751	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1129
1752	.....	Houde Hang	DAC	see Table	Ask 1130-1131 <sup>(c)</sup> , 2205-2206
1753	.....	Erlai Dian	DAC	see Table	Ask 1132, 2207-2208; GL: ÖIJ A406 <sup>(b)</sup>
1753	.....	Erlai Dian	SOIC	tea	GL: ÖIJ A406 <sup>(b)</sup>
1754	.....	Erlai Dian	DAC	see Table	Ask 1134 <sup>(bc)</sup> , 2209a
1755	.....	Houde Hang	DAC	see Table	Ask 1135 <sup>(bc)</sup> , 2209b
1756	.....	Houde Hang	DAC	see Table	Ask 1136 <sup>(bc)</sup>
1757	.....	Houde Hang	DAC	see Table	Ask 1137 <sup>(bc)</sup> , 2210
1758	.....	Houde Hang	DAC	see Table	Ask 1138 <sup>(c)</sup> , 1139 <sup>(bc)</sup> , 2211-2213
1758	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4382; JF: B 1758 fNe
1759	.....	Houde Hang	DAC	see Table	Ask 1139-1140, 1141 <sup>(bc)</sup> , 1142, 1144 <sup>(bc)</sup> , 2214-2215
1760	.....	.....	DAC	tea	Ask 1143

BUSINESSES				
BUSINESSES	YEARS	NAME	CHINESE	SOURCES
	1750s	Houde Hang	厚德行	Ask 1130-1131 <sup>(c)</sup> , 1135-1144 <sup>(bc)</sup>
	1750s	Erlai Dian	而来店	Ask 1134 <sup>(bc)</sup> ; GL: ÖIJ A406 <sup>(b)</sup>

## MACAU AND THE PEARL RIVER DELTA

## 5) Yan Linshe 颜琳舍

PROPER NAME: Yan Shilin 颜时琳

TRADE NAMES: *Limsia, Samsia, Lamsia, Lampsia, Lamshaw, Lunshaw, Lungua, Longsia, Lonesia, Loncsia, Lunsia, Lissia, Lisia, Lysia.*

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA	SOURCES
Born: 6 <sup>th</sup> son of Yan Deshe .....	1733, Jan 16 ..... <i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Date first mentioned in the records .....	1759, Aug 25 ..... Ask 1141
Date last reported trading in Canton .....	1782 ..... Ask 1190; Morse 2:82
Died: 71 years old .....	1804, Nov 14 ..... (2 Sep 1784?, see Ch'en 278) <i>Yanshi Jiapu</i>
Years trading in Canton .....	1750s-1782 ..... see references below

SCHEDULE OF TRADING ACTIVITIES AND SOURCES					
YEAR	PARTNERS	HONG	CO.	PRODUCTS OFFERED FOR SALE	SOURCES
1759	Pinqa (Ni Pengguan)	Sheli Hao	DAC	B	Ask 1141 <sup>(abc)</sup> , 2214
1770s	.....	.....	Arm	Pearls and coral	Ch'en 278
1770	Ajou, Ajouw	.....	VOC	C	VOC 4406
1771	Ajou, Ajouw	.....	VOC	C	Can 34, 80, VOC 4408
1772	Ajou, Ajouw	.....	VOC	C	Can 35, VOC 4410
1772	Kousia (Zhang Tianqiu)	.....	?	.....	Can 82
1773	.....	.....	DAC	Nk	Ask 1170
1773	Kousia (Zhang Tianqiu)	.....	?	.....	Can 82
1774	.....	.....	DAC	Nk,SR,HS,H,C	Ask 1172
1775	.....	.....	VOC	C	VOC 4413, Can 38, 84
1775	.....	.....	DAC	Nk,HS,SI	Ask 1173
1776	.....	.....	VOC	S	Can 39, 85
1782	.....	.....	DAC	.....	Ask 1190; Morse 2:82

ASSOCIATES AND BUSINESSES				
ASSOCIATES	YEARS	NAME	CHINESE	SOURCES
<i>Pinqa</i>	1759	Ni Pengguan	倪鹏官	Ask 1141
<i>Ajou, Ajouw</i>	1770-1772			Can 34, 35, 80; VOC 4406, 4408, 4410
<i>Kousia</i>	1772-1773	Zhang Tianqiu	张天球	Can 80
BUSINESSES				
Sheli Hao	1759	Sheli Hao	舍利号	Ask 1141 <sup>(abc)</sup> , 2214

## MACAU E O DELTA DO RIO DA PÉROLA

6) Yan *Waysee* 颜 — —TRADE NAMES: *Wýsee, Waysee, Wyshe, Wysche.*

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA	SOURCES
Date first mentioned in the records .....	1771, Jan 5 (for the 1770 trading season) ..... Can 80
Date last reported trading in Canton .....	1773, Mar 11 ..... Can 36
Years trading in Canton .....	1770-1773 ..... see references below

SCHEDULE OF TRADING ACTIVITIES AND SOURCES					
YEAR	PARTNERS	HONG	Co.	PRODUCTS OFFERED FOR SALE	SOURCES
1770	.....	.....	VOC	C	Can 34, 80, VOC 4408
1771	<i>Quiqua</i>	.....	VOC	C,B	Can 35
1772	<i>Quiqua</i>	.....	VOC	R,B,C,ld	Can 35, 82, VOC 4410
1773	<i>Quyqua</i>	.....	VOC	R,tea	Can 36, 82, VOC 4411

ASSOCIATES AND BUSINESSES				
ASSOCIATES	YEARS	NAME	CHINESE	SOURCES
<i>Quiqua</i>	1771-1773	Chen <i>Quiqua</i>	陈??	Can 35, 36, 82, VOC 4410, 4411
BUSINESSES				
Unknown				

7) Yan *Xiangshe* 颜享舍TRADE NAMES: *Huncksja, Hunksja, Hunksia, Ngan Hongsia, Jongsha, Jongscha, Jonksia, Honxia, Honksia.*

