

The Hume Scroll of 1772 and the Faces behind the Canton Factories

PAUL A. VAN DYKE*

The Hume scroll (Figure 1) is a unique document of China's maritime history. The painting was owned by Alexander Hume (1726-1794), chief supercargo (merchant) of the British East India Company's (EIC)

* Professor in the Department of History, Sun Yat-sen University (Guangzhou, China).

Professor no Departamento de História da Universidade Sun Yat-sen (Guangzhou, China).

Canton factory from 24 September 1770 to the end of February 1774. He repatriated on the EIC ship *Prime*, which left China on 12 March.¹ The scene can be dated to ca. 1772, so Hume probably brought the painting back with him to Britain when he repatriated. It was originally a scroll that was intended to be rolled up. Owing to its large size (91.5 x 276.5 cm) it may have been necessary for the painting to fit into a

smaller place. Not only were officers restricted to the amount of space they could use aboard ship but also a large framed painting of this size ran the risk of being squeezed, twisted and/or knocked about. The painting remained in the family for many years, and was later sold. In 2014, the Martyn Gregory Gallery in London acquired the scroll, and had it restored and framed. In 2015, the Hong Kong Maritime Museum (HKMM)

purchased the painting where it is now part of their permanent collection.²

With new data that have recently emerged about the Canton factories and the additional details that are provided on the Hume scroll we can now identify most of the buildings in the painting from 1772 up

Figure 1: The Hume Scroll. Courtesy of Martyn Gregory Gallery, London.



HISTORIOGRAFIA

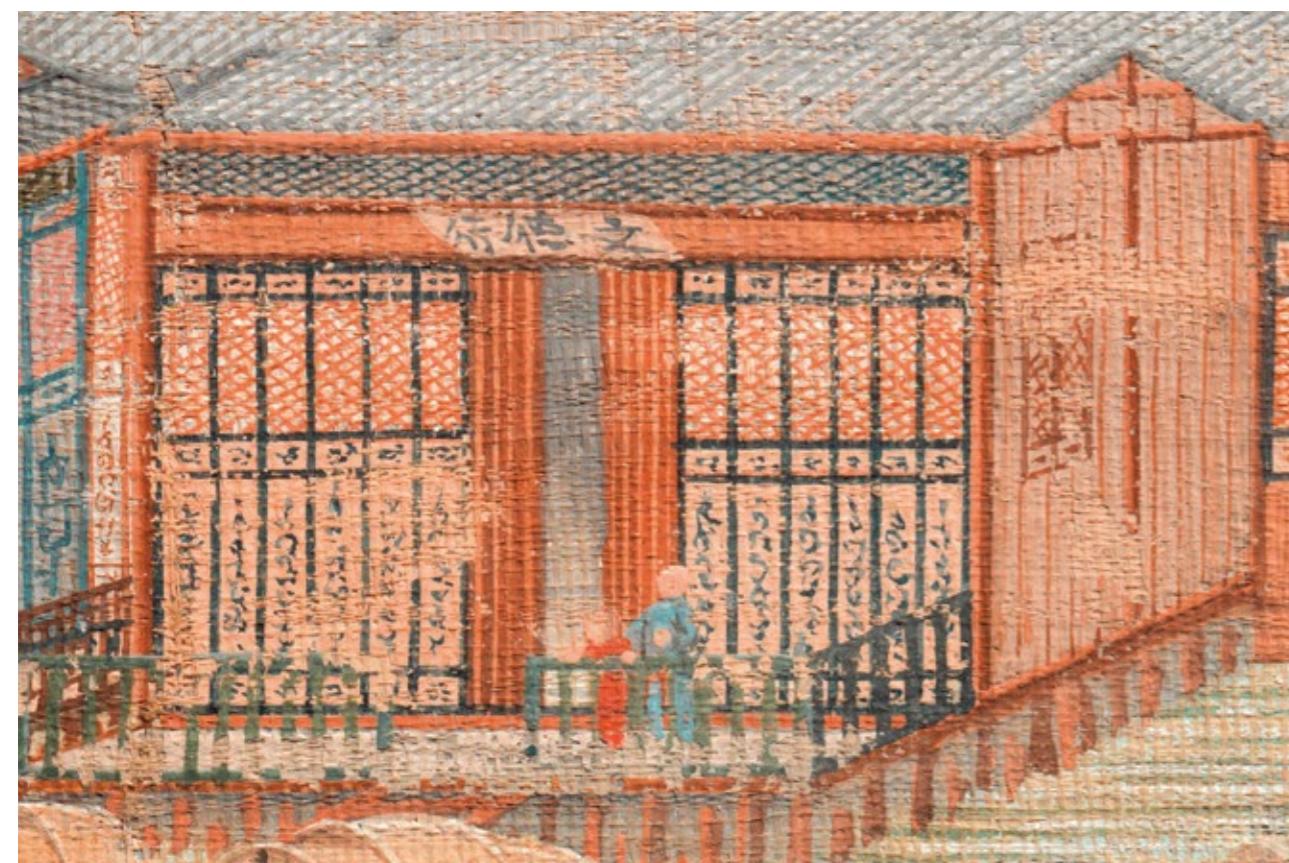
to the fire of 1 November 1822, when they were all burnt to the ground.³ What this study shows is that the foreign trade at Canton and the Chinese junk trade to Southeast Asia often operated out of the same buildings and were managed by the same people. While this argument is not new, this study provides the first visual representations of the connections and interactions between these two groups, which up until recently were thought to have been completely separate from each other. What this study also shows is that the so-called 'foreign factories' were the business homes of Chinese merchants as well, which we sometimes forget.

At the time of the Hume painting, the foreign trade at Canton was administered out of the Waiyang Hang 外洋行, which managed the licensed Hong merchant houses (usually around eight to twelve in operation each year). The trade to Southeast Asia was administered out of the Bengang Hang 本港行, which managed the six-plus Chinese firms that fitted out 30 to 40 junks based in Canton. The Hume scroll shows firms from both administrative bodies, and includes a

few Chinese junks in the river as well, so it gives us a good representation of the interactions between these two groups.

Up until recently, it was thought that the Waiyang and Bengang firms had very minimal interactions between them. This picture comes primarily from the *Yue Haiguan Zhi* 粤海关志 (Gazetteer of Guangdong Maritime Customs), which historians have been using for the past 175 years to define the trade.⁴ We now know that this picture is much too simplistic, as I have explained in another publication.⁵ The divisions that historians claim existed between these administrative bodies are the result of their top-down approaches to history whereby government policies have defined their narratives to the exclusion of practices.⁶ Historians have depended heavily on Chinese gazetteers, edicts and memorials to explain the trade without checking to see the extent to which government policies were put into practice. It has been assumed that whatever top officials ordered was also what happened, which has resulted in a much distorted view of history.⁷

Figure 2: Detail of the Mantack Hang (Wende Hang). Courtesy of Rijksmuseum.



I begin by first establishing a date for the Hume scroll, followed by a brief discussion of each building depicted in the painting. The early history of a few of the factories is still unclear, but I will provide as much information as is presently available. The discussion will begin with the buildings on the far left (west) and move easterly to the right. In Figure 1, I have assigned the same numbers to the buildings as was done in the book *Images of the Canton Factories 1760-1822*.⁸ Because the two buildings on the far left in the Hume scroll do not appear in many paintings, they do not have numbers assigned to them. They will be referred to as the first and second buildings from the left, respectively. After discussing the buildings, I then turn to a brief discussion of the vessels in the river, and conclude with a summary of why understanding the Hume scroll and the changes that took place on the quay over time are important for understanding how the trade operated.

Perhaps it should be pointed out that this is the first time in the history of describing the factory paintings that we have been able to identify most of the buildings and their occupants. Thanks to Morrison and Davis we have known a lot about the owners and occupants of the factories just before the fire of 1822. The late 18th and early 19th century, however, have largely remained anonymous. I begin with establishing an approximate date for the scene.

DATING THE HUME SCROLL

With all the new information that has recently emerged about the Canton factories, it is a rather simple task assigning a date to the Hume scroll. According to the architecture the scene is from 1772, which fits with Hume's biography. The New English factory (no. 14 in Figure 1) has a new verandah in the front which was added in early 1771. Building no. 12 has a new façade and the Swedish factory (no. 11) has a half-moon header above the front door both of which are thought to have been added in early 1772. The Hume painting shows a new façade on building no. 4 which was not there in 1771. The Dutch factory (no. 16) shows its pre-1774 balcony, and the building to the west of it (no. 15) has not yet taken on its new façade, which means the scene is pre-1773. Furthermore, the building to the west of the Danish factory (no. 1) was rebuilt in early 1773 and given a second storey. At the same time, a wall was built between that building and no. 1 and the

quay was extended in front of nos. 1 and 2.⁹ The Hume scroll does not show these changes. Thus, the scene fits nicely into autumn 1772, but we can actually narrow that date even further.¹⁰

According to the flags displayed on the painting, the Danes, French, Swedes, British and Dutch were in port at the time. We know that the French were the last to arrive this year on 30 August 1772 and that the Swedes were the first to leave on 2 February 1773.¹¹ Because no. 15 seems to have been rebuilt sometime between December 1772 and January 1773, the painting would have to be before that happened.¹² Thus, by the process of elimination, we are left with a window of September to November 1772. According to the historical data that was the only time all of the factors displayed in the painting were in place.

I will discuss the buildings from left (west) to right (east) and point out what we know about each one up to the fire of 1 November 1822.

FIRST BUILDING FROM THE LEFT

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Mantack (Wende Hang)	Tan Giqua	n/a	mid 1770s
Yuanquan Hang	Chowqua and Locqua (Chen Zuguan and Chen Junhua)	mid 1770s	1793
Guangli Hang	Mowqua I and II (Lv Guanheng and Lv Wenjin)	1793	1822

The first building on the left is only partially visible in the Hume painting. It was the Mantack Hang (Wende Hang 文德行), which is mentioned in the *Yue Haiguan Zhi* and was one of the firms of the Bengang group.¹³ In the 1760s, it was managed by a merchant named Tan Giqua (Chinese name unknown).¹⁴ A couple of factory paintings from the early 1770s show the name above the door (see Figure 2).¹⁵

HISTORIOGRAPHY

HISTORIOGRAFIA

Table 1 shows a list of fifteen junks that operated out of the Mantack Hang from 1762 to 1771. These are not necessarily all the junks that were fitted-out in this firm—they are rather the only ones for which we have data. The years are also not inclusive, because the firm was undoubtedly in operation for many decades before and after this period.

TABLE 1: JUNKS OF THE MANTACK HONG
(Wende Hang) 1762-1771

No.	Junk name (Cantonese)	Mandarin	Chinese
1	<i>I-hing</i>		
2	<i>Thaay-gaah</i>		
3	<i>Chongthat</i>	<i>Zhongda</i>	钟达
4	<i>Comm-hing</i>		
5	<i>Ecksun</i>	<i>Yishun</i>	益顺
6	<i>Ecktay</i>	<i>Yitai</i>	益泰
7	<i>Fockhing, Fuck-hing</i>	<i>Fuxing</i>	福兴
8	<i>Ghah-Mau</i>		
9	<i>Gifatkam</i>	<i>Erfajin</i>	二发金
10	<i>Eckli</i>	<i>Yili</i>	亿利
11	<i>Manpack</i>	<i>Wanpo</i>	万珀
12	<i>Sibing, Sweching</i>	<i>Ruixingzhou</i>	瑞兴舡
13	<i>Tackli</i>	<i>Deli</i>	得利
14	<i>Tioengtay</i>	<i>Changtai</i>	长泰
15	<i>Wansun, Winchong</i>	<i>Yuanshunzhou</i>	源顺舡

Sources: Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godegårdarkivet Archive F17, pp. T1_5145-7; National Archives, The Hague: Canton 72, 1763.02.22, 1763.07.13, 1763.08.21, Canton 73, 1764.01.09, Canton 74, 1765.02.19-03.03, 1765.05.31, 1765.07.06, 1765.09.18, Canton 77, 1768.01.15, 1768.03.08, 1768.07.19, Canton 78, 1769.06.06, 1769.07.14, Canton 127, no. 35, 1765.02.10, Canton 131, doc. no. 32, report dated 1767.12.31, p. 34, Canton 224, p. 3, Canton 227, p. 245, Canton 278, report dated 1763.12.24, p. 8, doc. dated 1764.01.15, Canton 282, 1771.12.15, p. 139 (259), Canton 131, nos. 12-21, 36, 39-41, no. 42, 1767.12.31, Canton 229, 1768.01.01, p. 175-6 (182-3), Canton 320, letter dated 1763.02.21, Canton 321, 1768.03.08, 1769.02.22, VOC 4401, letter dated 1768.03.08, dagregister, 1768.05.15, VOC 4402, letter dated 1768.03.08, VOC 4404, letter dated 1789.12.10, HRB 111, p. 103r-v.

The junks sailed to ports in Southeast Asia each year including Cochin China, Passiak, Cambodia, Palembang, Batavia and Siam. In terms of volume, most of the Canton junks were about 250 tons capacity, which gave a total of 3,750 tons of annual exports. The average size of foreign ships trading at Canton in these years was about 750 tons, which means the carrying capacity of the fifteen junks was equivalent to about five foreign ships. The trade of the Mantack Hang was equivalent to the volume handled by one of the smaller East India companies operating at Canton.

As far as financing is concerned, the voyages of the Mantack Hang junks were sponsored by various people including Chinese junk traders (of the Bengang group), and Hong merchants and foreign investors (of the Waiyang group). In the 1760s, foreign investors included private Europeans and various traders from India.¹⁶ At some point in the mid-1770s the Hong merchant Chowqua (Chen Zuguan 陈祖官) of the Yuanquan Hang 源泉行 purchased this building. It is unclear what happened to the Mantack Hang. We know that the Canton junks continued to operate into the 19th century so the firm probably moved to another building.

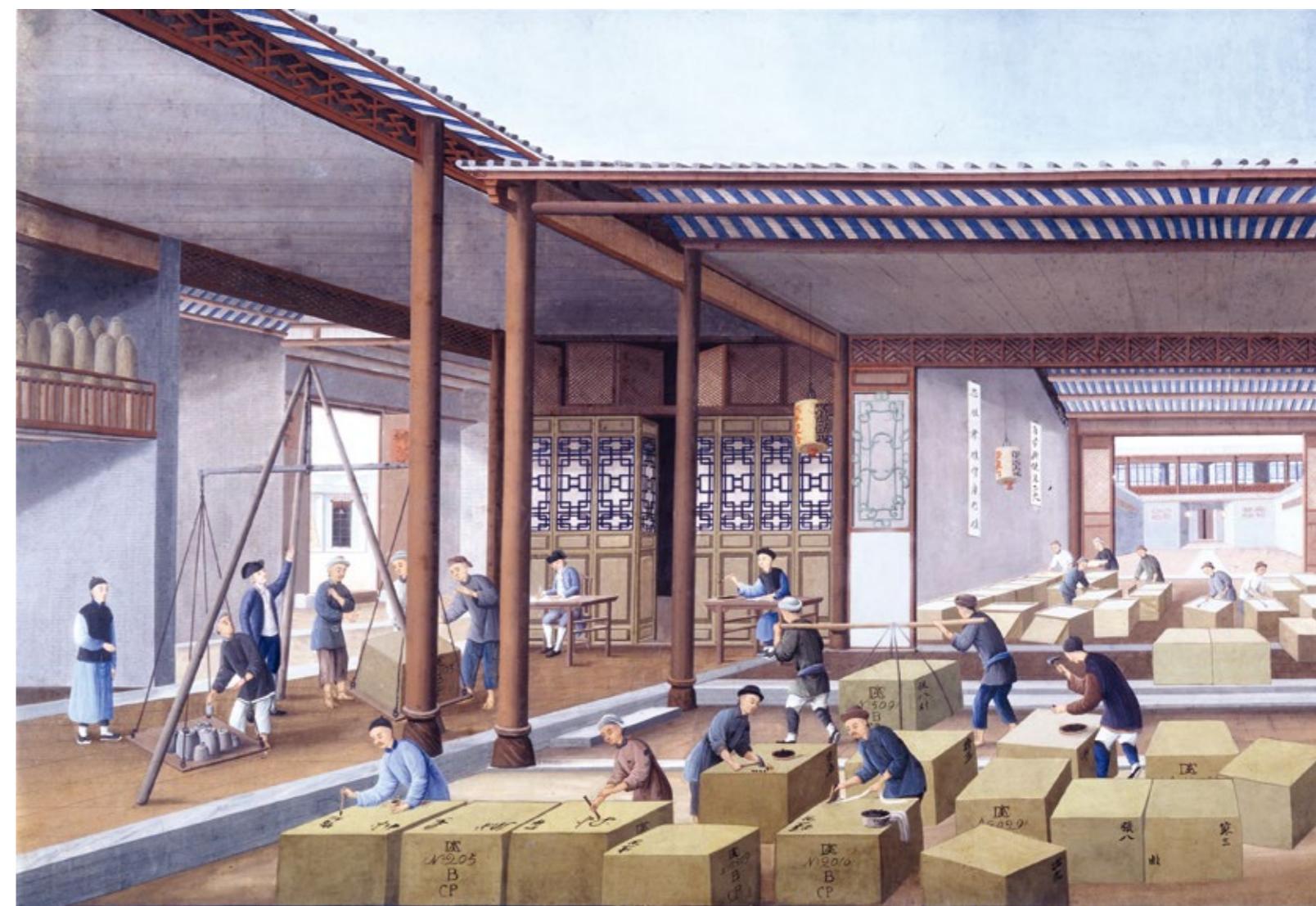
On 8 February 1777 at 3 a.m. a fire broke out near the factory destroying more than 300 houses. The Dutch mentioned that Chowqua was living in the building at the time, which was in much danger, as was the building to the right (Monqua's factory) and also the Danish factory (no. 1). Although it is not visible in the Hume painting, there was a tollhouse on the west side of Chowqua's factory which is where the fire was finally stopped with the aid of the foreign fire engines (water pumps).¹⁷

Figure 3 shows the inside of Chowqua's factory as it appeared in 1783. On the lanterns in the back we can see the name Yuanquan Hang. Chowqua's men are shown packing Bohea tea for the Danish Asiatic Company (DAC). On the left, we see a couple of Danish officers and Chinese helpers weighing the tea chests. A Danish officer and Chowqua's clerk are sitting at tables recording the weights of the chests. Information inscribed on the tea chests enables us to determine the exact time this scene took place, which was November/December 1783.¹⁸ In addition to the foreign trade at Canton, Chowqua was also involved with the junk trade to Southeast Asia, which I have discussed in another study.¹⁹

Chowqua died in 1789, and his son Locqua (Chen Junhua 陈钧华) continued the business up until it was declared bankrupt in early 1793. Sometime before September of that year Mowqua I (Lv Guanheng 卢观恒) of the Guangli Hang 广利行 purchased the building and moved his business there. We know this because a fire broke out on 29 September 1793 at 2 a.m. near Locqua's factory, which, as mentioned, was then Mowqua's. By 4:30 a.m. the fire had advanced and was threatening Mowqua and Monqua's buildings as well as the Danish factory. The Danes had no ships or officers in China that year so it was left up to the Chinese and other foreign residents to bring the fire under control. The

Europeans rushed out with their fire engines and continued to spray water on those buildings to keep them from burning. Mowqua's factory was full of cotton at the time so there was great concern that if it caught fire, it would spread to the neighboring buildings. By 9 a.m., however, the fire was contained, but not before about 120 shops and houses had been destroyed. Mowqua, Monqua and Poankeequa (Pan Zhencheng 潘振承, the owner of the Danish factory and also building no. 2), were very appreciative to the foreigners for their help in putting out the flames.²⁰

Figure 3: View of Chowqua's (Chen Zuguan) Yuanquan Hang in 1783.
Courtesy of Martyn Gregory Gallery, London.