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA	SOURCES
Date first mentioned in the records .....	1751, ca. May ..... Can 7, 16
Date last mentioned in the records .....	1772 ..... NM:F17 <sup>(s)</sup> ; Can 35
Death .....	Unknown
Years trading in Canton .....	1750s-1770s ..... see sources below

SCHEDULE OF TRADING ACTIVITIES AND SOURCES				
YEAR	PARTNERS	Co.	PRODUCTS OFFERED FOR SALE AND ACTIVITIES	SOURCES
1751	<i>Tsjä Honqua, Bouquyqua</i>	VOC	tx,pm,pt,pj,bd,rm,la,cp, Ak,cl,B,z,spw,An	Can 7, 16
1756	<i>Swietsia</i>	VOC	<i>Swietsia</i> bails <i>Jonksia</i> out of debt	Can 22
1763	<i>Swetia</i>	VOC	advised the Yan brothers on their trade	Can 72
1769	.....	VOC	arranges junk shipments of zinc to Batavia	Can 32, 78
1772	.....	VOC	Ty,Sl	Can 35

## MACAU AND THE PEARL RIVER DELTA

SCHEDULE OF JUNK TRADING ACTIVITIES (SOURCE: NM: F17)					
YEAR	JUNK NAME	CHINESE	HONG NAME	OTHER SPONSORS MENTIONED	DESTINATION
1762	Eckhing Ecktay	益泰	Mantack Hang	Tan Tietqua Ong Tsanqua	Cochin China
1764	Ecktay Fongschyn Samjeck Samkonghing Sihing Tainganschyn	益泰 丰顺 三益 三广兴 瑞兴	Mantack Hang Fongzun Hang Fongzun Hang Thatfong Hang Mantack Hang	Zey Monqua Ma Guohu	Cochin China Cochin China Batavia Batavia Caucong
1765	Eckhing Ecktay Fongschyn Hingtai Quim Contay Samjeck Samkonghing Sihing Tainganschyn Wansun	益泰 丰顺 恒泰  三益 三广兴 瑞兴  源顺	Mantack Hang Fongzun Hang Wu Heguan  Fongzun Hang Thatfong Hang Mantack Hang  Mantack Hang	Zey Monqua, Tan Tietqua    Zey Monqua	Cochin China Batavai Siam Cochin China <sup>1</sup> Passiak Cambodia Cochin China, Batavia Cochin China, Batavia  Siam
1766	Eckhing Ecksun Ecktay Kimfong Quim Contay Samjeck Samkonghing Wansun Winghing	益顺 益泰   三益 三广兴 源顺	Mantack Hang Mantack Hang   Fongzun Hang Thatfong Hang Mantack Hang	Zey Monqua	Cochin China Passiak, CC, Cambodia Batavia Cochin China, Siam Passiak, Manila Cambodia, Passiak Batavia LO: Cambodia
1767	Eckhing <sup>2</sup>			Zey Monqua, Poankequa, Conqua	Cochin China
	Ecktay Kimfong Quim Contay Samjeck Samkonghing	益泰  三益 三广兴	Mantack Hang  Fongzun Hang Thatfong Hang	Lysankong	Batavia Cochin China Passiak Passiak Cochin China
1768	Ecktay Kimfong Quim Contay Samjeck Samkonghing Tayli Tayon Wansun	益泰  三益 三广兴 泰利 泰安 源顺	Mantack Hang  Fongzun Hang Thatfong Hang Tayschoen Hang Tayschoen Hang Tayschoen Hang	Zey Jauqua   Zey Monqua  Gau Samqua Zey Jauqua	Cochin China LO: Cochin China  Passiak Batavia <sup>3</sup> Cochin China Cochin China Batavia, Cochin China <sup>4</sup>
1769	Ecktay Samjeck Santay Tayon	益泰 三益 新泰 泰安	Mantack Hang Fongzun Hang Tayschoen Hang Tayschoen Hang		Batavia Passiak Cochin China Passiak



## MACAU E O DELTA DO RIO DA PÉROLA

YEAR	JUNK NAME	CHINESE	HONG NAME	OTHER SPONSORS MENTIONED	DESTINATION
1770	Samkonghing	三广兴	Thatfong Hang	Zey Jauqua	LO
	Santay	新泰	Tayschoen Hang		LO
	Tayli	泰利	Tayschoen Hang		LO
	Wansun	源顺	Mantack Hang		LO
1772	Ecktay	益泰	Mantack Hang		
	Samjeck	三益	Fongzun Hang		
	Tayli	泰利	Tayschoen Hang		

1 In Jan. 1766, *Hingtai* is reported to have burned up in Cochin China.

2 Burned up in Canton on 1 Nov, see Can 76.

3 In 1768, it was rumored that *Samkonghing* was captured by Malaysian pirates. It was later discovered that the junk had wintered near Hainan Island due to heavy seas. Can 77; and NM: F17.

4 In 1768, *Wansun's* voyage to Batavia had to be diverted to Cochin China due to contrary winds. NM: F17.

ASSOCIATES AND BUSINESSES				
ASSOCIATES	CHINESE NAME		SOURCES	
<i>Tija Honqua</i>	<i>Cai Honqua</i>	蔡 __ __		Can 16
<i>Bouquyqua</i>	Li Kaiguan	李开官		Can 16
<i>Texia</i>	Yan Deshe	颜德舍		Can 72
<i>Sizia (Swetia)</i>	Yan Ruishe	颜瑞舍		Can 22, 72
<i>Ingsia</i>	Yan Yingshe	颜瑛舍		Can 72
<i>Zey Monqua</i>	Cai Wenguan	蔡文官		Can 72-78; NM:F17
<i>Zey Jauqua</i>	Cai Yuguan	蔡玉官		Can 72-78; NM:F17
<i>Tan Tietqua</i>	Chen Jieguan	陈捷官		Can 72-78; NM:F17
<i>Tan Giqua</i>	Chen Jiuguan	陈九观		NM:F17
<i>Tan Quiqua</i>	Chen Guiguan	陈贵观		NM:F17
<i>Lysankong</i>	Li Xianggong	李相公		Can 72-78; NM:F17
<i>Aous?</i>	Ma Guohu	马国胡		NM:F17
<i>Poankequa</i>	Pan Qiguan	潘启官		Can 72-78; NM:F17
.....	Wu Heguan	伍和观		NM:F17
<i>Inksia</i>	Yan Yingshe	颜瑛舍		Can 72-78; NM:F17
<i>Cons. Giqua</i>	Ye Yiguan	叶义官		Can 72-78; NM:F17
<i>Ong Tsanqua</i>				NM:F17
<i>Gau Samqua</i>				NM:F17
BUSINESSES MENTIONED ABOVE			MANAGERS IN 1768	
<i>Mantack Hang</i>	Wende Hang	文德行	Tan Giqua	NM:F17
<i>Thatfong Hang</i>	Dafeng Hang	达丰行	Tan Quiqua	NM:F17
<i>Tayschoen Hang</i>	Taishun Hang	泰顺行	Sizia (died 16 Mar 1763)	NM:F17
<i>Fongzun Hang</i>	Fengjin Hang	丰晋行	Con. Giqua	NM:F17
<i>Giwae Hang</i>	Yihe Hang	义和行	Nanqua (Poankequa's manager)	NM:F17

FAMILY MEMBERS				
RELATION	ALIASES	NAME	CHINESE	SOURCES
Next of kin	<i>Swetia</i>	Yan Ruishe	颜瑞舍	Can 22

## 8) Yan Lishe 颜立舍

Captain of Junk *Eckthay* (Yitai) that sailed to Batavia in 1767

TABLE A: YAN FAMILY TRADE WITH THE DAC 1734-1772 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAEIS)

YEAR	DAC SHIPS	YAN TRADE	PRODUCTS HANDLED	NAME	TOTAL DAC EXPORTS	% OF TOTAL	AVERAGES
1734	Sleswig	22,906.830	P, B, D, gn, psy, sp, dl	Simon & Textia	77,942.974	0.294	Textia average of 13 ships = 0.319
1738	Kong af Dan	36,571.391	P, B, Sl, C, Pc, Bg, R, gs, z, sp, D, H, KzH	Simon & Textia	93,262.348	0.392	
1739	Sleswig	44,127.038	P, B, Bg, Sl, Pc, R, G, z, gn, D, pl, ZZ, psy, sat, Nk	Simon & Textia	99,056.964	0.445	
1744	Christiansb. Slott	13,852.301	B, P, sa, C, Pc, Bg, H, ZZ	Textia	93,740.571	0.148	
1745	Kiøbenhavn	27,332.160	P, Sl, H, Bg, K, ZZ, HS, R, Pc, C, ga, z, psy, D, sat, G, pq, B, il	Textia	93,283.847	0.293	Awue
1746	Fyen	30,835.171	P, B, Pc, H, ZZ, Sl, z, D, pq, spy, Nk	Textia	114,544.890	0.269	
1746	Christiansb. Slott	12,510.808	P, B, ZZ, H, Sl	Textia	91,179.677	0.137	
1747	Kong af Dan	33,607.840	P, B, C, Sl, Pc, ZZ, H, R, tu	Textia	128,207.555	0.262	average of 3 ships = 0.007
1748	Christiansb. Slott	37,047.860	P, sa, B, C, Sl, Pc, H, ZZ	Textia	125,866.099	0.294	
1748	Fyen	48,588.258	sa, P, cs, ps, C, Pc, Sl, B, ZZ, R, H, Bg	Textia	147,983.404	0.328	Yan Family average of 13 ships = 0.326
1749	Dron. af Dan.	50,745.413	P, sa, B, C, Pc, Sl, ZZ, Bg, H	Textia	135,085.314	0.376	
ditto	ditto	2,591.836	P, ga, C, R, Rx	Awue	ditto	0.019	
1750	Fyen	75,579.278	P, sa, B, C, Pc, Sl, H, ZZ, R	Textia	156,159.997	0.484	average of 13 ships = 0.326
ditto	ditto	16.558	P	Awue	ditto	0.000	
1750	Cron Printzens	60,649.158	P, sa, B, C, HS, B, ZZ, z, H	Textia	144,375.102	0.420	
ditto	ditto	423.956	P	Awue	ditto	0.003	
1752	Princesse Louise	45,886.436	psy, P, B, C, ZZ, HS, H, Bg, z, pq, Bg, z, pq	Swetia	141,055.841	0.325	
ditto	ditto	4,297.684	P, B, psy	Awue	ditto	0.030	
1752	Cron Prin af Dan	43,053.403	P, B, C, Pc, HS, H, Sl	Swetia	144,167.328	0.299	
ditto	ditto	3,734.604	P, sa, B	Awue	ditto	0.026	
1753	D Sophia Magd	54,470.177	P, C, B, Pc, Sl, HS, pq, z	Swetia	154,752.732	0.352	
ditto	ditto	20,999.155	P, B, C, Rx, ga, sat, A	Awue	ditto	0.136	

TABLE A: YAN FAMILY TRADE WITH THE DAC 1734-1772 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAEIS)