HISTORIOGRAFIA

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Mowqua I died on 19 December 1812²¹ and then his son Mowqua II (Lv Wenjin 卢文锦, Figure 4) took over the business.²² According to Hunter, Mowqua II moved the Guangli Hang to the east side of the quay after the fire of 1822.²³

SECOND BUILDING FROM THE LEFT

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Fengyuan Hang, renamed Wanhe in early 1780s	Teunqua and Monqua (Cai Yongjie and Cai Shiwen)	ca. 1760	1796
Huilong Hang	Newqua II (Zheng Chongqian)	1797	1810
	A.L. Barreto & Co.	1810	1818
	n/a	1819	1822

The next building to the right (east) was the Fengyuan Hang 逢源行. It was owned by Teunqua (Cai Yongjie 蔡永接) and his son Monqua (Cai Shiwen 蔡世文). The exact year that they moved into this building is unknown. We know that the family sold their Yeho Hang (no. 17) in 1758/1759 so it is likely that at least by 1760, when the Cohong (Gong Hang 公行) was created, they were living in this building. Teunqua died in the summer of 1761 and then Monqua took over the business.²⁴

On 10 December 1767, Monqua's storeroom caught fire. The Europeans rushed to the scene with their fire engines, and managed to extinguish the flames. The historical accounts of the fire vary, but it seems that Monqua lost a good deal of Bohea tea and his building was much damaged. The Hong merchant Conqua (Chen Shiji 陈世积) offered him space in his factory so Monqua could complete his tea contracts. In the meantime, the building was repaired.²⁵ As mentioned above, Monqua's factory was in great danger of fire again in 1777 and 1793, but he survived both of those disasters without damage.

Besides the foreign trade at Canton, Monqua was involved in the Chinese junk trade to Southeast Asia. He and his father and brother were probably

partaking in this trade all along, but we only have data from the 1760s. In those years he sponsored no less than ten Canton junks (Table 2).²⁶ Table 2 shows that two of the junks he helped finance operated out of the Mantack Hang.

Like most of the Hong merchants, Monqua had several warehouses where he kept his stock.²⁷ Because fires were frequent in Canton, the best way to reduce the risks was to keep merchandise in several locations. In early 1773, Monqua rebuilt his factory and added a second storey. He also built a wall between it and the Danish factory that extended out towards the river and the quay was extended in front of nos. 1 and 2. The Hume scroll was drawn a few months before these additions so they do not appear in the painting. Later scenes, however, show all these changes.²⁸

Figure 4: Mowqua II (Lv Wenjin) of the Guangli Hang.
Courtesy of Martyn Gregory Gallery, Londo).



TABLE 2: JUNKS SPONSORED BY MONQUA 1764-1768

No.	Canton Junks	Chinese	Hong Name	Chinese	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768
1	<i>Chongthat</i>	钟达	Wende	文德行				X	
2	<i>Eckhing</i>					X			
3	<i>Ecksun</i>	益顺	Wende	文德行		X	X	X	X
4	<i>Fongschyn</i>	丰顺	Fengjin	丰晋行					X
5	<i>Gibing</i>					X	X	X	
6	<i>Hangzaychow</i>	坑仔舡	Yihe	义和行	X	X	X		
7	<i>Samjeck</i>	三益	Fengjin	丰晋行	X				
8	<i>Samkonghing</i>	三广兴	Dafeng	达丰行		X			X
9	<i>Santay</i>	新泰	Taishun	泰顺行		X	X		
10	<i>Wingbing</i>				X	X			

Sources: Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godegårdarkivet Archive F17, pp. T1_5145-7 and passim

In the early 1780s, Monqua changed the name of his factory to Wanhe Hang 万和行, and then we hear nothing more about the Fengyuan Hang. It is unclear what triggered this name change. There were several Hong merchant failures from the late 1770s to the early 1790s, which affected Monqua. As was customary in Canton, the remaining Hong merchants were held responsible for paying the arrears of the failed houses. By the early 1790s, Monqua's business had built up a huge debt which undoubtedly contributed to his depression and ill-health. On 10 April 1796, he committed suicide and shortly thereafter, the Wanhe Hang was closed. The properties were sold to pay the arrears.²⁹

Newqua II (Zheng Chongqian 郑崇谦, also spelled Gnewqua) of the Huilong Hang 会隆行 purchased Monqua's factory in late 1796 or early 1797. A fire broke out in this building on 5 December 1797, between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning. Foreigners from every nation rushed to the scene with their fire engines to help put out the flames. Water was sprayed on the Danish factory to keep the fire from spreading. The extent of the damage to Newqua's factory is unclear. The Danes mentioned that the wall between their building and his was damaged and their balcony also suffered water damage.³⁰

As is discussed below, the wall between these two buildings was replaced sometime in 1801. We have no record of the repairs that were done to Newqua's factory at this time. There are no obvious changes to that building in paintings that have survived from 1797 to 1801 so the damage may have been restricted to the interior. But it is also possible that he rebuilt the factory according to the previous plan, which means it would not be noticeable in paintings. The repairs were probably done in the spring of 1798. In December of that year, the American consul Samuel Snow rented the front apartment of Newqua's factory so we know that that part of the building was habitable.³¹

Newqua II inherited a large debt from his father, Newqua I, which continued to affect his solvency. At the time of purchasing the factory, he was said to be upwards of 300,000 taels (ca. \$417,000) in debt.³² We might rightfully ask why he purchased Monqua's factory if he was in such a poor financial state. As was the case with all Hong merchants, they could not quit their businesses voluntarily or move to another occupation without government approval. He basically had two choices; stop trying to satisfy his creditors and admit bankruptcy, which would immediately end his career and disgrace his family, or continue the business by

HISTORIOGRAFIA

borrowing more money and hope for a windfall in the future. Newqua and the many other Hong merchants who found themselves in this situation undoubtedly knew that the chances of succeeding with the second option were very slim. But at least that choice had some hope, whereas the former option was a certain path to destruction for himself and his family.³³

We need to also keep in mind that the transferring of real estate properties from one Hong merchant to another was not always a voluntary decision. The Hoppos (户部, customs superintendents), often ordered men to purchase buildings from failed merchants so that the emperor's duties could be paid. In Newqua's case, we do not know why he bought the building, but he may have had no choice. Hong merchants were not considered to be insolvent until they could no longer keep creditors at bay. Newqua was making enough payments to keep his debt holders satisfied, so Qing officials treated him no different from any other Hong merchant.³⁴

By the end of 1809, the Dutch reported Newqua to be 1.3 million dollars in debt, and now his creditors were becoming very impatient. As things began to fall apart, Newqua's partner Ahoy absconded. The Dutch mentioned that half of Newqua's debt was owed to the EIC and the other half to private traders. The Huilong Hang was declared bankrupt in 1810. Newqua and his writer (secretary), Assing, were banished to Ili (Yining 伊宁 in Xinjiang Province) in August 1811 as punishment for their debt.³⁵ In June 1813, news arrived in Canton that Newqua had died while in exile. His factory, however, continued to retain the name Huilong Hang up to the fire of 1822.³⁶

The Barreto family from Macao took over the Huilong Hang after Newqua failed.³⁷ It is unclear whether they actually owned the building or just took possession of it. They were one of Newqua's largest private creditors so when he failed they may have gained possession of the premises as collateral for the debt. Whatever the case may have been, the building became known as the Barreto factory after Newqua moved out.³⁸

Luis and António Lourenço Barreto were both born in Bombay, and later became naturalized Portuguese citizens in Goa. They established a residence in Macao in 1797.³⁹ According to the EIC, the Barretos were British subjects, because they were born in Bombay and had also resided in Calcutta. In

1805 the Company tried to expel them from China. Their Portuguese citizenship, however, gave them a legitimate reason to remain.⁴⁰ Besides loaning money to Chinese merchants, the Barretos were also agents for the Bengal Insurance Company. In 1803, the Dutch mentioned that the two men had insured all of the English and Portuguese ships operating in China that year. For inter-Asian voyages they insured up to 50,000 Spanish mats (dollars) per ship at 10 percent premium. For Asia-Europe voyages the premium was 12 percent and there was no upward limit on the amount they would insure.⁴¹

As far back as 1788, Joseph and/or Luis Barreto had been loaning money to the EIC to help finance its China trade.⁴² Some of the Barretos went back and forth to India to take care of business, while other members of the family remained in Macao or Canton.⁴³ There were a number of Barretos involved in the trade at Macao, but it is not always clear whether they were all from the same family.⁴⁴ The Barretos also invested in real estate. In 1814, for example, they purchased the house that the Dutch normally rented in Macao.⁴⁵

Other Barretos who were involved in the family business include John, José, Francisco and Bartholomew. From 1803 to 1818, there are many references in the Dutch records showing various members of the Barreto family going back and forth to Canton each year. In 1818, A.L. Barreto & Co. was declared bankrupt, but several of the Barretos continued to be involved in the trade thereafter.⁴⁶ As far as Newqua's factory is concerned, it is unclear whether the Barretos continued to occupy it after 1818. In a letter dated 21 February 1820, the Dutch included A.L., Francisco and Bartholomew Barreto among the foreigners who were residing in China. The Dutch also considered them to be non-natives of Macao because otherwise they would not have listed them as 'foreigners'. Unfortunately, the authors of that letter did not specify whether the Barretos were still going back and forth to Canton, as before, or were remaining in Macao.⁴⁷

In the 1820s, references emerge showing Luis Barreto trading in opium. After purchasing the drug in the lower delta, he helped smugglers obtain rice from Manila so they could go upriver and enter Whampoa as a rice ship which greatly reduced the amount they had to pay in port fees. The opium smugglers could then trade legally for tea, porcelain, silk and other products,

which they carried back to India and exchanged for more opium.⁴⁸ We know from these examples that Luis was operating out of Macao and Lintin Island at that time.⁴⁹ It is unclear whether the Barretos kept their factory in Canton after 1818 so we do not know who occupied the building after that year.

BUILDING NO. 1

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Danish factory Huangqi Hang	Beaukeequa (Li Kaiguan)	1752	1758
	Swetia and Ingzia (Yan Ruishe and Yan Yingshe)	1758	1766
	Poankeequa I and II (Pan Zhencheng and Pan Youdu)	1766	post 1806
	Conseequa (Pan Changyao)	post 1806	1820
	Mr. French	1821	1822

The Danish factory is perhaps the second best-documented building on the quay, with the Dutch factory (no. 16) being the first. The Danes kept very detailed records, and most of them have survived. As is the case with all the buildings on the quay, it is difficult to document the exact location where foreigners lived in the first five decades of the 18th century. By 1760, however, we have a fairly good idea of where each company was located, although information about private traders is still far from complete.

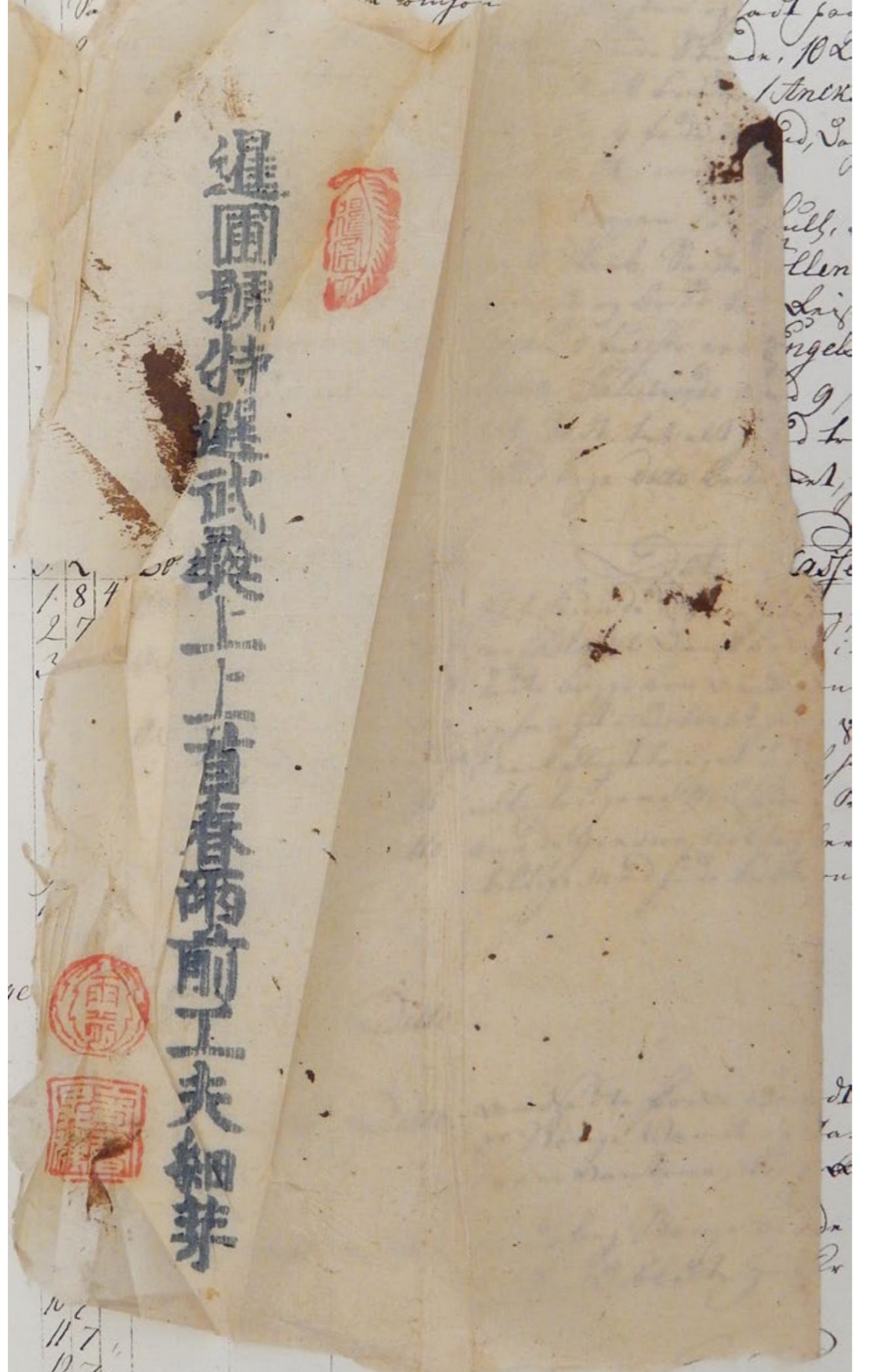
The DAC rented a factory almost every year from 1734 onwards. In the early 18th century they often rented two buildings, which makes it even more difficult to establish their locations. There was a fire on 7-8 December 1743, when the Danish and Swedish factories, as well as several other buildings, were burnt to the ground. We do not know if the building the Danes were staying in was rebuilt after the fire, or whether they just moved into another building the following year.⁵⁰

In a report dated 22 March 1750, the Dutch mentioned that there had been a fire on the east end of

the quay that year, but did not specify the exact day that it took place. The Danes left Canton in late December 1749 and made no mention of this fire so it presumably happened sometime in early 1750. While the Dutch did not mention the Danish factory specifically, they said that the customs house was destroyed by the fire, and that it threatened Texia and Tan Tinqua's factories.⁵¹ These buildings were all located on the east end of the quay, where the Danes normally resided, but it is unknown whether their building suffered damage this year.

The evidence suggests that the Danes were occupying building no. 1 from at least 1752. In that year, they rented a new factory that had just been built by the Hong merchant Beaukeequa (Li Kaiguan 黎开官). In 1753, the Danes made a special contract with him to rent the building for six years, which guaranteed their occupation up to and including 1758.⁵² On 11 September of the latter year Beaukeequa died insolvent. The particulars surrounding his estate are unclear except that we know his properties were confiscated by the Qing government and sold (see no. 13 below). One of Beaukeequa's partners, Swetia (Yan Ruishe 颜瑞舍), became responsible for repaying part of Beaukeequa's arrears. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Swetia may have purchased the Danish factory at that time—the proceeds of which would have been applied to the outstanding debt.

In August 1758, the Danes mentioned that they were staying in the same building that they had been renting previously, which was Beaukeequa's building.⁵³ After Beaukeequa died, an arrangement had to be worked out with the new owner. I have found no references to the Danes moving out of Beaukeequa's factory after his death so I assume that the rent they paid to Swetia in 1758 was for the same building that they had been renting since 1752. We know that the Danes continued to rent their main factory from Swetia and his brother Ingzia (Yan Yingshe 颜瑛舍) from 1758 to 1765. Thus, the evidence suggests that Swetia may have purchased the Danish factory from Beaukeequa's estate, and then continued to rent it out to the Danes. If this is true, then the Danish factory that we see in the Hume painting was originally built in the spring of 1752. It was renovated in late 1769 or early 1770 and given a new façade with a balcony on the second level, both of which appear in the Hume painting.⁵⁴

Figure 5: Shipping document stamped with *xianpu yuanji*. (RAC: Ask 1066). Courtesy of Danish National Archives.

The Danes stayed in no. 1 every year up to and including 1806. In that year, the DAC ceased sending ships to China, but then later sent five more ships from 1820 to 1833. In at least a couple of those latter years, they rented space in no. 1 again. From at least the early 1750s to the fire of 1822, no. 1 was called the Danish factory. In Chinese it was known as the Yellow Flag Hong (Huangqi Hang 黃旗行).⁵⁵ The Danes did not have a yellow flag so it is unknown where that nickname came from.⁵⁶

In March 1763, Swetia died and then ownership of no. 1 passed to his brother Ingsia. At some point before autumn 1766, Poankeequa I purchased the building. Poankeequa died in 1788, and then no. 1 passed to his successor, Poankeequa II, who continued to own it up to at least 1806, when the Danes left the trade. In the interim, the Americans William Magee and Peter Dobell took over parts of the building and opened an inn and a tavern, respectively.⁵⁷

When the Danes returned to Canton in 1820, Poankeequa II's cousin, Conseequa (Pan Changyao 潘長耀), owned no. 1. This transfer of ownership obviously took place sometime between 1806 and 1820. In 1821, an American by the name of Mr. French rebuilt the factory at his own expense. He rebuilt it again after the fire of 1822. The Danish factory was rebuilt several times from 1769 to 1806 all of which is documented in Van Dyke and Mok's book.⁵⁸

BUILDING NO. 2

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Tongwe Hang, renamed Tongfu Hang in mid-1810s	Poankeequa I, II & III (Pan Zhencheng, Pan Youdu and Pan Zhengwei)	1760	1822

If we look closely at the Hume painting, we can see the remains of the characters Tongwen 同文 on the lanterns hanging in front of no. 2. Another painting from 1772 and one from 1782 also show lanterns in front with these characters on them.⁵⁹ The Tongwen Hang 同文行 was Poankeequa I's factory, which he established in 1760. Before that year, he traded out of the Dafeng Hang 达丰行, which was

located a block north of the factories.⁶⁰ When the Cohong was created in 1760, many changes were made to the quay. The Dutch mentioned that there were several new factories added this year, which probably included nos. 2 and 4 and maybe several others (see below).⁶¹

Poankeequa often traded under the name *xianpu yuanji* 邇圃源記 or *xianpu hao* 邇圃號, which he stamped on many of his contracts.⁶² Figure 5 shows a document that accompanied one of Poankeequa's shipments of Congo tea to a Danish ship in ca. 1779, and it has the stamp *xianpu hao*. There is also a painting in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, showing a warehouse full of *xianpu* 邇圃 tea, which would be Poankeequa's factory (and could very well be representing the inside of no. 2).⁶³ Even though Poankeequa packed and shipped his tea through the Tongwen Hang (no. 2) at that time he often labeled his tea with the name *xianpu*.

Besides the foreign trade, the Pan family had been involved in the junk trade to Southeast Asia for many decades. The family was originally from Fujian Province. Poankeequa gained his language skills (he was fluent in Spanish) and early business experience from the trade between Xiamen and Manila. The family settled in Guangzhou sometime around the 1730s. From the 1740s to 1760, Poankeequa did all of his business (foreign, Southeast Asian and Manila trade) out of the Dafeng Hang, which was managed by a branch of the Chen family. He had relatives managing the trade between Manila and China. In 1760 the Tongwen Hang was created and then most of the foreign trade was channeled through that firm. But Poankeequa continued to be involved in sponsoring the Dafeng Hang junks and in handling the Manila trade.⁶⁴ (see Table 3)

It was a tradition for the main suppliers of the Portuguese and Spanish cargos to provide those men with accommodation each year.⁶⁵ Poankeequa's family was the main supplier of the Spanish cargos throughout the 18th and early 19th century. Before 1760, the Spaniards would have stayed in the Dafeng Hang, north of the quay. From 1760 to 1777, the Spaniards stayed in his Tongwen Hang (no. 2). As is explained below (no. 3), they later established their own factory, but the Pans continued to be their main supplier.⁶⁶ From 1785 onwards, there were also Spanish ships anchoring at Whampoa almost every year.