YEAR	DAC SHIPS	YAN TRADE	PRODUCTS HANDLED	NAME	TOTAL DAC EXPORTS	% OF TOTAL	AVERAGES
1753	D Juliana Maria	31,120.481	P, C, B, ZZ, Pc, Sl, z	Swetia	154,231.761	0.202	average of 11 ships = 0.156
ditto	ditto	22,559.933	P, C, ga, Rx, Bx, R, Plk, A, sat	Awue	ditto	0.146	
1754	Princesse Louise	87,918.529	P, sa, B, C, R, ZZ, HS, Sl, Kz, z	Swetia	162,262.902	0.542	
ditto	ditto	8,775.618	P, ga, Rx, z, Plk	Awue	ditto	0.054	
1755	D Juliana Maria	34,743.953	P, C, Sl, B, sa, H, z, pq	Swetia	180,986.905	0.192	
ditto	ditto	47,710.319	Bx, P, B, ga, Rx, C, A, R, Bg, PZZ, Hs, Nk, psy, z	Awue	ditto	0.264	
1757	Princesse Louise	31,532.437	P, B, ZZ, C, Bg, Pc, Sl, H, z, psy, sat, Nlk	Swetia	137,506.174	0.229	
ditto	ditto	21,541.734	Rx, ga, B, R, z, psy, C, A	Awue	ditto	0.157	
1758	D Juliana Maria	67,668.883	P, B, C, Pc, psy, z, PZZ, R, HS, Bg, H, ZZ, Sl	Swetia	124,729.194	0.543	
ditto	ditto	21,995.012	B, C, sa, Ro, PZZ, Nlk, psy, z	Awue	ditto	0.176	
1759	Kong af Dan	65,870.144	P, C, B, ZZ, R, Bg, H, HS	Swetia	139,580.744	0.472	average of 16 ships = 0.344
ditto	ditto	21,878.499	tu, C, Pc, B, Bx, PZZ, sa	Awue	ditto	0.157	
1759	Cron Pr af Dan	40,755.400	P, C, B, ZZ, H, Bg, Sl	Swetia	108,114.096	0.377	
ditto	ditto	29,486.696	P, B, C, R	Awue	ditto	0.273	
1759	Princesse Louise	50,248.055	P, B, C, Bg, Sl, H, ZZ	Swetia	141,743.357	0.355	
ditto	ditto	44,178.054	B, C	Awue	ditto	0.312	
1760	Graeve Mortkes	38,740.398	P, C, Bg, B, sta, Pc, H, R, S, Sl	Swetia	115,782.238	0.335	
1760	D Juliana Maria	52,204.865	P, Bx, C, B, Pc, R, sta, ZZ, H, Bg, Sl, S	Swetia	155,966.306	0.335	
1761	Kong af Dan	41,207.973	P, Sl, C, B, ZZ, H, Bg	Swetia	135,120.311	0.305	
1762	Pr Fred af Dan	92,929.367	P, C, B, Pc, ZZ, Ty, Bg, R, Sl	Swetia	235,800.323	0.394	
1762	D Sophia Magd	43,792.432	P, C, Bx, B, Pc, Sl, ZZ	Swetia	171,653.923	0.255	

TABLE A: YAN FAMILY TRADE WITH THE DAC 1734-1772 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAEIS)

YEAR	DAC SHIPS	YAN TRADE	PRODUCTS HANDLED	NAME	TOTAL DAC EXPORTS	% OF TOTAL	AVERAGES	
1763	Princesse Louise	48,512.395	P, B, C, Sl, sta, Bx, Pc, H, z, sat, R, pq	Ingsia	151,834.856	0.320	Ingsia  average of 16 ships = 0.436	
1763	Kong af Dan	78,215.867	tu, P, Bx, B, pq, C, z, H, HS, ZZ, S	Ingsia	158,367.887	0.494		
1763	D Juliana Maria	50,373.720	P, C, Bx, B, z, pq, sat, ZZ, Sl, HS, H, A	Ingsia	146,541.363	0.344		
1764	Cron Pr af Dan	66,904.199	P, Bx, B, C, Pc, B, ZZ, HS, H, PZZ, Ty, sat, sta, z,	Ingsia	140,660.734	0.476		
1764	Pr Fred af Dan	83,836.912	tu, P, C, B, ZZ, Bg, S, sta, z, pq	Ingsia	263,800.278	0.318		
1765	D Juliana Maria	50,119.583	P, Pc, C, ZZ, Bx, B, HS, Sl, Bg, pq, z	Ingsia	157,100.742	0.319		
1765	Cron Pr af Dan	72,479.404	B, C, Nlk, Bx, SR, ZZ, pq, Pc, sta, Sl, PZZ, z, H, HS	Ingsia	195,377.025	0.371		
1766	Fred'borg Slott	76,007.315	tu, P, Bx, C, B, HS, Sl, H, ZZ, Bg, sta, sat, z, D	Ingsia	203,819.535	0.373		
1767	D Sophia Magd	58,967.753	P, C, Bx, B, HS, H, ZZ, Pc, pq, tx, D	Ingsia	174,170.662	0.339		
1767	Pr Fred af Dan	96,376.899	tu, P, B, C, PZZ, ZZ, HS, Sl, Ty, Pc, H, sta, D, pq, tx	Ingsia	240,874.719	0.400		
1768	Fred'borg Slott	93,054.667	B, P, Bx, C, tu, Pc, ZZ, PZZ, H, HS, sta, z, D, tx, pq	Ingsia	212,081.658	0.439		
1769	D Sophia Magd	98,511.438	Bx, Nlk, B, C, Pc, R, Sl, z, sat, D, Ty, HS, H, sta, PZZ	Ingsia	166,374.221	0.592		
1770	Fred'borg Slott	80,112.374	tu, B, C, Bx, Pc, ZZ, H, Sl, S, R, PZZ, A	Ingsia	168,626.808	0.475		
1770	Kong af Dan	112,304.345	P, tu, Bx, C, Nlk, Pc, B, ZZ, PZZ, H, HS, S, Ty, Sl, R, Bg	Ingsia	181,621.145	0.618		
1772	Kong af Dan	84,839.980	tu, Nlk, C, B, H, Ty, ZZ, HS, PZZ, S	Ingsia	166,886.184	0.508		
1772	Fred'borg Slott	91,816.699	tu, Nlk, B, Pc, ZZ, HS, R, H, Sl	Ingsia	153,585.472	0.598		
Total	45 DAC ships	2,809,119.647		45 DAC ships	6,785,866.166	Yan family average of 45		
	Average	62,424.881		Average	150,797.026	ships = 0.414		

**Note:** This list only represents part of the Yan family trade with the DAC. From 1734 to 1780 (the period in which the Yans traded in Canton), the Danes sent 82 ships to China (Bruijn and Gastra 1993). However, the data from only 45 Danish ships have survived. The trade figures for the DAC ships that came to China from 1773 to 1781, for example, have all vanished, and we know from other DAC documents that the Yans were the main suppliers of those cargos. Thus, if all the data were available, the Yan family trade with the DAC would amount to much more, perhaps twice the total volume listed above. In order to estimate the entire Yan family trade, the junk cargos and the trade with the other Europeans and private merchants would also have to be included.