HISTORIOGRAFIA

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Poankeequa was the head of the Hong merchants from 1760 to his death in 1788. His son Pan Youdu 潘有度 (Poankeequa II) succeeded him in business, but Monqua then became head merchant. The Pans supplied many of the exports of not only the Spaniards, but also the Swedes, French and British. Most of those cargos would have passed through building no. 2. At some point in the mid-1810s, Youdu renamed the factory Tongfu Hang 同孚行, which it retained up to the fire of 1822.⁶⁷ Poankeequa II died in 1820, and then Poankeequa III took over the firm.⁶⁸

No. 2 was not rebuilt after the fire. Instead, Poankeequa III donated the land to the establishment of New China Street in 1823. In honour of the founder (Poankeequa I), the street was named Tongwen Jie 同文街.⁶⁹

BUILDING NO. 3

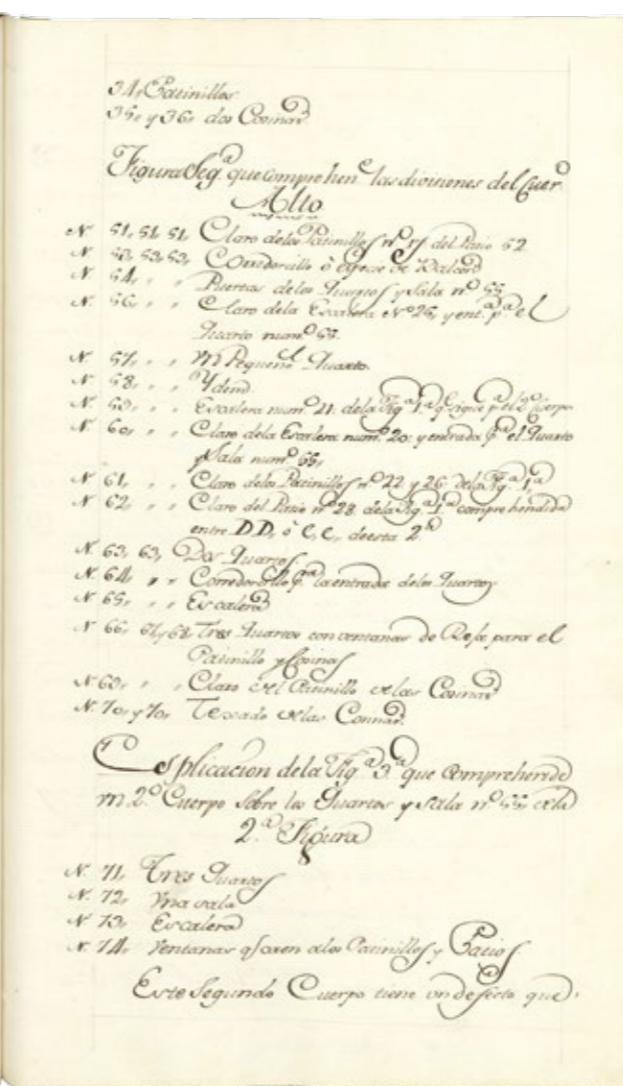
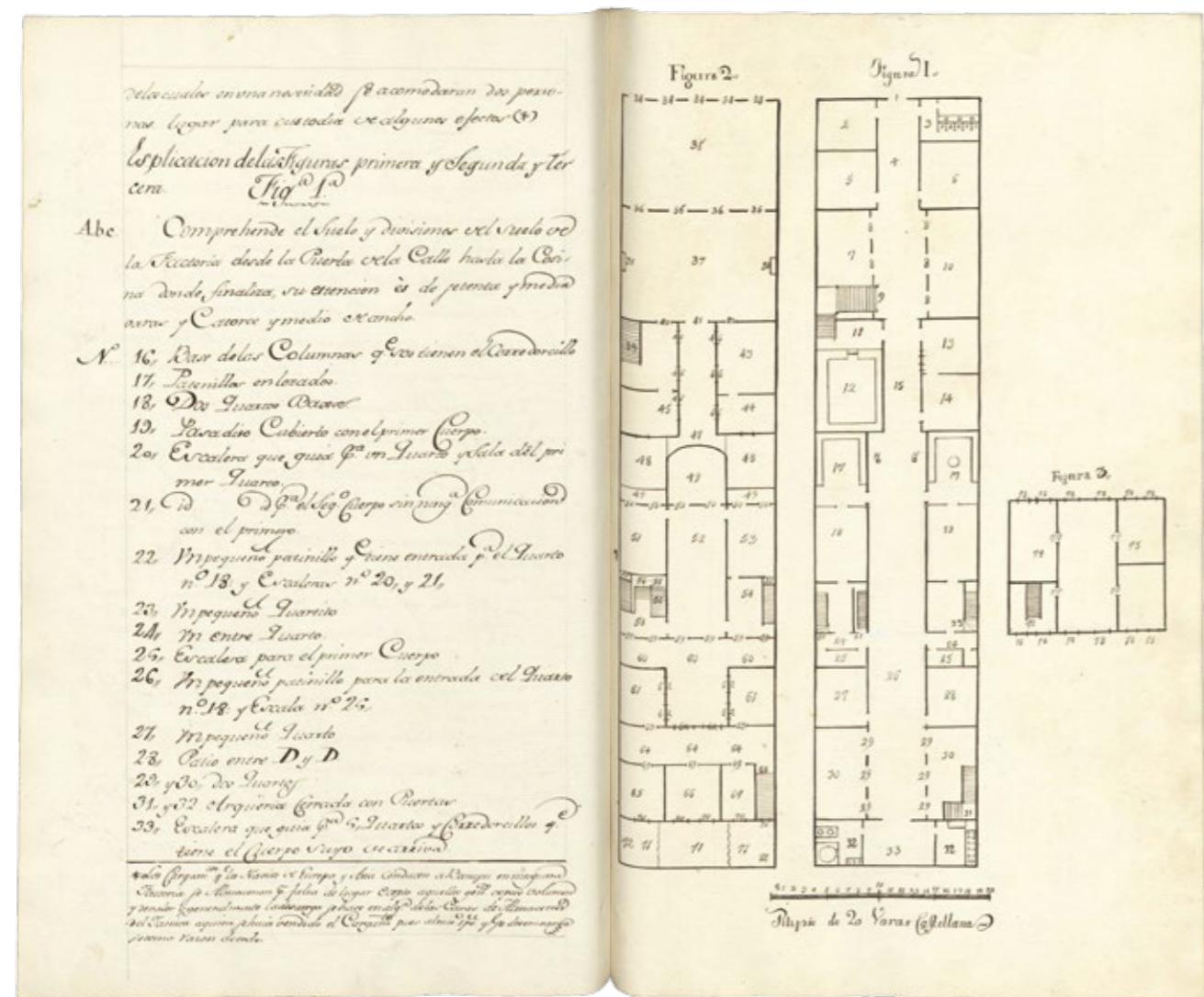
Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
n/a	n/a		1788
Spanish factory, Lvsong Hang	n/a	1788	1822

I do not have any information about no. 3 before 1788. A painting from 1782 shows lanterns hanging in front of that building, but the characters on them are illegible.⁷⁰ No. 3 appears to have kept a similar façade from at least the late 1760s to 1787.⁷¹ As is mentioned above, some of the buildings in this

area were constructed in 1760, when the Cohong was created, but it is uncertain whether this included no. 3. The building appears in a scene from 1769 so it was clearly in existence by that year.⁷²

In the spring of 1788, the Spaniards renovated no. 3 and gave it a French-style façade. They moved into it later that year and then on 24 August raised their flag in front for the first time.⁷³ From 1788 to the fire of 1822, no. 3 was called the Lvsong Hang 吕宋行 by the Chinese (because the Spaniards were from Luzon in the Philippines) and known as the Spanish factory by foreigners.

Poankeequa had lived in Manila where he became fluent in Spanish so it was logical that the Spaniards would have most of their dealings with him.⁷⁴ In 1778, the Spaniards decided that they needed a separate



accommodation and moved out of Poankeequa's factory.⁷⁵ It is unclear which building they occupied from 1778 to 1787, but it may have been no. 3. It was not until 1785 that the Royal Company of the Philippines was established and Spanish ships began a regular trade at Whampoa. The number of Spanish ships arriving in China (Whampoa and Macao) began to increase thereafter, and by 1788, the Spaniards felt that they needed to have a factory of their own. From that year forward there was a Spanish flag displayed on the quay each year up to the 1820s.⁷⁶

Figure 6 shows a plan of the Spanish factory in 1789, which gives an idea of how the rooms were arranged. The top of the image is the south side facing the river and the bottom is the back of the factory that ran up to Thirteen Hong Street (Shisan Hang Jie 十三行街). Each room is numbered with a corresponding key and a brief description. Unfortunately, the key does not include descriptions for numbers 1 to 15 or 37 to 50 so it is left to our imagination as to what those rooms were intended for. There is a central walkway running through the entire length of the first floor, with rooms on each side. Some of these areas would have been storerooms.

Figure 6 is not entirely clear, but the Spanish factory appears to have had about six sections (or blocks) with stairs going up to the second level in only three of them. The plan shows a small third floor in the fourth block with four rooms. There appears to have been no back door, and because the building butted up to the adjacent factories on each side, there are no windows. Thus, in the event of a fire, the occupants would need to exit through the front door, front windows, or go to the roof and climb to an adjacent building.

Because there are no side or rear openings, if a fire started near the back of the factory, it would be very difficult to get water to the flames. The front doors and windows appear to be the only entrance, which means it is also the only exit for smoke. There were probably air vents in the roof that are not shown in Figure 6, but one can still imagine that the factory would likely fill up with fumes very quickly during a fire. The enclosed nature of these buildings meant that even if perishable goods such as fabrics and tea managed to survive the

Figure 6: Plan of the Spanish Factory in 1789 (Untzi Museoa-Museo Naval, Fondo Manuel de Agote, Diary R631, p. 95) <http://untzmuseoa.eus/es/colecciones/fondo-manuel-de-agote> [accessed 2016.01.21].

HISTORIOGRAFIA

flames, they were still subject to smoke damage. Once the smell of smoke permeated these commodities they would have been very difficult to sell.

BUILDING NO. 4

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Gong Hang	Gong Hang	1760	1771
Yuyuan Hang	Kousia (Zhang Tianqiu)	1772	1780
n/a	n/a	1780	1789
French factory, Jiu Gong Hang	n/a	1789	1822

No. 4 may have been one of the new buildings constructed in 1760.⁷⁷ A painting from 1769 shows the name Gong Hang (in reverse order) written above the front door, and we know that that organisation began in 1760. The front of the building in that painting appears to be under construction, and the front windows have not yet been installed. They were apparently adding new rooms to the factory, which are completed in the Hume painting.⁷⁸

No. 4 was used as a warehouse for the Cohong. In the late 1760s, there was a severe shortage of apartments for rent in the foreign quarter which led to more rooms being added. In September 1769, the Cohong was ordered by the governor general to make room in their building to house a foreign captain who could not find accommodation. This reference is very likely talking about no. 4.⁷⁹

In February 1771, the Cohong was disbanded, and the building was sold to Kousia (Zhang Tianqiu 张天球, also known as Kewshaw) of the Yuyuan Hang 裕源行. Kousia also owned the Baoshun Hang 宝顺行 (no. 9 below), but he seems to have done most of his trade out of the Yuyuan Hang. Kousia often traded in partnership with Shy Kinqua (Shi Mengjing 石梦鲸, of no. 13).⁸⁰

As the Hume painting shows, in the spring (off-season) of 1772, no. 4 was given a new façade. The second-floor terrace or balcony was also enclosed with a new roof. Earlier paintings do not show these additions.⁸¹

These changes were probably done by Kousia after he purchased the building from the Cohong. They may have just been completed at the time of the Hume painting, because it does not show the lanterns of the Yuyuan Hang in the front. In a later painting that is believed to represent late 1772 or early 1773—a couple of months after the Hume scroll—the Yuyuan Hang lanterns are shown.⁸² We know this painting is chronologically after the Hume scroll because it shows a rebuilt no. 15. That painting is also before the 1773 season, because the building to the left of no. 1 has not yet been rebuilt with a second storey which is believed to have been done in the spring of that year. Thus, the Hume scroll and this other painting would have to fall within the same year, but a couple of months apart.

By 1779, the Yuyuan Hang was bankrupt, and Kousia was exiled to Ili along with his neighbor Ingsia (owner of no. 5). The Zhang properties were sold and the proceeds were applied to the arrears. It is unclear who purchased no. 4 after Kousia failed. A panorama of Canton in the British Library which has recently been dated to 1782 shows a new set of lanterns hanging in the front of no. 4. The characters on the lanterns are not legible, but it is clear that they are not those of the Yuyuan Hang or Gong Hang.⁸³ Another merchant must have purchased the building.

Private foreign traders continued to rent apartments in no. 4 from time to time. In 1782, an additional blind seems to have been added to the openings in the upper level balcony. The basic structure of the building, however, remained essentially the same from the late 1760s to 1788.⁸⁴ In the latter year, or at some point before, the French moved from no. 7 to no. 4. In early 1789, they gave no. 4 a new façade.

From 1789 to the fire of 1822, foreigners called no. 4 the French factory. The Chinese name, however, changed back to 'Cohong' but with the adjective 'Old' added to the front (Jiu Gong Hang 旧公行). The French occupied this building up to and including 1792, but then abandoned the trade. The French flag briefly returned to no. 4 in 1803 and 1804, but that flag was then absent from the quay until December 1832.⁸⁵ After the French moved out, private traders occupied no. 4 again.

In 1799, the Americans rented no. 4 and raised their flag in front, for the first time. They had probably rented apartments in this building in previous years, but 1799 and possibly early 1800 were the only times

that the American flag was displayed in front. In later years, the building continued to be called the French factory by foreigners and the Old Cohong by Chinese, up to the fire of 1822.⁸⁶

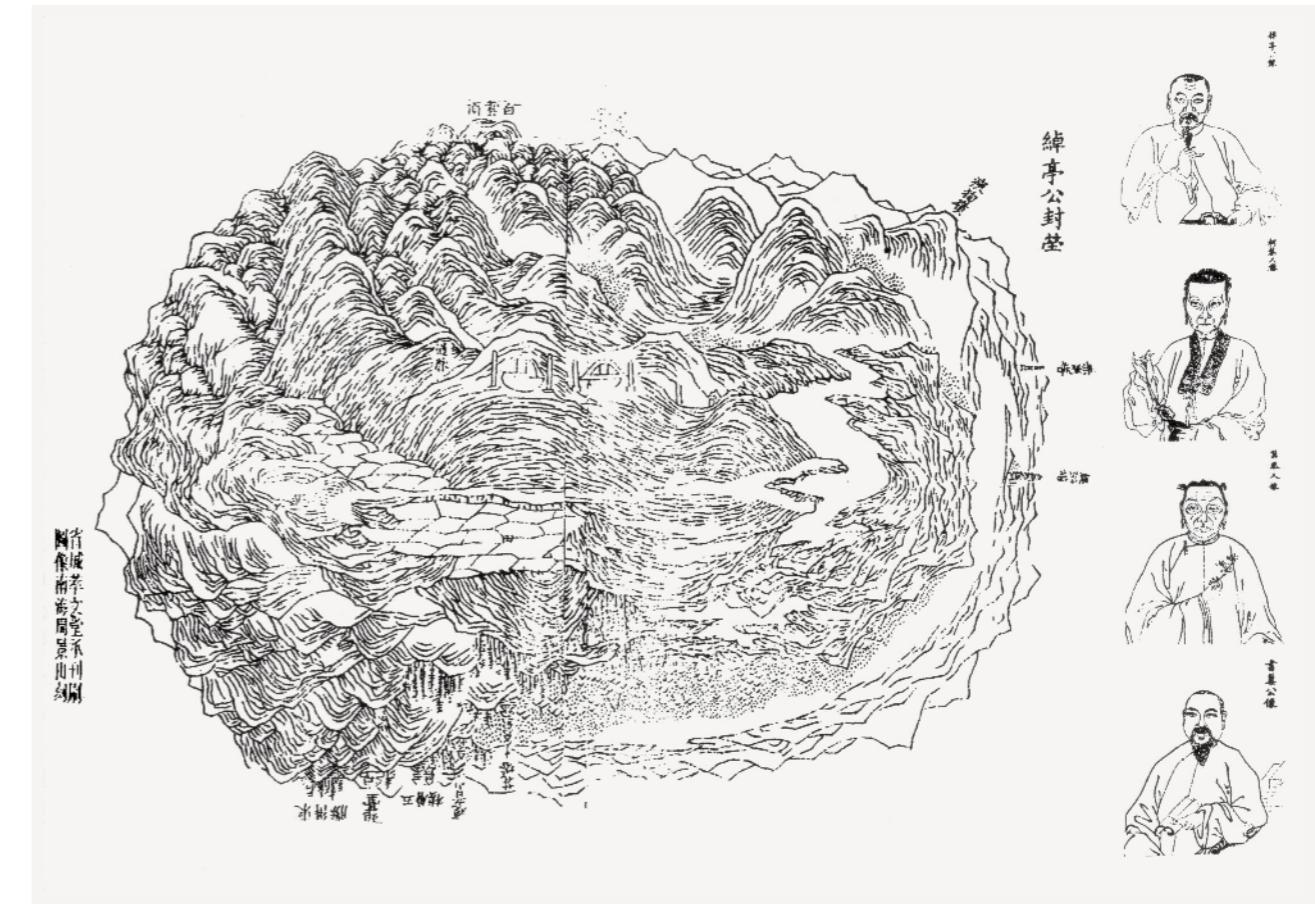
BUILDING NO. 5

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Taihe Hang	Texia, Swetia and Ingsia (Yan Ruishe, Yan Deshe and Yan Yingshe)	n/a	1779
n/a	n/a	1780	ca. 1790s
Dongsheng Hang	Chunqua (Liu Dezhang)	ca. 1790s	1822

If we look closely at the Hume painting, we can see the characters Taihe 泰和 on the lanterns hanging in front of no. 5.⁸⁷ The Taihe Hang 泰和行 was owned by the famous Yan family. Texia (Yan Deshe 颜德舍, top sketch in Figure 7) founded the firm in 1734. His eldest son Swetia (bottom sketch in Figure 7) took over the firm in 1751, after his father died. Swetia died in 1763, and then his brother Ingsia (Yan Yingshe, also spelled Yngshaw) succeeded him.

At the time of the Hume painting, Ingsia was running the Taihe Hang. On 11 December 1772, he led a funeral procession up to the White Cloud Mountains north of Canton in honour of reburying his father. There were about 15,000 people in the procession, with 1,000 palanquins. The Dutch mentioned that the funeral cost Ingsia upwards of 10,000 taels. Figure 7 shows a drawing of Texia (top), his two wives (centre),

Figure 7: Yan Family Gravesite White Cloud Mountains (*Yan shi jia pu* 颜氏家谱).



HISTORIOGRAFIA

Swetia (bottom) and the family gravesite. This event marked the height of the Yan family trade and influence in Canton.⁸⁸

In addition to owning a factory to conduct business, most of the prominent Hong merchants owned an estate where their children and womenfolk stayed. These places were often referred to by foreigners as their ‘women’s house’. Figure 8 shows the Yan family memorial hall which was probably located near their women’s house. Unfortunately, the building was consumed in the fire of 1822 and, as far as I know, was never rebuilt.

Besides the foreign trade, the Yan family was also deeply involved in the junk trade to Southeast Asia. One of the family members, Hongsia (Yan Xiangshe 颜享舍), was a prominent financier of the Canton junks. He helped to finance about half of the 30 or 40 junks that were dispatched each year. Another Yan,

Lipsia (Yan Lishe 颜立舍), was captain of the Junk *Eckthay* (*Yitai* 益泰) which Hongsia sponsored and which sailed from Canton to Batavia each year in the late 1760s (Figure 9). Hongsia worked very closely with his relatives in the Taihe Hang and helped in the foreign trade on occasion as well. Even though he was technically part of the Bengang Hang (junk trade) and not a member of the Waiyang Hang (foreign trade), he communicated directly with foreigners in Canton and conducted some trade with them.⁸⁹

In the late 1770s, the Taihe Hang suffered considerable setbacks until it eventually failed in 1779. Shortly thereafter Ingsia was exiled to Ili as punishment for his debts. As far as the records reveal, he seems to have spent the remaining twelve years of his life cutting grass for the emperor’s horses.⁹⁰ His younger brother Limsia (Yan Linshe 颜林舍) continued trading, for a couple years thereafter, but then also failed.

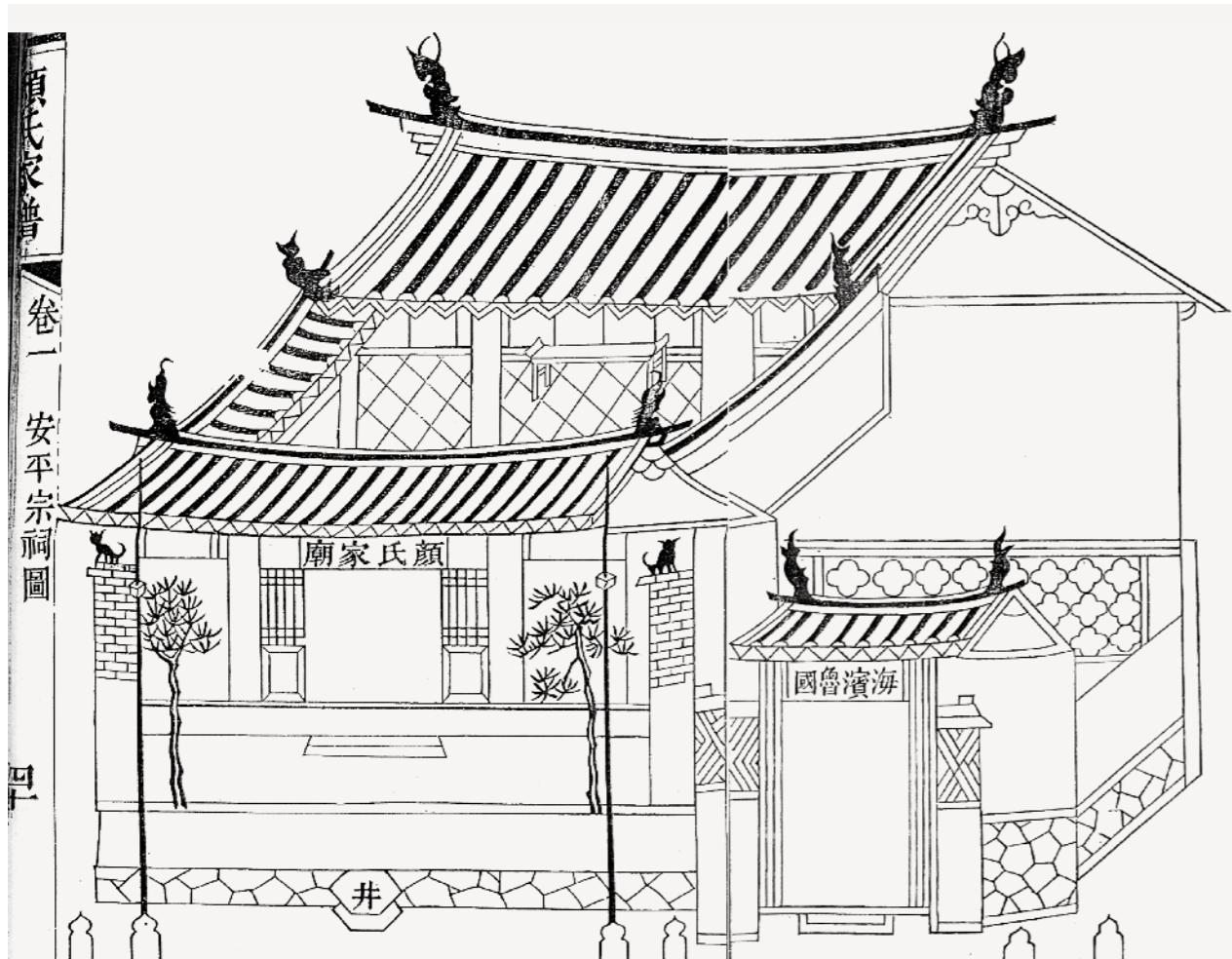


Figure 8: Yan Family Memorial Hall (*Yan shijia pu*).



Figure 9: Canton Junk *Eckthay* (*Yitai*) (courtesy of Uppsala Auktions).

Today, the Yans are almost completely forgotten. All that remains is an ally named after them, called the Yanjia Xiang 颜家巷 (Figure 10). In the mid-18th century, however, they were one of the most wealthy and influential families in the city.⁹¹

At some point after 1779, no. 5 was sold to pay the duties that Ingsia owed to the emperor. It is unclear who purchased the building in the early 1780s. A painting from 1782 shows lanterns in front of the building. It is obvious that the characters on them are not Taihe, but they are not clear enough to make out.⁹²

Chunqua (Liu Dezheng 刘德章 of the Dongsheng Hang 东生行) later bought no. 5. As Figure 11 shows, he was also known as Liu Dongsheng 刘东生. He occupied no. 5 up to the fire of 1822. Chunqua became a Hong merchant sometime around 1792 so he may have purchased the building after that appointment.⁹³

BUILDING NO. 6

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
n/a	n/a	n/a	ca. 1790s
Yanzichao	Chunqua (Liu Dongsheng)	ca. 1790s	1822

HISTORIOGRAPHY

I do not have any textual references to no. 6 from the 18th century. Almost everything we know about that building comes from paintings. The Hume scroll shows a two-storied block that appears to be attached at the rear to a long shorter building, which forms the west side of China Street. This long structure is where the shops were located. An earlier view of the factories from the mid-1760s, and other paintings from around this same year, agree with this arrangement.⁹⁴

Figure 10: Yanjia Xiang 颜家巷. Photo by author.



HISTORIOGRAFIA

Other paintings from this period, however, show no. 6 as a series of five or six two-storeyed interconnected blocks, running from the front all the way to Thirteen Hong Street at the rear. They show the shops in China Street butting up to the side of these blocks, rather than being part of them.⁹⁵ Most of the paintings show a similar façade, doors and windows on no. 6, and agree that it was a two-storeyed structure, but the rear sections might differ. At some point after 1774 and before 1778, no. 6 was rebuilt, with a new façade and windows on the second level. A second two-storeyed block was added at the rear that ran up to the entrance of China Street. A door with windows on each side was added to the east side of the building.⁹⁶

If we compare all of the paintings from this period, what seems to have been the case is that the rear blocks of no. 6, were actually not connected to the front part of that building. Those rear blocks appear to have been used as shops. If this was the case, then no. 6 may have been only one or two blocks in depth.⁹⁷

By the early 1820s, and possibly much earlier, this building was owned by Chunqua (Liu Dongsheng, Figure 11). It was called the Yanzichao 燕子巢. As mentioned above, Chunqua also owned no. 5. He may have purchased no. 6 sometime after 1792, when he was appointed Hong merchant. In 1821, a bell tower was added in front, which seems to have been intended as a fire alarm.⁹⁸

CHINA STREET

Name	From	To
China Street (Jingyuan Jie), New Street (Xin Jie), Porcelain Street	1760	1822

As Van Dyke and Mok have recently shown, China Street was created in 1760. Previous to that study, it was commonly believed that the avenue was always there. After its creation, it was called by several names, including China Street, Porcelain Street and New Street. The first two names came from the chinaware dealers being moved there in 1760. Prior to that year they had been located on an east-west street a couple of blocks north of the quay. Some of the dealers were also located on Thirteen Hong Street.⁹⁹

In Chinese, China Street was usually called Jingyuan Jie 靖远街 or Xin Jie 新街 (New Street), but Jingyuan Jie and Qingyuan Jie 清远街 also appear in Chinese sources. Because Thirteen Hong Street was sometimes called China Street, after Jingyuan Jie was created in 1760, the former street became known as Old China Street. After the fire of 1822, a new north south street was added between buildings nos. 1 and 3 (see no. 2 above). That avenue was called New China Street, and Jingyuan Jie then became Old China Street. Thirteen Hong Street continued to be called Thirteen

Figure 11: Chunqua (Liu Dongsheng).
Courtesy of Martyn Gregory Gallery, London.



Hong Street and was no longer referred to as Old China Street. These name changes can be confusing, but they are explained in Van Dyke and Mok.¹⁰⁰

The walkway in front of the factories was also added in 1760. Although it is not clear in the Hume painting, the walkway was in fact a wooden platform that was built on piles. If we look closely, we can see the wooden planks lining the face of the platform down to the water. If those planks were removed, we would be able to see the piles underneath. Prior to 1760, foreigners entered their factories from their boats, which ran right up to the front door. Earth was added several years after the Hume scroll was painted and then the wooden platforms were removed.¹⁰¹

BUILDING NO. 7

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Guangyuan Hang	Consentia Giqua and son Tiaqua (Ye Yiguan and Ye Chaoguan)	n/a	1775
	n/a	1775	1800
American factory, Huaqi Hang	American investors	1801	1822

No. 7 was the Guangyuan Hang 广源行 which was founded by Consentia Giqua (Ye Yiguan 叶义官). Giqua traded in Canton from 1729 to his death in April 1765. The name Guangyuan, however, does not begin to appear in the records until the early 1750s. It is unclear when Giqua moved into no. 7. After his death, his son Tiaqua (Ye Chaoguan 叶朝官) took over the firm until he died insolvent in 1775. The business was closed, but the building retained its name. It was probably rented out to private traders after that.¹⁰²

In 1782, the French took over no. 7. At some point between 1786 and 1788 they moved from there to no. 4, and then no. 7 was again rented out to private traders, including Americans. In early 1792, the building was given a new façade that resembled the French factory.¹⁰³

In early 1800, the Americans made a special arrangement with the landlord to raze no. 7, and construct an entirely new factory from the ground up. The construction was paid for by American investors, including Consul Samuel Snow. They ran the building like a hotel, and rented out apartments to other Americans and whoever needed accommodation. On 2 January 1801, Consul Snow raised the American flag in front of the building for the first time. From this time, up to the fire of 1822, foreigners referred to the building as the American factory. Chinese continued to call it the Guangyuan Hang or the Flowery Flag factory (Huaqi Hang 花旗行, after the colours of the American flag).

In August of 1807, the Hong merchants Mowqua and Consequa took possession of no. 7, and its six blocks, as collateral for the \$30,000 that the American firm Snow and Munro owed them.¹⁰⁴ The two Hong merchants intended to retain possession of the factory until the debt was paid. I have not found a follow-up document to this affair, but apparently the debt was in some way settled, because Americans continued to occupy this building up to the fire of 1822.

In 1821, no. 7 was given another face lift, with a new appearance, similar to the French style, which was destroyed in the fire the following year.¹⁰⁵

BUILDING NO. 8

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
n/a	n/a	n/a	early 1800s
Wanyuan Hang	Fatqua (Li Xiefa)	early 1800s	1822

Not much is known about the early years of no. 8. Chinese merchants operated out of this building from at least the 1760s onward. As we can see from the Hume painting, no. 8 was a very narrow single-storeyed building. In late 1788 or early 1789, it was given a second storey.¹⁰⁶ The new upper storey had one large rectangular opening. Around 1806, the large upper window was divided into two smaller windows. It retained this appearance up to the fire of 1822.¹⁰⁷

Fatqua (Li Xiefa 李协发) of the Wanyuan Hang 万源行 purchased the building sometime in

HISTORIOGRAFIA

the early 1800s (maybe when the new façade was added in 1806?). He became a Hong merchant in 1809. Unfortunately, we do not know the name of the building before Fatqua owned it. He died in April 1822 and then his son (Fatqua II) took over the business. Both Fatqua I and II were plagued with debts, but the latter man continued to be involved in the trade after the fire of 1822, until he finally failed in 1835.¹⁰⁸

BUILDING NO. 9

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Baoshun Hang	Foutia and Kousia (Zhang Foutia and Zhang Tianqiu)	ca. 1752	1779
	n/a	1780	1822

No. 9 was owned by the Hong merchants Foutia (Zhang Foutia 張富舍) and brother Kousia (Zhang Tianqiu). The name of the building was the Baoshun Hang. From 1772 to 1779, the Zhangs also owned no. 4. It is unclear which building they lived in themselves. In 1752/53, for example, Foutia (also spelled Foqua) conducted his trade with the Swedes out of the Baoshun Hang, which suggests he might have been living in that building at the time.¹⁰⁹ Later entries, however, show him and Kousia trading out of the Yuyuan Hang (no. 4).¹¹⁰ Foutia died in early 1761 and then Kousia took over the business. As noted above, Kousia often traded with Shy Kinqua (no. 13).

On the evening of 7 February 1773, a fire broke out in no. 9, which threatened the French, Swedish and two British factories. The fire burned for ten-and-a-half hours and completely consumed the Baoshun Hang, no. 13 and many of the shops in Hog Lane before it was finally brought under control. The French and Swedish factories also caught fire, but they were saved.¹¹¹ Kousia apparently reconstructed the building using the same plan as before, which probably accounts for there being no noticeable difference with later paintings.

Kousia failed in 1779, his properties were confiscated, and he was exiled to Ili. It is unknown who purchased no. 9 thereafter, but it kept the name Baoshun Hang up until the fire of 1822.¹¹²

BUILDING NO. 10

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
French factory, Folanxi Hang	Tan Tinqua	1750	1782
Imperial factory, Shuangying or Maying Hang	n/a	1782	1822

No. 10 was owned by the Hong merchant Tan Tinqua. In the early 18th century, there were at least three Hong merchants who went by this name, so it is not always clear which one it refers to. The two most likely candidates are Chen Dengguan 陈瞪观 (d. 1775) or Chen Zhenguan 陈镇官 (d. 1770), but in the early 1730s, two other merchants named Tinqua appear in the records, Chen Tengguan 陈腾观 and Chen Tingguan 陈汀官.¹¹³ Unfortunately, the name Tinqua is used so often in the foreign records, without clear distinctions as to which man was being referred to, that for many of these entries it is impossible to distinguish them.

In 1773, the French officers mentioned that they had been renting no. 10 from Tinqua (spelled Tinkoa) since 1750.¹¹⁴ They continued to rent it up to 1782. During this time the building was called the French factory. In Chinese, it was referred to as the Folanxi Hang 佛兰西行 (Folanxi being a common term used for the French at that time).¹¹⁵

On 5 November 1760 at 7 p.m., a fire broke out in the foreign quarter. The Dutch mentioned that the French factory was in great danger. The Europeans rushed to the sites with their fire engines. The Dutch did not take any chances and removed all their records and money from their factory, and sent the remainder of their crew to help the French fight the flames. By 10 p.m. the fire was extinguished.¹¹⁶ There is no mention of the damage caused by this incident. At some point before or after the event, no. 10 was given a new façade. It was the first building on the quay to take on a distinctly foreign appearance.¹¹⁷

In 1767, more westernising was done to the face of no. 10 including a balustrade added to the second floor.¹¹⁸ It became the prototype that was copied on other buildings. By 1800, many of the factories on the quay adopted a similar appearance. In the late 1770s and early 1780s, the French officers were suffering from

a severe shortage of capital. In order to reduce their costs, they sub-let part of the factory to the Imperial Company.¹¹⁹ From 1779 to September 1782, there were two flagstaffs and flags displayed in front of this building, French and Imperial.

Around October 1782, the French moved out of no. 10 and rented no. 7 instead. The Imperial Company then took over no. 10.¹²⁰ The French flagstaff and flag were of course also moved at this time leaving only one flagstaff in front of no. 10. For a couple of years, no. 10 was called both the Old French factory and the Imperial factory. The Imperial Company had a flag with a double-headed eagle so the building became known in Chinese as the Shuangying Hang 双鹰行 or Maying Hang 孟鹰行 (both referring to two eagles).

By early 1786, the Imperial Company was broke and the Hoppo ordered those officers to cease trading under that name and to remove the flag from the quay. For a good part of 1786 and 1787, the front part of no. 10 remained empty, but some of the rear apartments were rented to Americans. Because there was a severe draught in these years causing the price of rice to raise, local Mandarins set up a distribution centre in the front of no. 10 where rice was handed out to the poor. In 1788, the Prussian Company took over the building. It was rumored that the Prussian flag was going to be raised in front of no. 10 that year. That may have been the only year the Prussian flag was raised, because it does not appear in later paintings—despite a continual presence of Prussian agents in Canton.¹²¹

Even though Imperial ships ceased their voyages to China in later years, the building continued to be called the Imperial factory or Shuangying and Maying Hang in Chinese, up to the fire of 1822.

BUILDING NO. 11

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Swedish factory, Rui Hang, Ruihe Hang or Xiuhe Hang	Tan Suqua and Chetqua (Chen Shouguan and Chen Jieguan)	ca. 1752	late- 1770s
	Poankeequa II (Pan Youdu)	1804 and maybe before	1804 and maybe after

It is unclear when the Swedes began renting no. 11. They were trading in Canton since 1732, but in the early years they lived in different buildings. A Swedish map from 1748, for example, shows them having a separate factory for each of their two ships. They rented out the front apartments in no. 12 and also had a building on the other side of the creek east of the quay.¹²² In 1751, Pehr Osbeck mentioned that it was common to have a separate factory for each ship, but the Swedes rented one factory that year for their two ships. Unfortunately, Osbeck did not elaborate as to which building it was.¹²³

We know that the Swedes rented a building from Suqua (Chen Shouguan 陈寿观) in 1752, and again from 1754 to 1757. In 1752, the Swedish ship *Hoppet* laid over in China an entire year, because there was not enough cargo available in Canton to load it.¹²⁴ Consequently, the Swedes stayed in the same building from August 1752 to December 1753. They referred to the building as the ‘Sackhå hang’, which was probably a corruption of the Cantonese pronunciation.¹²⁵

In January 1758, the Dutch mentioned that the Swedes were living in the building named Sjeew Hoo (Cantonese for Ruihe 瑞和), which was situated next to the French factory.¹²⁶ Thus, what seems to have happened is that from about 1752 to 1805 the Swedes rented no. 11. They had the same landlord from that year forward, and we know that the building was located next to the French factory (no. 10). From the mid-18th century forward, no. 11 was known as the Swedish factory by foreigners and transliterated to Sjeew Hoo (Ruihe) by Chinese. Davis mentioned that the name Xiuhe Hang 修和行 was also used, which in Cantonese is about the same pronunciation as Ruihe Hang 瑞和行.¹²⁷

Suqua died in March 1760, and then his son Chetqua (Chen Jieguan 陈捷官) took over the Guangshun Hang 广顺行, which was located east of the quay. The Swedes continued to rent no. 11 from Chetqua up to at least 1769. In 1768 and 1769, the building was renovated and given the façade that appears in the Hume scroll. The Swedes also emulated the French style. They had installed a triangular pediment above the front door, like the one above the door on no. 10, but for some reason it was replaced with a half-moon shaped header in early 1772.¹²⁸

HISTORIOGRAFIA

We have no information about the owners of no. 11 from 1770 to 1803. The Guangshun Hang (Suqua and Chetqua's firm) went broke in 1778 and their properties were confiscated and sold.¹²⁹ In 1804, the Swedes paid rent to Poankeequa II so at some point before then the Pan merchants purchased the building.¹³⁰

Even though the Swedish East India Company (SOIC) sent no more ships to China after 1805, the Swedes continued to go to Canton almost every year up to at least 1829. There were a few private Swedish ships that arrived in the 1810s, but for the most part, the Swedes seemed to have run no. 11 more like a hotel at that time, renting apartments out to whomsoever needed one. And they conducted private trade on the side.¹³¹

BUILDING NO. 12

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Longshun Hang, Old English factory	Tan Tinqua (Chen Zhenguan)	1720s	1770
	Poankeequa II (Pan Youdu)	n/a	1810
	EIC, but nominally owned by Conseequa (Pan Changyao)	1810	1822

Beginning sometime in the mid-18th century, no. 12 became known as the Old English factory. In Cantonese it was called the Lunsoon Hong 隆順行 (also spelled Longhing Hong). In Mandarin it was called the Longshun Hang, and was owned by the Hong merchant Tan Tinqua (Chen Zhenguan, the same man discussed in no. 10 above). It is uncertain when the British began renting this building. We know for certain that they occupied it from 1755 onwards. There are references, however, showing the EIC renting a factory from a landlord named 'Tinqua' as far back as 1724.¹³²

There is no doubt that Chen Zhenguan owned the Longshun Hang, because we have numerous references to this from the 1740s to the 1750s in

Chinese.¹³³ There is one reference in the EIC records, however, that suggests Ton Suqua (Chen Shouguan) was the owner of no. 12. In 1755, the British officers wrote, 'Agreed with Ton Suqua for Long-hing Hong for our Factory 800 Tales'.¹³⁴

As references above and below show, the Long-hing Hong was indeed the Longshun Hang. We know that the EIC rented a building from Suqua and his son Chetqua off and on from at least 1721 to the early 1760s. In the latter years, however, we discover that the building they rented was the Poho Hong (no. 14). Suqua and Chetqua owned several properties, but as far as we know, no. 12 was not one of them. If the reference above is correct, then half-a-dozen other contemporary references to Tan Tinqua owning no. 12 are mistakes. Perhaps what happened was the writer of the entry got the two factories mixed up and wrote Long-hing when it should have been Poho. Whatever the case may have been, that entry appears to be an anomaly so I have disregarded it.