**Sources:** The figures for each ship were extracted from the Kass-Hovedbog in the DAC archives. RAC: Ask 2190-2239.



## MACAU E O DELTA DO RIO DA PÉROLA

TABLE B: YAN FAMILY FACTORY RENTS MENTIONED IN THE DAC AND VOC RECORDS 1734 TO 1772  
(ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAEIS)

YEAR	CO.	PERSONS RECEIVING RENT PAYMENT	RENT	COMMENTS	SOURCE
1734	DAC	Tacqua, Simon & Co.	450		Ask 2190
1736	DAC	Tacqua, Simon & Co.	450		Lintrup 5893
1737	DAC	Texia (Tacqua) & Simon	500		Ask 2191
1738	DAC	Texia & Simon	800		Ask 1118
1739	DAC	Texsia & Simon	600		Ask 1120
1740	DAC	Texsia & Simon & Mand. Suiqua	600		Ask 1120
1741	DAC	Texsia & Simon			Ask 1121
1742	DAC	Texsia & Simon	720		Ask 1121
1752	DAC	Beau Queiqva & Svisia	1,300	2 factories	Ask 1130, 2205, 896
1754	DAC	Svesia	400		Ask 2209
1758	DAC	Swissia	500		Ask 2211
1759	DAC	Svissia, Zucqva	1100	2 factories	Ask 1139, 1141, 905
1760	DAC	Swissia	800		Ask 907, 1145, 1143
1761	DAC	Swissia	720		Ask 1146, 910
1762	VOC	Swetia	1,332		VOC 4391, 4394, 4556; Can 25, 71
1763	DAC	Ingsia	400		Ask 1147
1763	VOC	Inksia	1,332		VOC 4394, 4556; Can 71
1764	DAC	Ingsia	400		Ask 2227-8, 915
1764	VOC	Inksia	1,332		VOC 4395; Can 27
1765	DAC	Ingsia	800		Ask 2229, 1154
1765	VOC	Inksia	1,332		Can 27
1766	VOC	Inksia	1,332		Can 28; VOC 4399
1767	VOC	Inksia	1,332		VOC 4401, 4556, 4399
1768	VOC	Inksia	1,332		VOC 4403, 4556, 4402
1769	VOC	Inksia	1,332		VOC 4405; Can 31
1770	VOC	Inksia	1,332		VOC 4406, 4405
1771	VOC	Inksia	1,332		VOC 4408, 4406
1772	VOC	Inksia	1,332		VOC 4410, 4408; Can 35

## MACAU AND THE PEARL RIVER DELTA

TABLE C: YAN FAMILY TRADE WITH THE VOC 1757-1780 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAELS)

YEAR	SHIPS	INDIVIDUAL TRADE	JOINT TRADE	PRODUCTS HANDLED	NAMES OF MERCHANTS	YAN & Co TRADE
1757	1	127,675		P	Swetia	127,675
1758	3	39,283.310		Bg, R, Sc, P, H, B, C	Swetia	
1758		19,506.849		Z, rg, ln, br, Cu, Rx, B	Awue	
1758			60,125.039	z	Swetia & Chetqua	
1758			74,745.681	z, Sl, Rg, Sc, B, C	Tsjia Hunqua, Chetqua, Swetia	193,660.879
1760	3	35,967.885		P, Sl, C, Sc	Swetia	
1760			582,900.563	tu, B	Tsjia Hunqua, Chetqua, Swetia	618,868.448
1761	2		291,962.750	Sc, Bg, Sl, Ty, Pc, B, HS, H, C, mp	Tsjia Hunqua, Chetqua, Swetia	291,962.750
1762	3	1,414.892		P	Swetia	
1762			611,607.960	B, Sl, zr, Sc, Bg, B, C, Ty, H	Tsjia Hunqua, Chetqua, Swetia	613,022.852
1763	3	8,131.361		P, B	Inksia	
1763			864,659.712	zr, NI, tu, No, C, B, Rx, ms, P, ci, Gt, z, D, Sc	Tsjia Hunqua, Chetqua, Inksia	872,791.073
1764	4	2,351.199		P, C	Inksia	
1764			930,495.638	Sc, Bg, HS, Sl, Pc, H, C, sta, zr, NI, R, z	Tsjia Hunqua, Chetqua, Inksia	932,846.837
1765	4	5,229.873		P	Inksia	
1765			906,807.375	tu, sta, z, Rx, NI, B, Gt	Tsjia Hunqua, Chetqua, Inksia	912,037.248
1766	4	3,845.505		FR, P	Inksia	
1766			734,658.507	R, sta, sa, z, tu, B, NI, C, zg	Tsjia Hunqua, Chetqua, Inksia	738,504.012
1768	4	11,627.200		FR, P	Inksia	
1768			599,011.031	sta, NI, zg, z, R, Gt, P, B, zr, C	Tsjia Hunqua, Chetqua, Inksia	610,638.231
1769	4	54,775.269		FR, P, B	Inksia	
1769			379,897.260	Rx, Ty, zr, tu, z, zg, ms, B, sta	Tsjia Hunqua, Chetqua, Inksia	434,672.529

## MACAU E O DELTA DO RIO DA PÉROLA

TABLE C: YAN FAMILY TRADE WITH THE VOC 1757-1780 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAEELS)