Chen Zhenguan often went by the name 'Tan Tinqua alias Jeangrie' or 'Tinqua Jeangrie' (with various spellings). This name appears in the foreign records as far back as 1724. A contract from the year 1744/1745 shows his name in Chinese, and we know that he was trading long before he signed that document.¹³⁵ Thus, it is plausible that the British were renting a building from him many years before 1755.¹³⁶

For most of the years from 1720 to the end of the EIC's China voyages in 1833, the British rented at least two buildings. In the early 18th century, however, they did not necessarily rent the same buildings each year. In some years before 1750, they rented the building known as the 'French factory'. In 1759, they also rented the 'Dutch factory' (see no. 16 below). The Chinese names of their buildings that appear in the EIC records include Tising Hong (1738), Chunghou Hong (1740), Hongying Hong (1742), Capfong Hong (1750), Kemfong Hong (1750), Longhing Hong (1755), and Yeeho Hong (1756, 1759, 1760).¹³⁷ As mentioned above, the Longhing Hong was no. 12, and as mentioned below, the Yeeho Hong was no. 17. The other names have not been identified.

From about 1761 onward, the British had settled into building nos. 12 and 14. Number 12 was where the ships' people stayed when they were

in Canton and no. 14 was where the supercargos and their assistants lived. The EIC continued to occupy these factories up to the fire of 1822. There is some evidence to suggest that the British may have raised their flag in front of no. 12 in the early years (which means the supercargos would have lived there at that time). By the late 1760s, however, the flag always appears in paintings in front of no. 14 (see nos. 14 and 17 below for further discussion).¹³⁸

Chen Zhenguan (Tan Tinqua) died in 1770, and, as far as we know, his firm did not continue.¹³⁹ The Old British factory, however, continued to be called the Longshun Hang up to the fire of 1822. It is unknown who owned the building in 1772, when the Hume scroll was painted.

In January 1772, a fire broke out in no. 13, and the flames spread to one of the EIC factories. The references do not tell us exactly which British factory was damaged, but circumstantial evidence suggests that it might have been no. 12. According to the factory paintings, no. 12 was given its new façade in early 1772 (as appears in the Hume scroll), and fire damage would have been a good reason to undertake those changes. Before 1772, no. 12 looked very much like no. 13.¹⁴⁰

It is interesting to note that no. 12 also adopted the French appearance. At this time, foreigners were usually paying for at least part of their renovations which gave them the freedom to make changes that they desired. If the British did not want a French façade they could have requested something different, which suggests that this may have been their choice. In 1815, for example, they rebuilt no. 12 from the ground up and gave it a very elaborate Palladian façade.¹⁴¹

Although the records are not explicit, the fact that the British tore down and rebuilt no. 12 from the ground up in 1815, strongly suggests that they were now the 'unofficial' owners of the building. As is discussed below in no. 14, circumstantial evidence suggests that the EIC took over ownership of no. 12 from Poankeequa II. If this assumption is correct, then at some point before 1810 Poankeequa purchased no. 12. He may have taken it over after Tinqua died. In 1810, the ownership of the building was then 'nominally' transferred to Conseequa, but in reality was owned by the EIC (see no. 14 below for further discussion).

BUILDING NO. 13

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Ziyuan Hang	Beaukeequa (Li Kaiguan)	1748	1758
	n/a	1758	ca. early 1770s
Ziyuan Hang, Moors factory	Shy Kinqua (Shi Mengjing)	ca. early 1770s	1780s
Moors factory, Parsee factory, Chow Chow factory, Fengtai Hang	Sinqua and Iqua (Wu and Wu Zhaoping)	1780s	1790
	n/a	1790	1822

The early history of no. 13 is unknown, but from at least 1748, the Hong merchant Beaukeequa occupied this building.¹⁴² The name of his business was the Ziyuan Hang 資元行. Beaukeequa was in fact involved in the foreign trade much earlier. He shows up in the foreign records as a Hong merchant from 1726 to 1734. In the latter year, he left Canton and returned to his home in Quanzhou. The reasons for his departure are unclear—he seems to have fallen out of favour with the local authorities—but the particulars are ambiguous.¹⁴³

From 1734 to 1747 there are no clear references showing Beaukeequa being active in the trade at Canton. He owned a pawnshop in Quanzhou which seems to have kept him busy during this time. When he returned to Canton around 1748, he purchased no. 13, and entered into the foreign trade again. As mentioned above, he also owned the Danish factory from 1752 to 1758. The reasons for his move back to Canton are just as vague as the reasons for his departure in 1734, but he clearly had substantial credit and capital when he made his re-entry. I have no information about no. 13 before 1748.¹⁴⁴

Beaukeequa quickly emerged as one of the top six Hong merchants in Canton which distinction he held until his death in September 1758. Shortly after he died it was discovered that he had accumulated a substantial debt, and was behind in his state taxes. His

HISTORIOGRAPHY

HISTORIOGRAFIA

poor financial status was probably owing—at least partially—to the huge decline in the trade in these years which went steadily downwards from 27 ships in 1754 to 7 ships in 1757.¹⁴⁵ After his death, his properties were seized by the government and sold to pay the arrears.¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, I have no specific references to no. 13 at that time so it is unclear who owned the building after Beaukeequa.¹⁴⁷

At the time of the Hume scroll, the merchant Shy Kinqua (Shi Mengjing) owned no. 13. The name of his business was the Eryi Hang 而益行, but the building continued to be called the Ziyuan Hang. As late as 1781, a Chinese document shows the building being called Ziyuan yi guan 资元夷馆 (Ziyuan foreign factory).¹⁴⁸ In 1773, the Dutch referred to the building as being both a Chinese hong (a place where a Chinese merchant lived) and the Moors factory (a place where the Muslim traders from India resided).¹⁴⁹ It retained the name Moors factory into the early 19th century (see below). Muslim traders had been active in the trade at Canton since the late 17th century, and continued to be involved in the trade into the 19th century.¹⁵⁰ No. 13 seems to have been their residence of choice.

Shy Kinqua did not become a Hong merchant until 1778, but he was already trading with foreigners before then in partnership with Kousia (see no. 9 above). In 1765, the Dutch mentioned that Shy Kinqua was a cousin to the Yan family merchants so he had a couple of different ways to become involved in the trade without having a Hong merchant license.¹⁵¹ He sold tea to the EIC as far back as 1761. The exact year when he took possession of no. 13 is unknown, but we know that he was living in the building at the time of the fire on 22 January 1772 (see no. 12 above).¹⁵² He may have moved there several years earlier.¹⁵³

On 7 February 1773, another fire broke out in no. 13 and this time it 'was entirely consumed'. Shy Kinqua had provided accommodation for some inland merchants at the time so they may have suffered loss as well. Besides no. 13, about 430 houses were consumed in the flames so it was not a localised fire, but spread throughout a good part of the vicinity including some of the shops in Hog Lane.¹⁵⁴

Shy Kinqua rebuilt the factory in the spring (off-season) of 1773. He seems to have used the same design as before because the building looks similar to the previous one in paintings. The half-roof on the second-floor balcony was also rebuilt, but seems to have been

removed in 1779, because it does not appear that year or in later paintings.¹⁵⁵

Shy Kinqua died in mid-September 1790, and then his son Gonqua (Shi Zhonghe 石中和) took over the Eryi Hang. By 1795, Gonqua had built up a substantial debt. In order to pacify his inland creditors, he handed them the title deeds to his properties, but unfortunately there is again no specific mention of no. 13. His European creditors were unhappy with that arrangement because they wanted those properties as collateral for the money he owed them.¹⁵⁶

There is a strong possibility that Shy Kinqua may have sold no. 13 much earlier. At some point the building took on the name Fengtai Hang 丰泰行, which was the firm of Sinqua (Wu 吳) and his son Iqua (Wu Zhaoping 吴昭平). They were in business from about 1782 to 1790. Iqua was declared bankrupt in the latter year, arrested and banished to Ili as punishment for his debts.¹⁵⁷ Thus, it seems likely that Shy Kinqua may have sold 13 to the Wus while they were still trading in Canton, which would account for that building being called Fengtai Hang in later years.¹⁵⁸ Another circumstance that supports this assumption is that Iqua had become deeply indebted to Parsees from India, and we know that those persons were regularly living in this building along with the Muslim traders (see below). Sinqua also traded in opium, which some of the Parsees were smuggling into China.¹⁵⁹ Even though we do not know exactly when no. 13 was sold, we do know that it retained the name Fengtai Hang up to the fire of 1822. Parsees continued living in this building so it is also possible that they might have taken it over as collateral for the debts owed to them.

At some point around 1798 or early 1799, no. 13 was given a new façade which also adopted the French style. This was the time when there was a huge influx of private traders in Canton and no. 13 was becoming known as a place where a variety of them stayed, including Parsees, Muslims and numerous others. This was also the time when private traders were taking over some of the buildings, rebuilding them at their own expense, and running them like a hotel, such as we saw with no. 7 above.¹⁶⁰

On 21 December 1801, a fire broke out in no. 13, which the Dutch again referred to as the 'Moose Factory'.¹⁶¹ The fire was put out with the aid of the European fire engines. No. 13 is where the Russians (who imported themselves as a different nationality)

stayed in 1805.¹⁶² Because of the diversity of people who regularly stayed in no. 13, most of whom were from India, foreigners began calling it the Parsee and/or Chow Chow factory, which it retained up to the fire of 1822. Chow chow was a common word in use in Canton referring to something that was various, diverse, or miscellaneous, etc. The last shipment that was sent to the ships just before they left China, for example, was called the chow chow chop (*sao cang* 扫舱 in Chinese).¹⁶³ That shipment contained the personal items of the officers which included luggage, gifts, presents, furniture, paintings, and boxes of private trade goods, etc.

HOG LANE

Name	From	To
Hog Lane, (Xin) Doulan Jie	pre 1748	1822

Hog Lane (新)荳栏街 was the earliest shopping street in the foreign quarter. It is mentioned on a 1748 Swedish map so we know it already existed by that year.¹⁶⁴ It is unknown where the name Hog Lane came from, but it was renowned as a filthy place of the lowest order. In Chinese, it was called Doulan Jie 荳栏街 (bean column or bean fence street), and the origin of that name is also unknown. I have found no earlier references to this street, but it very likely had been there for decades before 1748. It was a place where foreign sailors went to eat, drink and enjoy themselves, and where they could buy knickknacks, trinkets and souvenirs. There were guards placed at both ends of the lane in order to keep the peace. As can be imagined, it was a place where many fights and brawls broke out among foreign sailors and between foreigners and Chinese.

There is evidence to show that Hog Lane was also called New Doulan Jie New Doulan Jie 新荳栏街 from at least the early 1760s onwards. There are numerous references to Doulan Jie before 1822, but only recently has references to New Doulan Jie emerged. This raises the question as to why it was sometimes called New (Xin 新). As noted above, we know that the alley existed already by 1748, and perhaps the new adjective was attached to it when it was first created. It is also possible that it might have been rebuilt in 1760 along with the establishment of the Cohong and the creation of China Street that year. Unfortunately, the answer remains ambiguous.¹⁶⁵

As mentioned in no. 13 above, there was a fire in this location on 7 February 1773. Many of the shops were damaged and had to be rebuilt. The only buildings that we can see in paintings are those that are near the entrance to Hog Lane. Some paintings show single-storeyed structures at the entrance, whereas others show one and a half stories. In the off-season (spring) of 1822, a large two-storeyed building was constructed at the entrance, which of course was destroyed in the fire.¹⁶⁶

BUILDING NO. 14

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
	Chetqua (Chen Jieguan)	n/a	ca. 1768
New English factory, Baohe Hang	Poankeequa I and II (Pan Zhencheng and Pan Youdu)	ca. 1768	1810
	EIC, but nominally owned by Conseequa (Pan Changyao)	1810	1822

The Cantonese name for no. 14 was the Poho Hong, which in Mandarin was Baohe Hang 保和行. Foreigners referred to it as the New British factory. As mentioned above in no. 12, we do not know the exact year when the British took over this building. But by 1760 and up until the fire of 1822, the British occupied no. 14 every year. It was the main factory where the British supercargos lived and where all the meetings and business transactions were undertaken. It was also where the British flag was usually displayed.

Prior to 1771, there was an enclosed structure that protruded out from the face of the building towards the river. In early 1771, it was removed and an open single-width verandah was built in its place as is shown in the Hume painting. In early 1778, the verandah was widened. In 1782, trimming was added to the upper part of the lower level of the verandah.¹⁶⁷

The British officers recorded the name of their landlords only infrequently, so for many years, we do not know who they were. As is mentioned above in no. 12, Tan Suqua and his son Chetqua rented a factory to the English off and on for many years. In the early

HISTORIOGRAFIA

HISTORIOGRAPHY

1760s, we find out that the building they were renting from Chetqua was no. 14. By 1768, however, they were paying rent to Poankeequa for the same building. Later entries confirm this (see below) which means that Poankeequa must have purchased no. 14 sometime before the 1768 entry.¹⁶⁸

As noted above, Poankeequa I and II also owned the Danish factory, no. 2, and later, no. 12. In 1805, the EIC tried to purchase no. 14 from Poankeequa II. However, because foreigners were ‘on paper’ forbidden to own property, he refused to sell. As noted above, foreigners did indeed own some of the buildings in Canton, even though it was contrary to Chinese law. In 1810, the British made an arrangement with him and his cousin Conseequa to purchase the building. Conseequa was indebted to the EIC, so the English officers credited Conseequa with 66,520 taels, and then Poankeequa transferred the title deed to him. Although the records are vague, the amount seems to have included both nos. 12 and 14. Poankeequa transferred the titles to Conseequa, but the EIC held the deeds to them. From this point forward, the British basically owned nos. 12 and 14 and made whatever changes they wanted to them.¹⁶⁹

In 1810, the EIC purchased no. 15 from the Armenians for 5,040 taels, and then in 1815, they rebuilt all their factories from the ground up.¹⁷⁰ No. 14 was merged together with no. 15, which reduced the number of factories on the quay to sixteen. They remained that way up to the fire of 1822.

BUILDING NO. 15

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Jiyi Hang	Semqua (Qiu Kun) and Ong Tsanqua	n/a	ca. 1772
	n/a	ca. 1772	1780s
	Armenians	1780s	1810
	EIC	1810	1815
New English factory, Baohe Hang	EIC, no. 15 was rebuilt in 1815 by the British and joined together with no. 14	1815	1822

The Cantonese name for no. 15 was the Chapgi Hong, which in Mandarin was Jiyi Hang 集义行. It was part of the Bengang Hang group, but was actually owned by one of the Hong merchants of the Waiyang Hang, Semqua (Qiu Kun 邱昆) and his partner Ong Tsanqua. They fitted-out junks there for voyages to Southeast Asia.¹⁷¹ Junks from Siam and Cochinchina (Vietnam) also traded out of the Jiyi Hang.¹⁷² In November 1763, there were insufficient apartments available to rent in Canton so Semqua was ordered to make room in his building for some English private traders.¹⁷³

Semqua was also the owner of the Yifeng Hang 义丰行, which he managed with his partner Cai Hunqua (Cai Huangguan 蔡煌官). Hunqua died in 1770, and the financial status of the Yifeng Hang quickly deteriorated. By 1772, the firm was carrying a large debt. In 1774, Semqua transferred the rights of the Yifeng Hang to one of Hunqua’s sons. Semqua and Ong Tsanqua were ordered to hand over all their properties to the government so that they could be sold and the proceeds applied to the arrears.¹⁷⁴

The Hume painting shows the same front on no. 15 as it had in 1769, and probably much earlier. After this painting was made and before the trading season began in the autumn of 1773, no. 15 was given a new façade. It is doubtful that Semqua would have paid for this construction because he was suffering serious financial difficulties at that time. Thus, circumstantial evidence suggests that he may have sold the building before 1774 in order to raise funds to pay creditors, but it is unknown who purchased it.

At some point before 1794, the Armenians purchased no. 15. We know this because the prominent Armenian Mattheus Joannes died there on 10 December of that year.¹⁷⁵ As noted above in no. 14, the Armenians sold the building to the EIC in 1810 for 5,040 taels.¹⁷⁶ In 1815, the British rebuilt their factories and merged nos. 14 and 15 together into one. It remained under their control up to the fire of 1822.

After the merger of those two buildings, the Dutch factory (no. 16) took on the name Jiyi Hang. It is unclear when, how or why this happened.



BUILDING NO. 16

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Tsiwao Hang Rufeng Hang Quanghā Hang	n/a	1734	1737
	Tan Conqua (died insolvent in 1749) and brother Xantqua	1738	1751
	Chemqua	ca. 1751	1753
	Swequa and Tjobqua (Cai Ruiguan and Cai Yuguan)	1753	1762
Dutch Factory at some point (maybe in 1815) the building took on the name Jiyi Hang	Swetia and Ingsia (Yan Ruishe and Yan Yingshe)	1763	1779
	Tsjonqua (Cai Xiangguan)	1780	1783
	Pinqua (Yang Bingguan)	1783	1791
	Locqua (Chen Junhua)	1791	1793
	Geowqua (Wu Qiaoguan), Puiqua (Wu Bingjun) and Houqua (Wu Bingjian)	1793	1822

The Dutch factory is the best documented of all the buildings on the quay. Not only do we know most of the owners, but also most of the repairs, changes and additions that were done to the building each year. In a document dated 18 February 1818, the Dutch listed all the repairs that were needed to the factory, and they mentioned that they had been renting this building since 1734.¹⁷⁷ We know that Tan Conqua and his brother Xantqua owned the building from at

least 1738 to 1751.¹⁷⁸ From the 1730s to the 1750s, the Dutch often rented two or more buildings each year, with no. 16 being one of them.¹⁷⁹

The Dutch did not record the name of their landlord every year, but we know that they rented a building from Tan Conqua and his brother in 1742 and 1743¹⁸⁰ and from 1747 to 1751.¹⁸¹ In 1747, the Dutch described Conqua as an old man who lived in an upper apartment of their factory. The Chinese name of the building at this time was said to be Tsiwao.¹⁸² In their trade report dated 22 March 1750 the Dutch mentioned that Conqua had died insolvent and that his brother Xantqua had taken over managing the factory.¹⁸³ The Dutch rented the building from Xantqua in 1750 and 1751. At some point after Conqua’s death, the name of the building was changed to the Rufeng Hang 瑞丰行.¹⁸⁴

In 1752 and 1753, the Dutch rented the building from Chemqua. It is unclear whether this name is another spelling for Xantqua, or a different person.¹⁸⁵ In 1753, Chemqua sold the building to the Hong merchant Swequa (Cai Ruiguan 蔡瑞官).¹⁸⁶ In 1752 and 1753, the Dutch made many repairs to the building including painting and refurbishing the balcony.¹⁸⁷ This information tells us that by this time the balcony in front that appears in the Hume painting had already been added. In 1753, the Swedes in Canton mentioned that the Dutch factory was now called the Quanghā Hang, so it apparently changed names again.¹⁸⁸

Because of the uncertainty of whether or not a building might be available from one year to the next, and because the residents had to pay for all repairs and did not want others to enjoy the benefits of those improvements, the Dutch tried a couple of times to purchase no. 16. In 1744 and again in 1754, they offered 10,000 taels (ca. \$13,900 Spanish) for the building. In both cases, they were unsuccessful, because at that time government officials were still enforcing the policy that foreigners could not own buildings.¹⁸⁹ As we have seen in the discussion of building nos. 1, 7, 12, 14 and 15, by the early 19th century, Qing officials were overlooking this restriction and ‘unofficially’ allowing foreigners to purchase and build factories themselves—despite it being illegal.