YEAR	SHIPS	INDIVIDUAL TRADE	JOINT TRADE	PRODUCTS HANDLED	NAMES OF MERCHANTS	YAN & CO TRADE
1770	5	151,028.045		HS, P, FR, H, B, C, Sc	Inksia	
1770			487,542.276	tu, NI, zr	Samqua Anqua, Chet., Inksia	638,570.321
1771	4	34,125.613		R, FR, P, B, C, NL, Sc	Inksia	
1771			610,072.966	R, Gt, z, zr, C, tu, NI	Samqua Anqua, Chet., Inksia	644,198.579
1772	4	60,651.554		FR, HS, H, B	Inksia	
1772			172,052.954	H, SI	Samqua Anqua, Chet., Inksia	232,704.508
1773	4	83,694.634		Gt, B, C	Inksia	83,694.634
1774	4	142,751.800		zr, NI, Gt, C, B, SI, Ty	Inksia	142,751.800
1775	5	264,886.995		Gt, R, B, C, zr	Inksia	264,886.995
1776	4	180,115.461		HS, Ty, Sc, NI, SI, B, C, H, zr	Inksia	180,115.461
1777	4	267,685.379		zr, H, Sc, NI, B, C, Pc, HS, Gt	Inksia	267,685.379
1778	4	247,738.244		SI, z, NI, Gt, Ty, Sc, HS, J, B, C,	Inksia	247,738.244
1779	4	190,507.616		SI, HS, Sc, J, z, H, B, C, Ty, NI	Inksia	190,507.616
1780	4	24,048.382		Gt, B	Inksia	24,048.382
Total	81	1,829,494.741	7,306,539.712	9,136,034.453		9,136,034.453
Ave per ship		22,586.355	90,204.194	112,790.549		112,790.549
Percentage		0.200	0.800			

**Note:** This list only represents part of the Yan family trade with the VOC. From 1734 to 1780 (the period in which the Yans traded in Canton), the Dutch sent 174 ships to China (Bruijn and Gastra 1993). However, the records from only 81 Dutch ships have survived. Thus, if all the figures were available, the Yan family trade with the VOC would amount to much more, perhaps twice the total volume mentioned above. In order to estimate the entire Yan family trade, the Junk cargos and the trade with the other Europeans and private merchants would have to be included.

**Sources:** The figures were taken from the Grootboeken and the Journalen in the VOC archives, NAH: VOC 4381-4421.

## MACAU AND THE PEARL RIVER DELTA

TABLE D: SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM LOANS GIVEN TO THE YAN MERCHANTS BY THE SWEDISH SUPERCARGOES TO FINANCE THE FAMILY TRADE (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAELES)

NGAN HONGSIA 颜亨舍			SHORT-TERM LOANS: INTEREST TABULATED BY THE MONTH				
	LOAN SIGNER	RATE	MONTHS	DEBIT	CREDIT	BALANCE	OWED TO
1764.11.08	Grill & Grubb	0.02	2.00	10,000.000		10,400.000	Grill & Grubb
? 1765.11.31	Grill & Grubb	0.02	2.00	12,000.000		12,480.000	Grill & Grubb
? 1765.00.00	Grill & Grubb	0.02	2.00	7,770.000		8,080.800	Grill & Grubb
1765.01.31	Grill & Grubb	0.02	2.00	12,000.000	355.200	12,124.800	Grill & Grubb
? 1765.11.10	Grill?	0.02	2.00	7,770.000		8,080.800	Grill?
1766.01.10	Grill?	0.02	2.00		310.800	7,770.000	Grill?
? 1766.11.31	Grill?	0.02	2.00	6,941.200		7,149.436	Grill?
1767.01.31	Grill?	0.02	2.00		208.236	6,941.200	Grill?
NGAN HINGSIA (INGSIA) 颜瑛舍				LONG-TERM LOANS: INTEREST TABULATED BY THE YEAR			
	LOAN SIGNER	RATE		DEBIT	CREDIT	BALANCE	OWED TO
176?.00.00	Grill & Grubb?	1.18		18,500.000		21,830.000	Grill & Grubb?
176?.00.00	Grill & Grubb?	1.18			3,330.000	18,500.000	Grill & Grubb?
1768.12.13	Hahr & Grill	1.20		3,700.000		4,440.000	Hahr & Grill
1768.12.19	Hahr & Grill	1.20		3,700.000	(via Fritz)	4,440.000	Hahr & Grill
1769.12.13	Hahr & Grill	1.20			4,440.000		Hahr & Grill
1769.12.13	Hahr & Grill	1.20		4,440.000		5,328.000	Hahr & Grill
1769.12.13	J Hahr	1.20		4,440.000		5,328.000	J Hahr
1770.10.22	J Hahr	1.20		3,552.000		4,262.400	J Hahr
1769.12.13	J. Grill	1.20		2,960.000		3,552.000	J. Grill
1769.12.31	J. Grill	1.20		3,552.000		4,262.400	J. Grill
1770.12.13	J. Grill	1.20		4,440.000		5,328.000	J. Grill
1771.12.13	J. Grill	1.20		5,328.000		6,393.600	J. Grill
1772.12.31	J. Grill	na		3,700.000	(for junk trade)		J. Grill

Key: Rate 0.01 = 1%, Rate 0.02 = 2%, Rate 1.18 = 18%, Rate 1.20 = 20%

**Note:** The entries are not consistent. Sometimes only the interest on the principal is entered into the books when the principal was in fact also paid. In other cases, the interest and the principal are added together and subtracted from the account when it was paid, and in other cases the interest is subtracted on one day and the principal on another even though they were both paid on the same day. If the loan carried over to another month, then the interest on the principal was usually paid when due and a new contract was established using the old funds. Grill was more concerned with keeping track of his profits (the interest on the principal) and less concerned about keeping an accurate history of each account. The method in which the transactions are recorded also vary over time. In some years, Grill's personal account is kept separate and in other years it is combined with his partners' accounts such as those of Grubb and Hahr. Because of this inconsistency in the way that the figures are entered into the books, it is not possible to reconstruct an exact history of every loan or each individual account. Source: NM F17



TABLE E: BOTTOMRY BONDS TAKEN OUT BY YAN XIANGSHE FROM THE SWEDISH SUPERCARGOES TO FINANCE THE CANTON JUNK TRADE TO SOUTHEAST ASIA FROM 1762 TO 1772 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAELS)

DATE	JUNK NAMES	T/F	DESTINATION	RATE	LT COLUMN	RT COLUMN	INTEREST	SECURED BY
? 1762.03.28	Eckin			1.40	740.000			Hongsia
? 1762.03.28	Ecktay			1.40	1,480.000			Hongsia
? 1762.03.28	Eckin			1.40	740.000			Hongsia, Tan Tiauqua
? 1765.11.19/29	Taiganshyn		paid off 1764 loan	1.40	2,220.000	3,108.000	888.000	Hongsia
1762.01.19	Ecktay	T	Cochin China	1.40	300.000			Hongscha (Hongsin)
1764.01.10/20	Samkonghing	T	Batavia	1.40	2,220.000			Hongsia
1764.01.10/20	Sihing	T	Batavia	1.40	2,960.000			Hongsia
1764.01.10/20	Ecktay	T	Cochin China	1.40	3,700.000			Hongsia
1764.01.10/20	Taiganshyn	T	Caucong, Caucon	1.40	2,220.000			Hongsia
1764.11.08	Ecktay, Sihing, Samkonghing					3,552.000		Hongsia (Ngan)
1765.01.31	Taiganshyn				1,857.400			Hongsia
1765.02.01	Ecktay		Batavia		2,220.000			Hongsia
1765.02.01	Sihing		Batavia		1,480.000			Hongsia
1765.02.01	Samjeck		Cambodia		1,480.000			Hongsia
1765.02.01	Eckhin		Cochin China		740.000			Hongsia
1765.02.01	Samkonghing		Cochin China		740.000			Hongsia
1765.02.01	Wansun		Siam		740.000			Hongsia
1765.02.01	Fongsun		Siam		370.000			Hongsia
1765.02.01	Hing Tay		Cochin China		370.000			Hongsia
1765.03.08	Sihing		(for Armenian Ignace Narcipe)		296.000			Hongsia
1765.12.31	Ecktay			1.40	2,220.000	3,108.000	888.000	Hongsia
1765.12.31	Samjeck			1.40	1,480.000	2,072.000	592.000	Hongsia
1765.12.31	Eckhing			1.40	740.000	1,036.000	296.000	Hongsia
1765.12.31	Samkonghing			1.40	740.000	1,036.000	296.000	Hongsia
1765.12.31	Fongsun			1.40	370.000	518.000	148.000	Hongsia
1766.01.10	Ecktay	T	Batavia		2,220.000			Hongsia
1766.01.10	Eckhing	T	Cochin China		1,628.000			Hongsia

TABLE E: BOTTOMRY BONDS TAKEN OUT BY YAN XIANGSHE FROM THE SWEDISH SUPERCARGOES TO FINANCE THE CANTON JUNK TRADE TO SOUTHEAST ASIA FROM 1762 TO 1772 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAIELS)

DATE	JUNK NAMES	T/F	DESTINATION	RATE	L T COLUMN	R T COLUMN	INTEREST	SECURED BY
1766.01.10	Samjeck	T	Cambodia		1,628.000			Hongsia
1766.01.10	Kimfong	T	Siam		1,628.000			Hongsia
1766.01.10	Samkonghing	T	Batavia		1,110.000			Hongsia
1766.01.10	Ecksun	T	Cambodia		296.000			Hongsia
1766.01.10	QuimContay	T	Passiak		740.000			Hongsia
1766.01.10	Wansun	T	(layover) Cambodia			740.000		Hongsia
1766.01.10	Sihing		forlorad (lost)	P&L		865.800		Hongsia
1766.01.10	Hingray		burned in Cochin China	P&L		370.000		Hongsia
1766.11.11	QuimContay & Samjeck					3,295.200		Hongsia
1766.11.11	Kimfong, Wansun					3,315.200		Hongsia
1766.11.26	Eckhing, Wansun, Ecksun					3,729.600		Hongsia
1766.12.31	Ectray, Samkonghing	F	Batavia		settle account	G. Tham		Hongsia
1766.12.31	Eckhing	F	Cochin China		settle account	G. Tham		Hongsia
1766.12.31	Samjeck	F	Cambodia		settle account	G. Tham		Hongsia
1766.12.31	Kimfong	F	Siam		settle account	G. Tham		Hongsia
1767.01.31	the remaining junks		(debt from 1766)			6,941.200		Hongsia
1767.01.31	Ectay	T	Batavia		1,480.000			Hongsia
1767.01.31	Kimfong	T	Cochin China		1,850.000			Hongsia
1767.01.31	Eckhing	T	Cochin China		1,850.000			Hongsia
1767.01.31	Samjeck	T	Passiak	1.10	1,850.000			Hongsia
1767.01.31	QuimContay	T	Passiak		740.000			Hongsia
1767.01.31	Samkonghing	T	Cochin China		740.000			Hongsia
1767.08.08	Ectray		Batavia	1.40	1,480.000			Hongsia
1767.08.08	Kimfong		Cochin China	1.40	1,850.000			Hongsia
1767.08.08	Eckhing		Cochin China	1.40	1,850.000			Hongsia
1767.08.08	Samjeck		Passiak	+1.10	1,850.000			Hongsia

TABLE E: BOTTOMRY BONDS TAKEN OUT BY YAN XIANGSHE FROM THE SWEDISH SUPERCARGOES TO FINANCE THE CANTON JUNK TRADE TO SOUTHEAST ASIA FROM 1762 TO 1772 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAELS)