The Dutch continued to live in no. 16 up to and including 1758. In 1759, Swequa rented the building to the English instead and the Dutch had to find other accommodation. The Dutch regained possession of

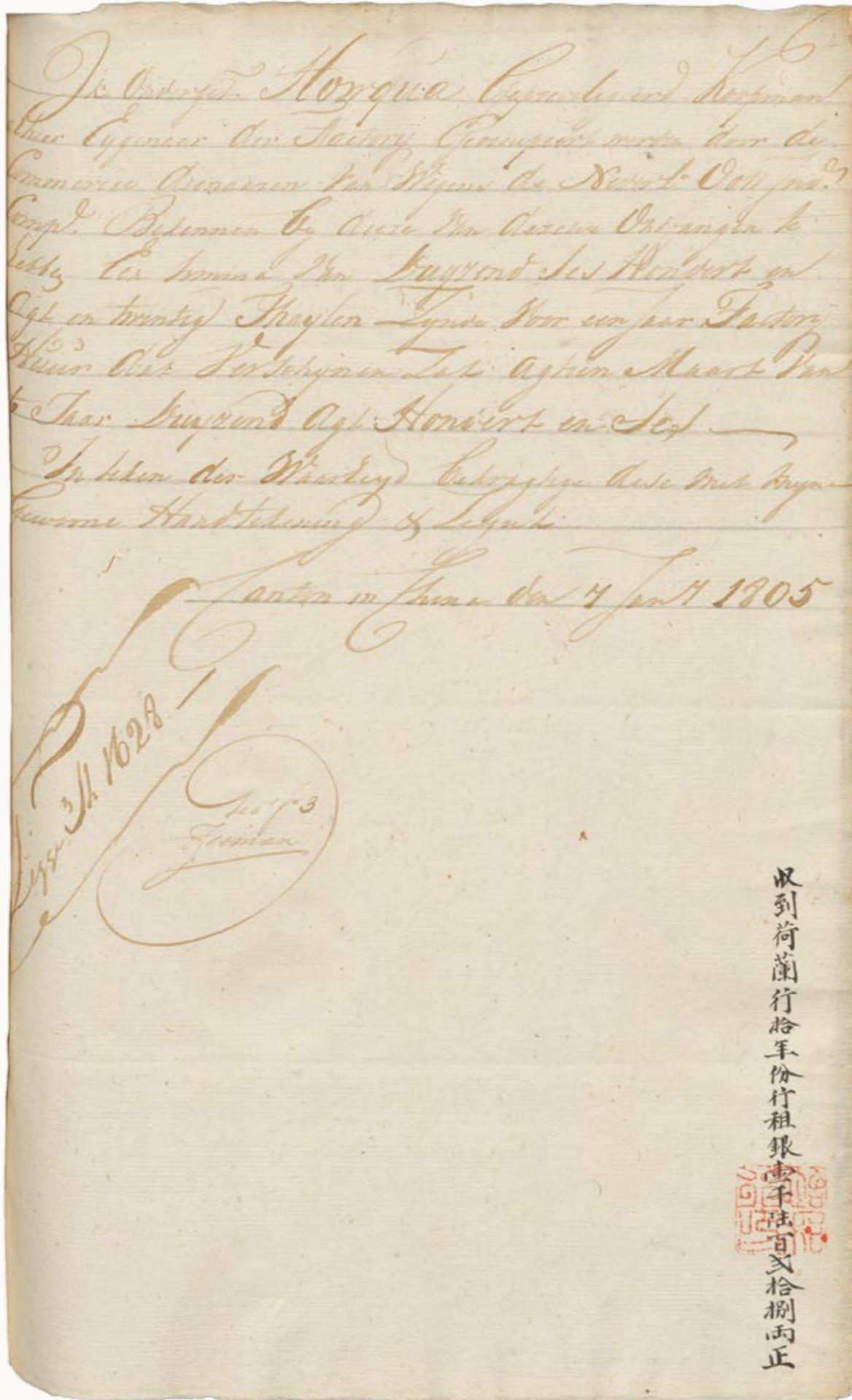


Figure 12: Rent Contract with Houqua for the Dutch factory in 1805 (NAH: RAB 141). Courtesy of Dutch National Archives.

no. 16 in 1760, and then occupied it every year up to the fire of 1822.¹⁹⁰ During that time they usually only leased one factory.

In 1761, Swequa died and his brother Tjobqua (Cai Yuguan 蔡玉官) took over management of no. 16. In 1762, Tjobqua sold the building to Swetia of the Yan family (owner of building no. 5) for \$12,000 Spanish (ca. 8,640 taels). Swetia took possession of the building the following year. The Yans owned the Dutch factory until 1779, when their firm was declared bankrupt. No. 16 was then sold to the Hong merchant Tsjonqua (Cai Xiangguan 蔡相官).¹⁹¹

In 1783, Tsjonqua was on the verge of bankruptcy and was ordered by the Hoppo to sell the building to pay the duties he owed. The Hong merchant Pinqua (Yang Bingguan 杨丙官) purchased it for 16,600 taels (ca. \$23,000 Spanish).¹⁹² By April 1791, Pinqua was also suffering financial difficulties so Locqua purchased the building from him.¹⁹³ By 1793, Locqua was bankrupt and sold the building to Geowqua (Wu Qiaoguan 伍乔官).¹⁹⁴ No. 16 remained in possession of the Wu 伍 merchants (Geowqua, Puiqua and Houqua) up to the fire of 1822.¹⁹⁵

As shown in Figure 12, the Dutch continued to pay rent each year and maintained the building at their expense. There are many lists of repairs in the Dutch East India Company (VOC) archive which detail all of the changes and maintenance they did to the building.¹⁹⁶ As Van Dyke and Mok have pointed out, the Dutch added a long two-storeyed verandah in early 1774, which means the Hume scroll would definitely be dated before that year.¹⁹⁷

Although it is not usually clear in paintings, Dutch records from the late 1770s to the late 1780s show that they painted the legs of their verandah in front, white. Records from the 1760s to the 1780s show that they painted the outside of the building, Spanish green. In 1770, the Dutch also mentioned that the upper portion of the balcony was painted with a blue lime.¹⁹⁸

The Hume painting shows the legs of the balcony to be white with black supports at the bottom of each column. If one looks closely at the legs, the upper portions appear to be marble, placed on black wooden supports.¹⁹⁹ I have not been able to confirm this assumption. In 1774 the balcony was rebuilt with wooden columns and they were indeed painted white, as the records show. Thus it is possible that the white

columns that appear in the Hume scroll may have been marble. The upper portion of the balcony in the Hume painting does indeed appear to be a shade of blue, but the colour of the factory is unclear. It looks more bluish than greenish but that could be the result of aging.

We know that Houqua (Wu Bingjian 伍秉鑒) owned the Dutch factory from 1801 until the fire of 1822. He inherited it from his predecessor Puiqua (Wu Bingjun 伍秉鈞), and Puiqua, in turn, inherited the building from his cousin Geowqua.²⁰⁰ Figure 12 is a rent contract with Houqua for the Dutch factory in 1805. There are many other contracts like this from Houqua up to the early 1820s.

As mentioned above, at some point before 1822, the Dutch factory took on the Chinese name Jiyi Hang, which was previously the name of no. 15. This change may have happened after nos. 14 and 15 were merged together in 1815, but it is unclear.

BUILDING NO. 17

Firm/ building name	Owner/ Manager	From	To
Creek factory, Yihe Hang	Teunqua (Cai Yongjie)	n/a	1758/9
	Tan Tinqua (Chen Zhenguan) and Wonsamye	1758/9	ca. 1770
	n/a	ca. 1770	ca. early 1780s
	Pinqua (Yang Bingguan)	ca. early 1780s	1793
	n/a	1793	1822

The Yihe Hang 义和行 was part of the Bengang Hang group. The building was often referred to by foreigners as the Creek factory, because it was located next to the creek. These names (Creek and Yihe) remained the same up to the fire of 1822. Several junks were fitted-out in this building each year for voyages to Southeast Asia. In the 1760s, Namqua was the manager of this firm.²⁰¹ Three of the junks that traded out of the

HISTORIOGRAFIA

Yihe Hang were *Hangzaychow* (*Kengzaizhou* 坑仔鵝), *Hipsching* (*Xiesheng* 协盛), and *Maantay* (*Wantai* 万泰). A merchant by the name of Hu Pingzui 胡平最 was also connected to the Yihe Hang in the 1760s.²⁰² Foreign traders regularly rented apartments in this building.

TABLE 3: JUNKS SPONSORED BY POANKEEQUA IN THE 1760s

No.	Canton Junks	Chinese	Hong Name	Chinese
1	<i>Chantongchow</i>	山东鵝	Dafeng	达丰行
2	<i>Honka</i>	黃仔	Dafeng	达丰行
3	<i>Quongjeck</i>	广亿	Dafeng	达丰行
4	<i>Quongli</i>	广利	Dafeng	达丰行
5	<i>Samkonghing</i>	三广兴	Dafeng	达丰行
6	<i>Tengfuychou</i>	钉灰鵝	Dafeng	达丰行
7	<i>Quim Contay</i>		Xieshun Gongsi	达丰行

Sources: Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godegårdarkivet Archive F17, pp. T1_5145-7 and *passim*.

In 1759, the British mentioned that Teunqua (Monqua's father and owner of the 'second building from the left' above) owned the Yeeho Hang. In that year, Tan Tinqua (Chen Zhenguan mentioned above) and his partner Wonsamye (an inland tea merchant) purchased the building and the proceeds from the sale were applied to the debt that Teunqua's family owed. The EIC held the mortgage on the Yeeho Hong from 1756 to 1759 as collateral for a debt. We know that the EIC occupied part of the Yeeho Hang in 1756, 1759, and 1760, and it is likely that there were Englishmen living there in 1757 and 1758 as well.²⁰³ In references to the factories from the early 1820s, the Cantonese pronunciation of Yihe was transliterated as 'E-wo' or 'E-ho', which is essentially the same pronunciation as Yeeho.²⁰⁴

In a letter dated 19 January 1758, the Dutch mentioned that the building that was next to theirs, on the east, and between the Dutch factory and the creek, was owned by the merchant Wan Tang Ju. This entry presents a problem because this owner's name does not match with Teunqua or any of his family members. Teunqua also shows up in the Dutch records at this time, but his name was usually spelled Thee Ongqua, Theonqua, or something similar.

In 1758, the Dutch were considering renting Wan Tang Ju's factory (no. 17) for 1,200 Spanish dollars so he was clearly the owner. The entry also mentions that the Hong merchant Swequa had been renting an apartment in Wan Tang Ju's building for many years. Swequa had the same last name as Teunqua, but as far as we know, the two families were not related. Around 1760, Swequa moved out of this building and into an apartment in the back of the Dutch factory (which Swequa owned at the time).²⁰⁵

There is no doubt that these Dutch entries are referring to no. 17. The entries to Yeeho in the EIC records also appear to be referring to no. 17 so how do we resolve these differences? I think Wan Tang Ju might be a reference to Wonsamye. The 'J' in the name is pronounced like a 'Y' in Dutch so it would be Wantanyu. 'T' and 'S' often look alike in the foreign records, which means Wantanyu could be Wansanyu, which is very close to Wonsamye. If any of this is true, then what might have happened is that Tan Tinqua and Wonsamye purchased the building a year earlier, but then the English did not record it until 1759. If Wan Tang Ju was indeed a different person from Wonsamye, then the Yeeho entries in the EIC records could not be referring to no. 17. This outcome is plausible, but unlikely. For example, in July 1760, the EIC rented part of the Yeeho Hong from Tinqua and Wonsamye for 600 taels, which suggestss that the Yeeho Hong that is referred to in earlier years was probably the same building.²⁰⁶ All of the factors seem to be too similar to be just coincidences. Until a better explanation comes forth, I am inclined to believe that the references to Yeeho in the EIC records are referring to no. 17 and that Wan Tang Ju and Wonsamye was probably different spellings for the same person.

The information that is available about the English and Dutch factories prior to 1760 is inconclusive, but suggests the following: the EIC rented nos. 16 and 17 (the Dutch factory and Yeeho Hong) in 1759 and nos.

14 and 17 (the New British Factory and Yeeho Hong) in 1760. They seem to have also rented no. 12 in these years, giving them three factories (see no. 12 above), or perhaps more correctly, two factories (nos. 12 and 14) along with some apartments in no. 17.

From 1761 onwards, the British settled permanently into no. 14 and continued to rent no. 12 as they had been doing all along. The British had rented nos. 12 and 14 before 1761, but not necessarily every year. The Dutch occupied another building in 1759—possibly no. 15.

On 10 November 1785, the Dutch mentioned that a fire broke out in the junk factory that was next to theirs. This is very likely a reference to no. 17. The fire was put out before major damage was done.²⁰⁷ In early 1790, No. 17 was given a new façade that resembled the French model. The façade remained the same up to the fire of 1822.²⁰⁸ From about the early 1780s to probably 1793, the Hong merchant Pinqua seems to have owned the Creek factory.²⁰⁹ Pinqua was declared bankrupt in 1793 and it is unclear who took it over after him. But we know that the building retained its names, Creek factory and Yihe Hang, up to the fire of 1822.

VESSELS IN THE RIVER

Besides the buildings in the Hume painting, there are a number of vessels in the picture that deserve some discussion. On the far left is the boat of the Hanlin Academy (Hanlin Yuan 翰林院). The name is on the flag overhead, on the lanterns at the stern, and on a sign board near the front entrance. Officials in this boat were responsible for organising the Imperial Exams, which were held in Guangzhou every three years. This vessel was apparently the Academy's private pleasure boat that was used to get around Guangzhou and the vicinity.

There are several other pleasure boats shown in the painting anchored in front of the factories. The ones without lanterns, flags, or banners may have been boats for hire (such as the flower boats). Pleasure boats that were owned by Hong merchants or government officials such as the governor general and Hoppo usually had flags and/or banners displayed identifying who they were. There are two pleasure boats to the right of the painting that have flags displayed. These craft were not open to the public, but privately owned.

Pleasure boats for hire such as the Canton flower boats (*hua ting* 花艇 or *hua fang* 花舫) did not usually

display banners or flags, but rather had their name engraved above the front door. A few of these can be seen lying in the river. They catered to the wealthy Chinese and were very popular in Canton. Foreigners were forbidden to board them.

Flower boats could be hired for a couple of hours, for dinner, or for an entire evening to entertain important guests. If a local merchant wanted to land a contract for a batch of tea that one of the inland dealers had brought to Canton, or if a local Mandarin wanted to impress a visiting official from another city, they might hire a flower boat to entertain them for an evening. They could order any cuisine they wanted, whatever music they preferred, entertainment, comfort women, and virtually anything else they might desire. Figure 13 shows a gathering in a flower boat. These pleasure boats for hire played a very important role in the trade that has often been overlooked in the history books. By the early 19th century, the Canton flower boats gained the reputation of being the most beautiful boats in the world.²¹⁰

To the right of the Hanlin Academy boat are two chop boats (*da ting* 大艇 or *xi gua bian chuan* 西瓜扁船) which appear to be loaded.²¹¹ The chop boats were one of the most versatile craft in the river. Practically everything could be removed from them down to the hull. The mast served a dual purpose as yardarm, which could hoist heavy objects into the vessel. When empty, the half-circle panels were stacked on top of the owner's cabin at the stern. The boats were loaded starting from the back (stern). As each section was completed, the panels were put in place above the cargo to protect it from the weather. When unloading, the panels were again stacked up one onto the other at the stern, and then the boat went to procure another load. In the centre of the Hume painting we see two smaller empty chop boats returning after unloading their cargo.

The smaller boats in the river were called a variety of names including sampans, egg boats, slipper boats, watermelon boats (owing to their similarity to those objects), etc. As was the case with most of the boats in the river, the owners and/or operators actually lived in the vessels. This was true with the pleasure boats, chop boats, and egg boats. Many of these operators raised their families and lived on their vessels their entire lives. The egg boats were about the cheapest transport in the river, and could be hired by Chinese to ferry people, goods, or whatever small items needed to be

HISTORIOGRAPHY

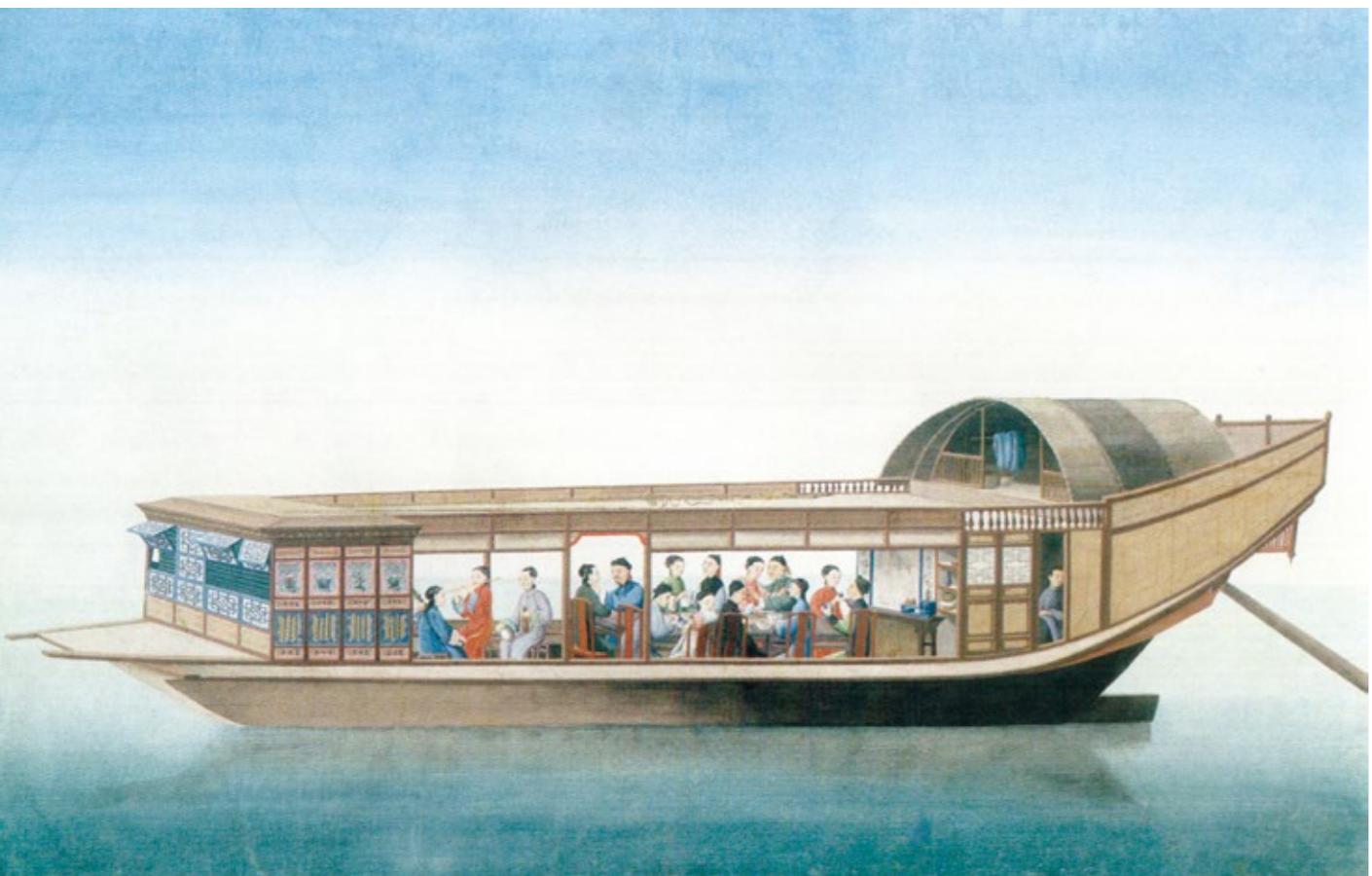
HISTORIOGRAFIA

moved from one place to another. Foreigners were not supposed to hire or travel in Chinese boats without permission from the local authorities, but sometimes they did anyway.²¹²

In the centre foreground of the Hume painting, we see two large ocean-going junks, with their names on the stern. The one on the left is the Mingyang 明洋 and the one on the right, the Sanguangxing 三廣興 (*Samkonghing* in Cantonese). As mentioned above, there were 30 to 40 or more junks that were based in Canton and they sailed to Southeast Asia each year. Most of them were around 250 tons capacity and could hold a cargo of 2,000 to 4,000 piculs.²¹³

There are two other junks on the far right of the painting that are anchored closer to the factories. One appears to have a green or blue head, whereas the three other junks in the river have a red head. The red head indicates that the junk was from Guangdong Province, and a green headed junk was from Fujian Province.

Figure 13: Painting showing a party in a Flower Boat. Courtesy of Martyn Gregory Gallery, London.



Many Fujian junks stopped at Canton on their way to or from Southeast Asia. They were a very common sight in the river, which is also shown in paintings. On the stern of most ocean-going junks an osprey was painted, which we can see on the rear of the Mingyang. Junks were also painted with a face in the front and an eye on each side of the bow.

Unlike western vessels, Chinese junks had no keel, but used their huge rudders to keep them going in the desired direction. Note that the junks in the Hume scroll are shown with anchor cables front and back, which of course was necessary to keep them from drifting away in the stream. Many Canton artists failed to insert the anchor cables in their paintings, but the artist of the Hume scroll paid more attention to getting everything right.

I have collected more than 100 names of junks that frequented Canton in the 18th and early 19th century, but I have not found the name Mingyang,

and so know nothing about it. *Samkonghing*, on the other hand, shows up in many of the Canton records. Although the paintings show these two junks anchored in the river, we know that the *Samkonghing* was in fact not in port at this time. From at least 1750 to 1772, that junk sailed to Cochin China and/or Batavia each year. In the years when it went to Batavia, it carried merchandise for the VOC, which is why it frequently shows up in those records. The *Samkonghing* was fitted-out in the Dafeng Hang (see Table 3), which was run by Poankeequa (owner of no. 2) and his Chen family partners. The Dafeng Hang was one of the firms in the Bengang group, and as noted above, was the firm that Poankeequa traded out of before 1760. He was also involved with the Dafeng Hang after 1760 as well.²¹⁴

Other sponsors of the *Samkonghing* include Hongsia (Yan Deshe, no. 5), Monqua ('second building from the left'), and a merchant by the name of Ma Guohu 馬國護.²¹⁵ Normally, the *Samkonghing* would have been in port at the time the Hume scroll was painted (September to November). The junks usually left Canton in February or March for their voyages to Southeast Asia, and then returned in July or August. However, 1772 was an exception. On 30 November of that year, the Swedes learned that the *Samkonghing* was lost at sea. They had been investing in this junk so they had an interest in keeping track of its movements each year.²¹⁶ Thus, at the time of drawing the Hume scroll, the artist would not have been aware that the *Samkonghing* was lost at sea and so painted the name on the stern as it would normally have appeared. In the past, we have thought that the names of junks on paintings were just randomly inserted without reference to reality. We know now that many of these vessels actually existed at the time they were painted.²¹⁸

CONCLUSION

The Hume scroll is an important historical document that has helped unlock some of the mysteries of the past. The information provided on the painting, combined with the incredible detail of the scene, enables us to identify—for the first time—most of the buildings and owners. Although new data that emerged in the past ten years about the Thirteen Hongs was also very important for this research, it was only after the Hume scroll became known to the public that these pieces began to fall into place.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Art enthusiasts and scholars have been enjoying, examining and explaining these factory paintings for more than one hundred years. The content of those conversations, however, have been largely restricted to the foreigners depicted in the scenes (according to the flags), the local river-borne environment as represented by the vessels in the river, and/or the methods and materials used to paint them. Because the artists rarely signed any of these paintings, nothing more could be done than to discuss the vantage points and techniques that the artists used, and to speculate why they chose this or that medium or included this or that object. Owing to a lack of information about the foreign quarter, it was not possible to go deeper into the historical significance of the individual buildings or the importance of the scene as a whole. In the past, even the names on vessels and other objects in the paintings were thought to have been imaginary insertions that artists included to make the paintings more attractive and saleable.

Van Dyke and Mok's recent study on the *Images of the Canton Factories* has shown how accurate these scenes really are and that all the little inscriptions and insertions were often concurrent with the time. With all the new information that we now have, we can look at these paintings in a very different light. As far as the Hume scroll is concerned, it reveals some of the main actors in both the Waiyang and Bengang Hang trades. Not only can we show that some of the same men were managing both groups, but also that they conducted their businesses out of the same buildings.

The Wende, Dafeng, Jiyi and Yihe Hangs were part of the Bengang group, but were receiving sponsorship from Hong merchants of the Waiyang group. Those firms were also housing foreigners from the Waiyang trade. All of this can be clearly visualised in the Hume scroll. The Hong merchants Chowqua, Monqua, Poankeequa, Ingsia and Semqua were all part of the Waiyang group, but were also involved in fitting-out and sponsoring junks of the Bengang group.

The historical data that are contained in these factory paintings have not been taken seriously in the past because scholars did not realise that much of the information they hold is historically correct. With the aid of paintings like the Hume scroll, we can now visualise the faces behind the Canton factories like we have never been able to do before.

While scenes of the seventeen buildings on the quay are representative of the trade as a whole, they

HISTORIOGRAFIA

are not all-inclusive. Other important and prominent merchants had factories that were located east of the quay, but they are not included in the Hume scroll or most other factory paintings. And even when we talk about the seventeen buildings, we often leave people out such as the Portuguese, Parsees, Armenians, Muslims, and Spanish (before 1788), etc. Those nationals did

not display their national flags so they are not visible in paintings. Even though Chinese junks are present in many of the paintings, they have also eluded mention in the history books. With all the new information that we now have about these previously hidden and ignored factors, it is time that we bring these forgotten faces more clearly into the main discussion of the trade. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 Hume left Britain on the EIC ship *Resolution*, which left Downs on 6 February 1770. When they reached the Sunda Strait, Hume transferred to the EIC ship *Latham*, which arrived at Whampoa on 24 September 1770. Anthony Farrington, *Catalogue of East India Company Ships' Journals and Logs 1600-1834* (London: British Library, 1999); and National Archives, The Hague (NAH), Canton 232, Ship List for 1770, p. 178. Hume signed a document in Canton on 15 February 1774 so we know he was still operating as chief of the EIC factory up until that day. British Library (BL), India Office Records (IOR) R/10/9, 1774.02.15, p. 207. At some point between 15 February and 12 March 1774, Hume left Canton and boarded the EIC ship *Prime*, which was anchored downriver at the Second Bar. BL, IOR L/MAR/B/509A.
- 2 For more information about the Hume family and the provenance of this painting, see Martyn Gregory, *China Observed. Historical Pictures by Chinese and Western Artists 1750-1970*. Cat. 94 (London: Martyn Gregory Gallery, 2015-2016), no. 74, p. 64.
- 3 For an explanation of the changes in the architecture at this time, see Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories 1760-1822* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015) (hereafter referred to as ICF), pp. 9-15 and Plates P4 and P5.
- 4 Liang Tingnan 梁廷楠, *Yue Haiguan Zhi* 粵海志 (Gazetteer of Guangdong Maritime Customs) (1839. Reprint, Guangzhou: Guangzhou Renmin Chubanshe, 2001) (hereafter referred to as YHGZ). The Bengang 本港 and Waiyang Hang 外洋行 firms are listed on pp. 496-497, but the names shown are not inclusive because there were other firms besides these.
- 5 For a detailed discussion of the junks that were being sponsored and managed by the Hong merchants, see Chapters 4 and 9 in Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*. Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011); and Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*. Vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016), pp. xvii and xxi-xxii. Hereafter, these two volumes will be referred to as MCM 1 and MCM 2.
- 6 MCM 2, Preface.
- 7 For a few English language examples of this dependence on policies in defining the Canton trade to the exclusion of practices, see Ann Bolbach White, 'The Hong Merchants of Canton' (Ph.D. diss., Dept. of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 54; Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652-1853* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 131-319; Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony 陈国栋, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843*. 2 vols. (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990), pp. 3-12;

- 8 ICF.
- 9 ICF, Plate P7.
- 10 ICF, pp. 9-15. The Hume painting would fall in between Plates P4 and P5.
- 11 NAH, Canton 81, 1772.08.30-1, Canton 82, 1773.02.02; and BL, IOR R/10/9, 1773.02.02, p. 191.
- 12 ICF, pp. 9-15. We have dated Plate P5 to 1772, but it is clearly later than the Hume painting because it shows no. 15 with a new façade.
- 13 YHGZ, p. 496.
- 14 For a partial list of the junks in the Bengang firms, and their managers, see Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), Plate 12.
- 15 For another painting showing the Wende Hang 文德行, see ICF, Plate P5.
- 16 MCM 1, Chapter 4; Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, pp. 145-150; and Paul A. Van Dyke, 'A Reassessment of the China Trade: The Canton Junk Trade as Revealed in Dutch and Swedish Records of the 1750s to the 1770s'. In *Maritime China in Transition 1750-1850*, edited by Wang Gungwu and Ng Chin-keong, pp. 151-167 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), pp. 153-154.
- 17 NAH, Canton 86, 1777.02.08; Rigsarkivet (National Archives), Copenhagen (RAC), Ask 1177, 1777.02.08, p. 38r and Ask 1178, 1777.02.08, p. 40v. For Chowqua's story, see MCM 1, Chapter 10. At the time of writing that chapter, I did not know where Chowqua's factory was located—only that it was near the Danish factory.
- 18 MCM 1, pp. 176-177 and Plates 10.09-11. The painting in Figure 5 was purchased in 2015 by the Danish National Maritime Museum in Elsinore.
- 19 MCM 1, Chapter 10.
- 20 NAH, VOC 4577, *dagregister*, 1793.09.29-30, pp. 41-42.
- 21 NAH, Canton 100, 1812.12.22.
- 22 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, pp. 13-21.
- 23 William Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1885), plan of the factory between pp. 220 and 221. Davis and

other references mentioned above show clearly that Mowqua's Guangli Hang 广利行 was located on the quay and, more specifically, west of the Danish factory. J.F. Davis, *A Commercial Vocabulary, Containing Chinese Words and Phrases Peculiar to Canton and Macau, and to the Trade of Those Places; Together with Titles and Address of all the Officers of Government, Hong Merchants, &c. &c.* (Macao: Honorable Company's Press, 1824), p. 32.

- 24 For Teunqua and Monqua's story, see MCM 2, Chapter 2. At the time of writing that chapter, I did not know where Monqua's factory was located—only that it was close to the Danish factory.
- 25 RAC, Ask 1158-60, 1767.12.10-13.
- 26 For more information about the junks Monqua sponsored, and their destinations, see MCM 2, Appendix 2E.
- 27 For a painting of Monqua's off-site warehouse, see MCM 2, Plate 08.11.
- 28 ICF, Plate P7 and after.
- 29 For Monqua's story, see MCM 2, Chapter 2 and Grant, *Cornerstone*, pp. 139-141.
- 30 BL, IOR G/12/105, 1793.10.04, p. 55; RAC, Ask 1211, 1797.12.05, p. 80v and Ask 1212, 1798.10.04, p. 53r-v; ICF, pp. 68-69; and Ch'en, *Insolvency*, pp. 327-328.
- 31 ICF, p. 35.
- 32 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, p. 327.
- 33 For many other examples of Hong merchants borrowing money to keep their businesses going, see MCM 1 and 2.
- 34 For several other examples of Chinese merchant insolvencies and Qing policies therewith, see MCM 2.
- 35 NAH, Canton 100, 1809.12.11, 1810.06.27, 1810.07.11, 1810.09.02 and 1811.08.07.
- 36 BL, IOR G/12/185, 1813.06.09, p. 54; 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) 3, p. 192; and Ch'en, *Insolvency*, pp. 327-328. For other references to Newqua II (also spelled Gnewqua) occupying this building in the late 1790s and to the building retaining the name Huilong Hang 会隆行 up to the fire of 1822, see ICF, 'Newqua' in the index and Table 5.
- 37 ICF, Plate P59 and index to the plate on page 86.
- 38 NAH, Canton 100, 1809.12.11; and ICF, Plate P59 and index to the plate on page 86.
- 39 Jorge Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses*. 3 vols. (Macao: Fundação Oriente, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1996) 1, p. 399; and NAH, Canton 267, report dated 1803.12.31, paragraph 25.
- 40 BL, IOR G/12/150, entry dated 1805.03.06 and letter from A.L. Barreto dated 1805.02.12, p. 28. In the entry dated 1805.03.14, p. 30, the British listed A.L. and L. Barreto as private 'English' merchants.
- 41 NAH, Canton 267, report dated 1803.12.31, paragraph 25.
- 42 BL, IOR G/12/89, 1788.09.12, p. 80, G/12/103, 1792.09.28, p. 67, G/12/117, 'List of Certificates' for 1796, p. 8, G/12/120, 'List of Bills' and 'List of Certificates' for 1797, pp. 3-5.
- 43 In July 1813, for example, A.L. Barreto arrived at Macao as passenger aboard the Portuguese ship *Mercurio*. NAH, Canton 100, 1813.07.04. In October 1814, Francisco Barreto arrived as a passenger from Bombay aboard the private English ship *Milfort*. NAH, Canton 101, 1814.10.06.
- 44 An entry in NAH, Canton 100, dated 1812.01.04 states that Vict. de Vascon los Baretto was captain of the ship *Diana*, which left Macao for Timor on this day.
- 45 NAH, Canton 101, 1814.07.23.
- 46 NAH, Canton 273, letter dated 1818.06.12; and ICM, Plate P59 and index to the plate on page 86.
- 47 NAH, Canton 274, letter dated 1820.02.21, section entitled 'Vreemde Nationen bevinden zig alhier'.
- 48 Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS), John & Thomas Perkins papers, opium invoice dated 1825.04.09, consigned to L. Barreto; and Rhode Island Historical Society (RIHS), Carrington papers, Box 190, letter from Russel and Co. dated 1825.12.18. For a discussion of smuggling in the Pearl River Delta and the connections between the opium trade and rice, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, Chapter 7; Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Smuggling Networks of the Pearl River Delta before 1842: Implications for Macau and the American China Trade', in *Americans and Macao: Trade, Smuggling, and Diplomacy on the South China Coast*, edited by Paul A. Van Dyke (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), pp. 49-72; and Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Macao, Hawaii, and Sino-American Trade: Some Historical Observations, Interactions, and Consequences', in *Macao and Sino-U.S. Relations*, edited by Yufan Hao and Jianwei Wang (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2011), pp. 71-96.
- 49 For references to these Barreto merchants operating in Macao in the 1810s and 1820s, see Macao Archives (MA), Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), nos. 1364, 1483, 1485, 1493, 1518, 1543, 1591, 1600, 1614, 1687 and 2471.
- 50 Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Fires and the Risks of Trade in Canton 1730s-1840s', in *Canton and Nagasaki Compared 1730-1830. Dutch Chinese, Japanese Relations*, edited by Evert Groenendijk, Cynthia Viallé and Leonard Blussé. *Intercontinenta* no. 26 (Leiden: Institute for the History of European Expansion, 2009), pp. 171-202.
- 51 NAH, VOC 8721, report dated 1750.03.22, p. 154.
- 52 MCM 1, pp. 143 and 467 n. 20.
- 53 RAC, Ask 1138, 1758.08.10.
- 54 ICF, pp. 4-5.
- 55 Chinese notes that were written into some of the Swedish records from 1752/53 show the Danes being referred to as the yellow flag people. Gothenburg Landsarkivet (Provincial Archive, GL). Örijards sätters arkiv A406. Later references show that their building was called the Yellow Flag Factory.
- 56 ICF, p. xx. Denmark was also known as *lianguo* 唐国. Lau Fong 劉芳 and Zhang Wenqin 章文钦, eds. *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dangan Huibian* 清代澳门中文档案汇编 (A Collection of Qing Chinese Documents Concerning Macau). 2 vols. Macao: Aomen Jijin Hui, 1999), doc. nos. 1326, 1332, and other documents, see 唐国 in the index.
- 57 ICF, pp. 73-75.
- 58 ICF, p. 75 and for pictures of the various rebuilding of the Danish factory, see Plates 14a-d. There is extensive discussion throughout this book of the various changes to no. 1.
- 59 ICF, Plates P5 and P20.
- 60 ICF, p. 83 and Figure F27.
- 61 NAH, VOC 4384, report dated 1761.01.11, pp. 65-66, and VOC 4386, *dagregister*, 1760.08.02, p. 9.
- 62 MCM 2, p. 63 and Plates 03.03-06, 03.08-09, 03.17.
- 63 René Estienne, ed. *Les Compagnies des Indes* (Paris: Gallimard, 2013), p. 174.
- 64 MCM 2, Chapter 3.
- 65 At the time of the Hume painting, Tan Suqua's (Chen Shouquan 陈寿观) family was the main supplier of the Portuguese cargos. Their Guangshun Hang 广顺行 was located east of the quay so it does not appear in the painting. MCM 1, pp. 87-88 and 90-91. A Portuguese document from Macao dated 1770.10.27 shows their Romanised names to be Xequa, Siqua and Tequa, which were Tan Suqua, and his sons Chetqua and Tinqua, respectively. Tan Suqua died in 1760, but his name continued to appear for many years thereafter because he was the founder of the firm. AHU, Macau cx. 6, no. 18, 1770.10.27 'Resumo particular do Commercio da China com as Nações Europeias'.
- 66 MCM 2, Chapter 3.
- 67 The name Tongwen Hang 同文行 was still being used as late as 1814 and 1815. Xing Yongfu 邢永福 et al., eds. *Qing Gong Guangzhou*

HISTORIOGRAPHY

HISTORIOGRAFIA

- Shisan Hang Dang'an Jingxuan* 清宮廣州十三行檔案精選 (A Selection of Qing Imperial Documents of the Guangzhou Shisan Hang) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Jingji Chubanshe, 2002), doc. no. 66, dated 1814.12.30, p. 179; and *Qinggong Yue Gang Ao Shangmao Dang'an Quanji* 清宮粵港澳商貿檔案全集 (Collection of Qing Dynasty Trade-related Documents Concerning Hong Kong and Macao), edited by Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Danganguan, Zhongguo Guji Zhengli Yanjiuhui 中国第一历史档案馆中国古籍整理研究会, 10 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian, 2002), pp. 3948 and 3979. But Tongfu Hang 同孚行 seems to have come into use by this time as well. *Qing Dai Guangzhou Shisan Hang Jilue* 清代廣州十三行紀略 (Chronicle of the Hong Merchants in Canton during the Qing Dynasty), edited by Li Guorong 李國榮 and Lin Weisen 林伟森, eds. (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 2006), p. 86. There may have been a couple years when both names were used.
- 68 NAH, Canton 274, report dated 1821.02.20.
- 69 See ICF, Chapter 9 for a more detailed explanation of the establishment of New China Street. For Poankeequa I's story, see MCM 2, Chapter 3.
- 70 ICF, Plate P20.
- 71 See the colour plates in ICF.
- 72 ICF, Plate P2a.
- 73 ICF, pp. 37-39.
- 74 For a summary of Poankeequa's trade with the Spaniards, see MCM 2, pp. 75-83.
- 75 BL, IOR R/10/8, doc. no. 63, letter to Court of Directors dated 1779.01.21, p. 116.
- 76 For a brief summary of the Spanish trade with Canton at this time, see ICF, pp. 37-38 and 58.
- 77 NAH, VOC 4384, report dated 1761.01.11, pp. 65-66.
- 78 ICF, Plate P2a. The bowl is in the Amsterdam Maritime Museum, and there is a duplicate in the Peabody Essex Museum.
- 79 NAH, Canton 78, 1769.09.18; and ICF, p. 6.
- 80 MCM 1, Appendixes 12B and 12C, pp. 420-423.
- 81 See ICF, Plates P4 and P5.
- 82 See ICF, Plate P5. A high resolution image of this painting clearly shows the Yuyuan Hang lanterns. Gothenburg City Museum, Inv. no. GM 13239.
- 83 ICF, Plate P20; and BL, Maps.K.Top.116.23. Even with a very high resolution image of the painting, the characters were illegible.
- 84 ICF, see Plates P18 to P25 and P27 to P28.
- 85 ICF, pp. 59-61, 69 and 80-81.
- 86 ICF, Plate P2a, pp. 6, 32, 83-84 and passim.
- 87 Another painting from 1772 also shows lanterns in front of no. 5 with Taihe 泰和 written on them. ICF, Plate P5.
- 88 MCM 1, p. 157.
- 89 MCM 1, Chapter 9.
- 90 NAH, Canton 89, 1780.10.18.
- 91 For the story of the Yan family, see MCM 1, Chapter 9.
- 92 ICF, Plate P20; and BL, Maps.K.Top.116.23. Even with a high resolution image, the characters were illegible.
- 93 ICF, Tables 4, 5 and 6, pp. 90-91, and 98. For Chunqua's story, see Ch'en, *Insolvency*, pp. 352-359. Ch'en says that 'He acquired the Hong-merchant status in the season of 1793-1794', which is an approximate guess based on information contained in the EIC records. Ch'en, *Insolvency*, p. 352 and p. 443 n. 407. For Chunqua's status as a Hong merchant in 1792, see Untzi Museoa-Museo Naval (UM), Fondo Manuel de Agote (FMA), R630-638 Manuel de Agote Diarios 1787-1796. The diary calls Chunqua (Chunkua) a 'Janista' (Hong merchant) in 1792, so he was apparently appointed sometime that year.
- 94 ICF, Plates P1a-b and P5.
- 95 ICF, Plates P6a, P7 and P8a.
- 96 ICF, compare Plates P10 with P11, P12b and P20.