DATE	JUNK NAMES	T/F	DESTINATION	RATE	LT COLUMN	RT COLUMN	INTEREST	SECURED BY
1767.08.08	Samkonghing		Cochin China	1.40	740.000			Hongsia
1767.08.08	QuimContay		Passiack	1.40	740.000			Hongsia
1767.11.20	Samjeck			1.40	1,850.000	2,590.000	740.000	Hongsia
1768.01.03	Ecktay, Quim Contay		paid on account			3,108.000		Hongsia
1768.02.09	Eckhing, Samkonghing					3,626.000		Hongsia
1768.02.09	Kimfong		(layover) Cochin China			939.800		Hongsia
1768.02.09	(for 1768) Ecktay	T	Cochin China		1,480.000			Hongsia (Ngan)
1768.02.09	(for 1768) Wansun	T	Batavia, Cochin China		1,480.000			Hongsia (Ngan)
1768.02.09	(for 1768) Samjeck	T	Passiack		1,480.000			Hongsia (Ngan)
1768.02.09	(for 1768) Samkonghing	T	Batavia		740.000			Hongsia (Ngan)
1768.02.15	(for 1768) Tayli	T	Cochin China		740.000			Hongsia
1768.02.15	(for 1768) Tayan	T	Cochin China		740.000			Hongsia
1768.11.22	Samjeck		paid on account			2,072.000		Hongsia
1768.12.06	Samjeck			1.40	666.000	932.400	266.400	Hongsia
1768.12.06	Ecktay				666.000	932.400	266.400	Hongsia
1768.12.06	Kimfong				370.000	518.000	148.000	Hongsia
1768.12.06	Tayon					518.000		Hongsia
1768.12.06	Tayli					414.400		Hongsia
1768.12.17	Tayon		paid on account			1,036.000		Hongsia
1768.12.17	Tayli		paid on account			1,036.000		Hongsia
1768.12.17	Kimfong		paid on account			2,590.000		Hongsia
1768.12.17	Ecktay		paid on account			2,072.000		Hongsia
1768.12.20	Tayon					518.000		Hongsia
1768.12.20	Tayli					414.400		Hongsia
1768.12.20	Samkonghing		(for 1769?)		740.000			Hongsia
1768.12.20	Wansun		(for 1769?)		1,480.000			Hongsia

TABLE E: BOTTOMRY BONDS TAKEN OUT BY YAN XIANGSHE FROM THE SWEDISH SUPERCARGOES TO FINANCE THE CANTON JUNK TRADE TO SOUTHEAST ASIA FROM 1762 TO 1772 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAELS)

DATE	JUNK NAMES	T/F	DESTINATION	RATE	Lt COLUMN	Rt COLUMN	INTEREST	SECURED BY
1769.01.10	Ecktray	T	Batavia			148.000		Hongsia
1769.01.10	Samjeck	T	Passiack			148.000		Hongsia
1769.01.10	Sintay	T	Cochin China			148.000		Hongsia
1769.01.10	Tayon	T	Passiack			148.000		Hongsia
1769.01.10	Samkonghing		changed Ps to tls @ .74	1.40	481.074	673.476	192.402	Hongsia, Monqua
1769.01.10	Samkonghing		3mo. @ 1 1/3 % per mo	1.16		673.476	26.862	Hongsia, Monqua
1769.01.10	Bottomry Money		paid on account			646.563		Hongsia, Monqua
1770.08.16	Tayli		paid on account	1.40	148.000	207.200	59.200	Hongsia
1770.08.16	Sintay		paid on account	1.40	148.000	207.200	59.200	Hongsia
1770.10.22	5 Junks		left with Hahr in Canton	1.40	740.000			Hongsia
1770.10.22	(layover) Wansun		(layover in Cochin China)			562.400		Hongsia
1770.12.30	(layover) Samjeck		paid on account	1.60	148.000	236.800	88.800	Hongsia
1770.12.30	(layover) Tayly		paid on account	1.60	148.000	236.800	88.800	Hongsia
1772.12.27	Ecktray		debt carried over			280.000		Hongsia
1772.12.31	Junks				1,480.000			Hongsia

**Note about interest rates:** 40 percent interest (recorded as 1.40) was the norm for almost all of the bottomry contracts. If the junks were delayed for any reason, then an additional amount was added such as 10 percent (+1.10) or the interest was simply increased (1.60) to reflect the additional time. A junk that was delayed by three months was charged 10 percent extra (1/4 of 40 percent) and six months, 20 percent (1/2 of 40 percent). The rate of 40 percent per voyage was paid, however, regardless of whether the voyage took nine months or thirteen months.

**Key:** T/F = To or From

Rate 1.40 = 40 %

+1.10 = an additional 10 % perhaps due to layover

Lt = Left, Rt = Right

"Lt Column" usually refers to a "Debit" on the Chinese. The "Rt Column" on the Chinese account, but other times refers to Grill's profits or anticipated profits. Thus unless the entry clearly states "paid on account" the date that is mentioned is not necessarily the date of the transaction, but could simply be the date that Grill decided to record his profits or his anticipated profits.

**Note about the entries:** The entries are not consistent. Sometimes only the interest on the principal is entered into the books when the principal was in fact also paid. In other cases, the interest and the principal are added together and subtracted from the account when it was paid, and in other cases the interest is subtracted on one day and the principal on another even though they were both paid on the same day. If the loan carried over to the next season, the interest on the principal was usually paid when due and then a new contract was established using the old funds. Grill was more concerned with keeping track of his profits (the interest on the principal) and less concerned about keeping an accurate history of each account. The method in which the transactions are recorded also vary over time. In some years, Grills personal account is kept separate and in other years it is combined with his partners' accounts such as those of Grubb and Hahr. Because of this inconsistency in the way that the figures are entered into the books, it is not possible to reconstruct an exact history of every loan or each individual account. Source: NM F17. For the names of all the junks and their Chinese characters, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Appendixes O, P, and Q.