- 97 This arrangement can be seen more clearly in ICF, Plates P10, P11, P12b and P17.
- 98 ICF, Tables 4, 5 and 6, pp. 90-91, and 98; and Ch'en, *Insolvency*, pp. 352-359.
- 99 ICF, Chapter 9.
- 100 ICF, Chapter 9.
- 101 A detailed explanation of the creation of the shopping streets can be found in ICF, Chapter 9.
- 102 For Consentia Giqua and Tiauqua's stories, see MCM 1, Chapter 11.
- 103 Philippe de Vargas, ed., *Récit de Trois Voyages à la Chine (1779-1793) par Charles de Constant* (Pekin: University Yenching, 1939), image between pp. 38 and 39. The painting of the factories on this page shows a rebuilt no. 7. Vargas has dated the painting to 1791, but it is more likely depicting 1792, which is explained in ICF, p. 59.
- 104 Brown University, John Carter Brown Library (JCB), Brown Papers B.497 F.7, letter dated 1808.08.14.
- 105 ICF, p. 82.
- 106 ICF, p. 40.
- 107 ICF, Plates P28 and P57.
- 108 For Fatqua's story, see Ch'en, *Insolvency*, pp. 363-364.
- 109 GL, Örijareds sätteris arkiv A406.
- 110 MCM 1, Appendixes 12B and 12C, pp. 420-423.
- 111 NAH, Canton 82, 1773.02.07; and BL, IOR R/10/9, 1773.02.08, pp. 197-198.
- 112 For Foutia and Kousia's stories, see MCM 1, Chapter 12.
- 113 MCM 1, see Index p. 539 for references to the first three Tan Tinquas. For a reference to Chen Tingquan 陈汀官 in 1732, see *Qing gong Yue Gang Ao shang mao dang an quan ji* 清宮粵港澳商貿檔案全集 Zhongguo di yi li shi dang an guan 中国第一历史档案馆, Zhongguo gu ji zheng li yan jiu hui bian 中国古籍整理研究会编. 10 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo shu dian, 2002) (hereafter referred to as QGY), pp. 488-489.
- 114 ICF, p. 16.
- 115 Lau, *Qing dai Aomen*, no. 1377. See other references to the French being referred to as *Folanxi* in GL, Örijareds sätteris arkiv A406.
- 116 NAH, VOC 4386, 1760.11.05, pp. 101-102.
- 117 ICF, 2 and Plates P1a-b.
- 118 ICF, pp. 2-3.
- 119 Susan E. Schopp, 'The French as Architectural Trendsetters in Canton, 1767-1820', *Review of Culture*, International Edition, no. 45 (2014), pp. 79-87.
- 120 ICF, p. 32.
- 121 ICF, pp. 38-39.
- 122 The 1748 Swedish map is reproduced in ICF, Figure F27, p. 93. Another Swedish map of Canton from 1748 can be seen in Bertil S. Olsson and Karl-Magnus Johansson, eds. *Sverige och svenska I den ostindiska handeln – I. Perspektiv från arkivaliska och arkeologiska fynd* (Gothenburg: Riksarkivet Landsarkivet I Göteborg, 2016), p. 183.
- 123 John Reinhold Forster, trans. *A Voyage to China and the East Indies, by Peter Osbeck. Together with a Voyage to Suratte, by Olof Torren, and An Account of Chinese Husbandry, by Captain Charles Gustavus Eckeberg*. 2 vols. Translated from the 1765 German ed. (London: Benjamin White, 1771), 1, p. 204.
- 124 Gothenburg Universitets Bibliotek (University Library) (GUB), SOIC H22.1 *Hoppe Brevkopiebok*.
- 125 GL, Örijareds sätteris arkiv A406, page entitled *Factoriernes Nann*.
- 126 NAH, VOC 4381, report dated 1758.01.19, pp. 221r and 281v. Other references show that the Swedish factory was also called Xiu He 修和, which in Cantonese corresponds to 'Sjew Hoo'. ICF, Tables 4, 5 and 6, pp. 90-91 and 98.
- 127 Davis, *A Commercial Vocabulary*, pp. 25-26.
- 128 ICF, p. 5.
- 129 MCM 1, Chapter 5.
- 130 Stockholm, Riksarkivet (National Archive, RAS), Ostindiska Kompaniet, vol. 55 1800-1813, list of expenses, see entries dated September and 6 December 1804.
- 131 ICF, pp. 72-78. The list of foreigners in China in BL, IOR G/12/242, dated 1829.03.15, pp. 6-8 shows Sir A. Ljungstedt, Ullman, and J. Ullman in resident. The Swedes do not appear in the 1830 list of residents in BL, IOR G/12/244, 1830.04.05, pp. 1-3. Ljungstedt died in 1835 in Macao, but it is unknown whether he and/or his colleagues went to Canton in the early 1830s.
- 132 BL, IOR G/12/8, 1724.07.26, p. 1448 and G/12/25, 1724.07.26, p. 4.
- 133 A contract from 1744/1745 showing Tinqua (Chen Zhenguan 陈镇官) trading out of the Longshun Hang is reproduced in Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, Plate 18. Chinese documents also mention him in 1756 and 1759. QGY, pp. 1428-1429 and 1862. The biography of Hoppo Tan Ying 唐英 (1750/1751) also mentions Tinqua and his Longshun Hang. *Tang Ying Quan Ji* 唐英全集.
- 134 Morse, *Chronicles*, 5, p. 22.
- 135 Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, Plate 18.
- 136 A Tinqua who went by the alias 'Jan Kerie' traded with the Ostend General India Company (GIC) from 1724 to 1732. References to Tinqua in 1724 can be found in the Stadsarchief, Antwerp (SAA), IC: 5684 and 5740; and Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMA), no. 479. The Tinqua that appears in these records is identified in later years with his alias, which makes it possible to connect the entries to Chen Zhenguan.
- 137 BL, IOR G/12/44, 1738.08.06, p. 12, G/12/48, 1740.08.16, p. 11, G/12/51, 1742.07.14, p. 24, G/12/54, 1750.09.10, p. 7, 1750.12.31, p. 58, R/10/4, 1755.08.10, p. 34, 1759.11.03, p. 133, 1760.07.30, p. 37; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 5, p. 48.
- 138 ICF, Plate 1b has a strange flag in front of no. 12. Although the colors are incorrect, a British flag is the mostly likely candidate, because they were staying in this building at the time this painting was made.
- 139 MCM 2, pp. 100-101.
- 140 ICF, pp. 13-14.
- 141 ICF, Plates P4, P5, P60 and pp. 13 and 78.
- 142 Beaukeequa's factory is shown on a Swedish map from 1748. ICF, Figure 37, p. 93.
- 143 MCM 1, pp. 140-141.
- 144 MCM 1, pp. 140-147.
- 145 MCM 2, Table 2.1, p. 4.
- 146 Fu Lo-Shu, ed., *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644-1820)* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), pp. 217-218.
- 147 For Beaukeequa's story, see MCM 1, Chapter 8.
- 148 QGY, p. 2767.
- 149 NAH, Canton 82, 1773.02.07.
- 150 Carl T. Smith and Paul A. Van Dyke. 'Muslims in the Pearl River Delta, 1700 to 1930', *Review of Culture*, International Edition no. 10 (April 2004), pp. 6-15.
- 151 NAH, Canton 28, resolution nos. 16 and 17, dated 1765.12.06 and 1765.12.16.
- 152 'She Kinqua in partnership with Cowshaw [Kousia], the late Fowshaw's [Foutia] Brother, He is sensible enterprizing, & at present I believe honest and support'd by his Uncle, one of the Emperor's salt merchants, a man of character & a violent enemy of the Cong Hong'. BL, IOR R/10/5, 1761.07.21, p. 10.
- 153 ICF, p. 13.
- 154 Ibid.
- 155 ICF, pp. 13-14 and Plates P5, P7 and P13.
- 156 BL, IOR G/12/108, 1794.04.01-11, pp. 267-269. For Shy Kinqua and Gonqua's stories, see Ch'en, *Insolvency*, pp. 297-307.
- 157 Fu Lo-Shu, ed., *A Documentary Chronicle*, pp. 317-318.
- 158 For Sinqua and Iqua's (Eequa) stories, see Ch'en, *Insolvency*, pp. 283-291.
- 159 For a brief history of Sinqua and son, see ibid.
- 160 See ICF, Chapters 6 and 7.
- 161 NAH, Canton 98, 1801.10.21.
- 162 Victory Joan Moessner, trans. *First Russian Voyage Around the World. The Journal of Hermann Ludwig von Lowenstern, 1803-1806* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2003), p. 388. The Russian Captain Krusenstiern had been to Canton in 1779 and knew that he could not import himself as a Russian as that nation was not allowed to trade at Canton.
- 163 Davis, *A Commercial Vocabulary*, 1, p. 5.
- 164 ICF, Figure 37, p. 93.
- 165 For a reference to Xin Doulan Jie 新豆栏街 in 1764, see Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godegårdssarkivet Archive F17 (hereafter referred to as NM, F17), digital p. T1_02307. For a reference to Xin Doulan Jie in ca. 1810, see British National Archive (BNA), FO 1048.10-4 part 1 (1810).
- 166 ICF, p. 82.
- 167 ICF, Plates P1a to P21.
- 168 For the EIC rent entries in the 1760s, see BL, IOR R/10/4, 1760.08.09, p. 45, 1760.12.12, p. 124, R/10/5, 1761.09.14, p. 36 and R/10/6, 1769.02.04, p. 58.
- 169 Morse, *Chronicles*, 3, pp. 6 and 136.
- 170 ICF, pp. 72 and 78-79.
- 171 I have only found one of the junks operating out of the Jiyi Hang, named Muntingchew. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, Plate 12. But we know there were other junks being fitted-out by this firm.
- 172 QGY, pp. 2180-2182; Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit*, p. 134.
- 173 MCM 1, p. 125.
- 174 For Semqua and Cai Hunqua's stories, see MCM 1, Chapter 7.
- 175 NAH, OIC 195, *dagregister*, 1794.12.11, p. 100.
- 176 ICF, pp. 72 and 78-79.
- 177 NAH, Canton 273, doc. dated 1818.02.18.
- 178 NAH, VOC 2438, *dagregister*, 1738.07.30, *resolutie*, 1738.07.30, pp. 89-90, report dated 1739.01.04, pp. 49 and 53. Jörg mentions that the Dutch may have occupied this same building since possibly 1731, which is plausible. Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982), p. 58; and NAH, Canton 19. I have not been able to confirm the exact location of the buildings that the Dutch rented in this early period, but there are many VOC records that I have not consulted.
- 179 In 1733, for example, the Dutch rented three buildings. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 56.
- 180 NAH, Canton 191, report dated 1743.03.09, Canton 192, report dated 1744.03.14. Unfortunately, these two reports have no page or paragraph numbers.
- 181 NAH, VOC 8719, *resolutie*, 1747.03.22, pp. 284-287, VOC 8721, report dated 1749.11.30, p. 18, *resolutie*, 1750.01.14, pp. 258-261, 312, 317-319, report dated 1750.03.22, pp. 117, 312-313 and 318-319.
- 182 NAH, Canton 276, letter at Batavia dated 1747.06.02.
- 183 NAH, VOC 8721, report dated 1750.03.22, pp. 97-98.
- 184 Fu Lo-Shu, ed. *A Documentary Chronicle*, pp. 189 and 674.
- 185 When I wrote MCM 2, the sources I consulted suggested that Xantqua and Chemqua was the same person. MCM 2, p. 20. However, after reviewing the sources again, I am not as convinced as I was then. Chemqua refurbished and enlarged the factory in 1752 and 1753, which would have cost quite a bit of money. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 58. It is not likely that Xantqua would have had the funds to make these changes, because of the past debts from his deceased brother.
- 186 MCM 2, p. 20; and Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 58.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

- 187 NAH, Canton 207, report dated 1752.02.24, Canton 210, report dated 1753.06.25 and Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 58.
- 188 GL, Öijareds sätteris arkiv A406; and Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 58.
- 189 NAH, Canton 193, report for 1744 (there are no page numbers or date on this document), Canton 215, report dated 1755.02.22; and Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 56.
- 190 NAH, VOC 4384, rent contract dated 1760.08.01, pp. 473-474 (also reproduced in MCM 2, Plate 01.06), VOC 4386, *dagregister*, 1760.08.01, pp. 3-4; BL, IOR R/10/3, 1759.09.05, p. 107; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 5, pp. 73-74.
- 191 MCM 1, p. 157; and MCM 2, p. 29.
- 192 BL, IORG/12/77, 1783.02.21, pp. 19-20; and MCM 1, pp. 133-134.
- 193 Ghent Universiteits Bibliotheek (GHL), Ms 1985, *dagregister*, 1791.04.01, pp. 41-42.
- 194 NAH, VOC 4577, *dagregister*, 1793.09.11, pp. 28-29. In this reference, the person who is said to have sold the Dutch factory in 1793 was 'Pinqua's partner'. This reference: GHL, Ms 1985, *dagregister*, 1791.04.01, pp. 41-42 shows that Locqua had purchased the building in 1791. Other entries in the Dutch records show that they paid rent to Locqua in 1791 and 1792 so he was apparently 'Pinqua's partner'.
- 195 NAH, Canton 378, rent contracts. See also MCM 1, pp. 116, 121, 134; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 2, p. 92.
- 196 The repairs that the Dutch did to no. 16 in 1789 are reproduced in Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690-1845' (Ph.D. diss., Department of History, University of Southern California, 2002), Table 11.
- 197 ICF, pp. 9-11.
- 198 See the *Onkosten Extra Ordinair* for 1768, 1770, 1781 and 1789 in NAH, VOC 4403, 4406, 4423 and 4444, respectively.
- 199 I thank Maria Mok for pointing out the marble columns to me. I looked through the Dutch records, but did not find mention to marble columns so I have not been able to confirm this assumption.
- 200 MCM 2, Chapter 5.
- 201 The list of Canton junks in Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, Plate 12, shows three junks operating out of the Yihe Hang. However, there were other junks operating out of some of these houses that are not mentioned in that document. Table 1 in this study, for example, shows fifteen junks operating out of the Mantack hang, but Plate 12 in *The Canton Trade*, shows only ten junks.
- 202 NM, F17, pp. T1_02307 and T1_5145-7
- 203 BL, IOR R/10/4, 1759.11.03, p. 133, 1760.07.30, p. 37; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 5, p. 48.
- 204 ICF, pp. 90-91 and 97.
- 205 NAH, VOC 4381, letter dated 1758.01.19; and MCM 2, pp. 20, 27 and 239. For Teunqua and Swequa's stories, see MCM 2, Chapters 1 and 2.
- 206 Morse, *Chronicles*, 5, p. 87.
- 207 NAH, Canton 91, 1785.11.10-11, pp. 83-84.
- 208 ICF, p. 59.
- 209 NAH, Canton 91, 1785.02.02, pp. 1-4, 1785.10.08, pp. 49-50, 1785.11.10, pp. 83-84; and Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 61.
- 210 Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Floating Brothels and the Canton Flower Boats 1750-1930'. *Review of Culture*, International Edition no. 37 (January 2011), pp. 112-142.
- 211 Davis, *A Commercial Vocabulary*, p. 15.
- 212 For an example of foreigners travelling in Chinese boats illegally, see Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', pp. 493-495.
- 213 For a discussion of the Canton junks, see MCM 1, Chapter 4.
- 214 For Poankeequa, his Chen partners, and the Dafeng Hang's story, see MCM 2, Chapter 3.
- 215 MCM 1, Appendix 9G, pp. 366-368.
- 216 NM, F17 p. T1_02040.
- 217 For other paintings of Canton junks, see MCM 1, Plates 04.11 and 04.12; and MCM 2, Plates 03.01, 03.02, 08.08, and 08.09.

Trading with Traders The Wonders of Cantonese Shopkeepers

MARIA KAR-WING MOK*

INTRODUCTION

If one word is sought to describe the work of a foreign trader in 18th and 19th century Canton, that word might well be 'shopping'. They were, to be more precise, there to conduct trade, and to buy and sell, but most of the time their main mission was to load their ships with staple commodities such as spices, tea, silk and porcelain, among other goods, for their market at home, in the West. The interest in trading with China went back to the Han and Tang dynasties, but massive endeavours to establish commercial contact with China were launched a few centuries later, via the sea, when marine technology permitted European powers to explore maritime routes. Also, determined by navigation conditions largely submissive to the direction of the monsoons in the days when ships were powered by the wind, the entry into China had to be from the South China coast. In 1757, along with the change of policy of the Qing government, an Imperial decree prohibited all foreign trade other than that conducted at Canton. As the city officially became

the centre of foreign trade and activity, it also became the hub where foreign traders could enjoy a stable and safe stay to conduct business. Hence, this is where our discussion begins.

Foreign traders were not the only westerners in Canton; there were also military officers, diplomats, ambassadors, surgeons, and missionaries, etc. But when it comes to shopping, traders were no doubt conducting the largest sales transactions. They were there to shop in bulk, either for the large trading companies bearing such household names such as the English, Dutch, Danish or Swedish East India companies (EIC, VOC, DAC or SOIC, respectively), or, in the case of private traders, for private companies and individual investors. These shopping activities formed the core business of the China trade. At the same time, the traders also made personal purchases, on a much smaller scale, of items for personal use for friends and family, or for sale upon their return home.

The shopping list of Benjamin Shreve of Salem serves as a sample of what could have been the personal orders of a trader: '1 lady's parasol, 6 mother-of-pearl spoons, 10 tin saucers for Mandarin cups, 2 'teeth' brush cases with covers, 2 'conscience' cups (material of the cup unknown), 2 tubs of sugar candy, and several jars of dried candy and preserves for which his wife had requested.'¹ Besides this personal list, he also bought silverware, tortoiseshell combs, lacquerware, silks, china and nankeens for his wife and his investors.² What Shreve had been doing was what many other western traders were doing, that is, besides making bulk purchases in China trade commodities, they spent days in and out of the shops at Canton buying

* Ph.D. candidate at Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou and Curator (Modern Art) at the Hong Kong Museum of Art. In the past several years, she has been responsible for research, curating, publication, and acquisition of the Historical Pictures Collection at the Hong Kong Museum of Art. Her research focuses on the dating and authentication of Cantonese export paintings and the special nature of commodity art in China trade. She co-authored *Images of the Canton Factories 1760-1822: Reading History in Art* (2015) with Paul A. Van Dyke.

Candidata a doutoramento na Universidade Sun Yat-sen, Cantão, e curadora no Museu de Arte de Hong Kong, onde foi responsável pela pesquisa, curadoria, publicações e aquisições da Coleção de Pintura Histórica. Publica regularmente artigos sobre a datação e a natureza especial dessas pinturas e é co-autora da obra *Images of the Canton Factories 1760-1822: Reading History in Art* (2015) com Paul A. Van Dyke.